

# XI.—THE NAMES OF THE EMPEROR CARAUSIUS, AS REVEALED BY THE CARLISLE ROMAN MILE- STONE.

BY MAJOR R. MOWAT, OF. PARIS.

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A NOTICE of the discovery of a Roman mile-stone at Carlisle in October last appeared in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, vol. vi. 1894, page 263, with a sketch. Owing to the kindness of Chancellor Ferguson, F.S.A., president of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Society, I received in the beginning of March a squeeze which enabled me to ascertain the accuracy of the reading of the inscription engraved on the stone. This was discovered in the bed of the river Petterill, below Gallows Hill, from whose summit it had probably rolled, and where it formerly stood, marking the first mile from LUGUVALLIUM (Carlisle) on the road to EBURACUM (York); it is now preserved at Tullie House.

It consists of a cylindrical column, six feet high, with the front side roughly cut to a plane surface. At one end are four lines of an inscription, somewhat weathered but still tolerably legible, the letters of which are two inches high. Below, at some distance, can be seen the remains of two other lines, worn out, save three faint letters. This end of the inscription, purposely separated from the beginning with the intent of attracting the notice of passers by, contained the proper itinerary indications.

IMP C M  
AVR MAVS  
CARAVSIO P F  
INVICTO AVG  
..... O  
..... AS  
.....

IMP(eratori) C(aesari) M(arco) | AUR(elio) MAUS(...) | CARAUSIO,  
P(io), F(elici), | INVICTO, AUG(usto), | [Luguvalh]O | [Brovonac]AS |



[*m(ille) p(assuum)*]. |.—To the Emperor, the Caesar, Marcus Aurelius Maus(. . .) Carausius, pious, happy, invincible, the Augustus. From Luguwallium towards Brovonacae, first mile.

The restored word *Luguwallio* may safely be considered as certain, whilst the complementary part of [*Brovonac*]as is merely conjectural, for the sake of showing how the brackets are to be filled with the name of one of the stations on the road to York, provided it has the feminine plural termination—as, such as *Brovonacas* (Kirkby Thore), *Verteras* (Brough), or *Lavatras* (Bowes).

At the opposite end is another inscription in five lines, reading in a contrary direction; the first line ends in a monogram formed by the conjunction of the three letters VAL.

FL VL  
CONS  
TANT .  
NO NOB  
CAES

FL(*avio*) VAL(*erio*) | CONSTANT[*i*]NO,  
NOB(*ilissimo*) CAES(*ari*).—To Flavius Valerius Constantine, the most noble Caesar.

From this particularly remarkable instance of two different military inscriptions engraved on the same block, we may deduce that the lime-stone was erected first in the reign of the Emperor Carausius,

A.D. 287-293, and that it was afterwards turned up topsy-turvy in the time of Constantine, when he still held but the rank and title of Caesar, A.D. 306. A fresh inscription in his own honour was then engraved at the summit, whilst the end bearing the inscription dedicated to Carausius was hid under ground, such a course implying that Constantine on his accession to power denied any official character to the public acts of the usurper. In its turn the Constantine mile-stone was thrown down, most likely when the Roman forces and officials were ordered by the Emperor Honorius to withdraw from the Isle in the year 411. The contemptuous treatment inflicted on the emblem of the imperial government is imputable to the Caledonian invaders, or rather to the British natives themselves, disgusted with the behaviour of the authorities who forfeited the duty of protecting their subjects against their bitter foes.

This is the first instance of a lapidary monument containing a record of the British adventurer who founded in his own country an independent empire, and played a historical part somewhat comparable to that of Postumus in Gaul thirty years previously.\* Whence he originated we are left to guess from a short sentence of Aurelius Victor,<sup>1</sup> *Carausius, Menapiæ civis*. Notwithstanding the apparent clearness of this information, it is not an easy task to define its meaning with precision. No less than three different countries have equal claims to the denomination of Menapia: in the first place, a people known by the name of Menapii inhabited Belgian Gaul, the land bordering the river Scheldt and the mouth of the Rhine<sup>2</sup>; next, the Isle of Man was called Monapia, according to Pliny's spelling, if the manuscripts are correct;<sup>3</sup> last, on the eastern coast of Ireland dwelt the *Μανάπιοι*,<sup>4</sup> whose capital was *Μαναπία πόλις*, in our days Wicklow (Wexford). It will surprise none when I say that French antiquaries assign the mesopotamic part of Belgium as the birth-place of Carausius, whilst British scholars contend for the Isle of Man, no specific argument being brought forward by either party. No doubt if the University of Dublin were chosen to arbitrate upon the difference

<sup>1</sup> *De Caesaribus*, xxxix.

<sup>2</sup> Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, ii. 4. Strabo, iv. iii. 4, 5. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv. xviii. 31. Ptolemy, ii. viii. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iv. xviii. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Ptolemy, ii. ii. 7, 8.

\* Postumus, A.D. 258-267; Carausius, A.D. 287-293.

the affirmation of his Hibernian origin would luckily help to decide the question in a friendly and neutral manner. Nevertheless, it may be suggested that the words *Menapiae civis* match admirably with the *parvae civis insulae* employed by Ausonius in a similar case,<sup>5</sup> and that such a geographical designation seems to apply most fittingly to the Monapia island, whilst the ethnical qualification *Menapius*, or *civis Menapius*, or even *natione Menapius* would have been the correct expression if Aurelius Victor had meant that Carausius originated from the continental Menapians. To whatever branch of the Menapians Carausius belonged, either Gaulish, Britannic, or Hibernian, his birth-place was undoubtedly maritime, and this accounts for the fact that he was such a talented seaman that Maximian chose him for fitting out a fleet against the Germanic pirates; it afterwards served him as the most efficacious instrument for making himself independent of the Roman domination. He clearly perceived that the security of his insular empire rested on a powerful navy, and this stamps him a truly national hero for Britain, deserving to share the honours of a traditional popularity with Queen Boudicca, whose name by-the-by, synonymous of 'Victorina,' is ridiculously disfigured in Boadicea, even by the Admiralty officials who select names for Her Majesty's ships.<sup>6</sup> Several varieties of his coins show on the reverse a pretorian galley manned by rowers, with her name inscribed above, LAETITIA. This type and legend also adopted by Allectus his successor, was evidently borrowed from the coinage of Postumus, large and small brass. Here we have, amongst many others, a striking feature of similitude between these two historical characters, and hence we are led to believe that under like circumstances Carausius modelled his acts and policy on those of the Gaulish emperor.

Let us now proceed to a closer examination of the wording in the inscription of the Carlisle mile-stone.

From the first lines we gather the entirely novel and authentic information that Carausius, besides this name under which alone

<sup>5</sup> Ausonius, *Ludus Septem Sapientium*, v. 147: 'Cleobulus ego sum, parvae civis insulae.' Cleobulus, one of the Seven Wise Men of Greece, was a native of Lindos, in the isle of Rhodes.

<sup>6</sup> As a rule, it may be noticed that when half instructed people have to choose between two ways of spelling a name or an uncommon word, they will unhesitatingly hit upon the wrong one, and stick to it with obstinacy. In the French navy also there is always a ship traditionally named 'Primauguet' instead of 'Porzmoguer.'

he was hitherto known, bore three other names; from Emperor M. Aurelius Maximianus, under whose orders he served in the army of Inferior Germany, he received the *praenomen* and *nomen gentilicium* Marcus Aurelius, retaining his other two native names; one of these began with the syllable *Maus*, which was sometimes still more abridged and merely reduced to the initial letter M, for instance on some rare brass coins; three of these are preserved in the Hunter museum, at Glasgow, according to Petrie's *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. clxv. col. 2; pl. xi. 28, 29, 32.

IMP C M CARAVSIVS P AVG—PAX AVG; exergue, MCXXI;

IMP C M CARAVSIVS P F AVG—PIETAS AVG;

IMP C M CARAVSIVS P F AVG—PROVID AVG; field, SC.

Four others are described from private collections:—

IMP C M CARAVSIVS P AVG—MERCVRIO CON AVG (Roach Smith);<sup>7</sup>

IMP C M CARAVSIVS AVG—MARS VICTOR (Roach Smith);<sup>8</sup>

IMP C M CARAVSIVS P F AVG—PAX AVG (Selborne);<sup>9</sup>

IMP C M CARAVSIVS AVG—PAX AVG (R. Mowat).

The enigmatic sigla M, and the equally puzzling syllable MAVS are unmistakably the more or less shortened forms of a Celtic name, which we may safely restore to *Mausaeus* or *Mausaius*, since it is the only fitting form to be found in the whole Gaulish nomenclature compiled from manuscripts, inscriptions, and coins. This name is inscribed on a small silver coin preserved, under No. 9359, in the medal room of the Bibliothèque Nationale, at Paris; the late Emile Hucher was the first numismatist who published it<sup>10</sup> in the shape of MAVSAIIO. I personally verified this reading on the original coin; hence I am able to give the following accurate description of this documentary relic:—

Obverse—Helmeted head turned to left; in front, NINNO.

Reverse—Wild boar running to left; beneath and above, a half-

retrograde legend, <sup>OVAM</sup>  
AIIOC with Greek lunar *sigma* instead of S,

such as in other Gaulish legends, BELINOC, SANTONOC, VENEXTOC. We may now state that the denominations of Carausius were, at full length, *Marcus Aurelius Mausaeus* (or *Mausaius*) *Carausius*.

<sup>7</sup> *Collectanea Antiqua*, vii. p. 224; pl. xxii. 4.

<sup>8</sup> *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. clxii. col. 2; pl. ix. 14.

<sup>9</sup> Cohen, *Description Historique des Monnaies Impériales*, vii. 1888, p. 22, n. 204.

<sup>10</sup> *L'art gaulois*, ii. p. 68.

In the middle of last century Stukeley published a coin which he had noticed in the collections of Sir Hans Sloane, and of Joseph Ames, F.R.S. and secretary to the Society of Antiquaries<sup>11</sup>:—

Obverse—IMP C M AVR V CARAVSIVS P AVG. Radiated bust, clad with the paludamentum, to right.

Reverse—PAX AVG. Peace standing to left, holding a flower and leaning on a sceptre; field, SP; exergue, C.

By the expansion of the legend he made out the reading M(arcus) Aur(elius) V(alerius) Carausius, and Mionnet<sup>12</sup> confidently adopted it; but John Doubleday seems to have doubted its correctness, or to have suspected the genuineness of the coin, for he did not admit it in his carefully drawn-up descriptive catalogue of the coins relating to Britain.<sup>13</sup> This tacit condemnation is so much the more significant as the Sloane collection was bequeathed to the British Museum, where Doubleday might have leisurely examined the coin. Moreover, this is altogether confirmed by the fact that no such piece is to be met with in the sets of coins of Carausius in the British Museum, which Mr. Grueber has kindly examined, one by one, for my purpose.

*A priori* the reading V(alerius) is not altogether objectionable, since Maximian had added this family name of Diocletian to his own patronymic *Aurelius*, and styled himself M AVR VAL MAXIMIANVS on several of his coins; hence Carausius, in his turn, might have had the double gentilicial name *Aurelius Valerius*, by which he connected himself both with Diocletian and with Maximian. On the other hand, it is possible that the letter v, which Stukeley fancied to have deciphered, is merely the middle part of a defaced letter m, and this would bring us back to something like the aforesaid legends beginning with IMP C M CARAVSIVS.

<sup>11</sup> *The Medallie History of M. Aurelius Valerius Carausius; emperor in Britain*, i. p. 115, pl. v. n. 1. Mr. Haverfield believes the coin is in Cambridge, and has been misread. He also thinks that the word MAVS is simply a blunder.

<sup>12</sup> *De la rareté et du prix des médailles Romaines*, ii. (2nd edit. 1827), p. 165.

<sup>13</sup> *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, p. cliii-clxxiii. 17 plates.

