

## VII.—THREE ROMAN INSCRIPTIONS.

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The following abbreviations are employed :

- AA *Archæologia Aeliana.*
- CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*
- C CIL VII.
- CW<sup>2</sup> Cumberland and Westmorland *Transactions*, new series.
- EE *Ephemeris Epigraphica.*
- ILS Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae.*
- JRS *Journal of Roman Studies.*

### I. A NEWLY DISCOVERED CENTURIAL STONE.

A centurial stone was found in November 1934 at Cawfields quarry, into which it had fallen with other debris after the firing of a blasting shot; through the good offices of our member Mr. Walter Ingledeu, the stone has been presented to the Black Gate museum, where it now is.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Thomas Hepple drew my attention to the stone, and I have to thank him for an excellent drawing of it. It is considerably larger than the normal facing stones from the Wall; its height, 7-8½ inches, is not unusual, but in spite of a recent fracture at the left side it is still 21 inches wide. On the left half there has been a short inscription of one line, now erased; but it is clear that the first two letters have been CO, and we may suppose that the mason had begun to carve the number of the cohort when, for some reason that is not apparent, he decided to erase what

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Proceedings*<sup>4</sup> VII, p. 12.

he had begun, and concentrate the inscription on the right half of the stone. The lettering is rough and formed (as Mr. Hepple points out) of pointed punctures, now somewhat enlarged by weathering; the letters themselves are irregular and straggling. The reading is plain :

**COH VI  
7 CALEDON  
SECVN**

The inscription is a useful one, for it provides additional evidence for the activity of a century that is already known to us. EE VII 1077, from between Chapel House (no. 47) and Gap (47b), reads: *coh. VI 7 Caledoni Secund*; the present stone shows the same century, that of Caledonius Secundus, of the sixth cohort (of which legion, we are not informed), at work between milecastle 42 and turret 42a, so that there is an interval of about five Wall miles between the two places of building.

It so happens that there is another century of the sixth cohort recorded on an inscription from Cawfields, and on two from Tower Tye and near Willowford respectively :

1. Tower Tye (28b-29) : *coh. VI 7 Lousi Suavis*. (C 600.)
2. Cawfields (42-42a) : *7 Lousi Suavi*. (C 680.)
3. Willowford (48a-b) : *coh. VI 7 Lousi Suavis*. (CW<sup>2</sup> XXVIII 387.)

Some day the manner in which working-parties were transferred from place to place along the Wall while it was abuilding may be elucidated by the evidence of groups of stones recording the activities of various centuries; a few years ago Mr. Collingwood sketched a system of transfer which seemed to fit the evidence then to hand, and involved working-parties recurring every 4 to 4½ miles;<sup>2</sup> but the new discovery only serves to veil the solution in deeper obscurity. For the centuries of Lousius Suavis and Caledonius Secundus, belonging to the same sixth cohort, were working in the same third of a mile at Cawfields;

<sup>2</sup> CW<sup>2</sup> XXVIII 388.

yet, when they appear again, a little further to the west, there is an interval of a mile between them. We can only conclude that the rotation of working-parties was irregular; perhaps there was no schematic arrangement, but as each party finished work, it was sent on to the next place where there was fresh work for it to do. Such an arrangement is probably the explanation of some features in the mile-castles and turrets; it would be surprising if it did not show itself in the structure of the Wall itself.

## II. C 731.

This fragmentary inscription was found at Greatchesters before 1857, when it was presented to this society's museum by Captain Coulson;<sup>3</sup> details of its discovery do not seem to have been recorded. Parts of five lines of text survive; from the last two only a few letters have been recovered, and nothing can be made of them; but sufficient remains in the first three lines for a tolerably complete restoration to be possible:

impp caesaribVS ANTONINO ET vero  
 augustis parTHICIS MEDICIS armen  
 iacis coh . . I RAETORVM . . . . .

The emperors are Marcus Aurelius and his adopted brother and colleague, Lucius Verus; the date, as Dr. McCaul observed with his usual acumen,<sup>4</sup> is A.D. 166-9, since it was in the former year that both emperors received the title *Medicus* ("Victorious over the Medes"), while Verus died in 169. No constant order seems to have been observed in the three territorial titles, so that the restoration of the earliest, *Armeniacus*, which Verus received in 163 and Marcus in the following year, after the other two is legitimate; its omission would be surprising.

Hitherto the name and status of the dedicating regiment

<sup>3</sup> AA<sup>2</sup> I (1857) 247. Readings are also given in Bruce, *Roman Wall* (1867) 236; *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, no. 286; AA<sup>2</sup> XII 86, no. 194; AA<sup>4</sup> II 80, no. 87.

<sup>4</sup> *Canadian Journal* X 105, referred to in *Lap. Sept.*

have been matters for mere conjecture. In 1887, Bruce suggested that *coh. I Raetorum* should be restored; but of the two known cohorts of this name and number, one was stationed in Raetia in this very period, and the other was serving under Arrian in Cappadocia in the closing years of Hadrian's principate, and does not seem to have left the east thereafter. Haverfield<sup>5</sup> rejected Bruce's suggestion in favour of one originally made by Watkin, who proposed to read [*gaesatoru*]m *Raetoru*[m]; there are records of a vexillation (or vexillations) of *Raeti gaesati*, irregular units of Raetian spearmen, at several sites in Britain, including Greatchesters, but for all that Watkin's suggestion cannot be accepted. In the first place, that is not the type of regiment to have put up an elaborate building-inscription such as this must have been; secondly, if the restoration proposed above is correct, there cannot have been room for *vex. gaesatorum Raetorum* in the space to be accounted for. But there is plainly room for a cohort; and we must consider whether there is a possible cohort of Raetians.

Some years ago it was still possible to write "we know of no cohort of Raetians in Britain";<sup>6</sup> but there are now three certain instances: (1) *Coh. V Raetorum* appears in the British diploma for A.D. 122 (JRS XX 16-23); but the regiment at Greatchesters, whatever its number, had not the number *V*. (2) *Coh. VI Raetorum* was in Upper Germany in the first century, but has left no later records there; and in view of its omission from the diplomas from 74 onwards, Stein has suggested that it had left the province by the latter part of the century.<sup>7</sup> Among the large collection of lead seals from Brough-under-Stainmore are two (now preserved in the Craven museum at Skipton) inscribed C VI R—CAP,<sup>8</sup> which must refer to this cohort;

<sup>5</sup> EE IX, p. 594.

<sup>6</sup> R. G. Collingwood in AA<sup>4</sup> II 80.

<sup>7</sup> *Die kaiserlichen Beamten und Truppenkörper im römischen Deutschland unter dem Prinzipat* (1932) 208.

<sup>8</sup> Collingwood in CW<sup>2</sup> XXXI 81, no. 4, correcting C 1269.10.

that is clear, now that *coh. VII Thracum*, suggested by other seals from Brough (C 1269.12-17) but otherwise unknown, has been recorded in the British diplomas for 122 and 135. We are justified in concluding that it was transferred from Upper Germany to Britain, perhaps at the beginning of the Flavian period. (3) *Coh. VIII Raetorum* appears in the Pannonian diplomas for 80, 84, and 85; and (with the title *c(ivium) R(omanorum)* added) in the Dacian diploma for 110. Thereafter there is no record of it in Dacia; and though a transfer from the lower Danube to Britain might seem unlikely, two more lead seals from Brough show that it occurred; (a) C 1269.19: C VIII R—ZABD; (b) C 1269.18: C VIII—PER2. It may have found its way to Britain in the early years of Hadrian, after the dislocation caused by Trajan's Parthian war and the widespread outbreaks that followed it and brought Hadrian himself in due course to Britain.

As far as the spacing is concerned, it seems on the whole more probable that the eighth cohort of Raetians was responsible for the dedication at Greatchesters, rather than the sixth. In any case, the inscription shows that the fort was not occupied by the same regiment under Marcus and Verus as in the time of Severus Alexander, when the second cohort of Asturians was in garrison there;<sup>9</sup> and it confirms the view, based on the evidence of a few datable inscriptions and a quantity of ceramic material, that Hadrian's Wall was still maintained after the building of the Wall of Pius in Scotland.

There is yet another regiment whose presence is attested by an inscription from Greatchesters, *coh. VI Nerviorum*;<sup>10</sup> this regiment was at Bainbridge under Severus, and at Rough Castle during the occupation of the

<sup>9</sup> C 732; cf. also the tile, C 1228, also from Greatchesters.

<sup>10</sup> C 726. In AA<sup>4</sup> II 70, no. 54, Mr. Collingwood reads the number as VII, and in JRS XXII 57 I adopted that reading; but after a careful examination of the stone I am satisfied that the second upright is not part of the original inscription, and the reading of Huebner and Bruce must stand.

Scottish Wall;<sup>11</sup> it was presumably stationed at Greatchesters at some time in the second century, and (to judge by the lettering) before rather than after the time of Marcus and Verus.

### III. C 1054.

This inscription, now preserved in the parish church at Elsdon, was ploughed up in a wheat field, across the burn from the north-east corner of High Rochester fort, in the autumn of 1809;<sup>12</sup> at the time of its discovery, "the letters at the head of it came off in flakes of decomposed stone, and left their impression distinctly on the clay," but there was no epigraphist in attendance to recover the reading of the first four lines, and the name and part of the career of the man whose tombstone it was remain obscure. From the fifth line onwards, however, the text can be restored with virtual certainty :

[*praef(ecto)*] *coh(ortis) I Aug(ustae) [pr(aetoriae)] Lusitanor(um) item coh(ortis) II Breucor(um), subcur(atori) viae Flaminiae et aliment(orum), subcur(atori) operum publ(icorum), Iulia Lucilla c(larissima) f(emina) marito b(ene) m(erenti); vix(it) an(nis) XLVIII m(ensibus) VI d(ie) b(us) XXV.*

Julia Lucilla, the daughter of a senator,<sup>13</sup> set up the tombstone to the memory of her husband, who died at the age of 48 years, 6 months, and 25 days. The four recorded posts in his career are the prefectures of two cohorts, and two subcuratorships in Italy.

As Huebner pointed out, neither of the cohorts was stationed in Britain;<sup>14</sup> therefore the last appointment of all

<sup>11</sup> C 269; C 1092, EE IX 1241.

<sup>12</sup> Hodgson, *Northumberland* (*Beauties of England and Wales* series), p. 153; *History of Northumberland* II i 90.

<sup>13</sup> It should be noted that she had no business to describe herself as *clarissima femina*; women, as Ulpian observed (*Digest* I ix 8), took the same rank as their husbands, and a *clarissima* lost that rank on marriage to a man of lesser rank.

<sup>14</sup> (1) *Coh. I Augusta Praetoria Lusitanorum equitata* occurs in the diploma of A.D. 86 for Judæa; subsequently it was transferred to Egypt, where its presence is attested as early as 111 and as late as 288 (cf. Lesquier, *l'Armée romaine d'Égypte*, p. 92); in the *Notitia* it appears under the command of the duke of the Thebaid.

must have been recorded before the other four. What that appointment was, is shown by Mr. Collingwood's recent reading of the fourth line of the inscription . . . COH I VaRDVL . . . ;<sup>15</sup> the man was tribune of the first cohort of Vardulli, which came to High Rochester early in the third century, after service in a number of forts elsewhere in northern Britain in the previous century.<sup>16</sup> This date is confirmed by the assumption of the clarissimate by his widow; it is only in the third century that such styles occur regularly on inscriptions, although they were already in common use as early as the time of Trajan, as Pliny's letters show.

There is another inscription from High Rochester, from which the *cognomen* at least of the dead man may be inferred; C 1038 is a dedication to Silvanus Pantheus *pro salute Rufini trib. et Lucillae eius*—for the safety of the tribune Rufinus and his wife Lucilla. It is reasonable to suppose that the latter is the same as the Julia Lucilla of C 1054, and we therefore learn the name of her husband.

Rufinus, then, served in five successive appointments, of which the tribunate of the first cohort of Vardulli, recorded first on his tombstone, came last. The career is an interesting one, not merely as the only example of its kind recorded on a British inscription, but because of the occurrence in it of the two subcuratorships. These posts were held by equestrian civil servants, who presumably acted as permanent heads of the departments for which senatorial curators were responsible; there do not seem to be more than three other subcurators recorded :

(1) A. Seius Zosimianus, eq. R., was successively *praef. coh. III Brac., trib. leg. VII Cl., succu. viae*, apparently

(2) *Coh. II Breucorum equitata* occurs in the diploma of 107 for Mauretania Caesariensis; it is recorded on inscriptions of 243, 270, and 282-3 in that province (CIL VIII 21560, 22598, 22599), and though there are no dated records for the period 107-243, the fact that its place of garrison was known in the second half of the third century as *Cohors Breucorum* shows that it had remained there for a long time; cf. *Legio VII Gemina* in Spain, and *Petriana* in Britain,

<sup>15</sup> JRS XVII 219.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. AA<sup>4</sup> IX, p. 207.

in the first half of the third century. (CIL VI 3536, Rome.)

(2) . . . Rufus, successively prefect of a cohort, subcurator of the *via Aemilia*, tribune in two legions, and then a procurator, in the time of Hadrian. (CIL X 7587 = ILS 1402, Carales.)

(3) P. Fulcinus Vergilius Marcellus, *praef. fabrum, trib. mil. leg. VII Gem. felicis, praef. equitum alae Parthor., subcurator aedium sacrarum et operum locorumque publicor.* (this is presumably the full title of one of the posts held by Rufinus), *subpraef. class. praet. Misenensis*—probably in the second century. (EE IX 897 = ILS 9010, Tibur.)<sup>17</sup>

Of these, the second is most useful to us; for his career falls, as we shall see that that of Rufinus falls, into two distinct halves. After the prefecture of a cohort, he leaves the army (instead of proceeding in the usual way to the military tribunate) for the civil service, only to return to the army, where he serves as military tribune in two legions in succession, before returning to the civil service once more. The career recorded in the High Rochester inscription must have been of the same order; all analogies forbid us to assume that the civil appointments, as subcurator, were held before any military service; and we must take it that the order of posts is neither 5, 4, 3, 2, 1 nor 1, 2, 3, 4, 5—but 5, 1, 2, 3, 4: Rufinus entered the imperial service as prefect of *coh. I Augusta Praetoria Lusitanorum* in Egypt; from Egypt he was transferred to the command of *coh. II Breucorum* in Mauretania; and then he held two posts in the civil service in Italy, before he was sent as tribune of *coh. I Vardullorum* to the most northerly outpost of the Roman army, High Rochester, where he died and was buried.

Apart from the civil appointments that separate the two

<sup>17</sup> The *adiutor curatoris alvei Tiberis et cloacarum* of CIL XIV 172, Ostia, and the (*proc. Aug. ad ripam Tiberis*) of the Greek inscription IGR III 263 = ILS 8848, as equestrian subordinates of senatorial curators, were presumably in the same general category as the subcurators.



periods of military service, the career is not an unusual one; it was not only senatorial governors and the *equestris nobilitas* that moved from one end of the empire to another in the course of a lifetime's service: one has only to consider cases like that of Rufinus, in which the places of garrison of the auxiliary regiments mentioned are known, to see how frequently officers of the Roman army were transferred from province to province in the course of their active service. And the age at which he died is worth noting; it is time that the assumption that commanders of cohorts were regularly young men at the threshold of non-military careers<sup>18</sup> should be abandoned.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. e.g. *Cambridge Ancient History* X (1934), p. 231.