



## THE ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS OF DEVA (CHESTER).

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(Read 24th March, 1890.)

THE general interest caused by the remarkable architectural, sculptured and epigraphical finds made during the two last years in the north wall of Chester is a well-founded one. Those finds are not, as so many others, only of local importance; but, by throwing new light on the history of the Roman dominion in Britain, they illustrate to a certain degree the politics of the later Roman empire. This is the point I hope to establish by a careful analysis of the epigraphical part of the finds, not yet given, so far as I can see, with the thoroughness due to the importance of the subject. I shall not enter, for the moment, into the topographical question, whether that part of the north wall, from which so extraordinary a number of stones of Roman workmanship has been extracted, is Roman work *in situ*. The question seems to me, I confess, so far as a judgment may be allowed to one who has not yet studied the question on the spot, nearly decided in favour of its Roman origin. I refer especially to Mr. Charles Roach Smith's, Sir J. A.

Picton's, and Mr. W. L. Brock's latest papers.<sup>1</sup> But, if it is Roman work *in situ*, there arises the other and no less important question, viz., under what circumstances, and by whom, during the Roman dominion, it was erected. For the solution of this question the following epigraphical notes will perhaps prove of some use.

As I am no eye-witness of the recent finds—for it is more than twenty years since I was in Chester—I depend on the information forwarded to me by Mr. George W. Shrubsole, of Chester, who, although an opponent of the Roman origin of the present walls of Chester, must be considered a high authority respecting all things connected with the history of his town, and by my particular friend, Mr. Robert Blair, an eye-witness of undisputed intelligence, and without the slightest local bias. The late Mr. Thompson Watkin's work (*Roman Cheshire*, Liverpool, 1888, 4to, with numerous illustrations), as also the same author's annual epigraphical reports (*Archæological Journal*, vol. xlv., 1887, p. 117 f., and vol. xlv., 1888, p. 167 f.); Mr. Shrubsole's catalogue of the Grosvenor Museum, which repeats in very useful conciseness the epigraphical illustrations of the before-named work (*An Illustrated Catalogue of the Roman Altars and Inscribed Stones in the Grosvenor Museum, &c.*, Chester, 1888, 8vo); Mr. Frank Williams's nicely illustrated "Synopsis" (*Synopsis of the Roman Inscriptions of Chester, &c.*, Chester, 1886, 8vo); and last, but not least, the recently published and highly instructive work of Mr. J. P. Earwaker (*The Recent Discoveries of Roman Remains found in repairing the North Wall of the City of Chester, &c.*, Manchester, 1888, 8vo, with numerous illustrations) have been, of course, duly consulted.

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<sup>1</sup> *Journal of the Archæological Association*, vol. xlv., 1888, p. 39 f., p. 129 f., p. 135 f.

In the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. vii., published in 1873, I was able, from manuscript and printed sources, together with the personal inspection of the few then existent monuments (there was then no Museum at Chester), to put together only about a dozen epigraphical monuments found in Chester. Subsequent casual discoveries of single monuments and the contents of the north wall have added to this modest stock about fifty more epigraphical monuments, including complete specimens and fragments of various size and importance, besides those manifold remnants of Roman edifices, tombs, &c., alluded to before. I earnestly hope, in common with all the numerous students interested in the history of the Roman period of Britain, that the Chester discoveries have not yet come to an end, but that other parts of the north wall will yield many more monuments of the same class as those already discovered there. I am not now prepared to give here a full supplement to my former epigraphical collection, such as I am planning for the supplementary volume of the *Corpus*, which I hope to begin to print in due time. But I propose to consider the inscriptions, both those known before and those newly discovered, under the same general headings as they are arranged in the *Corpus*; because that arrangement has proved to be at once the most comprehensive and the most instructive.

I begin, therefore, with the *inscriptiones sacræ*, the dedications to gods and goddesses, on altars, &c.

The most conspicuous and important monument of this class is the large altar, preserved since 1836 in the British Museum (C.I.L. vii. 164; Watkin's *Cheshire*, p. 173; Williams's *Synopsis*, p. 19). The name of the imperial legate, apparently the legate in command of the Twentieth Legion, whose household offered this pedestal of a triple statue to the *Fortuna redux*, *Æsculapius* and *Salus* (that

is, *Hygiea*, or the divinity of his health), most likely after a long journey and some bad health eventfully overcome, is, from the peculiar narrow and vanishing character of the letters, not fully made out. He was, as men of high birth used to be in the epoch to which the monument belongs, a polyonym, combining in his the names of some other illustrious families; *Titus Cætronius* (as I suppose, or *Pomponius*, as others read it) *Titi filius Galeria Mamilianus Rufus Antistianus Funisulanus Vettonianus*. He has not yet been identified; but his epoch is nearly fixed by the character of the nomenclature as well as by palæographic reasons. It cannot be earlier than the beginning or middle nor later than the end of the second century. By no means can he be attributed to the time of Diocletian, as one of Mr. Ch. Roach Smith's friends once proposed. I am inclined to consider him as a contemporary of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius at the latest.

Of about the same epoch is the dated altar (it is from the year 154 of our era), erected to *Jupiter optimus maximus Tanarus* (which is a local name occurring only in this single instance, and, therefore, not easy to explain) by one of the subaltern officers, a *princeps* of the Twentieth Legion, a native of a town, whose name is also uncertain.<sup>1</sup> The stone exists in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, but its face is so entirely worn out that it is utterly unreadable, and we have to depend from the old copies (C.I.L. vii. 168; Watkin, p. 167; Williams's *Synopsis*, p. 13).

Again, of about the same epoch, is the well-known

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<sup>1</sup> The old copies read *Gunia* or *Guntea*; but this is by many reasons an impossible reading. Lately *Clunia*, the well-known Spanish town, has been proposed, to which the tribe *Papiria* agrees; but this is also only a guess.



Greek dedication to the mighty saviours (perhaps also *Æsculapius* and *Hygiea*), erected by the physician Hermogenes, preserved in the Chester Museum (C.I.L. vii., p. 48; Watkin, p. 179; Shrubsole, p. 13; Williams, p. 25). Though it cannot be proved that he was that same physician Hermogenes, who, as Cassius Dio relates (lxix. 22), assisted the emperor Hadrian in his last illness—which was ingeniously suggested by the late Sir J. Y. Simpson,—because there were many Greek physicians of the same name; still the character of the lettering belongs most clearly to the middle of the second century, and not to a later epoch, as others have stated. It is uncertain, but by no means impossible, that this physician had some official relation to the legion stationed at Chester.

There is in the Chester Museum another incomplete altar, dedicated to *Jupiter optimus maximus*, with the curious emblems of a goose (q. if a swan?) and a serpent, found in 1884 (Shrubsole, p. 23; Williams, p. 38). This, and that of Minerva, also in the Museum (C.I.L. vii. 169; Watkin, p. 186; Shrubsole, p. 19; Williams, p. 30), may occur everywhere, though they may be called characteristic, in a certain way, of the worship of a Roman legionary camp. The last of the two is curious as being offered by a *mag(ister)*; which indicates that there existed at Chester, as at Rome, a society, perhaps of the *fabri* of the legion, under the protection of that divinity, with its usual officers, the *magistri*. More characteristic for the military settlement is the incomplete altar of *Mars Conservator*, found in 1877 (Watkin, p. 184; Shrubsole, p. 15; Williams, p. 36). All these altars may, by style and palæography, safely be attributed to about the second century; but can also be a little earlier.

A very characteristic group is formed by the three dedications to different *Genii*, viz., the *Genius loci*, for the health

of the emperors, by a tribune of the legion (C.I.L. vii. 167; Watkin, p. 170; Shrubsole, pp. 24 and 32; Williams, p. 15); the genius of his *centuria* of the legion, by an *optio* of the same (C.I.L. vii. 166; Watkin, p. 180; Shrubsole, p. 17; Williams, p. 28); and the very small one generally considered as belonging to the *Genius Averni* (C.I.L. vii. 165; Watkin, p. 177; Shrubsole, p. 30; Williams p. 24); but, in all probability, also that of a *centuria* of the legion.<sup>1</sup> These essentially military dedications belong all, as the originals preserved in the Chester Museum will easily show, to the second century. The latest of them by the character of its lettering, that named in the first place, on which with the statue of the Genius with the *cornucopiae* and the faint remains of a text belonging to it, are figured, may, as it mentions the *domini nostri invictissimi Augusti*, be attributed to Severus and Caracalla; but may be perhaps ascribed also to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus; which makes no great difference in its epoch. It was found in 1693 in a cellar in Foregate Street and not in the walls.

Of the same character is the small altar of the *Nymphae et Fontes* of the Twentieth Legion, found in a field at Great Boughton, near Chester, and preserved in the grounds of Eaton Hall (C.I.L. vii. 171; Watkin, p. 176). It may have belonged to the *prata legionis*, where the cattle for its use was kept. The inscription, repeated on both sides of the

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<sup>1</sup> The squeeze and a facsimile drawing of the second line, for which I am indebted to Mr. Shrubsole, show clearly that AVRÑ is not on the stone, but ʎ AVRÑ. And though Mr. Shrubsole qualifies the mark before the Λ as recent and accidental, I nevertheless incline strongly to take it for the usual centurial mark, the inverted C and to read *c(enturia) Aurini*. Aurinus is certainly not a common name; but Aurina seems to occur C.I.L. x. 51 and v. 2352. The *Genius Averni* is a thing quite unheard of, and by no means to be accepted on such weak an authority as this text, in which, in fact, it is not to be found.

massive altar, is certainly not younger than all those mentioned before.

There remain of this class of inscriptions two mutilated ones, dedicated to the *Numina Aug(usti) or Augustorum*. One of them is long lost (Horsley, p. 316; C.I.L. vii. 170; Watkin, p. 187; Williams, p. 58). It mentions some inferior military charges, an *act(arius)* and perhaps a *cor(nicularius)*; as some lines of it seem to be cancelled on purpose, it can be easily combined with the reign of Severus and Caracalla.<sup>1</sup> The other fragment existing in the museum looks like the rest of an epistyle of an *aedicula*; it contains only the words *Numinib(us) Aug(ustorum) et . . .* in elegant characters of the second century (Watkin, p. 190; Shrubsole, p. 26; Williams, p. 59); and may be attributed safely, as Mr. Watkin suggested, to the joint emperors of that epoch, viz., Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus or Severus and Caracalla.

All dedications, therefore, hitherto found in Chester are intimately connected with the military character of the place, and none of them later than the end of the second century.

In military places like this and the similar ones in Britain and elsewhere, one must not expect to find many specimens of the second class of epigraphical monuments, viz., inscriptions on public buildings of a more secular character. Certainly there existed in Deva, besides the *prætorium*, some other official edifices, which seldom were adorned with dedicatory inscriptions, as belonging to the necessary requisites of all such establishments. Of a large bath, as usual in every garrison, extensive remains have been

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<sup>1</sup> Horsley's reading *almæ Cæ[rræ]* is not proved by his proper copy, which is made with his usual care, and in itself object to grave difficulties. A certain correction and explanation of the words in question has not yet been found.

found<sup>1</sup>; of such an edifice the inscription on a tessellated pavement, of which only a cast exists in the Museum (C.I.L. vii. 174; Watkin, p. 193; Williams, p. 64) may have formed part. Other buildings may have been destined for military exercises, such as mentioned in other military places, as an *armamentarium*, a *basilica exercitatoria*, a *ballistarium*, and the like. But only some fragments of large monumental inscriptions, which may have belonged to that sort of edifices, have been found in Chester. One of them was found in 1863 in Bridge Street, and first edited by Dr. T. N. Brushfield in the *Journal of the Chester Archæological Society*, vol. iii., 1864, p. 1 (and thence by Mr. W. Thompson Watkin in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxi., 1874, p. 352), and is now preserved in the Museum (Shrubsole, p. 29; Williams, p. 60). It is of Purbeck marble, and the large letters are beautifully cut. The first line contains only the inferior parts of the three letters OGI; not OCT or OCA (the G is distinct, and the last foot rather that of an I than of an A). In the second line DOM after a dot is clear. The letters . . . *ogi* . . . are not often to be found combined; one might think of a [*horol*] *ogi*[*um*] dedicated by one *Dom[itius]*. Two other fragments with large, beautiful letters were found in 1884 at the Kaleyards postern (Williams, p. 63); they are too mutilated to give any sense. It may be borne in mind that none of these fragments came out of the north wall or other parts of the walls.

Of a different kind is the fragment found in 1888 in the north wall, which I repeat from the *Roman Remains* (p. 126), after a squeeze. It is a piece of rather rude workmanship, cut out or belonging to a range of similar stones once composing a more extensive text. The letters, from nine to seven centimetres in length, are of what one may call

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<sup>1</sup> See Mr. Watkin's *Roman Cheshire*, p. 133.

an archaic character, from the complete want of elegance; the M is of that peculiar broadness, which is an unmistakable proof of the first century. It seems as if they had been filled in with bronze. They read easily:—

M·ET·I  
ACRA  
FA

A doubtless expansion is, of course, impossible;<sup>1</sup> but I think there is no doubt that the text must have run nearly in this way:—

*aede]m et p[orticum?]*  
*. . . s]acra[m illi deo*  
*ille] fa [ciendum curavit*

I consider it as belonging to the epoch of the very foundation of the place, in Nero's reign, and mentioning one of the first sacred and public buildings of it; of course, *aedes et porticus* are only a guess, for which other words may be substituted. The modest old edifice will have given way to a later and larger one; so its stones could be made use of in the north wall.

To a certain degree the want of inscriptions relative to public buildings in military establishments is compensated by those strictly in connection with the military work. All military stations in Britain, and so the two large frontier walls in the north, have furnished the so-called centurial stones, which form a nearly exclusive feature of Romano-British epigraphy. It is well remembered by British archæologists that they have been submitted to some strange interpretations of late. But leaving aside those rather fantastical endeavours, there can be no doubt that they are the official records of the work done by the single military members, legions, cohorts, centuries. We

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<sup>1</sup> The dots in line one, omitted by the editor, seemed to me clear in the squeeze.

have some six examples of them in Chester; none of them found *in situ*, as some of those of Hadrian's wall in the north, but neither taken out of the north wall of Chester. Of most of them the reading is plain; it is no use to enter into the discussion of the last letters of one of them (C.I.L. vii. 172; Watkin, p. 121; Shrubsole, p. 28; Williams, p. 52), as a satisfactory expansion cannot be given. Their lettering, partly very rude, as usual in those military records, and the names of centurions they contain, almost certainly belong still to the first century.

But, by the way, I may mention a small epigraphical monument not belonging to the class just mentioned, though in appearance somewhat similar. It is the small leaden tablet, with a rudely perforated handle at the back, now in Mr. F. Potts's possession (C.I.L. vii. 1268; Williams, p. 65). It bears in two rows of letters in relief, turned to the left, and, therefore, obviously destined for impression, this inscription:—

▷ CL AVG  
VIG

That the first line signifies  $\text{c}$ (*centuria*) *Cl(audii) Aug(ustalis)*—or some similar *cognomen*—nobody will contradict. Mr. Watkin was particularly unfortunate in claiming for the second line the interpretation of *vig(ilum)*, and to conclude hence that a body of firemen, like in Rome and Lyons, existed in Chester. Obviously there is not the slightest probability for such a supposition, nor can the word *vigiles* easily be combined with the *centuria* of Claudius Augustalis. What *vig* . . . signifies I confess I am ignorant, though the words *viginti* or *vigesima* offer themselves for consideration. Nor is it possible to state what use might have been made of the leaden stamp. But, whatever its use was, it shows that the military establishments in Chester must have given opportunities for an

extensive traffic, for which the wooden piers of the river wharf with their iron shoes, lately described by Mr. Shrubsole,<sup>1</sup> give sufficient evidence.

By far the most numerous class of Roman inscriptions, at every place and in every epoch, were, as we all know, the sepulchral ones. Nevertheless, from Chester the *Corpus inscriptionum* could give no more than a single example (*n.* 175) of a characteristic form, on which I shall have to present some observations further on. It is that of a lady; not a single military tombstone had been found up to that time. The recent discoveries have furnished some *twenty-six* military tombstones, some of them of high interest. I shall not enumerate them in the alphabetic order of the names of the deceased, according the principle adopted in the *Corpus*, and almost necessary for such a collection. I will try to arrange them in a historical order, forming some different groups of them according to their approximative age.

The formula *dis Manibus*, not heard of in old republican Rome, begins to be in use from Sulla's time, and becomes more frequent from the Augustan age downwards. Its absence is, if other evidences concur, a true sign of relative antiquity. According to this observation, a first group of soldiers' tombstones can be formed.

A plain square slab, found in the north wall in 1888, bears the following inscription in characters well worthy of the Claudian or Neronian epoch (*Roman Remains*, p. 107, Plate VII.):—

Q·LONGIN<sup>†</sup>V<sup>†</sup>S  
 POMENT<sup>†</sup>NA  
 LAETVS·LVCO  
 STP·XV  
 5 > CORNEL<sup>†</sup>·SEVER<sup>†</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In a paper on the traffic between Deva and the coast of North Wales in Roman times, printed in the *Journal of the Chester Archaeol. Soc.*, vol. i.

*Q(uintus) Longinius Pomentina Lætus, Luco, stip(endiorum) XV, (centuria) D(ecimi) Corneli Severi.* *Longinus* is a very scarce name of a *gens* (though common as *cognomen*), but used by divers soldiers in the legions of the east in the Augustan age. So we could accept it; but Mr. Shrubsole observed, that the ending was rather in *ius*, N and I being combined. *Longinius* is a more common form. *Lætus* is this man's *cognomen*. The name of the tribe written in full, the word *miles* and name of the legion, also that of an heir or dedicant, wanting; the number of *stipendia* alone, not that of the years of life, indicated, and the *centuria* at the end, with the centurion's two names—all these are certain signs of the first half or middle of the first century. That he was a legionary soldier is shown by the indication of the tribe, which implies Roman citizenship; citizens only served in the legion. I consider this man a soldier of Ostorius's army, who fell in that legate's expedition against the Silures. What place of the name of *Lucus*, of which there were not a few, was his home is difficult to say. The tribe Pomentina indicates an Italian town; but the Italian *Lucus* seems to have been ascribed to the tribe Sergia, not to the Pomentina or Pomptina. But as some individuals of the same tribe have been found on several inscriptions from the north of Spain, I think it probable that the Spanish *Lucus Augusti*, now Lugo, is meant. At any rate, this is evidently the oldest tombstone found hitherto in Chester, and one of the oldest in Britain generally.

Next in age, so far as I can judge, come some fragments, as that of the sepulchral slab of one *Lucius Annius Lucifilius Tro(mentina) Marcellus* (the rest is wanting), in which the *dis Manibus* is wanting (*Roman Remains*, p. 8 and 12), and perhaps two more (*Roman Remains*, p. 22, No. 14, and 123), too small to be repeated here.



Not much inferior in age, though the *D(is) M(anibus)* is added, are the following, which form a second group of soldiers' tombstones.

Found in the north wall, 1887; a plain square slab with large letters of the first century, of m. 0'1 to 0'07 height (*Roman Remains*, p. 6 and 21):—

D     M  
M·CLVVI·M f.  
AN·VAENTIVS  
FORO·IVLI

*D(is) M(anibus) . M(arcus) Cluvi(us) M(arci) [fil(ius)] Ani(ensi) Valentius, Foro Iuli . . .* This man was a native of *Forum Iulii* in the Gallia Narbonensis, the modern *Fréjus*, which was also Agricola's native town. It belonged to the tribe *Aniensis*; the Italian *Forum Iulii* was of the *Scaptia*. The missing part of the epitaph may have contained the usual indications: *miles legionis XX. V. v., stipendiorum tot, annorum tot, heres fecit*, or the like. Two things are remarkable: first, the abbreviation *Cluvi*, which is not the genitive, but the nominative, as the cognomen *Valentius* proves; it is an abbreviation of a somewhat archaic character. And secondly, the cognomen *Valentius*, which is at this epoch a very unusual one. I guess the man had none at all originally, and claimed himself simply *Marcus Cluvius*; but in order to fill up the scheme of the three names common to Roman citizens he gave himself, or was distinguished by his comrades with, that name, alluding to his personal valour. The peculiar nomenclature of Roman legionaries offers some examples of the kind. His services may have fallen under the reigns of Nero and Vespasian.

Also not complete, but essentially of the same kind and epoch, is the following plain sepulchral slab, with deep cut letters of a somewhat unequal and semi-rustic character,

varying in height from m. 0'08 to 0'07, and with large triangular dots (*Roman Remains*, p. 8 and 14):—

	D	M
	M▷	SEXTIVS▷ <i>m'f</i>
	CLAV▷	BELLICUS
	C <sup>r</sup> A▷	CELEIA▷A
5	<i>n n</i>	ORVM▷X <sup>v</sup>
	<i>sti</i>	P <small>EN</small> D <small>IO</small> RUM . . .
		. . . . .

*D(is) M(anibus) . M(arcus) Sextius [Marci filius] Clau-  
 (dia) Bellic[us], Cla(udia) Celeia, a[nn]orum XX[X . . .  
 sti]pend[ia] iorum [X . . .] . . .* The M's are particularly broad, and the L's show the rustic or cursive form, first observed in monumental inscriptions of about Cæsar's time in Gaul and Spain, in Claudius's time also in Rome (see the author's *Exempla scripturæ epigraphicæ*, p. lxi). Celeia in Noricum, this man's home, the modern Cilly, was surnamed Claudia; and this second name does, as often in military inscriptions, the duty of a tribe (to which, in fact, the man was not ascribed), and is therefore placed between the name and the *cognomen*, but repeated erroneously in another form of shortening with the name of the town itself. This is the only possible explanation of the repeated Claudia which can be given. Then follow the usual indications of the years of life and service.

The Roman legionary soldier, as a citizen and full-armed man, like the Greek *ὄπλιτης*, used to have a servant or two with him, slaves, or freedmen. These, if he had no wife or relation or near acquaintance in the ranks, used to be his heirs, upon whom fell the care of providing a decent tomb, by the deceased's will or by their own love and reverence. Numerous instances of that use could be given from the military tombstones of Britain and other provinces of the Roman empire. Tombstones, therefore, carefully carved

and ornamented, as they prove a certain steadiness of settlement and a somewhat advanced prosperity of a place, may be considered as forming in the series of those epigraphical monuments a third group, belonging approximately to the last third of the first century and the beginning of the second, from the reign of Domitian to that of Trajan.

As a good specimen of this group we have the following monument, found in the north wall in 1888. Of the statue of the man, placed as usual in a flat niche, there remain only the feet. On the inferior part of the *cippus*, the inscription, in bold characters (from m. 0'065 to 0'045 in height) of the declining first century (not so beautiful as those of the Longinius inscription, placed on the same Plate VII. in the *Roman Remains*, p. 100), runs thus :—

D▷M▷P▷RVSTO  
 FAB▷CRESCEN▷BRX  
 MIL▷LEG▷XX▷V▷V  
 AN▷XXX▷STP▷X  
 GROMA▷HERES  
 FAC▷CVF

*D(is) M(anibus), P(ublio) Rustio | Fabia Crescen(ti) Brix(ia), mil(iti) leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) v(icticis) an(norum) XXX stip(endiorum) X. Groma heres fac(iendum) cur(avit).*

Under the first row of letters the stonecutter, not an able man, traced a line in the surface of the stone to guide him, and disposed carefully the space for the single letters, making use, for the purpose, of combined letters. But the D. M. placed in the same line with the rest of the text, the unusual shortening of the *cognomen*, Crescens, whilst the name of the tribe, usually shortened, is given in full, have a provincial flavour. Brixia, the modern beautiful town of Brescia, from whence this young Italian soldier followed in his twentieth year the eagle of the legion, to die ten years

later, perhaps killed by a Briton, belonged to the tribe Fabia. Out of the warlike mountaineers of Brixia and its environs many legionary soldiers came; a standard bearer of the Twentieth Legion, who was decorated twice by the Emperor Tiberius, as his epitaph preserved at Brescia tells us (C.I.L. v. n. 4365), can have won those prizes of valour only in Britain. The heir of our Rustius Crescens, apparently his slave or freedman, bore the curious Greco-Latin name of *Groma*, which is probably the rod for measuring; he got it perhaps for his skill in pitching his master's tent.

A more complete specimen of the same kind is the tombstone, found in the north wall in 1887, and figured on Plate I. of the *Roman Remains* (p. 7 and 15). It shows, in rude workmanship, the deceased centurion's portrait in full size, standing by the side of that of his wife. He wears not the full armour of service, but a kind of undress costume, as is often used on the soldiers' monuments, but leaning his right hand on the official emblem of his dignity, the *vitis* or vinestick; his left seems to hold a script roll, also a usual emblem. His wife has a fan in her right, while with her left she holds up her dress quite in the present style. The inscription, in small but sharp and deep-cut letters (m. 0.03 high) of the first century, is plain:—

D·                    M·  
M·AVR·NEPOS·▷LEG·  
XX·V·V·CONIVX·  
PIENTISSIMA·F·C·  
VIX·ANNIS·L

*D(is) M(anibus) M(arcus)<sup>1</sup> Aur(elius) Nepos* )(centurio)

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<sup>1</sup> After the M is a large, long-tailed dot, which has been mistaken for the M' with five strokes, signifying *Manius*, or, which is quite impossible, for a shortening of *Mar(cus)*. It is simply M and a dot. The stone-cutter had first given NEOS only, by a mistake, and afterwards adjoined the P between E and O, which hardly entered into the small space.

*leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) v(ictricis); coniux pientissima f(aciendum) c(uravit); vix(it) annis L.* On the side, beneath the mason's instruments, hammer and axe, is the formula known especially from Gaulish inscriptions, from which country the man may have brought it over, SVB|ASCI|A D, *sub ascia d(edicatum)*, that is: fresh from the axe, and not used before. The concise shortness of the whole text, and the remarkable modesty of the wife, not to tell even her name in it, are almost certain proofs of the first century style.

Another very common type of ornamented sepulchral monuments are those which, after a well-known Greek model, represent the deceased reclining on a couch, taking his meal, which is placed before him on a little tripod table, and often holding a drinking cup in his right, assisted by his wife or servants. A very thorough discussion has taken place of late, between archæologists, about the true sense of these representations, by some of them supposed to be allegorical or votive. I agree with those who take them for simple representations of daily life, in a somewhat idealised shape. A large specimen of this class, unfortunately broken in the middle, is furnished by the monument of Aurelius Lucius, the horseman, found in the north wall in 1888 (*Roman Remains*, p. 109). He is figured in the above-mentioned attitude, a servant before him; a helmet and a short dagger, suspended in the background, are the only visible tests of his military character. At the feet of the servant there is besides a perhaps ornamental human head or mask, which I cannot explain satisfactorily. The lettering of the inscription below is not elegant, the letters (m. 0.05 high) being particularly inclined to the right, but they cannot be younger than the latter part of the first century, as shown by the forms of the E and F, and the large triangular dots. It is simply:—

AVRELI·LVCI  
 EQVITIS  
 H·F·C

*Aureli(i) Luci(i) equitis; h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit).*  
 The extreme shortness of the epitaph, the silence about what sort of an *eques* the man was, whether a legionary one or one of an auxiliary *ala*, and the particular form of the name (I am not sure if he named himself *Lucius Aurelius* and postponed the *praenomen*, or *Aurelius Lucius*, using *Lucius* as a singular *cognomen*), agree with the comparatively ancient epoch, to which it may be assigned.

This type of the deceased reclining on a couch seems to have been a favourite one at Chester. We have it besides on the monument of *Furius Maximus*, a soldier of the Twentieth Legion (*Roman Remains*, p. 10 and 18, Plate IV.), on that of a lady, *Cesonia Severa*, found in 1861 (Shrubsole, p. 9, Williams, p. 46), on that of one *Flavius Callimorphus* and the little *Flavius Serapion*, found in 1874 (Shrubsole, p. 7, Williams, p. 47), and in three other examples, whose inscriptions, with the exception, in part, of the usual D. M. only, are lost (*Roman Remains*, p. 9 and 20, Plate III. and IV.; Williams, p. 45). All these monuments can be safely ascribed to the first half or middle of the second century. This is proved in some instances by the names, as in the two *Flavii*, in all of them by the similarity of style and rude workmanship.

But of the other type also, that with standing figures in relief, a good many tombstones must have existed at Chester. There was one of a standard bearer (*Roman Remains*, p. 127, Plate XIII.), fairly well preserved, but missing the lower part with the corresponding inscription. Of some other bas-reliefs of the same sort, fragmentary, I saw sketches from Mr. Blair's hand. Precisely of the same kind is the far-famed so-called "ecclesiastical stone," most

certainly only the sepulchral monument of two females, and, so far as I can judge of the workmanship by a photograph which lies before me (thanks to Mr. Shrubsole), not later than the beginning or middle of the second century. It is, with all its rudeness, superior to the tombstone of Aurelius Nepos, the centurion, and his wife.

Not distinguished by sculptured ornaments, but for some other reasons to be considered as of about the same epoch with the monuments just described, is a slab also found in the north wall in 1888, with the following somewhat puzzling inscription (*Roman Remains*, p. 112, Plate X.) in large letters (height, on the first row, m. 0·12):—

DIS M  
L·ECIMIVS  
BELLICIANUS  
VITALIS·VETR  
5 LEG·XX·V·V  
HIC·SEPL

*Dis M(anibus) . L(ucius) Ecimius Bellicianus Vitalis, vet(er)er(anus) leg(ionis) XX V(alerix) v(ictricis), hic sep(u)l(tus).* As I observed before, the names of Roman legionaries are, in the first century, often only externally so to say Romanised, but really barbarous or semi-barbarous. *Ecimius* is no Roman name; the third line of the inscription ought to have contained the tribe and perhaps the home of the man, but gives instead a *cognomen* *Bellicianus* (the A and N joined); the second surname *Vitalis* is a common one. He was a veteran of the Twentieth Legion, and must have served therefore at least twenty-five years, and may have died under Domitian. The shortenings of the formulæ *Dis m.*, *vetr.*, and *hic sepl.* are not the usual ones, and have an archaic turn.

Not to a veteran, but to a soldier disbanded for some reason or other, perhaps for his health, belongs a fragment,

found in the north wall in 1888 (*Roman Remains*, p. 122), whose palæographic character (the letters are well cut and about m. 0·06 to 0·05 high) assigns it to about the same epoch:—

MISSICI  
VA·B TR  
XX·III·VIXIT  
7

[*Dis Manibus illius*] . . . *missici* . . . *va* (rest of the name of his native place or of the military corps, in which he served) *b(eneficiarii) tr(ibunus)*; [*militavit annis*] *XXIII.*, *vixit* [*annis* . . . ] *V*. He had served probably in the Twentieth Legion, for the last time not in the ranks, but for some special service ordered by the tribune, the commander of the legion (that is the sense of the charge of *beneficiarius tribuni*), and was disbanded, by a *missio honesta*, after only twenty-three years of service.

Along with each legion, as is universally known, marched and garrisoned always a certain number of auxiliary troops on foot and horseback. One single fragment of a tombstone belonging to a soldier of that class has hitherto come out of the north wall, in 1888, bearing an inscription of no elegant character, but still, if I am not wrong, of the epoch we treat of (*Roman Remains*, p. 116):—

IN·N·XXVI  
VRMA·VIII·X  
FRATER·FEC

*Di Manibus illius* . . . . . ; *militavit ann(is) XXVI*, *turma VIII (et) X*; *frater fec(it)*. In the legion there were only four *turmæ* of horsemen, of thirty horse each; this man, who served in an eighth and a tenth *turma*, therefore necessarily must have belonged to an auxiliary *ala* of horsemen, whose name certainly was specified once in the missing part of the text. It was perhaps one of the



numerous cavalry of the Batavians, renowned for their skill in swimming, as mentioned in Tacitus' *Agricola*. The deceased man's brother and natural heir made him the monument, which may have borne in its upper part a bas-relief of the horseman riding over his prostrated friend; a type not unfrequent in the neighbouring places of Roman garrisons, as for instance in Cirencester.

Of the auxiliary infantry no specimen has been found hitherto in Chester itself. But from the Roman station at Caer Gai, near Bala, went to the Chester Museum a slab, found there in 1885, which Mr. Shrubsole, from the character of the stone, considers that it came originally from Chester. Its inscription is this:—

IVLIVS·GAVERONIS·F  
FE·MIL·CHO·I·NER

*Julius Gaveronis f(ilius) Fe(lix),<sup>1</sup> mil(es) ch(ortis) I Ner(viorum)*. From the six cohorts of the warlike Celtic or German tribe of the Nervii—world-wide known by that day on which he (Cæsar) overcame the Nervii—this is, besides Trajan's diploma of the year 105, which mentions it, the first and oldest inscription belonging to the first. We expected that it would have served in the first century in the south of the island; the others appear, in a somewhat later epoch, between the garrisons of the north.

To fix the epoch of epigraphic monuments more exactly than for a century, or half a century, by palæographic materials, is a task whose difficulty is perhaps known only to those who have made a special study of epigraphic palæography. It is with all the reserve due to the subject,

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<sup>1</sup> The man, though a *peregrinus*, will have had a Roman *cognomen*, like *Felix*, or a barbarous, beginning with *Fe* . . . ; there is no other expansion of the letters possible. It is not probable, at least, that it contains an abbreviated indication of his birthplace. *Fectio*, now Vechten in Holland, was a Batavian town.

therefore, that I venture to form a fourth group of military monuments, found in Deva, out of the following inscriptions.

If one might judge from the external appearance and the neglected forms of the letters, the next monument in question could hardly claim a place between those of the end of the first or the beginning of the second century. But it is a fragment only, and may have been ornamented, in its upper now missing part, by a bas-relief. What remains is the inferior part of a slab, found in the north wall in 1887, containing only the end of a sepulchral inscription (*Roman Remains*, p. 6 and 17):—

.....  
 PVB·Ϸ LEG·V·MACED·ET·  
 VIII·AVG·ET·II·AVG·ET XX VV  
 VIXIT·ANNIS LXI·ARISTIO  
 LIB·H·F·C

. . . *Pub.*, Ϸ(*centurio*) *leg(ionis) V Maced(onicæ) et VIII Aug(ustæ) et II Aug(ustæ) et XX V(alericæ) v(ictricis)*; *vixit annis LXI*; *Aristio lib(ertus) h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*. I cannot give a certain expansion and interpretation of the first word; it may be the abbreviation of the tribe *Publilia*. What Mr. Watkin proposed, *curatori operum publicorum*, is too high a charge for a simple ex-centurion, and not heard of in provincial and military towns like Chester. The rest of the text is clear. Two of the legions in which this man served as a centurion, the two last named, the second and the twentieth, belonged to Claudius' army, which he sent to conquer Britain, and which remained in the island. The eighth *Augusta*, garrisoned at Mentz, gave a *vexillatio*, a detachment of a thousand men, to the same expedition, and so did probably the fourth *Macedonica*, also garrisoned at Mentz. But that the fifth *Macedonica*, from its quarters in lower Germany, at Xanten, ever went to Britain is quite unknown. This man

might have served first in it in Germany, and then, transferred to the eighth Augusta, have come to Britain. All this considered, together with his sixty-one years of life, it is impossible to put this monument later than the end of the first century, that is the reign of Domitian, or almost the beginning of Trajan's.

A little later perhaps, but falling still within the first half of the second century, seems to me the following, not ornamented, monument, which was found in the north wall in 1887. The letters, m. 0·045 high, are not bad, but not to be compared to the specimens of the former groups; the M is not broad, but has perpendicular legs (*Roman Remains*, p. 9 and 18). The text is this:—

	D	M
	M·AVRELIVS·ALEXAND <sup>er</sup>	
	PRAE <sup>fec</sup> ·CAST·LEG·XX <i>v. v.</i>	
	NAT·	RV ·CO
5	X·AN·LXXII·CC	
	ICES·H·S <i>c</i>	

*D(is) M(anibus) . M(arcus) Aurelius Alexand[er], præ-[fec(tus)] cast(rorum) leg(ionis) XX [V(aleria) v(ictricis)], . . . nat(ione) . . . , [vi]x(it) an(nos) LXXII, Co[rnelius] [Polyn]ices h(eres) s[ecundus? f(ecit)].* There are, unfortunately, some places on the surface of the stone so much damaged by some violent blows of a sharp instrument, that the reading remains incomplete. The supplements at the end of the first two lines are certain; certain also that of the charge of *præfectus*. It is uncertain whether there have been some more letters, and which, at the beginning of line four. The native town or land of the deceased is also uncertain. Mr. Ch. Roach Smith proposed RVCCONIO, from *Rucconium*, a place in Dacia, which scarcely can have been known to the Romans at that epoch, and still less the home of a soldier of rank; Mr. Watkin ETRVSCVS, which

in itself is not sufficient, when not followed by the name of a town in Etruria; M. Robert Mowat SYRVS COMMAGENVS, which in itself is not impossible, but does not appear on the squeeze I have before me to be the right thing.<sup>1</sup> The true reading has not yet been found. At the end one would expect as dedicants some military charges, such as the *cornicularii*, &c. But the existent letters, as suggested by so competent an eye-witness as Mr. Shrubsole, will not yield to such an expansion; the name of an heir, who erected the monument, can only be found in them, so far as I see. The well-known charge of the *præfectus castrorum* gives a hint about the epoch of the monument. By numerous epigraphical documents it has been established beyond doubt, that in the first century those officers, of not senatorial rank, but chosen out of the eldest centurions, held their charges without serving in a single legion. From the reign of Domitian, that is from the end of the first century, they entered into close relation to a single legion, as is here the case. This lasted the whole second century; from the end of it, or from Severus's reign, they are styled *præfecti legionis*. As this man died at the great age of seventy-two, we may put him with some probability nearer to the middle than to the beginning of the second century.

In this epoch, ornamental additions to the tombstones are to be found as well as in the former groups, and may have undergone, with the increasing prosperity of life even an increase. In the north wall was found in 1888 the monument of another *signifer*, the bas-relief roughly executed and much injured; still the hook, particular to the

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<sup>1</sup> But see M. Mowat's paper in this volume, pp. 114-119, in which a new and very probable reading is given, and the person to whom the tombstone was erected is identified in a very interesting manner.—ED.

inferior part of the shaft of the ensign, is to be recognised on it. Only the beginning of the inscription is preserved (*Roman Remains*, p. 119):—

D            M  
at TIVS DIOGENE s  
SIGNIFER

*D(is) M(anibus) . [At]tius Diogene[s] . . . signifer [leg. XX V. v. ?] . . .* I have supplied the name *Attius* only as an example; in the second line the word *signifer*, so well agreeing to the bas-relief above, seems to me, from the parts of letters still existing, easily to be read. The form of the M, the Greek cognomen of the man, and the general aspect of the letters, are of the middle of the second century.

There is another specimen of the type of the man with wife reclining on couch, belonging to the same epoch. It was found in the north wall in 1888; besides the man, his wife is to be seen. The letters (m. 0.04 high) are faint and not well cut (*Roman Remains*, p. 103, Plate VIII.); the inscription is this:—

D            M  
CECILIVS·DONATVS B  
ESSVS NA  
TIONE·MILI  
5 TAVIT·ANN  
OS XXVI·VIX  
IT ANNOS XXXX

*D(is) M(anibus) . Cecilius Donatus, Bessus natione, militavit annos XXVI, vixit annos XXXX . . .* The want of the prænomen, *Cecilius*, a rustic form for *Cæcilius*, are signs of a later epoch; the name of the legion omitted (if it was not given in the missing part of the text at a wrong place) is not necessarily to be considered as belonging to the elder age. Thracians, like this *Bessus*, came to Britain since Nero's time in auxiliary numbers as well as recruits

for the legions. The stone of Furius Maximus, before mentioned (p. 137), though perhaps a little earlier, shows the same bas-relief.

To the same type belongs a monument, whose inferior part only subsists, the upper part, with the bas-relief, being lost. It was also found in the north wall in 1888; the letters (m. 0.05 high) are faint (*Roman Remains*, p. 103, Plate VIII.). I read on the squeeze:—

D	M
TITINIUS·FELIX B	
RIX·LEG·XX·V·V·MIL·AN	
. . . VIX·ANN·XLV	
5	. . . SIMILINA·Co
	NIVX·ET·HERES

*D(is) M(anibus) . Titinius Felix, Brix(ia) ?, leg(ionis) XX V(aleriae) v(ictricis), mil(itavit) an(nis) . . . , vix(it) ann(is) XLV. . . Similina coniux et heres.* The first three letters of the third line are not quite certain; also at the beginning of line five faint traces appear, perhaps indicating the *nomen gentile* of the wife. Brixia, the home of the man, occurred already in the inscription of Rustius Crescens (p. 134). The name of the wife *Similina* looks semi-barbarous.

Without ornaments, but of the same palæographic character, are two epitaphs more, found, the first, in 1888 in the north wall (*Roman Remains*, p. 124):—

D	<i>m</i>
G CES	
VS·TEVRNIC	
AN·XXX·MI	
LEG·XX·V·V·Stip	
X·H·F·C	

The position of the D of the formula *dis Manibus* indicates that about half of the inscription is wanting. A doubtless

expansion therefore is impossible; the text may have run thus: *D(is)[M(anibus)] G(aius) Ces[tius Ruf]us Teurni[avixit] an(nis) XXX mi[les] leg(ionis) XX V. v. s[tip(endiorum)] X; h(eres) f(aciendum) c(uravit)*. Teurnia is a town of Noricum, compare C.I.L. iii. p. 593.

The other was found in 1887 (*Roman Remains*, pp. 7 and 23):—

	D	m
	CLiCINI	us . . .
	VETERANV	s
	VIX·AN·LXXX	
5	CVRA	AELii
	CANDIdi	

Instead of a servant or heir, it is a friend here, who took care of a monument for the deceased. The name Licinius is not quite certain. As this man was a veteran, we may put him also with some probability near to the middle of the second century. There is lastly a small fragment of a stone of one *C. Publius ? Primus* (*Roman Remains*, p. 123); it may be ascribed to about the same epoch. All these monuments are clearly not very much earlier than the middle of the second century.

This is also to be said about some plain sepulchral monuments, which have come to light along with the rest. Two of them, already known some time, have been mentioned before: that of Cesonia Severina and that of the two Flavii, Callimorphus and Serapion (see p. 137). Two have bas-reliefs, the one of two females standing, of which one was claimed *Domitia Saturnina* (*Roman Remains*, p. 9 and 20, Plate V.), the other of two youths, Hermagoras and Felix (*Roman Remains*, p. 120, Plate XII.). Two others, that of *Flavia Saturnina* (*Roman Remains*, p. 10 and 14), and of *Prima* (Williams, p. 44), are plain, but of the same epigraphical character, and not earlier than the beginning or middle of the second century.

To the first century I finally ascribe the last epigraphical monument to be mentioned here; a plain tombstone, found in the north wall in 1887, with the following inscription in bold letters (m. 0·06 to 0·05 high) (*Roman Remains*, p. 21):—

DIS·MAN<sup>1</sup>BVS  
 ATLAN·L<sup>1</sup>  
 ATLANVS·AN·X  
 PROTVS·AN·XII  
 5 POMPEIVS  
 OPTATVS·DO  
 MINVS·F·C

*Dis Manibus . Atilian(i) li[b(erti)]?*; *Atilianus an(norum) X, Protus an(norum) XII; Pompeius Optatus dominus f(aciendum) c(uravit)*. At the beginning of the second line there are some confused strokes; but the name Atilianus seems pretty clear. The text runs not in the usual way; it seems that Pompeius Donatus, the master, in erecting the tomb of his freedman Atilianus combined with it the memory of two *vernæ*, sons perhaps of the said freedman, Atilianus of ten years, whom we expect to have been older than his brother, who follows, and Protus of twelve. At any rate, the *Dis Manibus* written in full alone would make it probable that this inscription is contemporary to one of the elder groups of military monuments described before.

Finally, what is the result of our analysis of the epigraphical monuments hitherto found in Chester?

General conclusions from epigraphical evidence should always be made with the greatest reserve. There is scarcely an end to the unexpected revelations, which any day may bring forth. Who knows what facts the Roman walls of Chester—for I venture to give them that designation—may still contain in their interior? But so far as the present state of things allows a judgment, and with all the



necessary caution about further finds, an important fact presents itself to the observer. No one of the numerous monuments found in the north wall is later than the middle or second half of the second century; by far the greater number of them belongs to the latter part of the first. In the history of the government of Roman Britain, after the long period of a prosperous peace, due especially to the Emperor Hadrian's sojourn in the province, and his great military operations and fortifications, and a little later to the similar works of his successor, Antoninus Pius, a new epoch in the military history of the province is marked by the reign of Septimius Severus. Well known is his activity on the northern frontier, where he restored Hadrian's Wall thoroughly, whilst at the same time the garrisons from the camps upon the Scottish Wall were withdrawn. In the south the Silures, by their perpetual attempts of insurrection, necessitated a similar work of restoration and the re-enforcement of the Roman garrisons. It was Severus who removed the Second Legion from its old head-quarters at Gloucester more westward to Caerleon, in South Wales, and erected some new forts overlooking the Irish Sea. In connection with these measures, as we may suppose in all probability, it was he who undertook an enlargement of the old head-quarters of the Twentieth Legion too. In architectural enterprises he was, at least in the number of his buildings, not in their artistic perfection, a successful rival of Hadrian. The eastern provinces and especially the north of Africa, with its nearly numberless edifices, arches, &c., belonging to his time, give ample proofs of that fact. But every province, and not in the last place Britain, bears evidence of it. The great objection against the Roman origin of the north wall—and the other parts of the wall in general—at Chester is that they are built, to a great extent, with the use of Roman materials, amongst which tomb-

stones, as the nearest at hand, from both sides of Roman military roads just outside the towns, and not very much cared for after about a century had elapsed since they were erected, occupy a prominent place. This difficulty vanishes when we consider the enlarged walls as chiefly a work of Severus' time. The art of his epoch combines a still considerable technical skill with ruthless negligence as regards the monuments of former ages. The emperor's urgent desire to have the work of restoration done, in every part of the empire, with the utmost celerity, may account for the way of erecting the walls, so far as possible, from the hewn stones of other buildings, either in decay or not then used, without the use of mortar.

To what extent the enlargement was brought at this occasion, and what relation to the former circuit of the Roman circumvallation of the town it had, remains to be explained by further local researches. From Mr. Watkin's notes and the ground plan of the Roman town, given in his *Roman Cheshire*, I have not been able to form a sufficient clear idea about it. Also Mr. G. Esdaile's observation relating to the *area* once occupied by Roman Chester<sup>1</sup> needs to be proved by some further local research. The intelligent zeal of the Chester antiquarians and architects will furnish us ere long, I am sure, with the necessary data for the solution of that question.

This way of explaining the origin of the Chester walls, as it is perfectly consistent with the age of the monuments used in them, adds, at the same time, a new page to the history of the province, and no less to that of the kingdom. The Emperor Severus appears also in Britain as one of the last representatives of that military force and concentrated initiative, so prominent in the great rulers of the former

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<sup>1</sup> *Archæological Journal*, vol. xlv., 1887, p. 52.

ages. Even the slightest, and at the first look merely local addition to our knowledge of former times, adds something to our better intelligence of their politics and their men. This is the case, as I said before, in a rather prominent degree, with the Chester monuments. Those men, therefore, who have contributed to bring them to light and to explain and preserve them, have well deserved of the history of their country, and of that of the ancient world in general.

P.S.—These observations were written and sent to Chester in April, 1888. Since then Mr. F. Haverfield has published the Chester inscriptions in the *Ephemeris epigraphica*, vol. vii., 1890, p. 287 and foll., and in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xlvii., 1890, p. 243 and foll. Some of the inscriptions have been carefully re-examined by him and Mr. Shrubsole, and as a result some few corrections have been introduced into these notes.

