

II.—STONES FROM A HADRIANIC WAR MEMORIAL ON TYNESIDE.

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In 1782, the ancient nave of St. Paul's church at Jarrow, which had become ruinous and unsafe, was completely rebuilt.¹ As demolition progressed, numerous Saxon stones² were discovered, but neither workmen nor employers evinced a desire to preserve them. The only relic considered worthy of preservation was the Saxon dedication of A.D. 685, previously exhibited in the north wall of the old nave, near the tower. Balusters and other decorative stones were built into the core of the new walls, while an inscribed stone³ of exceptional interest (see p. 121) was used as a window-jamb. When the rev. John Brand visited⁴ the new works, on 10th December, 1782, most of the fragments were already swallowed up; and it is significant of contemporary indifference to Saxon remains that, although Brand had the inscribed stone freed from surrounding masonry, in order to read it, the stone was again walled into position when the reading had been taken. Only during the complete rebuilding of the nave, in 1866, was this stone, with many others, finally rescued and placed in the north porch of the church.

The operations of 1782-3, however, also yielded another type of stone which attracted more interest. It was observed that the Saxon builders, no less indifferent to antiquity than

¹ Brand, *History of Newcastle*, ii, 62. The Latin inscription recording the completion of the work in 1783 is preserved in the north porch.

² *ibid.*, and p. 64.

³ *op. cit.*, 64.

⁴ *ibid.*

their successors, had employed as building-material Roman inscribed stones. Roman inscriptions were prized by a generation steeped in the classics and well versed in Camden and Horsley. Two fragmentary stones were accordingly rescued⁵ and preserved by Brand, to be acquired on his death by Hodgson,⁶ who later gave them to Cuthbert Ellison⁷ of Hebburn Hall. While one stone, however, was plainly legible, the other was not, and no one suspected that both belonged to the same monument. Thus, in due course, each found a different home, one, now at Burlington House, being presented⁸ to the Society of Antiquaries of London, the other, now at the Blackgate, Newcastle upon Tyne, to this society.⁹ The narrative character of the text on the Burlington House stone had, indeed, already been recognized by Brand, though no modern epigraphist would accept his proposed restoration;¹⁰ but the Blackgate stone was thought¹¹ by him to be part of an altar. The theory that both stones had once formed part of the same inscription was first promulgated by Huebner, who communicated it to Bruce, for publication in *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, 1875, in the form of a Latin narrative sentence.¹² In this sentence, conceived as part of an *allocutio*, the Burlington House stone formed the basis of the first part, while the Blackgate stone supplied the second; and since then it has been generally accepted¹³ that the sentence expressed the

⁵ *CIL* vii, 498a and b; Brand, *op. cit.*, 63, 590.

⁶ Hodgson, *History of Northumberland*, part II, vol. iii, 231.

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ *CIL* vii, 498a; *Lap. Sept.*, no. 538.

⁹ *CIL* vii, 498b; first recorded in *AA*² i, 248, no. 94; *Lap. Sept.*, no. 539.

¹⁰ *op. cit.*

¹¹ *op. cit.*, 590.

¹² *Lap. Sept.*, no. 539, p. 277; *probabile est commemoratos fuisse exercitus magnos, diffusos per castra in provincia Britannia collocata ad vallum inter utrumque oceani litus, fortasse propter res gestas, quae omnium fidem et virtutem probaverunt, ab imperatore Hadriano colaudatos, dira tantum necessitudine coactos abstinuisse ab ultimo orbis noti limite subiciendo, conservatis tunc r(ei) p(ublicae) finibus—vel similia.* Huebner's published version of the theme varied very slightly, without in any way changing the sense, see *CIL* vii, 498, p. 108.

¹³ Blair, *AA*³ xvii, 4; Collingwood, *AA*⁴ ii, 77.

meaning of the fragmentary text. No really detailed study of the stones themselves has, however, been made, either then or later; it is now overdue.

The Blackgate stone is a slab of medium-grained buff-coloured sandstone, now $21\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, 21 inches wide and 6 inches thick (fig. 1). The bottom has been excellently carved by Saxon masons into a panel, bordered by a cable mould and containing the arms of a cross.¹⁴ The top is



FIG. 1. STONE FROM JARROW NOW IN THE BLACKGATE, NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE.

broken and weathered, while both sides have been coarsely cut down, the dexter side being also much weathered and devoid of its bottom corner. The original Roman lines are thus curtailed at both ends. The surface also has been much damaged by flaking and powdering due to chemical action within the stone itself, now too far gone for remedy (see pl. III, no. 1): and the effect upon the lettering has been to remove some letters completely and to erode

¹⁴ Fully discussed in paper III, p. 121

the sharply-cut lines of others, reducing them to a broad flat furrow in which the only original feature is the heel or deepest part of the cut. But, despite all this irreparable damage, much is yet visible. It can still be seen, for example, that Bruce was mistaken¹⁵ in restoring a cable mould on the existing dexter edge of the inscribed face. The feature thus misinterpreted is in fact a discontinuous series of peckings, roughly made with an adze or similar tool and obviously neither related to the Roman lettering nor an original feature: indeed, they cannot even be connected intelligibly with the Saxon work and seem to represent a still later mutilation of the stone in post-Conquest reconstructions. The upper edge of the stone, on the other hand, still exhibits a portion, some six inches long, of the original edge of the raised border enclosing the Roman inscription, though its outlines are otherwise destroyed. It can thus be said that, whatever the form of the monument once embodying the Blackgate stone, the surviving text comprised part of the first six lines in an inscribed panel. So much defined is something gained.

The Burlington House stone is also a slab of buff-coloured medium-grained sandstone, similar to the Blackgate slab but undisintegrated (fig. 2; pl. III, no. 2). It is now 20½ inches high, 23 inches wide and 5¾ inches thick, the last dimension sufficiently close to that of the Blackgate slab. The bottom is weathered and broken, the sinister side broken and coarsely trimmed where undefaced. The top, on the other hand, is a finely-dressed original bedding-plane.¹⁶ The dexter side is also original, and is bordered by a well-preserved mould, which is not the cable-mould inaccurately drawn¹⁷ by Bruce, but a very low cyma contained by a flat string-mould. The back of the stone is somewhat coarsely dressed but apparently original. Apart,

¹⁵ *Lap. Sept.* 539, p. 277; Gainsford Bruce's drawing, reproduced in 1857 (*AA*² i, 248), did not make the same mistake, though, being in perspective, it does not represent the feature very clearly.

¹⁶ Comparison with the coarse dressing of the re-cut Saxon faces is sufficient to demonstrate the point.

¹⁷ *Lap. Sept.* 538, p. 276.

however, from the fact that the stone was trimmed down to much the same size as the Blackgate stone and was found under the same circumstances, there is no clue to its Saxon use (see p. 121). On the other hand, the Roman inscribed lines are very clear, and the existence of the dexter border shows that the beginning of each is preserved. Further, the finely-dressed top, unprovided with a border, indicates that the stone formed the lower part of a panel composed of several stones. It will be noted also that, since the sizes of lettering do not correspond to those in the Blackgate stone, the stones do not contain portions of the same lines.

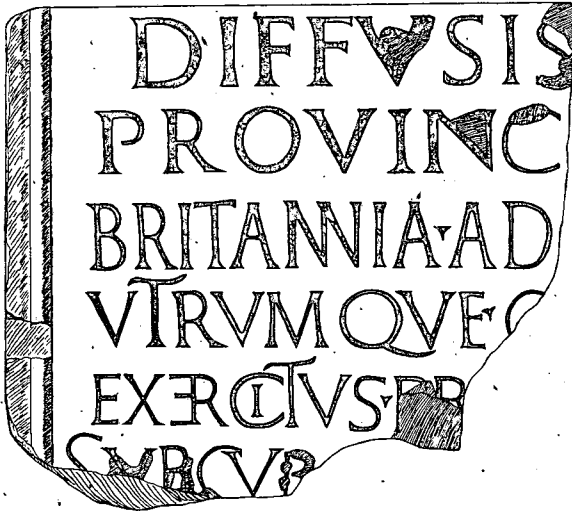


FIG. 2. STONE FROM JARROW NOW AT BURLINGTON HOUSE, LONDON.

If, therefore, the stones once belonged to the same panel, the Burlington House stone must have come second to the Blackgate stone, since the latter is proved to form part of the top of its panel. This disposes of Huebner's suggested arrangement¹⁸ which placed the Blackgate stone second. The relationship of the stones must therefore be studied afresh. The stones themselves are indeed alike, but, since

¹⁸ *CIL* vii; 498a and b.

there is no actual point of contact between them, the case for their association must depend upon demonstrating that their content is complementary. An examination of the text of each thus becomes imperative.

The Burlington House text may be considered first, as being easily legible. It is clearly part of a narrative, and it will be noted that the lettering, though markedly diverse (see below, p. 117), is all of first-class monumental type and of good second-century style. The height of the letters is graded. The topmost line has 3-inch letters, the next two lines $2\frac{3}{4}$ -inch letters, while the fourth and fifth lines have $2\frac{1}{4}$ -inch letters. The sixth line is broken off, and the exact height of its fragmentary letters is not clear, but it approaches $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. The spacing and style of the letters also exhibits corresponding differences. The two upper lines are boldly couched in thick broad letters. The next pair of lines contains lettering drafted to a taller and thinner module; and a slight sense of crowding is conveyed by an occasional ligature or by a letter carried above the others in order gracefully to overlap them. The two last lines are definitely crowded: ligatures and overlaps abound in both, and the last line is carried across the margin to the very edge of the die, so as to include the maximum amount of information. The commencement of this line, which has not been previously read, is contributed by Mr. R. G. Collingwood,¹⁹ who observes that the surviving letters (fig. 2) form the words *sub cur[a]*, which in monumental inscriptions²⁰ invariably mark a final subordinate clause indicating the official in charge of the work. In other words, this line marked the close of a narrative of official action; and it may be confidently assumed that the line was lengthened out, as we have already described, in order to contain the

¹⁹ In a drawing and brief notes prepared by him for *Roman Inscriptions of Britain* which the second writer is now completing and editing. Illness, however, has prevented Mr. Collingwood from taking any part in the present inquiry.

²⁰ cf. *GIL* vii, p. 341, where there is an index list of the phrase in well-known British inscriptions.

whole of the never voluminous final phrase. Thus, if the Blackgate stone contains the first line of an inscription, it is now evident that the Burlington House stone contains the last. Further, it becomes clear that the line was not a long one and that we are not dealing with a waif from an inscription of lengthy lines impossible of restoration. This is a point of cardinal importance for the recovery of the text, since it shows that on the greater part of the stones about half the line is still present.

The whereabouts of the action described on the stone are also indicated. *Britannia* is mentioned in the third line, an occurrence so rare that Brand²¹ considered it the most remarkable point on the stone. But a still more specific reference is contained in the words now surviving as *utrumque o*[. . . .]. As all commentators²² on the stone have seen, these words, in a descriptive context applicable to Britain, can only be part of some such phrase as *inter utrumque o*[*ceani litus*].; and on a stone from Tyneside this inevitably connotes not only the Tyne-Solway gap, but the great frontier-wall which spanned it. Indeed, if this were the work commemorated on the stone, it would not be difficult to discern the gist of the inscription. For, bearing in mind that the lettering is of the second century, as already observed, the text could then record nothing but the building²³ of the Wall under Platorius Nepos, whose name and official titles would occupy the closing line. The penultimate line, too, would then contain the name of the units concerned in the work: and since these, as other inscriptions²⁴ collectively attest, comprised virtually the

²¹ *op. cit.*, 590.

²² Brand (*loc. cit.*) suggested *inter utrumque o(stium)*; Hodgson (*Hist. Northumberland*, II, iii, 231) proposed *o(ceanum)*; Huebner *o(ceani litus)*, see *CIL* vii, 498. See also note 45, below. *Oceani litus* is more acceptable, since the ancients did not conceive of more than one ocean.

²³ *CIL* vii, 660-663; *JRS* xxv, 16, xxvii, 247, xxviii, 201; all seven inscriptions mention Platorius Nepos.

²⁴ For legionaries, Eric Birley, *AA*⁴ xvi, 219-236; for auxiliaries, Eric Birley, *AA*⁴ xiv, 238-242 and R. P. Wright, *JRS* xxxi, 143 = *PSAN*⁴ ix, 250-255.

entire garrison of the province, they are fitly covered by the surviving word *exercitus*. The two previous lines might then be interpreted as having contained a brief topographical description of the Wall itself. These points, if such was the theme of the inscription, were indeed of outstanding importance to the British province and to the army concerned. But to the practical Roman mind the outstanding and most laudable²⁵ achievement was not the building of the Wall, but the triumphant repression of the barbarians which made it possible. No contemporary narrative could be expected to omit this victory, and it would in fact be possible to recognize part of an apposite phrase, such as *diffusis [barbaris]*, in the topmost line. It would be idle, however, to dwell upon the question of phrasing at this stage in the argument. It is sufficient to have appreciated the general characteristics of the existing text, and to have shown that it is not inappropriate to British provincial history of the years A.D. 118-126. The next requirement is a similar analysis of the Blackgate stone, to determine whether there is any discernible correspondence of theme.

It has already been observed (p. 97) that the dimensions of the lettering on the Blackgate stone do not correspond to those on the stone at Burlington House. The letters of the first line are taller than any yet considered, being $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high. In the second line the letters are only two inches high, but boldly spaced, while those of the third, fourth and fifth lines are uniformly two inches high but distinctly more crowded. Only in the third line are all the existing letters legible, but it is nevertheless eclipsed in importance by the second. This supplies an immediate clue to the period of the stone, contained in four letters of the name *Hadr[ianus]*. For it is thus certain that the stone refers either to Hadrian or his adopted successor Antoninus Pius, and it must next be considered which of the two is meant. No immediate choice can be made, but a

²⁵ See note 88.

significant phrase is in fact preserved in the next line. This third line was read²⁶ by Huebner and Bruce as . . .]a *necessitat*[e], and inspection with a strong sidelight leaves no doubt that these letters, though six are much decayed, still exist²⁷ on the stone. Further, the very word *necessitas* and the other legible scraps of words on the stone denote, as Huebner saw, that a narrative²⁸ is in question, and not a dedication as suggested by Brand.²⁹ It is, however, a signally remarkable fact that any narrative concerning either Hadrian or Pius should allude to *necessitas*. For it was not the habit of second-century Emperors or of their subjects to admit any connexion between Imperial policy and necessity. The mordant realism³⁰ of Tiberius or the cruder cynicism³¹ of Vespasian were out of tune with the newer age, and it must be confessed that in Britain itself the forward policy of Antoninus Pius implied no sense of constraint. It will, however, be recollected that Hadrian openly admitted the dominance of necessity in one important and fundamental feature of his policy, and was wont sagely to quote a Republican precedent³² in justifica-

²⁶ *CIL* vii, 498b; *Lap. Sept.*, p. 277.

²⁷ These letters are N, of which the first upright and the weathered *sulcus* of the cross-bar remain; E, of which the heels of the *sulci* of the two upper cross-bars and the ends of the upright remain; C, of which the weathered *sulcus* of the curved top exists; E, of which the upright remains, together with the weathered *sulci* of the cross-bars; S, visible, but much weathered; S, of which the lower two-thirds appear. The inexperienced viewer of the stone will see little of these signs, owing to its bad condition. We had the advantage of a portable artificial sidelight, and each letter was discussed in detail between ourselves and the rev. T. Romans. We were all agreed upon what could be seen, and made our observations in the full sense of responsibility attached to the realization that chemical action was disintegrating the stone so badly that this might be the last time that a careful examination would yield positive results. Most of the features mentioned here are visible on the accompanying Plate III.

²⁸ *Lap. Sept.*, p. 277.

²⁹ *op. cit.*, 590.

³⁰ *Tac. Ann.* i, 73, iv, 38.

³¹ Suetonius, *Div. Vesp.* 23.

³² *SHA*, 5, 1, *quare omnia trans Euphraten ac Tigrim reliquit exemplo, ut dicebat, Catonis, qui Macedones liberos pronuntiavit quia tueri non poterant*. Some editors read *teneri* for *tueri*, without changing the essential point of the passage.

tion of his action. He maintained that his frontier policy, like the elder Cato's, was to "free what could not be held"; and Britain has long been recognized³³ as one of the fields where the maxim was drastically applied. There can thus be no doubt that a conjunction of *Hadrianus* and *necessitas* in a British narrative inscription not only fits Hadrian far better than his adopted son, but actually can be taken as reflecting a stated feature of his political programme. Meanwhile, the general significance of the Blackgate stone has emerged from the discussion. It is a narrative concerning Hadrian and the necessary features of his policy, namely, frontier affairs. As in the Burlington House stone, the content is thus particularly appropriate to Tyneside.

The general similarity of the two stones is now sufficiently self-evident. Both contain narrative texts in second-century lettering of the same monumental style, arranged in varying sizes and spacing. But the subject-matter suggested by the surviving words implies a very much closer correspondence of theme. It connects the Burlington House stone with official action in Britain on the Tyne-Solway isthmus, and the Blackgate stone with an initial statement on Hadrian's frontier policy. Neither stone, indeed, appears to record an *allocutio*, or Imperial address to troops, as Huebner and others suggested.³⁴ Possessive adjectives and verbs in first person singular or second person plural, which appear typical of such an address,³⁵ are entirely absent. Thus, connexion with a narrative rather than a speech becomes yet another feature common to the stones. The probability that the texts are complementary is now obvious; and the argument is clinched

³³ Pelham, *Essays on Roman History*, 161, a masterly statement of the position, taken from his introduction to the English version of Gregorovius's study of Hadrian.

³⁴ Huebner (*CIL* vii, 498) used the word *collaudatos*, without specifically mentioning *allocutio*; Blair (*AA*³ xvii, 4) notes the suggestion; Collingwood (*AA*⁴ ii, 77) definitely uses the word "speech."

³⁵ The famous example is the speech of Hadrian to the army of Africa at Lambaesis, *CIL* viii, 2532 = 18042 = *ILS* 2487.

by the reflection that extended narratives of this kind are so rare³⁶ among Roman military inscriptions that it is far more difficult to think of the stones as separate than as parts of a single text. These are cogent reasons, of great individual and cumulative force, for assuming that the two fragments belong to one inscription, and it now becomes worth while to consider a more exact restoration of each text, a task best begun by returning once again to the Burlington House stone.

The high importance of the last line upon the Burlington House stone for the interpretation of the text has already been stressed. As indicated by the initial phrase, *sub cur[a]*, the line must contain the name of the official responsible for the action which the inscription described. The task in question was a large one, embracing the land from sea to sea—nothing less, in a British Hadrianic inscription, than the building of Hadrian's Wall. The restoration of the final line thus in effect presents no difficulty, for the builder of the Wall is well known to have been Aulus Platorius Nepos, Hadrian's favourite general, whose name and official titles are supplied by monumental dedication-tablets³⁷ from the Wall-forts at Benwell and Halton. Accordingly, the last line is to be read as *sub cur[a A. Platori Nepotis leg(ati) Aug(usti) pr(o) pr(aetore)]*. This gives us the approximate length of the line and an invaluable clue to the size of the panel, which will have measured about five feet in width. The penultimate line contains the word *exercitus*. This word is used in contemporary literature³⁸ either for the provincial army as a whole or for an expeditionary force. Here, however, the fact that it is followed by the letters PR, both letters

³⁶ The *allocutio* of Lambaesis is unique (see previous note); but we may compare for form the Claudian orations *CIL* xiii, 1668 = *ILS* 212, and *Pap. B.U.* 611, or the Claudian edicts *Pap. B.U.* 628r and *CIL* v, 5050 = *ILS* 206.

³⁷ *AA*⁴ xiv, 161 (Halton), xix, 19-20 (Benwell) = *JRS* xxvii, 247, xxviii, 201.

³⁸ Tac. *Agricola*, 8 and 17; *Hist.* i, 70, ii, 57, *exercitus Germanicus*, i, 61, *e. inferior*; *Ann.* i, 52, *Pannonicos exercitus*, xii, 32, xiv, 38, xvi, 22.

being damaged but evident, renders the reading *exercitus pr[ovinciae]* certain; and it will further be noted that *exercitus* can here only be taken as a nominative or genitive singular, since provincial armies in the plural were not involved in building the Wall.

From the direct and indirect agents, our survey in ascending order now reaches the work itself, of which the main description is contained in the third and fourth lines, surviving as *Britannia ad[. inter]utrumque o[ceani litus]*. The official titles of the work are fortunately not in doubt. Unofficial Roman literature³⁹ and uncritical modern commentators refer to Hadrian's Wall as *murus*. But epigraphy, the Antonine Itinerary and *Notitia Dignitatum*, derived from official sources, know⁴⁰ the Wall itself as *vallum*, the same word being later applied to its Antonine counterpart, while the frontier as a whole is known as *limes*. *Vallum* or *litem* may therefore be placed with some confidence before the phrase *inter utrumque oceani litus*. The rest of the fourth line will then have contained either a further short qualification or an operative phrase. If, however, an operative phrase occurred at this point, the next line would depend upon it, with *exercitus* in the genitive, as, for example, in the words *fecit opere exercitus provinciae*. But this phrasing, awkward in itself, is rendered conspicuously clumsy by the double genitive. It is therefore desirable to explore the possibility of a further qualification. The nature of so short an addition can hardly be in doubt. The sole outstanding feature of Wall or frontier, susceptible of full yet terse expression and at the same time eminently worth statement, was its length, expressible as *per m(ilia) p(assuum) lxxx*. This addition will admirably fill the space available, controlled by the final line, and it adds a

³⁹ SHA 9, 2, *murumque per octoginta milia passuum primus duxit*.

⁴⁰ CIL vii, 940, "*ob res trans vallum prospere gestas*." *opus valli* is used of the Antonine Wall, *op. cit.*, 1135, 1140. *Itin. Antonini Aug.*, ed. Wesseling, 464, "*a limite, id. est, a vallo*." *Not. Dign., Occ.* xl, 32, "*per lineam valli*."

point which Hadrian's biographer⁴¹ considered fundamental to the description of the work.

There still remains, however, the first part of the third line, commencing, *Britannia ad*. This fragment presents difficulties. *Britannia* can hardly be in the nominative case, since the province is not to be considered as a direct agent.⁴² The case used must therefore be the ablative, and accordingly governed by a verb or preposition, unless the word is part of an ablative absolute. Secondly, *ad . . .* is unwelcome as a preposition, in view of the numerous prepositions in the phrasing which follows. It is more likely to have been the prefix of a compound verb governing the subsequent clause, in which event *ad[didit]* is virtually the only choice, giving an operative phrase, *ad[didit limitem inter] utrumque o[ceani litus per m.p. lxxx]*. This phrase is complete in itself. But if two further subordinate clauses, represented by the two final lines, are then to be appended, the sentence would lose its brevity of construction. The composition would be greatly helped by restoring the last two lines as a separate sentence, in the form *exercitus pr[ovinciae opus valli fecit] sub cur[a A. Platori Nepotis leg. Aug. pr. pr.]*. It will be recalled that *opus valli*⁴³ is the phrase regularly applied to the actual task of frontier-building on the Antonine Wall. Finally, it will be noted that *limitem* fits the first reference and the spacing better than *vallum*, and is also distinctly preferable in itself as a more balanced and less restrictive description of the numerous works⁴⁴ which composed the frontier.

Returning then to the third line, it is now clear that

⁴¹ *SHA* 9, 2, *murumque per octoginta milia passuum primus duxit qui barbaros Romanosque divideret*.

⁴² Personifications of the provinces may sometimes take action, but the province itself cannot be conceived as an active agent.

⁴³ *CIL* vii, 1135, 1140, commemorating the actual erection of the work.

⁴⁴ That is, the Wall-ditch, Wall-forts, and the so-called Vallum, not to mention the out-post forts in the west and the signal-stations of the Cumbrian shore.

Britannia, as an ablative, must be associated with a previous phrase, containing some form of the word *provinc[ia]*, of which the case-ending is lost. The two words could hardly be connected except in an ablative absolute, describing an event preceding the building of the Wall. There is, however, another ablative phrase on the stone. The topmost line commences with the past participle *diffusis*, interpreted by previous commentators⁴⁵ as "scattered," in a geographical or topographical sense, and associated with such phrases as "*diffusis copiis*" or "*diffusis castris*." But the very large letters chosen for this line show that it contained one of the most important phrases on the stone: and the word *diffusis* assumes importance as a statement of Roman policy only if employed in its later classical sense,⁴⁶ developed from *fusis* and meaning "destructively scattered." The phrase required is *diffusis [barbaris]*, previously suggested above (p. 100), which thus emerges as an ablative absolute. The order of construction now demands that the second ablative, represented by *Britannia*, must also have belonged to an ablative absolute clause, for which a verb has to be chosen, with the meaning of "freed," "relieved" or "restored." *Liberata* is too obvious and probably somewhat hyperbolic: *reciperata* would be more suitable, and has the merit of being used, in an almost contemporary source⁴⁷ for the re-establishment of the British province by Suetonius Paulinus after the disaster of A.D. 61, in the laudatory phrase "*reciperatae provinciae gloria*." Thus, step by step, a version is reached of the narrative on the Burlington House stone which has at least the merit of consistency and of suitability to the space available. The whole six lines (fig. 3) would run thus:—*diffusis [barbaris et] | provinc[ia reciperata]!*

⁴⁵ Hüebner, *CIL* vii, 498, see note 22, above; Brand thought it meant extended, *op. cit.*, 590; cf. Surtees, *History of Durham*, ii, 68; Hodgson (*loc. cit.*) offers no translation.

⁴⁶ cf. *Amm. Marc.* xvii, 13, 19, *post absumptos paene diffusosque Amicenses petiti sunt sine mora Picenses*.

⁴⁷ Tac. *Agricola*, 5, 4, *summa rerum et reciperatae provinciae gloria in ducem cessit*.

*Britannia ad[didit limitem inter] | utrumque o[ceani litus
per m.p. lxxx.] | Exercitus pr[ovinciae opus valli fecit] |
sub cur[a A(uli) Plator]i Nepotis leg[ati] Aug[usti] pr(o)
pr(aetore)].*

The Blackgate text may next be considered. No final phrase here provides the starting-point for a treatment in ascending order. Indeed, since the sixth line on the stone is mutilated beyond hope of restoration, we are faced with an inevitable lacuna. But the first line is decipherable, even if it has been diversely restored. Brand⁴⁸ suggested [*pro salute*] *omnium fil[iorum]*, with reference to Hadrian's adopted sons. Huebner thought⁴⁹ that the surviving letters concealed the phrase *omnium fid[em]*. But both these solutions must be rejected. For neither analogy nor the facts of the Hadrianic succession justify Brand's interpretation, which Brand himself⁵⁰ found difficult to uphold; while Huebner based his restoration upon the assumption that this was not an initial line, where his phrase "*omnium fidem*" is inappropriate. Proceeding, then, from the points that the inscription is a narrative, and that it contains Hadrian's name in the second line, it is difficult to see what can have occupied the first line, cut in the largest letters on the stone, except an honorary title applicable to Hadrian. This conclusion considerably narrows the field of choice, and in fact decides the question of the final surviving word; for, since no word related to the stem *fid-* is applicable to an honorary imperial title, *fil[ius]* remains the only acceptable restoration of the fragment. Accordingly, it becomes evident that the title named Hadrian as the son of all the members (*omnium filius*) of a plurality. There is, however, only one plurality of which the Emperor could indisputably and traditionally be called the son, namely, the deified members of the Imperial House, collectively named the *divi*. The initial phrase may thus be restored with virtual certainty as *divorum.] omnium fil[ius]*.

⁴⁸ *op. cit.*, 590.

⁴⁹ *CIL* vii, 498b.

⁵⁰ *op. cit.*, 590.

The form of this title is, however, both novel and unique; and is as unexampled in the western provinces as had been the dedication of a temple to the living Claudius in the *colonia* of Camulodunum.⁵¹ But its content must be recognized as the expression of a series of ideas already current in the Roman world. The peculiarity of the title can hardly be said to lie in the expression *divorum filius*. At least as early as A.D. 145, the *divi* were worshipped collectively⁵² by the Arval Brothers. From the Augustan title⁵³ *divi filius*, consistently developed, as the Imperial ancestry gained in weight and distinction, into a pedigree⁵⁴ of several *divi*, the step to a Hadrianic *divorum filius*, where *filius* is used in the sense of descendant, as commonly in Imperial Latin, is a comprehensible development. Indeed, the idea germinates in Roman literature throughout the first century of the Empire. Augustus is designated⁵⁵ as *dis genitus*, as is the Julio-Claudian house⁵⁶ as a whole, Domitian⁵⁷ as *nate deum*, or *magnorum proles genitorque deum*, Domitian's infant son⁵⁸ as *vera deum suboles*. The

⁵¹ The institution was derided in Rome as something native, *Apuocolocytosis*, 8, 3, *deus fieri vult: parum est quod templum in Britannia habet, quod nunc barbari colunt, et ut deum orant μωροῦ, εὐδλάτων τυχεῖν*. It should, however, be emphasized that the temple was in fact the principal building of the sole Roman *colonia* in the province, regarded by the Britons as *arx aeternae dominationis*. The truth must lie between these two extremes. Nor did the criticism prevent a proposal in the Senate of similar honours for Nero in A.D. 65 (Tac. *Ann.* xv, 74).

⁵² *EE* viii, pp. 332-333 = *ILS* 5038.

⁵³ Adopted in 38 B.C. on coins of Agrippa, Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, ii, 410.

⁵⁴ cf. *CIL* vii, 12, a British example from Chichester recording Nero. For the use of *filius* in the sense of descendant, see *Thesaurus* vi, 1, 757. Vergil, *Aen.* vi, 864, *filius anne aliquis magna de stirpe nepotum*; also *Call. dig.* 50, 16, 220, quoting Papirius, *fili enim appellatione saepe et nepotes accipi multifariam placere*; also *Aug. loc. nept.* i, 107, p. 523, *filium dici et avi et proavi et ultra maioris alicuius eum qui ex illo propagatur, usitatissimae locutionis est*.

⁵⁵ Vergil, *Aen.* ix, 641-2, *dis genite et geniture deos*.

⁵⁶ Seneca, *ad Marciam de consolatione*, 15, refers to *alii Caesares, qui dis geniti deosque genituri dicantur*, in an obvious extension of the Vergilian phrase to embrace the whole Julio-Claudian house.

⁵⁷ Silius Italicus, *Argonautica*, 625. Statius, *Silvae*, i, 1, 74.

⁵⁸ Martial, *Epigr.* vi, 3; cf. *deorum stirpe genito Caesari*, in Buecheler, *Carmina latina epigraphica*, i, 20, thought to be of the middle third century.

Roman coinage⁵⁹ recognizes Hadrian as *genius saeculi* and blazons forth the processive divinity of the Emperor by bestowing the Sun-god's radiate crown on every living Emperor, excepting the reactionaries Galba and Nerva, from Nero to Trajan; and the intimate connexion between Apollo and the Emperors is stressed under Hadrian by the Giessen papyrus.⁶⁰ Even a reactionary constitutionalist, jealously observant of the distinction made between living man and god by Roman conservative tradition, could take little exception to the phrase *divorum filius*. But the enlargement of the phrase to *divorum omnium filius* introduces other trains of thought. The conservative politician might, indeed, have excused the epithet as intended to link the reigning Emperor processively with the whole company of *divi*, as opposed to the adoptive connexion with Nerva and Trajan regularly asserted by Hadrian. But he could not have been unaware that to the less restrained and less critical public the phrase *divorum omnium filius* inevitably suggested a wider connexion, with the Twelve Olympian deities known as the *Πάντες Θεοί*. This type of connexion was, indeed, already current⁶¹ in the Hellenistic world. First heroes⁶² and then such rulers⁶³ as Philip I and

⁵⁹ Mattingly, *BMC* i, clxxi (Nero); ii, xliii (Vespasian and Titus), 355 and *passim* (Domitian); iii, xciii (Trajan), 352 and *passim* (Hadrian). Medallions in gold (Mattingly and Sydenham, *RIC* ii, pl. 13, 239) and bronze (Gnechchi, *I medaglioni romani*, iii, tav. 147, no. 3) figure Hadrian as *genius saeculi*, framed by the signs of the zodiac. As Strack (*Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, ii, 107) remarks, the connexion of this representation with the doctrine of the Triskaidekatos Theos is clear.

⁶⁰ Kornemann, *Klio*, vii, 278-288; the point that Apollo's role is virtually reduced to that of Imperial harbinger is due to the acute observation of Mrs. Strong, *Apotheosis and Afterlife*, 91.

⁶¹ Nock, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xlviii, 22ff., has a valuable discussion and summary of the evidence.

⁶² Cos, Charmylus the eponymous hero, Paton-Hicks, *Inscr. of Cos*, 349; Xanthus, Harpagides, Weinreich, *Lyk. Relig.* 15ff.

⁶³ Philip I, at Aegae (*Diodor.* xvi, 92, 95), *σύνθηρονον ἐαυτὸν ἀποδεικνύντες τοῦ βασιλείως τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς*. This is regarded by Hammond as historically worthless (*Class. Quart.* xxxi, 91); but there is no doubt about Eumenes II, at Eleia, *σεφανήφορος τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν καὶ θεοῦ βασιλείως Εὐμένου* (Dittenberger, *OGI* 332, 27) or Antiochus I of Commagene, who is described as *σύνθηρονος* (*op. cit.*, 383). Vallois, *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, liii, 247ff. describes the statue-bases at Delos in the *ἀγορὰ θεῶν*.

Eumenes II had been attached, or had even joined themselves, to the Twelve Gods, while equestrian statues of Antigonos and Demetrius could dominate the Delian ἀγορὰ θεῶν. The idea of divinity achieved through service⁶⁴ was fundamental in Cicero's religious thought and is used by Horace: while Augustus and Agrippa had both toyed with the same idea, the former⁶⁵ indiscreetly in a banquet, the latter⁶⁶ in his scheme for dedicating the Pantheon. The Hellenic world was even more outspoken. At Cyzicus, the fact that Hadrian, as Triskaidekatos Theos, took the dominant place⁶⁷ among the Twelve Olympians made a deep impression. At Athens Hadrian, and at Megara Hadrian and other earlier Emperors, are also associated⁶⁸ with the

⁶⁴ Cicero, *Somn. Scip.* 26, *bene meritis de patria quasi limes ad caeli aditum patet*; or *De Nat. Deor.* ii, 62; Horace, *Odes*, iii, 3.

⁶⁵ Suetonius, *Div. Aug.* 70, *cena quoque eius secretior in fabulis fuit quae vulgo δωδεκάθεος vocabatur, in qua deorum dearumque habitu discubuisse convivas et ipsum pro Apolline ornatum*. It has been suggested, with some force, that Julius Caesar had the same ideas in regard to Jupiter (*JRS* vi, 37): but this evidence is open to other interpretations (*JRS* vi, 177 sq.).

⁶⁶ Dio Cass. liii, 27, τὸ τε Πάνθειον ὀνομασμένον ἐξετέλεσε . . . ἡβουλήθη μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τὸν Ἀδριανὸν ἐνταῦθα ἰδρύσαι τὴν τε τοῦ ἔργου ἐπιπέλασιν αὐτῷ δοῦναι· μὴ δεξαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ μηδέτερον, ἐκεῖ μὲν τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος ἐν δὲ τῷ προνώῳ τοῦ τε Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ ἐαυτοῦ ἀνδριάντας ἔστησε. It is not generally appreciated (cf. even Platner-Ashby, *Top. Dict. Anc. Rome*, 382) that Dio must be describing the Pantheon of the Hadrianic age, since he refers to the building as *θολοειδὲς ὄν*, which Agrippa's building was not (Colini, *Bull. Comunale*, 1927, 67ff., whence von Gerkan, *Gnomon*, 1929, 227 and plan, 274). Thus, despite the abnegation of Augustus, the building had in fact become a sort of Pantheon in the Parisian sense, and it may be presumed that Hadrian had retained the older decorative scheme in part. Hence the two niches in his portico, presumably for statues of Augustus and Agrippa. For other details not retained, see Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi, 38. The huge size and importance of the Hadrianic building is appreciated best by comparing the superimposed plans, separated by a century in the growth of the Imperial idea (cf. *Gnomon*, *loc. cit.*).

⁶⁷ Cyzicus, Socrates, *Hist. Eccl.* iii, 23. Κυζικηνῶν δὲ τρισκαδέκατον θεὸν Ἀδριανὸν ἀνηγόρευσαν. Weinreich, in Roscher's *Lexikon d. gr. u. röm. Mythologie*, s.v. Zwölfgötter, thinks that Hadrian here was represented as Zeus, but the literary sources to which he refers do not specifically say so.

⁶⁸ Pausanias, i, 3, 2, describing the στοὰ βασιλείος in the Cerameicus at Athens, ἐνταῦθα ἔστηκε Ζεὺς ὀνομαζόμενος Ἐλευθέριος καὶ βασιλεὺς Ἀδριανὸς . . . στοὰ δὲ ὄπισθεν ψικιδόμηται γραφὰς ἔχουσα θεοῦ τοῦ δωδεκάκαλουμένου. We owe this reference to Dr. Jocelyn Toynbee. cf. Pausanias, i, 40, 2, on the shrine of Artemis at Megara, ἀρχαῖον ἔστιν ἱερὸν εἰκόνες δὲ ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἑστᾶσιν ἐν αὐτῷ βασιλείων Ῥωμαίων καὶ ἀγάλμα κείται χαλκοῦν Ἀρτέμιδος. cf.

Divinē Twelve. Older temples were also appropriated⁶⁹ to the Emperors. Even in Rome itself Hadrian's rebuilding of the Pantheon,⁷⁰ serving sometimes as his Court and by him designed to the round plan associated not only with the universality of the *Πάντες Θεοί* but with world-dominion, expresses his own interest in such processive ideas. No more outspoken declaration was possible in Rome, where Republican ideas still leavened political thought. But the western provinces contribute a small and significant group⁷¹ of Antonine and later dedications to *Pantheus Augustus*, mostly erected by officials and *seviri Augustales*, which are indubitably to be linked with the same development.⁷² Thus it cannot be said that any aspect of the title *divorum omnium filius* was at all foreign to Roman thought of Hadrian's day, whether *filius* is taken in adoptive or processive sense. Further, although the title as restored is unique, it will be recollected that it occurs in a remote province, which was especially indebted⁷³ to Hadrian for both defence and civic development, and where bold experiments had already been made in Emperor-worship. Here, too, the official cult of

Pausanias, viii, 19, 1, on the township of the Arcadian Cynaethans, *καὶ σφισιν ἐν ἀγορᾷ πεποιήνται μὲν θεῶν βωμοὶ πεποιήνται δὲ Ἀδριανοῦ βασιλείως εἰκόων.*

⁶⁹ At Olympia the *Metróon* (Pausanias, v, 20, 9) and the Treasury of Cyrene (*id.* vi, 19, 10); at Delphi an unnamed Treasury (*id.* x, 8, 6). The statue of Hadrian in the Athenian Parthenon is also worth note (*id.* i, 24, 7).

⁷⁰ *SHA* 19, *Romae instauravit Pantheon . . . propriis auctorum nominibus consecravit.* Dio Cass. lxi, 7, *καὶ ἐδίκασε μετὰ τῶν πρώτων τότε μὲν ἐν τῷ παλατίῳ τότε δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῷ τε πανθείῳ καὶ ἄλλοις πολλαχοῦ.*

⁷¹ *CIL* vi, 559, of Antonine date, by a delegation from Barcino; viii, 14690, for the health of Caracalla and Iulia Domna; ii, 1165, by a *sevir Augustalis* at Gades; ii, 3030, by a *sevir Aug.* at Complutum; v, 3279, by C. Sálvius Verecundus, bearing a libertine name, at Verona. It is worth while in this connexion to recall the bestowal of the title *Panthea* upon the deceased Livia Drusilla; Dio Cass. lix, 11, *τότε οὖν Πάνθεά τε ὠνομάζετο καὶ τιμῶν δαιμονίων ἐν πάσαις ταῖς πόλεσιν ἤξειοντο.*

⁷² Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, 224-225, commenting upon the cession of the thunderbolt to Trajan by Jupiter; an event incidentally anticipated on the coinage of Domitian (*BMC* ii, xciv), though it was no doubt not thought politic to say so.

⁷³ The debt of the civil province to Hadrian has only recently been fully recognized, see Collingwood, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, 195f.

the *domus divina*⁷⁴ is manifested earlier and as consistently as in any other western province. Thus, we can add to the analysis of the title the statement that it emerges in well-prepared soil.

The second line returns to normality, and will have contained the customary titles [*imp(erator) Caesar Traianus] Hadr[ianus Aug(ustus)]*. When both lines are considered together, however, it will be seen that there is not room in the second line for the usual statement of adoptive divine ancestry, a point which implies that something of the kind must have been stated, abnormally, in the previous line. The interpretation given above thus wins support from an unexpected quarter.

The third line contains the phrase . . .]a necessitat[e], restored by Huebner⁷⁵ as [*dir]a necessitat[e]*. The ablative form is in itself likely, but before considering the phrase further, it should be recollected that the association of Hadrian and *necessitas* requires a statement of policy, in which *dira necessitate* is most unlikely, *necessitas* being enough in itself. The next line reads . . .]vati . . . ino pr . . . , with space for four letters, or a stop and three letters, between the first two fragments. There is no trace of *s* after . . . vati, as drawn⁷⁶ by Bruce; and the suffixes and case-endings, as they stand, suggest a participial termination in the genitive followed by an adjectival suffix with dative or ablative case-ending. This would fit well enough with the qualitative genitive which might be expected to follow *necessitas*, to which in turn an ablative of attendant circumstances would also form an appropriate sequence. As already observed, however, the primary political necess-

⁷⁴The cult of the *domus divina* appears at Chichester under Cogidumnus (*CIL* vii, 11), where it is repeated in a later inscription (*JRS* xxvi, 264). It recurs at Petuaria under Antoninus Pius (*JRS* xxviii, 199). These are both cantonal centres where Romanization was strongest and the point deserves stress. Von Domaszewski observes that in the Rhineland the cult begins with Pius and is strongest in the third century (*Abhandl. z. röm. Religion*, p. 153, note 1).

⁷⁵*CIL* vii, 498.

⁷⁶*Lap. Sept.* 598.

ity admitted by Hadrian and rigorously applied by him to Britain was the curtailment of the Imperial frontiers (p. 102) : and his biographer⁷⁷ has recorded the apothegm by which he commonly justified the action. This, however, was the echo⁷⁸ of a speech or conversational quip: A historian's explanation had been anticipated by Tacitus⁷⁹ as "*addideratque (Augustus) consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii*"; and the point had already occurred in his *Agricola*,⁸⁰ in the form "*longa oblivio Britanniae etiam in pace: consilium id divus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius praeceptum.*" It is evident that the official reason offered for the rejection of a forward policy was the counsel of Augustus. Nor is it now difficult to perceive the drift of the fragmentary ablative phrase: the restoration [*div*]ino pr[ae]cepto fits the space and neatly states the official plea. The implicit justification is indeed seen to be complete when the context of the phrase is recalled. The *divorum omnium filius* acts *divino praecepto*, in accordance with the fixed policy of the *divi*. The expansionist indiscretions of Trajan, as yet in his novitiate amid the company of Heaven, are eclipsed and transcended by the consensus of divine wisdom which Hadrian interprets.

The commencement of the clause so auspiciously ended, has, however, yet to be discussed. Granted the order of the final words, in genitive and ablative cases, the relationship between Hadrian and *necessitas* must have been ex-

⁷⁷ *SHA*, 5, I, see note 33 above.

⁷⁸ It is worth note that the quotation of precedent was something of a feature in Imperial speeches, cf. Claudius, *CIL* xiii, 1668; Augustus, Suetonius, *Div. Aug.*, 89, and the burlesque of his manner in *Apocolocyntosis*, 10; and Hadrian himself, *CIL* viii, 2532, 18042, and the remarks of P. J. Alexander, *Harvard Class. Studies*, xlix, 1938, 173.

⁷⁹ *Ann.* i, 11; Strack, *Untersuchungen zur römische Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, ii, 42, suggests that the sneers of *Ann.* i, 7, conveyed by the phrase *senilis adoptio*, may well have a topical reference to the events of A.D. 117; to which Mattingly, *BMC* iii, cxxvii, note 2, acutely adds *uxoris ambitus*, with reference to Plotina. If these references, however, are to be recognized as topical, why not those to provincial policy also, where there was an equally striking parallel, in the change to static frontiers?

⁸⁰ *Agricola*, 13, 3.

pressed at the very beginning of the third line. If a preposition had been employed, *ex* would have been the likeliest choice; while no preposition would be required if a passive verb were used. But the easiest, and by far the most discreet, mode of expressing an idea which emphatically demanded tactful statement, would be to represent the point as circumstantial, by means of an ablative absolute. This solution wins some support from the fact that the surviving *-a*, preceding *necessitat-*, would fall into place as a case-ending in agreement with *necessitat[e]*. The sense and space available would require some such phrase⁸¹ as [*imposit*]a *necessitat[e]* *div*]ino *pr[ae]cepto*. As for the intervening words, the phrase in the genitive following *necessitat[e]* must contain *imperii*, in agreement with a past participle ending in *-vali*: and in the space at disposal such a restoration⁸² as *imperii intra fines conservati* cannot be far from the mark (fig. 3).

The fifth line, as now preserved, opens with the date [*c*]o(n)s(ul) II, but the remaining letters are altogether obscure. The date, however, is of importance, partly because the reading is itself new and partly because this consulship of A.D. 119 is known to have marked Hadrian's first active intervention in the affairs of the British province. A military disaster had attended his accession, in August, A.D. 117. The biography records only the native turbulence, in the words "*Britanni teneri sub Romana ditione non poterant*," and a passing phrase⁸³ refers only to heavy attendant casualties, in the words "*avo vestro im-*

⁸¹ For this use of *necessitas* with *imponere*, cf. Cic. *ad Att.* iv, 5, 2, *ego mihi necessitatem volui imponere huius novae coniunctionis*; also Caes. *B.C.* iii, 77, *si qua esset imposita dimicandi necessitas*. It is used also in an Imperial edict *Pap. B.U.* 628r. *imposita quadam necessitate* (see Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani* (1909), p. 252, line 2). For the use of the past participle instead of the gerund, cf. Tac. *Ann.* iii, 64, *necessitudinem . . . festinati . . . reditus*, where *necessitudo* is synonymous with *necessitas*. The contrast between *necessitas* and human agency is brought out by Cicero, *pro Ligario*, 17, *humana consilia divina necessitate esse superata*.

⁸² cf. Tac. *Ann.* i, 11, *consilium coercendi intra terminos imperii*.

⁸³ Fronto, *Epistulae*, ed. Naber, p. 217, ed. Loeb, ii, 22.

perium optinente, quantum militum a Britannis . . . caesum." The additional inference, that heavy destruction or disgrace, or both, then befell the Ninth Legion, based upon York, is based upon its disappearance⁸⁴ from history after A.D. 108 and its replacement by the Sixth Legion under Hadrian. The substitution, however, is normally dated⁸⁵ to A.D. 122, and during the intervening years, covered by the governorship⁸⁶ of Quintus Pomponius Falco, the fighting strength of the provincial army was made up by a combined force⁸⁷ of three vexillations, each a thousand strong and each drawn from a separate German legion but brigaded together under Titus Pontius Sabinus. The victorious recovery then rapidly achieved is indicated by contemporary coins,⁸⁸ issued in A.D. 119, bearing the legends *Britannia*, *Iuppiter Victor* and *Roma Victrix*. Finally, the work of consolidation was cemented by a personal visit⁸⁹ of Hadrian to the province, *in qua multa correxit*.

⁸⁴ Formulated by Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire* (ed. Dickson, 1886), i, 1888, note 1.

⁸⁵ Ritterling, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, xii, 1, 1289-90 and xii, 2, 1606, is uncertain whether this occurred before A.D. 125; but the question is settled by the new inscription from Halton (*JRS* xxvii, 247 = *AA*⁴ xiv, 161) which attests the presence of legio VI under Platorius Nepos. This agrees with von Domaszewski's acute observation (*Abhandl. z. röm. Religion*, 20-21) that the altars to Neptune and Oceanus, set up by the Sixth Legion on the *pons Aelius* at Newcastle upon Tyne, probably commemorated the erection of the bridge where river and tides met. It is preferable to R. Mowat's interpretation (*AA*² xxv, 137; cf. Bosanquet, *Northumberland County History*, xiii, 543-5).

⁸⁶ *JRS* xx, 21; confirming Atkinson, *JRS* xii, 61, 65.
⁸⁷ *CIL* x, 5829, *praepositus vexillationibus milliariis tribus expeditione Britannica, leg. VII gemin., VIII Aug., XXII Primig.*; also auxiliaries, cf. *CIL* xi, 5632, *electus a divo Hadriano et missus in expeditionem Britannicam*, of the well-known M. Maenius Agrippa.

⁸⁸ Since the summary of numismatic evidence in *CW*² xxii, 384, the detailed researches of Strack and Mattingly have altered the picture. The relevant legends are now considered by Mattingly to be *Britannia*, *Iuppiter Victor*, and *Roma Victrix* of A.D. 119. Strack (*op. cit.*, 71) still thinks that *Concordia* is to be referred to the joint operations of British and continental drafts; but, as Mattingly points out (*BMC* iii, clxv, note 1), *Concordia* is not normally invoked in this sense either on coins or inscriptions (cf. *Val. Max.* i, 8, 17).

⁸⁹ *SHA* 5, *Britanniam petiit* (contrast *BMC* iii, cxliv, placing *adventus* type late). The date of the visit has been accepted as A.D. 122 since Duerr, *Die Reisen des Kaisers Hadrian*, 36.

These, then, were the outstanding events which fell between the second consulate mentioned in the last legible phrase on the Blackgate stone, and the state of peace

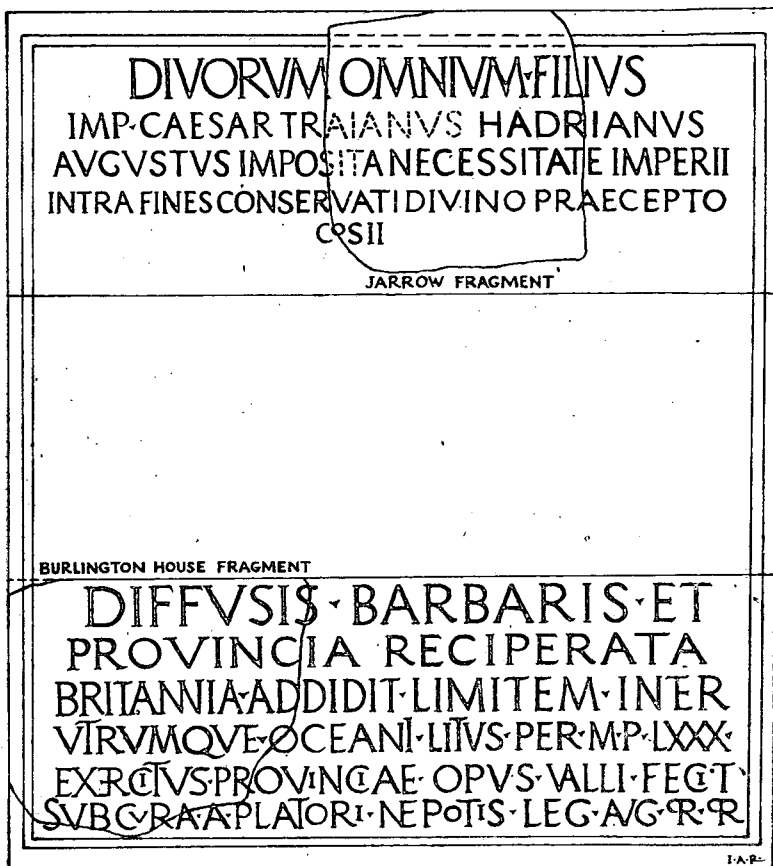


FIG. 3. THE BLACKGATE AND BURLINGTON HOUSE STONES COMBINED IN A RESTORED TEXT.

followed by the building of the Wall, recorded in the first words of the Burlington House stone: Even if they were recounted with authentic Impèrial brevity, as in the existing text, their recital can hardly have occupied much less

than six lines, that is to say, a stone of the same size as those already discussed. This stone is now lost. But its existence would provide an abundant reason for the division of the slab into separate units: for the whole panel would thus be roughly six feet high, a height too great for a single slab if it were to be correctly bedded, but readily attainable in three two-foot units. It may be further observed that such units are in harmony with the coursing of Roman monumental buildings; and that the church at Jarrow still exhibits several Roman blocks of this dimension employed as Saxon quoins and also re-used in the Norman tower.

A final point of design is to be observed (fig. 3). The lettering on each slab is grouped with remarkable diversity of style in different sizes and spacing. But the recovery of the general sense and composition of the text makes possible an appreciation of the arrangement. The very large but tight lettering of the first line, boldly asserting the Emperor's divine lineage, dominated the whole panel with almost the symbolic value of a cartouche: while in the second line his constitutional appellation, though widely spaced and readily legible, is deliberately dwarfed by the proclamation of divine ancestry immediately above it. Next follows the statement of policy, closely packed but not crowded, forming a mass of solid fact to be apprehended by the careful attention due to the "*arcana imperii*." The central portion of the panel, probably amounting to six lines, has vanished; but it is both anticipated and echoed by the lettering of the stones in our possession. It may be thought that the victory proclaimed by the missing text dominated the middle of the panel in the most prominent lettering of all. For just as the theme on the first stone opens with an assertive chord, and then devolves through the generous punctuation of the Imperial name into even scoring, so, on the final stone, the treatment is already passing into tranquil rhythm from the bolder first lines which must themselves echo a no-less massive rendering

of victory. The emphasis is then cleverly sustained until the end by manipulation of the spacing. The achievements of victory, and the building of the Wall which reinforced them, were recounted in a flowing group of tall and almost crowded lettering, where the initial word *Britannia* forms the link between the two modes. Finally, the packed and crowded closing lines balance but in no way compete with the topmost line in the panel. Their function is to proclaim in lengthier phrase, but no less hieroglyphic style, the secondary agents in the work; and the effect of the crowded massing is to bring the theme gently to rest. The composition of the lines is thus shown to be intimately related to their content and to form a strong and subtle bond of unity between the stones. The inflected language, devoid of punctuation, offers particular scope for richly developed treatment of this type in a lengthy inscription. But few British inscriptions are long enough to permit such an analysis.

The significance of the stones from Jarrow is thus now revealed, despite the fact that a considerable lacuna is shown to exist in the text as preserved. They contained, as Huebner thought, an account of Hadrian's military achievement in Britain, though not in the form of an *allocutio*.⁹⁰ The narrative text began with a statement of policy, justified by Imperial tradition and astutely linked with established worship. The central portion, now wholly missing, dealt with the achievement of victory. The final section, best preserved of all, described the consolidation marked by the erection of frontier barriers which still rank among the famous monuments of the world. There can thus be little doubt to what type of monument the inscription itself belonged. A stone dealing with a complete cycle of historical events, culminating in the establishment of an entire defensive line, is inapplicable to any single part of the mural works. So comprehensive a statement can have graced only an independent war-memorial or *tropaeum* of a size com-

⁹⁰ *CIL* vii, 498, see note 34, above.

mensurate with the monumental proportions of the inscription. Apart from this, however, the stone gives little clue to the form of the monument, whether round and massive, like Trajan's enormous war-memorial at Adamklissi,⁹¹ tall and ethereal, like the Augustan *tropaeum* at La Turbie,⁹² or lofty and oblong like Domitian's monument at Richborough;⁹³ though the proportions of the panel do in fact suggest a design running to height rather than width. The site of the monument is also unknown. But there are factors which narrow the choice. It was surely associated with the eastern end of the frontier which it commemorated, and lay near enough to Jarrow⁹⁴ to be a ready source to the Saxon builders of large worked stones. The selection of the site would be further limited by the general principle observed in placing *tropaea*: as Servius⁹⁵ remarked, in discussing such matters, the ideal site lay "*in colle, quia tropaea non figebantur nisi in eminentioribus locis.*" This consideration rules out the lowly position of Jarrow itself; while Wallsend, though chosen for the eastern terminus of the Wall on account of its double command of the Long Reach and Bill Reach on the Tyne, dominates the river rather than the surrounding landscape. No outstanding eminence in fact occurs on this sector of the frontier-line except at the river-mouth; and the sea-coast is indeed a site appropriate enough for a monument commemorating a work which stretched "*inter utrumque oceani litus.*" Here

⁹¹ Tocilescu, Benndorff and Niemann, *Das Monument von Adamklissi, Tropaeum Traiani*; cf. Furtwängler, *Abhandl. d. k. Bayer. Akad. d. Wissensch.*, Classe I, vol. xxii, section iii, 455, *Das Tropaion von Adamklissi und provinzialrömische Kunst*, and Studniczka, *Abhandl. phil.-hist. Classe k. Sächs. Gess. d. Wissensch.* xxii, iv, *Tropaeum Traiani*.

⁹² Benndorff, *Jahresh. d. Öst. Arch. Inst.* vi, 1903, 264; Formigé, *C.R. Acad. des Inscr. et Belles Lettres*, 1910, p. 510, also Casimir, *La trophée d'Auguste à la Turbie*; p. viii.

⁹³ Bushe-Fox, *Excavations at Richborough*, i, 6-7; ii, 10-13; iii, 19-20.

⁹⁴ It is worth while to compare the contemporary masonry of Monkwearmouth, where Roman stones were relatively scarce, with that of Jarrow where they are abundant, as also at Escomb. The implication is that at Jarrow the Roman site was within easy reach, though probably not, as Surtees thought, at Jarrow itself.

⁹⁵ On *Aen.* xi, 6.

there are two possible positions. On the south side of the river the Lawe at South Shields was crowned by a fort, guarding like Arrian's Phasis⁹⁶ the port which lay at its feet. This site commands a fine southward view, but the summit is occupied by the fort itself, and any monument situated on the hill would thus lack the isolation ideally required. The north bank of the river offers a loftier and much more conspicuous position, then free from encumbrances but now occupied by the superb ruins of Tynemouth Priory. An unfettered choice would almost certainly have fallen upon this site, but no confirmation of the point is obtainable. Finally, it is not unlikely the monument was duplicated on the Cumbrian shore.⁹⁷ There is no reason to think that one end of the Wall was more important in Roman eyes than the other, and the fact that both ends are mentioned on the inscription would lend support to a twin design.

⁹⁶ Arrian, *Periplus* (ed. Teubner, 1928), 9, 3-4.

⁹⁷ In this connexion attention should be drawn to the altar *CIL* vii, 940, from Kirksteads, on the prominent ridge a mile south of Kirkandrews upon Eden. It has been cut down, after Roman times, and the name of the deity to which it was dedicated has been lost in the process. But the dedicator is no less a personage than the legate of the Sixth Legion, who set up the altar *ob res trans vallum prospere gestas*. Thus, the altar itself is a sort of trophy, and it would be as likely to be associated with an official monument as with a local shrine, which is the alternative. For the association of shrines and *trophaea*, see Strabo, *Geogr.* iv, 1, 11, of Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, *καὶ ἔστησε τρόπαιον αὐτῶν λευκὸν λίθου καὶ νεῶς δύο τὸν μὲν Ἀρεῶς τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέους*.



1



2

INSCRIPTION FROM JARROW AT THE BLACKGATE (fig. 1)
AND BURLINGTON HOUSE (fig. 2).

