

## Roman *Reiter* Memorial Stones from Kirkby Thore

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Five of the 25 Roman cavalryman's memorials found in Britain of the type known as *Reiter* stones come from Cumbria. Three of these, two complete and one partially preserved, have had no published illustrations other than engravings in 1875. They are in the British Museum, and this paper presents up-to-date photographs of the three with comments on the differences between the engravings and the actual stones. In introducing these, some consideration is given to the type as a whole. A reconstruction drawing is offered of the figure on the example surviving only in part, and the significance of the three sculptures for the nature of the garrison of the Roman fort at Kirkby Thore is considered.

**T**HE discovery at Lancaster in November 2005, of a damaged but nearly complete Roman cavalryman's memorial made widespread headlines. Stones of this type (the so-called *Reiter* stones) regularly carry carvings of the deceased mounted on his stallion. The cavalryman may be variously armed and may be accompanied by (among other things) a representation of a 'barbarian' or 'victim' under the horse's hooves. The horse itself may be standing, walking or rearing. The unique aspect of the Lancaster stone, however, was that the 'barbarian' had been beheaded by the cavalryman, who was holding the head by its hair in his right hand.

Investigation of this stone (now *RIB* 3185) led, of course, to consideration of others of the type from Roman Britain. A useful starting point was Schleiermacher's (1984) catalogue of such stones from the entire Empire; but this had two drawbacks. First, it was necessarily out of date; and second, it was largely derived from stones recorded in lists of inscriptions (*CIL* and others, such as *RIB*), and thus was liable to omit un-inscribed stones such as that from Ribchester. Some of these deficiencies could be made up by reference to the appropriate fascicules of *CSIR*; but the coverage of this is not complete for Roman Britain. Nevertheless a catalogue was brought together by the present writer, listing 24 such stones for which some evidence could be found, a twenty-fifth (the sole example from Scotland) being discovered while this research was ongoing. This was an increase of eight, adding nearly 50 per cent to Schleiermacher's figure for *Reiter* tombstones in Britain. Of the 24, five are from Cumbria: one each from Stanwix<sup>1</sup> and Maryport,<sup>2</sup> and three fragmentary examples from Kirkby Thore.<sup>3</sup> These three form the main topic to be discussed here; however, some points about *Reiter* tombstones in general should be made first.

### ***Reiter* tombstones**

Many of the tombstones under consideration have dimensions which approximate in proportions to those of post-medieval and modern tombstones (i.e. c.1:3). This had at least two effects. First, most sculptors fitted a horse into the resulting shape by presenting the animal rearing, usually with its hind feet at the bottom left and the head

at the upper right as viewed; and the horse was almost always shown travelling from left to right which meant that the rider and his equipment were not obscured by the rider's shield.<sup>4</sup> Second, the proportions of the stones tend automatically to invite the modern observer to form mental pictures of post-medieval and modern churchyards and cemeteries. In fact, it is by no means clear, although the word 'tombstone' has been used, whether or not these stones were erected at or near the place of burial of the commemorated dead,<sup>5</sup> or elsewhere as some kind of cenotaph.

Most of the research so far summarised was published not long after the discovery of the Lancaster stone; a distribution map of the English examples was included in Bull (2007, 34), and a list of sites appeared in Iles and Shotter (eds.) (2009, 78, Table 4.4). The former publication also included illustrations of most of the English stones of which illustrations exist. Exceptions include Thomas Braithwaite's rudimentary sketch of a 1604 find at Ribchester (*RIB* 595). (This, incidentally, is an addition to Schleiermacher's eight stones presenting a horse travelling in the 'wrong' direction.) These illustrations form a convenient collection which enables us to observe stratagems adopted by some sculptors in order to avoid the diagonal portrayal of the horse typified by the Lancaster stone, by a second example from Ribchester (Bull 2007, 31) and, perhaps the best known, by the stone of Flavinus, standard bearer of the ala Petriana, to be seen in Hexham Abbey (*RIB* 1172; *CSIR* 1:1,68).

One stratagem is exemplified by the memorial of Longinus, at Colchester (*RIB* 201; *CSIR* 1: 8, 48). Here, in a highly sophisticated piece of sculpture, the horse is shown with its near foreleg<sup>6</sup> raised (as if the animal is either walking very slowly or perhaps even stationary). This frees the whole of the space between the front and rear legs for the portrayal of the victim. A much less accomplished carving, that of Dannicus at Cirencester (*RIB* 108; *CSIR* 1: 7, 138), presents a horse which, like the Colchester horse, raises a foreleg (in this case, the off foreleg); but here the horse is very small and badly-proportioned; and the whole composition is so cramped that the victim can only be presented out of scale. This stone's companion sculpture at Cirencester, that of Sextus Valerius Genialis (*RIB* 109; *CSIR* 1: 7, 137), is a much more assured work and exemplifies a slight compromise in that the horse's body, while not forming a steeply diagonal line across the whole field, yet just in front of the rider's leg bends upwards sufficiently to accommodate a more satisfactory presentation of the victim. Another stratagem to create space can be seen at Gloucester on the stone of Rufus Sita (*RIB* 121; *CSIR* 1: 7, 140), where parts of the horse's legs and hooves actually emerge from the confines of the field and are portrayed against the frame itself. (Interestingly, this device is used by the sculptor of the Lancaster stone, even though the less limiting full diagonal presentation has been adopted.)

Both of the Cirencester carvings have a gabled top. However, the sculptor of Genialis makes no use of it, the field of the carving being restricted to a rectangle below the triangle of the gable pediment. On the other hand, the sculptor of the Dannicus stone has seized the opportunity offered and has included that pediment within his actual field. A further way of making the horse and rider conform to the field in which they are portrayed is to give that field a top with more than the two sides of a conventional gable. Such a stone, at Chester (*RIB* 550; Wright and Richmond 1955,

No. 98), presents a main rectangular area surmounted by a top reminiscent of a naïve representation of the roof of a modern detached house, and the horse is shown almost as are those in early nineteenth century hunting and steeple-chasing prints, front legs flung out ahead and back legs projecting equally stiffly. At Chester, advantage is taken of this to depict the victim full-length and prone beneath the horse. A similar depiction of the horse occurs on the tombstone of Tiberius Claudius Maximus, found at Philippi and now in Kavalla Museum, Greece (Sch. 98). Maximus was the captor of Decebalus, the Dacian leader at the time of Trajan's Dacian Wars; but in spite of being such a prize, Decebalus sits somewhat awkwardly and insignificantly in the bottom right corner of the carved field.

### The Kirkby Thore stones

The present new consideration of the Kirkby Thore stones arises from two factors.<sup>7</sup> Firstly, doubt was thrown by Schleiermacher on their provenance; but this has now been resolved, as is revealed below. Secondly, their only published illustrations date from the late nineteenth century (Bruce 1875), and it has become clear, as a result of the opportunity to compare stones, engravings and photographs, that Bruce's engraver (R. B. Utting) did him something of a disservice by producing somewhat inaccurate engravings, though this may be an undeserved slur. After all, the engraver was very often working with no access to the stone (or other subject matter) and depended on the skill of the artist (D. Mossman in this case), which might often be patchy, particularly in so large a project as the *Lapidarium*. Such engravings have an air, sometimes spurious, of accuracy and authority.

Taking the question of provenance first: the present writer is very much indebted to Dr. Ralph Jackson of the British Museum for investigating this matter at his request. The three stones (Bruce 1875, Nos. 754, 755 and 756) came to the British Museum (BM) after the Lowther Castle sales of 1969 and 1970. The BM Keeper responsible at the time was Kenneth Painter, and Dr. Jackson reports that his notes are, as usual, quite full. There is no doubt of the provenance of *Lapidarium Septentrionale* No. 755 – 'Found in 1860 in diverting the Turnpike road at Kirkby Thore'. Although no Quarter Session Diversion Order accompanied by a plan seems to have been preserved, it is almost certain that the occasion of diverting the Turnpike in 1860 was the building of Kirkby Thore Station on the Eden Valley Railway. *RIB 769* (= *Lap. Sep.* No. 752) and *RIB 770* (= *Lap. Sep.* No. 751) were discovered at the same time. This gives a national grid reference for the findspot of this stone of about NY 642 248. The Eden Valley Railway was commenced in 1858 and completed in 1862.

Equally certain is the provenance of *Lap. Sep.* No. 756 – 'Found at Kirkby Thore, Westmorland', though without further details. *Lap. Sep.* No. 754, however, has 'No find spot' in the BM register entry; but, as Dr. Jackson suggests, what Painter was actually indicating was that *Lap. Sep.* No. 754 has no more precise find spot than Kirkby Thore. The relevant file is certainly labelled 'Kirkby Thore'. In view of the changes in BM registration numbers resulting from amalgamation of departments, it may be as well to cite these in full here.

<i>Lap.Sep.</i>	<b>BM (previous)</b>	<b>BM (current)</b>	<b>Schleiermacher</b>
754	P. 1970.1-2×8	1970, 0102×8	83
755	P. 1970.7-1.10	1970, 0701×10	84
756	P. 1969.7-1×2	1970, 0701×2	82

***Lapidarium Septentrionale* No. 754.** (Fig. 1A) This is a somewhat crudely carved representation of a rider. The horse faces to the right, and the only indication of any movement is the raising of the near foreleg. The rider is too large in proportion to the horse; and the sole indication of dress is the presence of a scalloped hem-line below the waist, probably indicating the oddly unmilitary 'frilly' edge of the *lorica squamata*. Much detail has clearly been lost as a result of erosion of the surface of this stone. However, thus much is beyond question; the rider holds in his right hand a large sword, though this is not as large as it appears on the engraving. The sword passes behind the rider's head, which is less elongated than in the engraving. The pommel of the rider's sword is 'D'-shaped, and not circular as in the engraving. The horse's head and that of the rider appear to be turned towards the viewer, as on the stone from Stanwix (*RIB 2030*) (incidentally, its closest parallel). The most remarkable of the features of this stone, however, is the representation of the victim. In what is an



FIG. 1A.

unrealistic and unsatisfactory representation by the sculptor, only the head and arms of the victim are visible, shown hanging below the belly of the horse. Perhaps the viewer is to assume that the head, arms and uppermost part of the torso are hanging, on the far side of the horse from the viewer, from the rest of the body, which is out of sight; but how this means of carrying the body could be accomplished is not indicated or even hinted at. It is clear from the position of the victim's hands and the traces of indications of hair on the head that the victim is facing away from the viewer. The rider's left hand disappears behind the horse's neck, and there is no indication that he is holding a shield. The horse's tail, reaching right down to the hoof of the off hind leg, is shown, as often, hanging down the left edge of the image. The only other details surviving are a ridiculously small saddle-cloth, and traces of the horse's mane.



Size, 3 feet 5 inches by 2 feet 11 inches.

FIG. 1B

*Lapidarium Septentrionale* No. 755. (Figs. 2A and 2B) This is a fragment only, and is very much more competently carved than either of its fellows from this site. All that remains is a portion of the right border, to the left of which is presented most of the body of the horse, though relatively little of it must have been actually visible, since it is largely obscured by the lower part of the rider's body and right leg which rest on the saddle-cloth. The strap running round the horse's hindquarters is partly visible, and indicates no details of a strap-distributor or pendant. The rider has clearly had a



FIG. 2A.



FIG. 2B.

spear, though not a sword. The horse's body is entirely horizontal, and the near foreleg is raised and wholly visible, as on stone 754, previously discussed. The top of the off foreleg with the spear passing in front of it is preserved, but how the horse's neck was depicted in the carving is not readily discernible. Damage has meant that the horse's chest ends in such a manner that there is no obvious way in which the neck could have continued from it. Experimental drawing restoration, however, (Fig. 3) has shown that the strap of which a small portion appears to the right of the top of the surviving fragment of the spear-shaft is that which went round the horse's chest. This seems to have been so deeply cut by the sculptor that everything above and to the right of

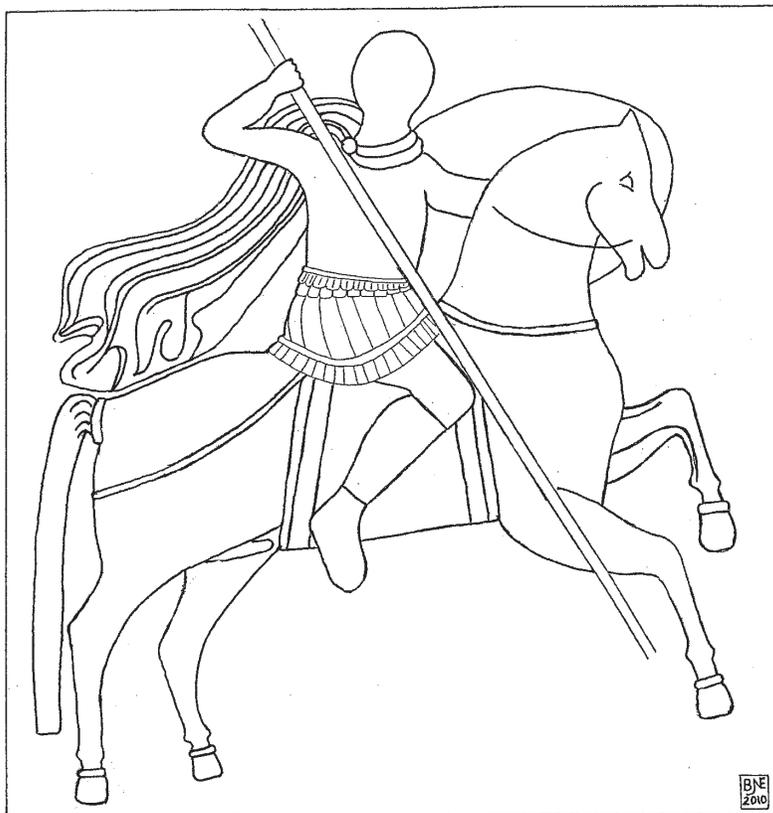


FIG. 3.

it (that is the horse's neck and head) has flaked off, leaving the chest with an oddly smooth outline giving a 'finished' appearance.

Further comparison between the engraving and the stone as it exists now reveals, first, that the general impression of a low relief carving with little deep cutting is wrong. In fact, this stone is as deeply cut as any of the British examples referred to in the introduction to this paper. Secondly, since it was engraved the stone has lost a portion above and to the left of the horse's rump. This loss has removed the root of the horse's tail, part of the rider's cloak,<sup>8</sup> which is shown in the engraving as having carved monumental folds which form a stylised but flowing pattern, and a small portion of the left border. The latter is of importance only in that it appears in the engraving to turn inwards, as though to start the angled part of a gable top. Measurement of angles and projection of lines seen in the engraving suggest, however, that this is unlikely to have been the case. Such a layout would allow too little space in which to accommodate the upper torso and head of the rider in the usual pose in which the rider's weapon-bearing arm is raised level with or slightly above his head. Another, very small, loss is the toe of the rider's foot, which draws attention to the fact that, while the engraving shows the line across the rider's leg which indicates the termination of his breeches, it does not show what is also present on the sculpture, namely the line across the

leg marking the top of his short boots. Similar boots are depicted on other Reiter tombstones, including the Lancaster stone referred to at the beginning of this paper.<sup>9</sup>

Perhaps the most interesting question raised by this stone is, of course, what was the rider wearing? It is clear from the details of the two lines across the right leg that he is wearing the same kind of breeches and short boots worn by many others of the riders on these stones. On these (e.g. the Lancaster stone and that of T. Flavius Bassus at Cologne (Sch. 17)) the rider wears a close-fitting jacket or tunic, with, sometimes, a cloak fastened on the right shoulder and flung back. (Interestingly, the stone of C. Romanus at Mainz (Sch. 27) apparently shows him as bare-footed.) Searching Schleiermacher's catalogue for this kind of information is not easy because the reproduction of the illustrations is not of the highest quality, but there seem to be only about seven examples where the kind of skirt-like garment shown on this Kirkby Thore stone is visible. Of these, some can be discounted. Marius at Bonn (Sch. 5) was an *equus legionis*, and therefore likely to have different equipment from that of the auxiliary cavalry. The stones of Valerius Romanus at Worms (Sch. 50) and Augindai at Jerusalem (Sch. 101) are so poorly executed that it is impossible to be sure of details, as is Sch. 124 at Istanbul. This leaves only three stones, all from Cherchel in Algeria and representing soldiers from coh. VI and coh. VII Delmatarum (Sch. 55, 56 and 57) which have the same kind of nether garment as *Lap. Sep. 755*. These three, however, share another sartorial quirk – all apparently wear the *lorica squamata* as the upper garment. This feature is not, however, confined to these three stones; others, including Vonatorix at Bonn (Sch. 9) and Longinus at Colchester (Sch. 76) wear the same scale armour on their upper parts, but not the skirt-like lower garment. Schleiermacher's dating for all these stones is late first or early second century. The conclusion must apparently be that some Roman cavalry wore upper garments with attached small metal plates (the *lorica squamata*),<sup>10</sup> and that this was combined in some cases, but not all, with a skirt-like lower garment with longer scales attached. It may or may not be relevant that in Georgia, just outside the Roman Empire and well over half a millennium later, the icon of St. George referred to in footnote 9 clearly shows both small scales on the upper part of the body and longer ones on the 'skirt'.

***Lapidarium Septentrionale No. 756.*** (Fig. 4) This stone is on display at the British Museum, and it was a comparison between a photograph of it taken there and the engraving which prompted the current enquiry. The stone is displayed fairly high on the wall, and the resulting top-lighting of the photograph made it difficult to be sure what apparent differences between it and the engraving were real. This is in some ways the most remarkable of the three stones, because the sculptor has recognised the problem of fitting a passing rider into a frame, and has designed one with this in mind. The shape of the stone is a rectangle, whose width measures just under twice its height; but a triangular, gable-shaped extension (whose outline is indicated by gently curving rather than straight lines) rises, not from the whole of the top of the rectangle but from only its central portion; that extension in fact makes the overall dimensions of the monument very similar in both directions. The gabled extension conveniently accommodates features which other sculptors laboured to present convincingly within a straightforward rectangle: the rider's head, the horse's head and the raised right hand of the rider, which holds the top of a long spear. The spear passes towards the

bottom right corner of the stone and into the victim, who lies in a zig-zag posture. There is no obvious indication that the rider had a shield, but there is a rectangular object, between the horse's head and its front legs, which almost certainly represents the shield not of the rider but of the victim, who, having been overcome by the horse and rider, no longer holds it in his grasp.<sup>11</sup>

The nature of the carving, which involved the preservation of a great many tool marks, makes precision difficult, but inaccuracies in the engraving may be noted:

(i) the rider's head has a different shape from that on the stone, and the engraving does not show what is either some form of headgear or an elaborate hair-style visible in the carving; (ii) neither the rider's arm nor the top of the spear which it holds reaches right up to the 'gable', in contrast to the pose shown on the stone; (iii) the engraving clearly shows the horse's saddle-cloth, which is barely discernible on the stone; (iv) the engraving accurately records traces of some kind of head harness and rein on the horse; but it unjustifiably bestows mule-like ears on the horse, the sculptor having omitted to indicate that the horse had ears at all, mule-like or otherwise; (v) the hogging of the horse's mane is portrayed more crudely in the engraving than on the stone; (vi) the engraving exhibits considerable confusion and not a little inventiveness relating to the artist's presentation of the victim; while there is no indication of the clearly sculpted rectangular object above the horse's forelegs, to which attention was drawn above, there is, over the victim's chest and at the end of the rider's spear, a shield-like object which does not appear on the stone; moreover, the victim's clear pose, having limbs flung outwards and extended, as presented by the sculptor in the bottom right corner of the stone, has had to be re-modelled in the engraving to permit the victim to clutch the shield-like object previously described.

In both sculpture and engraving, the rider's foot is apparently just above that of the victim, though much of the rider's right leg below the knee has flaked from the stone; to the left of this, and near the horse's off hind foot, is a linear object bent at *c.*45°, which it is tempting to identify as the victim's broken weapon – sword or spear cannot be determined.<sup>12</sup>

There is also, above the horse's rump, what looks a little like a half-opened umbrella. Comparison with the icon mentioned in footnote 9 confirms that this is the end of the rider's cloak, flung over his shoulder. In addition, there exists above the gable, and therefore outside the frame altogether, what appears to be a headless human torso, face-on to the viewer, with the arms spread and drooping along the gable. The engraving shows it emerging from an amorphous background, no longer present. The Colchester stone has here a sphinx, shown frontally, flanked on each side by a lion and a snake. The memorial to T. Flavius Bassus from Cologne (Sch. 17) as displayed there has a sphinx flanked by a pair of lions, though this group actually belongs to another memorial.<sup>13</sup>

There is no indication of an inscription. This is not unique; stone 754 (above) and the second Ribchester stone also lack inscriptions. If, indeed, there was an inscription relating to any of these sculptures, it must have been on a separate stone – a situation for which no parallel can be adduced. This is scarcely surprising, as a stone bearing such an inscription would be difficult to team with the sculpture of the man it commemorated. Schleiermacher has one such example (No. 48, from Worms), but is less than enthusiastic about it.



FIG. 4A.

### Conclusion

What does all this amount to? First, the attribution of the three carvings to Kirkby Thore seems assured.<sup>14</sup> Bruce, in 1875, showed no sign of any doubt, and all three were in the Lonsdale Collection at Lowther Castle. All are in the red sandstone to be expected at a site in the Eden valley. It is true that two of the inscriptions recorded from Kirkby Thore in *RIB* are in buff sandstone, but all such geological formations have occasional beds of differing colours, and the overwhelming majority of carved stone of all periods in the valley is red.

Given that the attribution is accepted, we have at Kirkby Thore a site which had at least three *Reiter* tombstones. In Britain, only Chester has produced more (four), and we are driven to wonder whether or not this is significant. We have seen that *Lap. Sep.* No. 755 was an accomplished piece of sculpture; the same cannot be said of the other two. One wonders whether or not No. 755 was the first, carved by a very well-trained mason. We have no epigraphic or other evidence for the early garrison at Kirkby Thore, but the generally-agreed date for competent cavalry tombstones such as this – the end of the first century – would suggest that the fort had a cavalry garrison from the outset.

That both of the other two stones were inferior productions is beyond doubt, but this does not necessarily imply a much later date. The differing form of the two poorer carvings argues against any theory that they were created with an intention of emulating the earlier stone. A motive of emulation, one would have thought, would have produced

No. 756.



Size, 3 feet 1 inch by 2 feet 10 inches.

FIG. 4B.

stones similar in form but less well carved. We can, of course, say that there was a cavalry garrison at Kirkby Thore at the time of the *Notitia Dignitatum* – the *numerus defensorum*. Earlier evidence of ‘what [the fort’s] strategic position indeed requires – a cavalry garrison’, as Eric Birley put it more than 75 years ago, is to be found in the N. African inscription Birley was discussing.<sup>15</sup> This was published as *CIL* VIII 4800 and was the tombstone of a man who had held a position now, to be read, ‘in Britan(n)ia (!) eq(ues) alaris militans Brauniaco’; it came from Gadiaufala (now Ksar Sbehi) in Algeria. The nature of his precise position – praefectus, praelectus and praeiectus have all been canvassed – does not matter for our purpose. It is the presence of the *ala* which indicates the cavalry garrison. Further, Thomas Machell recorded in 1687 a stone (*RIB* 765) referring to a *dec(urio) alae*. If *Lap. Sep.* No. 755 is late first century in date, then taking into consideration that stone, the other two carvings, the evidence of the *Notitia Dignitatum* and the evidence just rehearsed, there is a good case for suggesting the presence of a cavalry garrison at this site throughout the Roman period.

### Abbreviations

- CIL* *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (cited by volume and item number).  
*CSIR* *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani*, Britain Vol.1 (Oxford) (various authors and dates, cited by fascicule and item number).

- RIB** Collingwood, R.G. and Wright, R.P., *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain, Vol. 1, Inscriptions on Stone* (Oxford, 1965) and Vol. 3 (Oxford, 2009) (cited by item number).
- Sch.** Schleiermacher 1984 (below), cited by catalogue number.

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> In Tullie House Musuem, Carlisle. In addition to the 25 cavalry memorials, we may note similar scenes on two distances slabs from the Antonine Wall: *RIB* 2139 = *CSIR* 68 and *RIB* 2193 = *CSIR* 137
- <sup>2</sup> In the Senhouse Museum, Maryport
- <sup>3</sup> In the British Museum; see below
- <sup>4</sup> Only eight of the 134 tombstones catalogued by Schleiermacher (1984) have horses travelling from right to left, with only 7 uncertain.
- <sup>5</sup> Presumably those with the formula *H(ic) s(itus) e(st)* were erected at or near the place of burial.
- <sup>6</sup> It should be noted that, in a representation of a horse moving from left to right, the near foreleg is that further from the viewer.
- <sup>7</sup> The Roman fort at Kirkby Thore lay on the Stainmore cross-Pennine road running from Brougham, near Penrith, here south-east up the Eden valley and eventually, *via* Brough and Bowes, into the Vale of York. It is 6¼ miles (10 km.) from Brougham and at the south end of the road sometimes called the Maiden Way, which ran north *via* Whitley Castle to Carvoran.
- <sup>8</sup> Both the Ribchester stone and that from Lancaster, referred to above, show cloaks over their riders' shoulders, which tends to suggest that such cloaks are commonplace on these stones. In fact there are only a dozen in Schleiermacher's catalogue. That from Epidaurus (Sch. 97) is the only one with the sort of monumental folds seen on *Lap. Sep.* 755.
- <sup>9</sup> This stone compares fascinatingly with a silver icon of St. George spearing the Emperor Diocletian, from Labichena (Georgia), now in the Georgian State Museum at Tbilisi. This, though dated to the end of the tenth century or the eleventh, and only 31x26 cm. in size, reproduces all the features of the design of the *Reiter* stone under discussion here. (See Mepisashvili and Tsintsadze 1979, 264)
- <sup>10</sup> For consideration of legionary and auxiliary use of the *lorica hamata*, the *lorica segmentata* and the *lorica squamata* see Maxfield 1986, 66-72 and Lepper and Frere 1988, 266-268
- <sup>11</sup> Compare this representation with that of the shield held up by one of the 'barbarians' on the Bridgeness distance slab from the Antonine Wall (*RIB* 2139; pl.XVIII)
- <sup>12</sup> A similar object appears on one of the Chester stones (*RIB* 551; Wright and Richmond 1955, No.99, where it is described as 'a broken spear')
- <sup>13</sup> For an illustration of this memorial, found in the Gereonstrasse, as displayed at Cologne, see la Baume, n.d., illus.2, and for the findspot in the Aachenerstrasse of the sphinx and lions, *ibid.*, p.28
- <sup>14</sup> Schleiermacher 1984, pp.200-202, quoting three Sotheby's sale catalogues, gives 'wahrscheinlich Britannien' (probably Britain) for the find-spot of all three stones; she was apparently unaware of their purchase by the British Museum.
- <sup>15</sup> Birley 1934, p.117

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