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II. Inscriptions¹

By R.S.O. TOMLIN and M.W.C. HASSALL

A. MONUMENTAL

1. **City of London** (*Londinium*, TQ 3258 8110), 1 Poultry (FIGS 1 and 2). Irregular rectangle, *c*. 70 by 50 mm, cut from sheet lead *c*. 1 mm thick, found² in 1994. After being inscribed with four lines of cursive letters,³ it was folded vertically and then horizontally.⁴ It reads: PLAVTIVS NOBILIA|NVS A[.]RIIL SATVR|NINVS DOMITIA ATTI|OLA IIT Şİ QVI A FVERE, *Plautius Nobilia*|nus A[u]rel(ius) Satur|ninus Domitia Atti|ola et si qui afuere. 'Plautius Nobilianus, Aurelius Saturninus, Domitia Attiola, and any who were absent.'⁵



FIG. 1. City of London, 1 Poultry, inscribed lead tablet (No. 1). Scale 1:1. (Photo: Institute of Archaeology, Oxford)

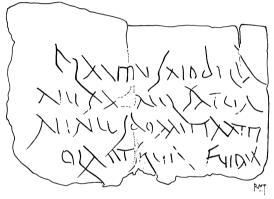


FIG. 2. City of London, 1 Poultry, inscribed lead tablet (No. 1). Scale 1:1. (Drawn by R.S.O. Tomlin)

Inscriptions on STONE and the lead 'curse tablets' have been arranged as in the order followed by R.G. Collingwood and R.P. Wright in *The Roman Inscriptions of Britain* Vol. i (Oxford, 1965), henceforth cited as *RIB*. Citation is by item and not page number. Inscriptions on PERSONAL BELONGINGS and the like (*instrumentum domesticum*) have been arranged alphabetically by site under their counties. For each site they have been ordered as in *RIB*, pp. xiii–xiv. The items of *instrumentum domesticum* published in the eight fascicules of *RIB* II (1990–95), edited by S.S. Frere and R.S.O. Tomlin, are cited by fascicule, by the number of their category (*RIB* 2401–2505) and by their sub-number within it (e.g. *RIB* II.2, 2415. 53). When measurements are quoted, the width precedes the height.

Dr Tomlin (RSOT) has written entries Nos 1–14, 19–25, 32–50; Mr Hassall (MWCH) entries Nos 15–18, 26–31. Addenda et Corrigenda and the overall editing are by RSOT.

- ² During excavation by MoLAS directed by Pete Ransome and others. At the Museum of London Angela Wardle and Liz Goodman made the tablet (inv. no. 8298) available.
- ³ Aurel(ius) in line 2 suggests a date after the accession of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138), and palaeographically a date within the next fifty years would be reasonable. E is written II, which in Britain is very rare in 'curse-tablets', but typical of stilus-tablets from the period A.D. 75–150.
 - ⁴ The first fold has damaged some letters, and in line 2, where it was crossed by the second fold, V has been lost entirely.
- ⁵ The names are presumably those of enemies or suspected wrongdoers. In British 'curse tablets' it is very unusual for them to be identified by nomen and cognomen (i.e. as Roman citizens): there is not one instance at Bath, and apparently none at Uley either; the only exceptions are two other tablets from London (*RIB* 6 and 7), which likewise write II for E, and are distinctive in their formulation.

The second half of line 4 is damaged by corrosion, and the reading and interpretation are difficult. Within the fold after IIT there are sufficient traces, although damaged, of SI. Next is the diagonal of Q, not A, with possible trace of the loop. After VI, the first stroke of A has been lost in corrosion. Then there is an unexplained space before F but, despite the corrosion, no sign that there was a letter here. The extreme right-hand corner is badly corroded, but two diagonals (i.e. E) have been incised over a vertical stroke, perhaps a continuation of terminal I in the line above. *et si qui afuere* can be read, therefore, but with difficulty; it would be an all-inclusive formula, rather like *si puer si puella* (etc.), found here for the first time.

2. City of London (Londinium, TQ 324 813), Guildhall Yard Roman amphitheatre (FIG. 3). Irregular rectangle cut from sheet lead c. 1 mm thick, c. 85 by c. 105 mm, found⁶ in 1992 in the fill of a drain (A.D. 160–250) within the arena. It was not deliberately folded after being inscribed, but has become crumpled with ragged edges and damage due to creasing and corrosion, including a hole in the centre.⁷ It was inscribed on one side in square, somewhat irregular, capitals now rather faint: [.]EAE DEA[..]E DONO | ÇAPITVLAREM ET FAȘ | [.]IAM MINVS PARTE | TERTIA SI QVIS HOC FECI[.] | [.]I P.ER SI .VELLA Ş[.] | [.]ER[...]Ş.[...] | DON[...]NEC P[...] | ME[..]V[...] POSSIT, [d]eae Dea[na]e dono | capitularem et fas|[c]iam minus parte | tertia si quis hoc feci[t] | [s]i p[u]er si [p]uella s[i] | [s]er[vus] s[i liber] | don[o eum] nec p[er] | me [vi]v[ere] possit. 'I give to the goddess Deana (my) headgear and band less one-third. If anyone has done this, I give him, and through me let him be unable to live.'8

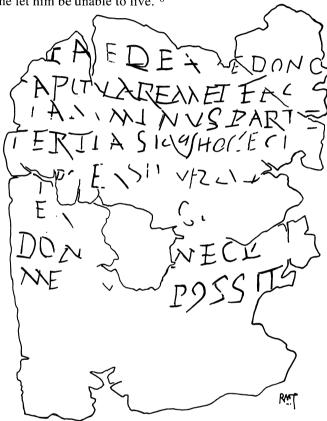
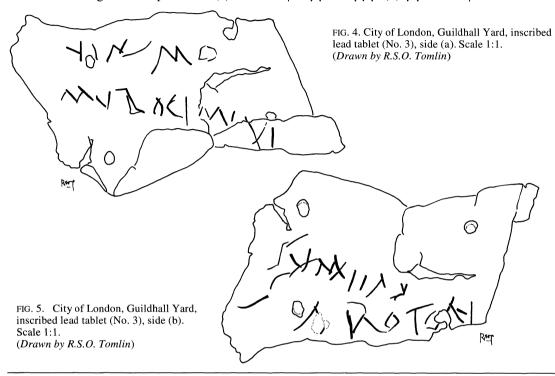


FIG. 3. City of London, Guildhall Yard, inscribed lead tablet (No. 2). Scale 1:1. (Drawn by R.S.O. Tomlin)

- With the next two items during excavation by MoLAS directed by Nick Bateman for the Corporation of London, GYE 92 <1069>, <5037> and <1070> respectively. At the Museum of London Angela Wardle made them available.
- ⁷ FIG. 3 represents it as if more or less flat, so as to show all the surviving text. The hole has almost certainly destroyed parts of lines 6 and 7, and so is subsequent to the text. There is no sign that it developed because of corrosion round a nail, but this is a possibility.
- ⁸ Line by line commentary, citing R.S.O. Tomlin, *Tabellae Sulis: Roman Inscribed Tablets of Tin and Lead from the Sacred Spring at Bath* (1988), and R.S.O. Tomlin, 'The inscribed lead tablets', in A. Woodward and P. Leach, *The Uley Shrines* (1993), 113–30.
- 1, [d]eae Dea[na]e. 'Diana' is the earlier form and remains standard, but the variant 'Deana' is quite common in the imperial period (for examples see Dessau, ILS III, p. 524), and this is the first from Britain. It seems to be the first 'curse tablet' addressed to the goddess, certainly the first from Britain, where it is also the first written evidence of her cult from London; significantly

3. Ibid. (FIGS 4 and 5). Irregular paralellogram with folded edge, 66 by 42 mm, cut from thin sheet lead; found in the fill of a drain within the arena after the drain had gone out of use (A.D. 250-364). After being inscribed, it was pierced by four holes driven through from side (a), presumably to nail it to something. Inscribed on both sides, two lines of irregular cursive letters of uncertain reading and interpretation: (a) VIN MO | MVBOCIMIVI (b) SVNXIIA. | AROTAI. 10



it was found near Goldsmiths' Hall, itself the find-spot of an altar to Diana and associated(?) masonry in 1830 (RCHM Roman London (1928), 43, 120 and pl. 12). Diana also appeared with other deities on a major London monument: see C. Hill, M. Millett, T. Blagg, The Roman Riverside Wall and Monumental Arch in London (LAMAS Special Papers 3, 1980), 162-4, No. 32.

- 2-3, capitularem et fas[c]iam. Both items have already occurred in British 'curse tablets': capitularem at Bath (Tab. Sulis 55, with note), fascia and cap(t)olare(?) at Caistor St Edmund (Britannia 13 (1982), 408, No. 9), fascia and capit(u)larem at Uley (with other clothing, in an unpublished tablet cited as *Uley Shrines*, 129, No. 62). That they occur together suggests they were related but not identical garments, perhaps a head-covering (i.e. hat or hood) and neck-band (i.e. scarf), rather than the 'head(band)' suggested by the gloss cited in Tab Sulis 55. According to Isidore (Orig. 19. 31. 3), capitulare was a 'vulgar' word for capitulum or cappa, and TLL cites it in the neuter; but in Britain at least, the masculine form was usual.
- 3-4, minus parta tertia. A god's interest is often engaged by the 'gift' of a fraction of the stolen property, but two-thirds is unusually high. Compare Uley Shrines, 121, No. 2, deo s(upra)dicto tertiam partem [d]onat ... tertia pars donatur (one-third), with note there of other examples.
- 4, si quis hoc feci[t]. The scribe slipped into cursive for the letters QVIS. The clause is formulaic (compare Tab. Sulis 44.5, with note), a variant of the more common qui hoc involavit (etc.); what has been 'done' is usually explicit, but here it must be inferred.
- 5-6, These formulas are so common (see Tab. Sulis, pp. 67-8) that the first can be safely read in 5; in 6, although the distinctive diagonal of R makes the restoration of [s]er[vus] likely, the rest of the line is difficult because so little survives.
- 7, don[o eum] is a reasonable conjecture (for the formula see Tab. Sulis, pp. 63-4) since, although it is the stolen property which is 'given' in 1-3, attention has turned to the thief (si quis hoc fecift) who must be the subject of possit.
- 7-8, nec p[er] | me [vi]v[ere] possit. Interdiction of the thief's natural functions is frequent (see Tab. Sulis, pp. 65-6), but none of the known formulas will fit here. So this restoration is conjectural, but accords with the surviving letters and their spacing.
 - This would suggest it was a 'curse tablet', like RIB 6 and 7 (London) which were also nailed.
- The dotted letters are especially uncertain and ambiguous. In (a), the slight diagonal stroke between VIN and MO is complete, and not part of a letter. The third letter of line 2 most resembles a clumsy cursive B, but D and L (cut twice) are possible readings. The text of (b) is even less distinct. To the left at an angle are two earlier lines of sinuous cuts, the first of

- 4. Ibid. Irregular rectangle, c. 88 by c. 62 mm, cut from sheet lead c. 1 mm thick, found in residual material dumped over the disused arena. Before being folded only once, it was apparently inscribed on both sides in capitals, but since it is now too brittle to be unfolded and the surface is badly corroded, the text is not legible.
- 5. London (Londinium, TQ 3265 7965), Southwark, Tabard Street (FIGS 6 and 7). Rectangular slab of white marble now incomplete and discoloured brown, found 11 in 2002 in a pit between two Romano-Celtic temples, where it had apparently been buried deliberately underneath a tile. It consists of three conjoining pieces, with three edges original, the bottom edge broken. Overall it measures 294 by 325 mm, and tapers in thickness from 33 mm (left) to 25 mm (right). The back is undressed, but the face was carefully smoothed flat and true before being inscribed, and shows little or no sign of weathering. It has been inscribed in well-drawn letters with minor flaws of execution, the letters retaining traces of red pigment, probably iron oxide. Part of a setting-out line remains in line 5, and there is a lavish provision of different leaf-stops. The surviving text reads; NVM & AVGG DEOMARTICA | MVLO & TIBERINI | VSCELERIANVS | & C & BELL & | & MORITIX & | LONDINIENSI | VM & | PRIMVS -[.].. | [3]VA[5-6] | [...], num(inibus) Aug(ustorum) | deo Marti Ca|mulo Tiberini | us Celerianus | c(ivis) Bell(ovacus) | moritix | Londiniensi | um primus Celerianus, a citizen of the Bellovaci, moritix, of Londoners the first [...]. 12

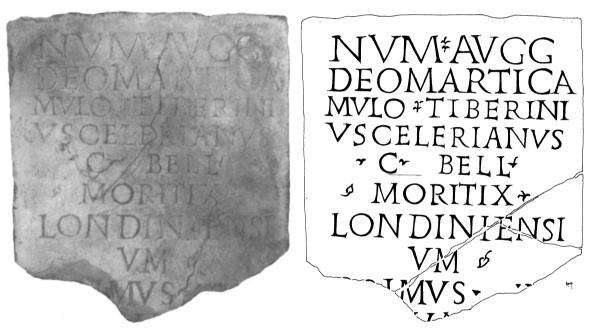


FIG. 6. London, Southwark, inscribed marble slab (No. 5). FIG. 7. London, Southwark, inscribed marble slab (No. 5). Scale 1:4. Scale 1:4. (Photo: Museum of London) (Drawn by R.S.O. Tomlin)

which might be S in line 1. In line 2, the second letter would be a 'capital' R if the curved trace above it were deliberate, but

otherwise a late cursive form, a dating not borne out by the rest of the lettering. Overall, no interpretation is possible; perhaps two non-Roman personal names with patronymics.

During excavation by Pre-Construct Archaeology in advance of development by Berkeley Homes (see above, p. 345). Jenny Hall made it available to RSOT while it was being conserved at the Museum of London. It is now in the Cuming Museum, but its ultimate location is uncertain.

¹² A line-by-line commentary follows. See further S. Corcoran, B. Salway, P. Salway, Moritix Londiniensium: a recent

6. **South Shields** (*Arbeia*, NZ 366 679), Tyne and Wear (FIG. 8). Building stone of grey (Dean) sandstone, 0.25 by 0.15 m, 0.16 m deep, found¹³ in 2000 in the collapsed wall of a Severan granary (C13) converted into a barrack block in c. A.D. 300. The top edge has been squared off. On the face, deeply incised with a chisel: MB.¹⁴

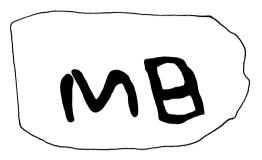


FIG. 8. South Shields, building stone (No. 6). Scale 1:4. (*Drawn by R.S.O. Tomlin*)

epigraphic find in London', *British Epigraphy Society Newsletter*, n.s. 8 (autumn 2002), 10–12; *Current Archaeology* 182 (Nov. 2002), 48; Museum of London, *Archaeology Matters* 19 (March 2003); J.N. Adams, 'The word *moritix* in a new inscription from London', *ZPE* forthcoming. For the etymology of *moritix* we are grateful to Prof. Patrick Sims-Williams.

- 1. NVM AVGG. This dedication is often combined with one to a deity, a plurality of Emperors being commonly indicated by AVG or AVGVSTORVM; but for AVGG see *RIB* 459, 918, 1596, 2042, and especially 627, NVM AVGG (dated A.D. 208). While AVGG might refer to Emperors living and dead, it is best taken to refer to two living Emperors: see further D. Fishwick, 'Numinibus Aug(ustorum)', Britannia 25 (1994), 127–41. This usage is first found for Marcus Aurelius and his colleagues (A.D. 161–9 and 177–80), a date much better suited to the quality of the lettering than the Severan period.
- 2–3. The god Mars Camulus is attested in Britain only by RIB 2166 (Bar Hill), and is otherwise connected with the Remi: see for example AE 1935, 64 (his temple at Reims), CIL xiii. 8701 = AE 1980, 656 (another temple erected by *cives Remi*), and CIL vi. 46 (Rome, a dedication by a *civis Remus*).
- 3–5. The dedicator is otherwise unknown, but his rare nomen is 'manufactured' from a cognomen (*Tiberinus*), like many in northern Gaul. The Bellovaci were a *civitas* somewhat to the west of the Remi, and the expansion of *c(ivis) Bell(ovacus)* is inevitable; compare *CIL* xiii. 611 (Bordeaux), *ob memoriam Vestini Onatedonis (filii) c(ivis) Bel(lovaci)*.
- 6. MORITIX. As moritex this term is found in CIL xiii. 8164a = ILS 7522 (Cologne), a dedication by G(aius) Aurelius G(ai) l(ibertus) Verus negotiator Britannicianus moritex. It should probably also be read in RIB 678 (York), the lost sarcophagus of M(arcus) Verec(undius) Diogenes sevir col(oniae) Ebor(acensis) itemq(ue)(?) morit(ix) cives Biturix Cubus. The etymology of the word ('seafarer') from Celtic *mori-teg-/tig- is not in doubt, and either spelling would be acceptable: see J. Uhlich, 'Verbal governing compounds (synthetics) in early Irish and other Celtic languages', Transactions of the Philological Society 100 (2002), 403–33, at 420 s.v. moritex; and X. Delamarre, Dictionnaire de la langue gauloise (2003), 194. But the specific meaning is unknown. Moritex was evidently a term applied to Gauls engaged in seaborne trade between Britain and the Continent, but was it simply a loan-word equivalent to nauta ('sailor'), navicularius ('shipmaster') or nauarchus ('ship's captain'), or was the moritex specifically an official, or at least a member of a trade association (collegium)? The last seems quite likely.
- 7–8. LONDINIENSI|VM. Hitherto this word has occurred only as the adjective derived from Londinium (see A.L.F. Rivet and C. Smith, The Place-Names of Roman Britain (1979), 396), and this is its first occurrence as a noun, 'Londoners'. The informality of the usage in -enses does not mean that London lacked formal status: compare AE 1912.250 (Ostia, a colonia), the epitaph of a fire-fighter who received a public funeral from the Ostienses; or CIL v. 8972 = ILS 1459 (Aquileia, also a colonia), a public dedication to their patron by the Aquileienses. This Gallic citizen evidently called himself a 'Londoner' in the way that Verecundius Diogenes, cives Biturix Cubus, was also a sevir Augustalis of the colonia Eboracensis at York (RIB 678, cited above).
- 8. After PRIMVS there is a broken edge with trace of a triangular medial point and two unidentifiable serifs. In the middle of 9 there is sufficient trace of V and A (or M). Since the surviving text ends here, the question of whether moritix stood alone, or was qualified by Londiniensium and even by primus, must remain open. Moritex is unqualified in CIL xiii 8164a and RIB 678 (see above): too small a sample to be decisive, but suggesting that Celerianus was not 'moritix of the Londoners' (whatever that might mean), but rather a moritix who was the first 'Londoner' to [...]. But what his achievement was can only be guessed: perhaps he introduced a new cult, rather like Aurelius Lunaris, sevir Augustalis of the coloniae of York and Lincoln, who brought his own altar with him from Britain to Bordeaux (JRS 11 (1921), 101–7); or perhaps he was the first to hold a new office, for which compare ILS 7142, primus IIIIvir m(unicipii) A(urelii) Apuli and later 7143, primus annualis mun(icipii) Sept(imii) Apul(i); also IRT 412, praef(ecto) publ(ice) creato cum primum civitas Romana adacta est.

 13 During excavation for Tyne and Wear Museums directed by Paul Bidwell. Alex Croom made it available (IM 137)
- 55738).

 14 Presumably the initials of nomen and cognomen, M(...) B(...), whether those of a mason or of his centurion.

7. **Barcombe Hill** (NY 776 662), on the south-west summit overlooking Vindolanda, North-umberland (FIGS 9 and 10). Quarry-face inscription detected¹⁵ in 2001 on the more northerly of the two quarry faces, the one with a phallus incised at its northern end.¹⁶ Four metres to the right of the phallus is a vertical natural fissure, and 1.50 m beyond this, at eye-level, there is a numeral gouged into the rock with a mason's point: XIII, '13'.¹⁷



7.///

FIG. 9. Barcombe Hill, quarry-face inscription (No. 7). Scale 1:4. (Photo: R.J.A. Wilson)

FIG. 10. Barcombe Hill, quarry-face inscription (No. 7). Scale 1:4. (Drawn by R.J.A. Wilson)

8. **Vindolanda** or Chesterholm (*Vindolanda*, NY 770 663), Northumberland (FIGS 11 and 12). Altar of local buff sandstone, 0.51 by 1.00 m, 0.27 m deep, found¹⁸ in 1998 re-used in the commandant's house (*praetorium*) of the stone fort.¹⁹ It is elaborately carved on the front and both sides, the back is undressed. Line 1 is inscribed on the capital in an ansate panel, 0.20 by 0.07 m, flanked (left) by the figure of a quadruped facing right, and (right) by that of a biped or quadruped facing left. Below them and to either side runs a band of bold zig-zag decoration and a cable moulding, similar in style to those of *RIB* 1686 from the same location. The main text (lines 2–11) is inscribed on a panel, 0.38 by 0.56 m, recessed within a plain moulding in the die. On the left-hand side of the die is carved a jug and *patera*, on the right an axe and butcher's cleaver. The base is carved in front with the scene of a human figure reclining on a couch, right arm extended, flanked by foliage. On the left-hand side of the base are four plain mouldings, on the right only two. The altar as a whole is much weathered, and the inscribed panel in particular is badly worn, the series of vertical grooves perhaps being due to differential weathering of the stone. Only the

¹⁵ By Prof. Roger Wilson, who has described it fully and discussed its significance in part II ('A new Roman quarryman's inscription on Barcombe Hill') of his forthcoming 'Journeymen's jottings: two Roman inscriptions from Hadrian's Wall', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 5th ser. 31 (2003). For part I ('A lost Roman inscription from Benwell (*RIB* 1352) rediscovered') see *Britannia* 32 (2001), 399, Addenda et Corrigenda (d).

¹⁶ CSIR I.6, 147, No. 442.

¹⁷ Isolated numerals often occur on the face of building-stones from Hadrian's Wall, and are thought to mark quarry-batches, but there is no close parallel from the quarry-faces themselves. The question is discussed by Wilson (see above, n. 15).

With the next four items during excavations for the Vindolanda Trust directed by Andrew and Robin Birley, who made them available. This altar (No. 8), which is now displayed in the museum, has been described and discussed in detail by Anthony Birley, 'The inscription', and Pat Birley, 'Comments on the carving', in R. Birley, A. Birley and J. Blake, *The 1998 Excavations at Vindolanda: the Praetorium site, interim report* (Vindolanda Trust 1999), 29–38. See further, n. 21 below.

¹⁹ A provenance it shares with *RIB* 1685 (dedicated to the *genius praetori* by a prefect of the *Cohors IIII Gallorum*), *RIB* 1686 (to Jupiter and the other Immortal Gods and the *genius praetori* by another prefect of the same cohort) and *RIB* 1687 (to Jupiter and the *genius* and Guardian Gods of the same cohort by a dedicator or dedicators now illegible). Stylistically it is related to *RIB* 1686 (the 2-line erasure dates this to Alexander Severus, compare *RIB* 1706), and the presumption must be that the dedicator was the officer commanding the *cohors IIII Gallorum*. But this is difficult: see below, n. 21, lines 9–10.

letters²⁰ of lines 1–3 and 10–11 are at all legible; the rest is uncertain or lost entirely: I O M | [2-3]NIO PRA | [1-2]TOR[...] | ... | C[...]OR[...] | ... | ... | ... | ORVM | V - S - L - M, I(ovi) $O(ptimo) M(aximo) | [et ge]nio pra | [e]tor[i...] | [...] | C[...]OR[...] | [...] | ... | ... | ... | NC. | [...] | orum | <math>v(otum) \ s(olvit) \ l(ibens) \ m(erito)$. 'To Jupiter Best and Greatest, and to the *genius* of the commandant's house [...] of [...]s, paid his(?) vow willingly, deservedly.'²¹

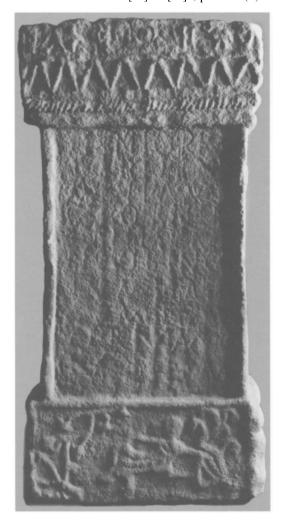


FIG. 11. Vindolanda, inscribed altar (No. 8). Scale 1:8. (*Photo: Vindolanda Trust*)

FIG. 12. Vindolanda, inscribed altar (No. 8). Scale 1:8. (Drawn by R.S.O. Tomlin)

²⁰ Letter heights: 1, 30–35 mm; 2, 40–45 mm; 10, 45 mm; 11, 45–50 mm.

Notes on the reading. Space forbids full discussion of Birley's 'provisional reading' (see above, n. 18) which derives from detailed examination of the original. Unfortunately the surface is so worn that any shift in illumination changes some of the 'ghost' letters visible in 3–10.

^{2–3.} There is not enough room for ET before [GE]NIO; it was probably understood, but the ligatured letters might have been squeezed in. At the beginning of 3, the placing of the vertical stroke suggests T rather than E; E would seem to have been ligatured to it.

9. Ibid. (FIG. 13). Altar of grey sandstone, 140 by 290 mm, 125 mm thick, found at a depth of about four metres in a Severan well (see above p. 311). A rectangular *focus* is recessed within the capital. Rectangular panels are recessed within the front and sides of the shaft, those to left and right being defined by plain mouldings above and below, but that in front by two sinuous bands above and dentilation below. In this front panel, now very worn especially to the right, are inscribed five lines of text: DEOHV | VTR[.] | N[...] | VEGV | VOLS, *deo Hu*|*utr[i]* | *N[...]* | *VEGV* | *vo(tum) l(ibens) s(olvit)*, 'To the god Huutris, [...] paid his vow willingly.'²²



FIG. 13. Vindolanda, inscribed altar (No. 9). Scale 1:4. (Drawn by R.S.O. Tomlin)

^{3-4. [}SACRVM] has perhaps been lost here by analogy with *RIB* 1685, but not if the dedicator's cognomen began in 4. 4-5. The dedicator's name must have followed the dedication (compare *RIB* 1685 and 1686). The traces might suggest the cognomen VI[C[T]OR or more likely VI[C[T]OR[I]N[VS], widely spaced, but Birley reads VS.|G...OTRIBLE. here ('surely *trib(unus) le[g(ionis)]'*). This would require a (rare) cognomen ending in -O.

^{6–9.} Almost nothing can be made of these lines, which must have contained the dedicator's rank or post, and perhaps his origin (compare *RIB* 1686). NC is fairly certain at the end of 7, and also perhaps M in the middle of 8 and 9. NC is suggestive of *provincia* (and thus the dedicator's origin), and there is indeed possible trace of O in the appropriate place; but after it the traces suggest B or S. V cannot be read or restored, so Birley reads P[R]OBINC(IAE); but the B/V confusion this would require is apparently alien to the Latin of Roman Britain.

^{10.} ORVM, widely spaced, must be the genitive plural termination of the unit-title, but the expected COH IIII GALL cannot be read or restored in 9. Of this line it can be said (with Birley and Paul Holder) that the traces would allow [N]VM FRI[SI], i.e. 9–10, [n]um(eri) Fri[si]orum, but this is hypothetical: the unit is unknown and difficult to parallel.

In 1, DEO has been read conventionally, but the spacing favours DIO (compare *Britannia* 33 (2002), 355, No. 1, with note). What follows is apparently a new variant of the god's name, but five others with initial H are known already (see *RIB* I Index, p. 68). In 3–4, N[...]VEGV must conceal the name of the dedicator. There is space for S at the end of 4, but no sign of it. The reading of 5 is clear, but this variant of the VSLM formula is unattested; compare *RIB* 1099 (Ebchester), VLS.

10. Ibid. (FIG. 14). Altar of dark-buff sandstone, 185 by 392 mm, 165 mm thick, found in 2001 in the remains of a late first-century temple in the *vicus*. ²³ Plain double mouldings divide the base and capital from the die, on which is cut a badly worn inscription: DEO |V[...], 'To the god V[...].'²⁴

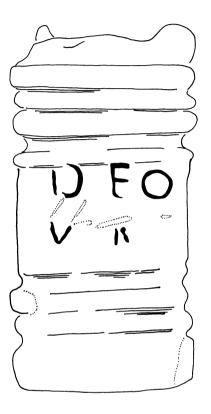


FIG. 14. Vindolanda, inscribed altar (No. 10). Scale 1:4. (Drawn by R.S.O. Tomlin)

²³ See Britannia 33 (2002), 295–7.

Most likely a dedication to 'Vitiris', whose later cult is well attested at Vindolanda, but there is a third diagonal stroke attached to V and trace of a fourth, suggesting VV[...]. Further traces are consistent with a reading VVTRI, but this is conjectural. The first letter is certainly V, not part of M, and VI[...] cannot be read. Many variant spellings of the god's name are known, including 'Huutris' in the previous item (No. 9), of which this might be an unaspirated form.

11. Ibid. (FIG. 15). Buff sandstone altar, 160 by 260 mm, 105 mm deep, with its capital divided from the shaft by plain mouldings on all four sides. There is a *focus* in the capital, but its front is largely lost. Crudely incised on the die between setting-out lines, a five-line text now rather worn: DIBVS | VITIRI[.] | VS \forall MA[.] | MVS V[.] | ..., dibus | Vitiri[b] | us Ma[xi] | mus v(otum) [.] | 'To the gods Vitires, Maximus ... (his) vow.'25

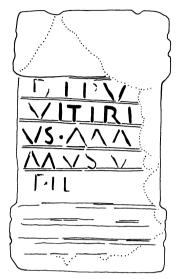


FIG. 15. Vindolanda, inscribed altar (No. 11). Scale 1:4. (Drawn by R.S.O. Tomlin)

12. Ibid. (FIG. 16). Base and lowest portion of the die of a small buff sandstone altar, 135 by 85 mm, 100 mm deep, found in rubble on the floor of a building in the *vicus*. There is no inscription on what remains of the die. Incised on the base: [...] $| V \cdot S \cdot L \cdot M$, [...] | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito), '[...] paid (his?) vow willingly, deservedly.'

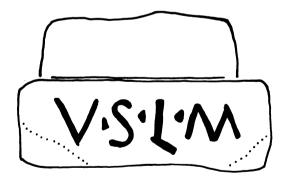


FIG. 16. Vindolanda, inscribed altar base (No. 12). Scale 1:2. (Drawn by R.S.O. Tomlin)

²⁵ In line 3, there is space to restore only one letter, but the name 'Maximus' is inevitable, so presumably X and I were crammed together. The letter lost in 4 was probably S, *s(olvit)*, but the traces in 5 do not admit the rest of the VSLM formula. They suggest F (or P) and two vertical strokes (not M), looking somewhat like FIL.

- 13. Antonine Wall, **Duntocher** (NS 494 727). Inscribed Roman stone 'on which is the word *Lucius*', found²⁶ in 1775 in the modern village: LVCIVS, *Lucius*.²⁷
- 14. **Pontefract**, East Hardwick (SE 4599 1901), West Yorkshire (FIG. 17). Upper portion of a gritstone cylindrical milestone, c. 334 mm in diameter, 572 mm high, found²⁸ in 2002 in a hedgebank on the line of the Roman road from Doncaster to Tadcaster (Margary 28b). Coarsely inscribed: IMPC | MANNI | OFL[..] | [...], imp(eratori) C(aesari) | M(arco) Anni o Fl[or|iano| p(io) f(elici) Aug(usto)]. 'For the Emperor Caesar Marcus Annius Florianus [Pius Felix Augustus].'



FIG. 17. Pontefract, milestone (No. 14). Scale 1:8. (*Photo: Peter Houlder*)

- ²⁶ With *RIB* 2202 (for which see below, Addenda et Corrigenda (a)); see John Knox, *A View of the British Empire* (3rd edn, 1785), 611–12, footnote. Both stones were taken to Richmond (Surrey), and are now lost. We owe this reference to Prof. Lawrence Keppie.
- Not a praenomen, since this would be abbreviated, but the well attested cognomen. It also contains a Celtic name-element, so it is found as a peregrine name with patronymic: see for example *RIB* 2043 + add. If the inscription was complete, it would have been a building stone inscribed with only a personal name.
- By Ross Metcalfe, who informed the landowner and farmer, Peter Thorpe of Rhydings Farm, who has given the stone to Pontefract Museum. Peter Houlder, Chairman of Pontefract and District Archaeological Society, provided photographs and detailed information including a copy of his preliminary report to the Society. The discovery has been noticed in *Farmers Weekly* for 30 August 2002 and *Current Archaeology* 182 (November 2002), 49.
- ²⁹ A.D. 276 (reigned 7 June 9 September). Restored after *RIB* 2275, a cylindrical milestone of similar gritstone and the same in diameter, found in Castleford *c*. 5 (Roman) miles north of East Hardwick on the same Roman road (Margary 28b). This new milestone is the emperor's fourth from Britain; another seven are known from the Continent. Since he never left Asia Minor in his three-months' reign, they represent an assertion of authority rather than road-maintenance: see E. Sauer, 'M. Annius Florianus: ein Drei-Monate-Kaiser und die ihm zu Ehren aufgestellten Steinmonumente (276 n. Chr.)', *Historia* 47 (1998), 174–203.

B. INSTRUMENTUM DOMESTICUM

ESSEX

- 15. **Colchester** (*Camulodunum*, TL 956 227), Stanway, Tarmac Quarry. Base sherd from a samian cup (Ritterling 5; Tiberian) stamped SILVANI, found³⁰ in 1991 on the floor of the funerary chamber (BF 6) in Enclosure 3.³¹ A graffito was cut after firing underneath the base, within the footring: A.
- 16. Ibid., same context. Base sherds of a terra nigra platter (Camulodunum type 8; A.D. 25–60). A graffito cut after firing on the upper surface perhaps reads: CAII, *Gaii*. '(Property) of Gaius'.³²
- 17. Ibid., same context. Sherd from the shoulder of an amphora (Dressel 2-4; 75 B.C. A.D. 200, source unknown). A graffito probably cut after firing reads: CAII, Gaii. '(Property) of Gaius'.³³
- 18. Ibid. Base sherd from a samian platter (Ritterling 1; Tiberian/Claudian), found in 1991 in backfill overlying the floor of the funerary chamber (BF 6). The sherd appears to carry two superimposed graffiti cut after firing. (a) X. (b) SES, perhaps Ses(tius).

HAMPSHIRE

- 19. **Houghton Down** (SU 342 362), Roman villa. Bone roundel 18 mm in diameter, 2 mm thick, found³⁴ in 1997 on a floor of the western room at the south end of Building 3. The dished face is not inscribed, but on the other (flat) face two intersecting lines have been scratched at right-angles, and a third half-line as far as the intersection. This five-pointed 'star' may be a denarius symbol.³⁵
- 20. **Thruxton** (SU 298 462) Roman villa (FIG. 18). Copper-alloy 'Aucissa' brooch found³⁶ in 2002 in a linear ditch. A moulded inscription reads: ATECIV.³⁷



FIG. 18. Thruxton, moulded brooch (No. 20). Scale 2:1. (Drawn by R.S.O. Tomlin after the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford)

- With the next three items during excavation by Colchester Archaeological Trust for Tarmac plc and English Heritage, directed by Philip Crummy who, with Don Shimmin, provided information, drawings and photographs. Four other items carry what appear to be deliberate scratches. (1) Several sherds from the base of a terra rubra platter stamped DACOVIR: a straight line. (2) Base sherds from a terra rubra platter (Camulodunum type 7/8; A.D. 25–50), stamped ATTISSU: a 'grid' design. (3) Base sherds from a terra rubra platter (Camulodunum type 7/8; A.D. 25–50), stamped ATTISSU: X+V. (4) Segment of a terra nigra platter (Camulodunum type 8; A.D. 25–60), stamped IVLOSΛV(OTIS): X. These eight graffiti, though slight, are interesting because of their early date (A.D. 35–50).
 - For a sketch-plan of the enclosures see *Britannia* 23 (1992), 290, fig. 19.
 - 32 The reading of A is very uncertain.
 - 33 The first letter is C, not G.
- Juring excavation directed by Prof. Barry Cunliffe for the Danebury Trust as part of the Danebury Environs Roman Project. Emma Harrison made the object (HO 97 318 3165) available.
- For similar 'stars', but less denarius-like since they have three intersecting lines of equal length, see *RIB* II.3, p. 106.

 During excavation directed by Prof. Barry Cunliffe for the Danebury Trust as part of the Danebury Environs Roman Project. Emma Harrison made the object (TH 02 F1066/1 3210) available.
- ³⁷ The final letter is damaged and now incomplete, but there would not have been room for M (instead of IV), nor for S after V. Atecius, a name of Celtic etymology, is found in CIL v, and may be that of a samian potter (CIL vii. 1336, 97); it is not attested in Britain as that of a brooch-maker, nor in G. Behrens, 'Römische Fibeln mit Inschrift', in G. Behrens and J. Werner (eds), Reinecke Festschrift (Mainz 1950), 1–12.

HERTFORDSHIRE

21. **Bishop's Stortford** (TL 48 21) (FIG. 19). Carinated bowl with everted rim, 164 mm in diameter, 80 mm high, in a hard pink fabric with quartz inclusions blackened by fire on the outside, said³⁸ to have been found in recent road-works two miles north of the town. It is complete except for modern damage to the rim affecting 4–5 letters. Incised before firing on the rim, in well-formed cursive letters: CVCC2-3 B.NA VCCV RVVI EQIS EO EM EQES.³⁹

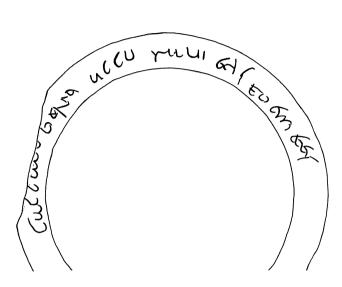


FIG. 19. Bishop's Stortford, bowl rim with graffito (No. 21). Scale 1:4. (Drawn by R.S.O. Tomlin)

LONDON

22. **The City** (Londinium, TQ 3258 8110), 1 Poultry. Complete stilus writing-tablet (inv. 5160) of silver fir (abies alba), 140 by 114 mm, 6 mm thick, found⁴⁰ in 1994 just west of the Walbrook stream, in a context which post-dated a late Flavian fire. The recessed face bears incised traces of 11 lines of cursive text, which can be translated: 'Vegetus, assistant slave of Montanus the slave of the August Emperor and sometime assistant slave of Iucundus, has bought and received by

³⁸ By the present owner, a London dealer in antiquities, who made it available.

Transcribing the letters as New Roman Cursive (note especially the forms of A, B(?), E, R, M and V); thus later than the mid-third century, and probably fourth-century. Since the text is not recognizably Latin, the letter-forms cannot be confirmed by context, but two 4-letter groups in the centre, VCCV and RVVI, seem to be certain. They may be a Celtic personal name and patronymic: compare RIB 1548, deo Veteri votum Uccus v(ovit) l(ibens); the related forms Uccius and Ucco (derived by Holder from *Uccu) are well attested. For the possible patronymic compare CIL iii. 3821 (Igg, Pannonia Superior), Ennae Ruii f(iliae) uxo(ri). Before VCCV the 4-letter group is possibly BONA, suggesting a place-name ending. After VCCV RVVI there are four groups of letters, each beginning with E: the second E is capital in form, the others cursive and ligatured to the next letter, where M looks all right, but O is more conjectural. Therefore the graffito may be the potter's signature, but apparently not in Latin.

⁴⁰ With the next three items during excavation by MoLAS directed by Pete Rowsome and others. RSOT will publish them with some illegible fragments in Rowsome's final report.

mancipium the girl Fortunata, or by whatever name she is known, by nationality a Diablintian, from [...] for six hundred denarii. And that the girl in question is transferred in good health, that she is warranted not to be liable to wander or run away, but that if anyone lays claim to the girl in question or to any share in her, [...] in the wax tablet which he has written and sworn by the *genius* of the Emperor Caesar [...].⁴¹

23. Ibid. Part of two stilus writing-tablets (inv. 5133) not of silver fir, originally c. 150 mm wide to judge by the position of the binding-cord notch, but now c. 125 by 80 mm; they were originally hinged together as a pair with their recessed faces inwards, a size and format apparently intended for correspondence. One tablet has now broken into two conjoining pieces, and there is a hole through both tablets due to ancient casual damage. There are three texts. (i) On the outside, on the back of each, is an 'address' cut with a fine, knife-like point in elongated letters c. 20 mm high: (a) L ∇ IVLIO M[...] | vacat IANO[...]; (b) A | [...]TIMIO SILV | vacat ANO. L(ucio) Iulio M[3] | iano | $a \mid f$. Sep | timio Silv | ano. 'To Lucius Iulius M[...] ianus from [...] Septimius Silvanus'. (ii) On the first tablet, to the left of IANO[...] and along the bottom edge in a second line, there is another inscription cut with a different, thicker point in capitals c. 10 mm high. Since it respects the first inscription, it is secondary; it may have been written by a second hand to locate or identify the addressee Lucius Iulius M[...] ianus, but otherwise it indicates re-use of the tablet. It is now illegible. (iii) On the inside, the recessed faces retain some of their waxed surface with fragments of a cursive text, presumably that of Septimius Silvanus' letter. (44)

24. Ibid. (FIG. 20). Three conjoining fragments of a stilus writing-tablet (inv. 5125) of silver fir, 131 by 51 mm. The recessed face carries illegible traces of multiple texts. The back (outside) carries the beginning of the 'address', the first line and the upper portion of the second line, incised in capitals c. 30 mm high: SABINO .. |c. 6 |c. 1, 'To Sabinus ...'45

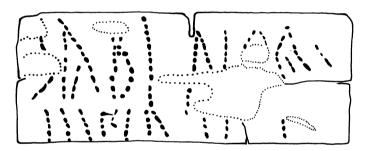


FIG. 20. London, 1 Poultry, inscribed writing-tablet (No. 24). Scale 2:3. (*Drawn by R.S.O. Tomlin*)

- For the text and commentary, with a line-drawing and photograph, see above, pp. 41 ff. See also B. Salway, 'Slave sale contract from London revealed', *British Epigraphy Society Newsletter*, n.s. 9 (spring 2003), 10–11.
- ⁴² For another example see *RIB* II.4, 2443.1. It might also be improvised by breaking an ordinary tablet into half: see *RIB* II.4, 2443.6 and 10.
- 43 The most likely cognomen is *Marcianus*, but *Martianus* and *Mucianus* are also possible. Septimius Silvanus presumably included his own praenomen. This 'address' is of the standard form ('To ABC from XYZ') often found in the Vindolanda Tablets; for stilus-tablet examples see M.A. Speidel, *Die römischen Schreibtafeln von Vindonissa* (1996), Nos 29 49 and 52
- The two 'pages' were hinged together, their left-hand edge now lost, the inscribed text continuing from the first 'page' to the second. At the top of the first 'page' there is too little to confirm the expected letter opening ('Silvanus to M[...]ianus, greetings'), but in the bottom right-hand corner of the second 'page' the letters AL can be read, which might belong to the concluding formula VALE ('farewell'). The last word of the first 'page' is apparently NVNQVAM ('never'), crammed into a confined space. Two lines above it, the line may end with NVMEROS ('numbers' or 'units').
- 45 The tablet was evidently re-used as a letter to Sabinus. After SABINO the letters are too incomplete to be read securely, but they might be CE|LERIA. This would suggest the writer's name, *Celeria[nus]*, but the remaining traces of the second line do not support it. Sabinus may have been identified by his occupation or military rank/function.

- 25. Ibid. Fragment of a stilus writing-tablet (inv. 5209) of silver fir, 150 by 39 mm, rather less than half a 'page', with a notch in the middle of the long edge. The recessed face is charred and blackened by fire, but carries traces of three lines of writing. The letters are reasonably well preserved, but can hardly be distinguished from their dark background. On the back (outside) is incised one line of elongated cursive letters, and the tips of a second: CLIIRO. AMVAX | [...].⁴⁶
- 26. **The City** (*Londinium*, TQ 324 813), Guildhall Yard Roman amphitheatre. Base of a samian cup (Drag. 27) found⁴⁷ in 1992 in a large dump outside the amphitheatre dated A.D. 100–30. A graffito made after firing on the underside within the foot ring reads: BOI.⁴⁸
- 27. Ibid. Sherd from the base of a samian dish (Central Gaulish, Drag. 18/31 or 31), found in the backfill of a roadside drain with other pottery dated to A.D. 120–60. A graffito cut after firing on the underside, outside the foot ring, reads: NON, perhaps *Non(nus)*.⁴⁹
- 28. Ibid. Sherd from a samian vessel (Central Gaulish), found in 1987–88 in the backfill of a timber drain containing late fourth-century pottery. A graffito cut after firing underneath reads: [...]TACITI, *Taciti*. '(Property) of Tacitus'.⁵⁰
- 29. Ibid. Five conjoining sherds from the top of a closed vessel⁵¹ found in the fill of a ditch dated A.D. 75–100. The sherd carries two graffiti cut on either side of a scarring which may be the mark left when a handle was broken away. (a) Cut boldly in cursive: CRIISCII, presumably *Cresce(ns)*. (b) Cut very lightly: AIIAI.⁵²

NORFOLK

- 30. **Ashwellthorpe** (TM 1610 9665). Base of a greyware pot found⁵³ in 2002. It bears a graffito: (inside a circle) MS.
- 31. **Great Dunham** (TF 87 14). Small fragment of a copper-alloy military diploma, 25 by 28 mm, found⁵⁴ in 2002. Inscribed on both sides. (a) [...]...R...[...|...]RCAMPA[...] |].AETIA[...|...] ILLIARI[...|...].M[...], [...] et (ala) I Hispano]r(um) Campa[gon(um) et IA[... | ... m]illiari[a ...].⁵⁵
- ⁴⁶ Part of an 'address', the beginning unless the tablet has been cut in half (since CLERO is more like the end of a name than its beginning).
- With the next three items during excavation by MoLAS directed by Nick Bateman for the Corporation of London. Fiona Seeley made them available to MWCH.
 - 48 The last letter might be a compressed N, but other letters commencing with a vertical are not in question.
 - For the personal name *Nonnus* compare No. 39 below, with n. 67.
- The graffito is probably complete. The cognomen is well attested in Britain: see *RIB* II.2, 2417.39; II.7, 2501.531; II.8, 2502.23; and, as *Tacita*, *RIB* 221; *RIB* II.1, 2409.36 and II.8, 2501.530.
 - In white ware from the region of Verulamium, dated A.D. 50–160.
- 52 (b) was conceivably intended to complete (a), a blundered *Crescenti* ('for Crescens') or *Crescentiani*, but (b) is very unclear.
- ⁵³ During field walking by Alan Womack, in whose possession it remains. Andrew Rogerson of Norfolk Landscape Archaeology, Gressenhall, provided information and images of this and the next item (No. 31).
- ⁵⁴ By a metal detectorist. The owner, Neil Foster, has given it to Norwich Castle Museum. Adrian Marsden, finds liaison officer for Norfolk Landscape Archaeology, made it available to MWCH, and provided the reading of (b)5, part of the name of the recipient's unit.
- 55 We thank Giles Standing for identifying the unit in line 2. It is not a cohors Campestris or Campanorum since the letter preceding CAMP is probably R and certainly not part of a numeral; and Campestris is further excluded because the letter after CAMP looks more like A than E. The ala I Hispanorum Campagonum is attested in Pannonia Inferior in A.D. 114 and in Dacia Superior in A.D. 144, 157 and 158, by RMD No. 153, CIL xvi. 90, 107 and 108. However, no unit of Pannonians (like the recipient's) is attested in Pannonia Inferior by the diplomas of A.D. 114 or 110 (RMD No. 153; CIL xvi. 164), while the ala I Hispanorum Campagonum is not attested in any diploma for Roman Britain. There are at least two possible explanations. (i) This is a diploma for Pannonia, the recipient having been recruited into a Pannonian unit then serving in Britain which was transferred to Pannonia Inferior (where, however, it is as yet unattested), the recipient returning to Britain when discharged. (ii) This is a diploma for Britain, inherently more likely, implying that the ala I Hispanorum Compagonum served in Britain before leaving for Pannonia Inferior, perhaps after 110 (since it is not attested there by CIL xvi. 164) but before 114 (when it is attested by RMD No. 153). The recipient would then have served in either the ala I Pannoniorum Tampiana or the ala I Pannoniorum Sabiniana, both of them attested in Britain by CIL xvi. 69 (A.D. 122). This possibility, if accepted, would add a new unit to the army list for Britain, the ala I Hispanorum Campagonum.

(b) [...]T CVM[...|...]NGVLISIN[...|...]DIVI NER[...|...]LIO F[...|...]NONIOR[...], [... aut siqui caelibes essen]t, cum [iis quas postea | duxissent dumtaxat si]nguli sin[gulas | imp(eratore) Caesare] divi Ner[vae f(ilio) Nerva Traiano Aug(usto) Ger(manico) II | Sex(to) Iu]lio F[rontino II co(n)s(ulibus) | ... Pan]nonior[um ...]. '... or if they are unmarried, with those that they may subsequently marry, provided they only marry one each. (Given) in the consulship of the Emperor Caesar Trajan Augustus, son of the deified Nerva, and of Sextus Julius Frontinus, both for the second time [A.D. 98]. To [recipient] of the [unit] of Pannonians [...].'56

NORTHUMBERLAND

- 32. **High Rochester** (*Bremenium*, NY 83 98). Oblong lead sealing, 23 by 11 mm, found⁵⁷ in 2002 near the fort. Obverse: $CIV\Lambda$, c(ohors) I Va(rdullorum). Reverse: $Q \triangle ...$ 'First Cohort of Vardulli, (seal) of Quintus [...].'58
- 33. **Vindolanda** or Chesterholm (*Vindolanda*, NY 770 663). Major portion of a pewter plate, ⁵⁹ 195 mm in diameter, inscribed with two graffiti. (a) Within a turned circle at the centre, two pairs of lines intersecting at right-angles. (b) Scratched in capitals midway between this circle and the rim: ANNIVS MARTIALIS, *Annius Martialis*.
- 34. Ibid. Steel knife, complete with integral ringed handle and three rivets for attaching the grip. Stamped on the blade within a rectangular cartouche: OVINCVSF, *Ovincus f(ecit)*, 'Ovincus made (this)'.⁶⁰
- 35. Ibid. (FIG. 21). Bone roundel, 17 mm in diameter, 4 mm thick, inscribed on both faces. (a) Two lines intersecting at right angles over the chuck-mark: X, probably '10'. (b) On the other face in capitals: VIIR|AX, Verax.⁶¹



FIG. 21. Vindolanda, inscribed bone roundel (No. 35), face (b). Scale 2:1. (*Drawn by R.S.O. Tomlin*)

- ⁵⁶ For the unit, see the previous note. This is the usual formula restricting the grant of citizenship, followed by the consular date; Trajan is given the filiation which he lacks in the comparable position in *CIL* xvi. 42, although both diplomas were issued in the same year.
- ⁵⁷ By a metal detectorist, who has given it to the Museum of Antiquities, Newcastle-upon-Tyne (acc. no. 2002.14). Lindsay Allason-Jones sent photographs and other details.
- The obverse numeral is emphasised with a forked lower serif and three diagonal strokes above the suprascript bar. This is the first known sealing of the cohort, which was the third-century garrison of High Rochester (*Britannia* 25 (1994), 51). The reverse impression may also be legible, but it is too shallow and damaged along the bottom edge to be read from the photograph; it is evidently an abbreviated personal name.
- Found (inv. no. 8321) with the next seven items during excavation for the Vindolanda Trust directed by Andrew and Robin Birley, who made them available.
- 60 (Inv. no. 8662.) The first letter might be Q without its tail, but there is no evidence for a name *Quincus (the C is certain), whereas a Celtic personal name Ovincus can be deduced from CIL iii. 5139 (Noricum, near Celeia), Sassus Ovincii f(ilius) and CIL vi. 2613 (Rome, a praetorian guardsman), P. Ovinconius P. f. pol. Ingenuos domo Bodincomagus.
- 61 (Inv. no. 8688.) X is much the most common 'numeral' found on bone roundels (see *RIB* II.3, pp. 105–7); compare Nos 41 and 42 below. Its significance is uncertain, but on a counter it is more likely to be the numeral '10' than a mark of identification. On face (b), R has been scratched twice. For another example of the cognomen *Verax* see *RIB* 1057 (South Shields), a legionary centurion.

36. Ibid. (FIG. 22). Complete but now fragmented amphora from the middle Rhone valley (Augst 21), found in a Period IV context (A.D. 105–22). Two inscriptions have been painted on the neck by different hands: (a) LCH, presumably L(ucius) C(...) H(...). (b) LLLVCII[...] | OL | N, $L(uci\ et)$ L(uci) Lucii[...] | ol(iva) n(igra). 'Black olive, (product) of Lucius and Lucius [...].'62

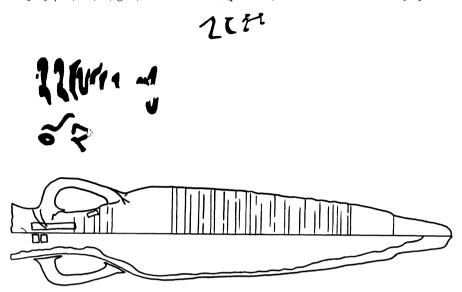


FIG. 22. Vindolanda, amphora with painted inscription (No. 36). Amphora, 1:8. Inscription, 1:2. (Drawn by Élise Marlière)

37. Ibid. (FIG. 23). Part of the handle of a Baetican oil amphora (Dressel 20), found in 2001. Inscribed after firing: TAGOMAS, *Tagomas*.⁶³



FIG. 23. Vindolanda, inscribed amphora handle (No. 37). Scale 1:2. (Drawn by R.S.O. Tomlin)

⁶² Robin Birley made it available, but identification, reading and interpretation are by Élise Marlière, University of Lille. For the amphora form see below, Addenda et Corrigenda (e).

^{63 (}Inv. no. 8487.) Two redundant strokes are associated with M, the first possibly a confusion with A, but both may be dismissed as casual. The owner is identical with 'Tagomas vexellarius' in a writing-tablet found nearby in 2001: graffito and tablet are illustrated in Current Archaeology 178 (March 2002), 444–5. He is already attested as the vexillarius Tagamas in Tab. Vindol. II, 181.14–15.

38. Ibid. (FIG. 24). Square hypocaust-pillar brick, 194 by 194 mm, 50 mm thick, found⁶⁴ in 2000 in the Trajanic bath-house. The brick was 'signed' with a finger-drawn semi-circle on which a dog has left its paw-print. Before the brick was fired, a five-line text was inscribed with a fine point, terminating apparently before the right-hand edge, but with the first letter of line 1 cut by the left-hand edge; the text evidently began on another (now lost) brick before the two were cut apart. The reading is further complicated by surface smoothing, and the presence of some casual cuts. ⁶⁵ It is very uncertain: [...]RIOPPN [...]INGII [...]VII [...]MO [...]NIT. ⁶⁶



FIG. 24. Vindolanda, inscribed brick (No. 38). Scale 1:3. (Drawn by R.S.O. Tomlin)

39. Ibid. (FIG. 25). Buff flagon, largely complete but now in fragments, found in one of the pre-Hadrianic forts. Scratched after firing on the shoulder: GIINIALS NONNI, *Genial(i)s Nonni*, '(property) of Genialis (son) of Nonnus'.⁶⁷

During excavation for the Vindolanda Trust directed by Robin and Andrew Birley, who made it available (inv. no. 7877) with a draft description and analysis by Anthony Birley. Illustrated in colour in *Current Archaeology* 178 (March 2002), 443.

These sometimes differ in quality and are unrelated to the text, for example the 'diagonal' descending from the second letter on line 1, but they are difficult to eliminate because of the laxity of the lettering and its uncertain interpretation.

The graffito is not obviously a list of names, firing-tally or date, and the ambiguity of the letters makes any interpretation still more arbitrary. Line 1 might be the end of a personal name in the ablative case, qualified as p(rae)p(osito) ('superintendent'). Line 3 might be part of a numeral inscribed over A. Line 4 might be the end of Maximo, even followed by the numeral II (instead of T in 5), displaced because of the 'signature', but it would be difficult to accommodate the implied consular date (A.D. 103).

^{67 (}Inv. no. 8749.) The graffito is complete: after L, it seems that I was omitted and S written without its tail. The two cognomina may be those of successive owners, but they seem to belong together, and thus to be name and patronymic. The name *Genialis* is common among soldiers, and the patronymic may have been needed to distinguish homonyms: for examples of *Genialis* 'pairs' in the same unit, see *RIB* 109 and *Tab. Luguval*. 1 and 16 (*Britannia* 29 (1998), 42 and 57–8). *Nonnus* is mostly found in Celtic provinces; for the only British instance see *RIB* 932.



FIG. 25. Vindolanda, graffito on a flagon (No. 39). Scale 1:2. (Drawn by R.S.O. Tomlin)

40. Ibid. (FIG. 26). Wall sherd of a decorated South Gaulish samian bowl (Drag. 37, inv. no. 8564), scratched after firing just above the foot ring: ANDANGIV[...], Andangiu[s].⁶⁸

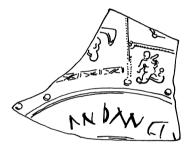


FIG. 26. Vindolanda, graffito on samian (No. 40). Scale 1:1. (Drawn by R.S.O. Tomlin)

TYNE AND WEAR

41. **South Shields** (*Arbeia*, NZ 366 679), in two cavalry barracks of the first stone fort, and a context dated from c. A.D. 160 to c. 207. Bone roundel (inv. no. IM 125), 15 mm in diameter, 2 mm thick, found⁶⁹ in 2000 or 2001. Obverse: three concentric grooves. Reverse: scratched with two intersecting lines: X, probably '10'. ⁷⁰

68 G (not C) has been written with three strokes, as in the contemporary writing-tablets: see A.K. Bowman and J.D. Thomas, *Vindolanda: the Latin Writing-Tablets* (1983), 63. In view of the bowl's early date, Andangius was probably a Tungrian or Batavian; his name otherwise has Rhineland associations: compare *CIL* xiii. 7086 (Mainz), *Gamuxpero Andangi (filio)* and *CIL* xiii. 2945 (Sens), Andangianius Tertinus, a veteran married to a woman of Cologne. This association of names now suggests that [Gamu]xperus, not [... U]xperus, should be restored in Tab. Vindol. II, 184.23.

⁶⁹ With the next seven items during excavation for Tyne and Wear Museums directed by N. Hodgson, G.C. Stobbs and G. Brogan: see *Britannia* 32 (2001), 322–4 and 33 (2002), 290–91. Alex Croom made them available, except for the two samian sherds (Nos 44 and 47) of which there were only photographs. RSOT will publish them in the final report with other graffiti too slight for inclusion here, since they are less than three consecutive letters, or doubtfully lettered, or only 'marks of identification'.

⁷⁰ X is much the most frequent 'numeral' to be scratched onto bone roundels found in Britain (see *RIB* II.3, pp. 105–7); compare the next item (No. 42) and No. 35(a) above.

- 42. Ibid. Similar bone roundel (IM 126), 19 mm in diameter, 3 mm thick. Obverse: three concentric grooves. Reverse: deeply incised with two thick intersecting lines: X, probably '10'.
- 43. Ibid. Wall sherd of a Baetican oil amphora (Dressel 20, IM 166), incised after firing: [...]IIDIIVII[...].⁷¹
- 44. Ibid. Base sherd of a samian (Drag. 18/31) dish (IM 146), incised after firing above the foot ring: [...]N.⁷²
- 45. Ibid. (FIG. 27). Rim sherd of a black-burnished (BB2) dish (IM 154), neatly incised after firing below the rim: IVLI, *Iuli*, '(Property) of Julius'.⁷³



FIG. 27. South Shields, graffito on coarseware (No. 45). Scale 1:1. (*Drawn by R.S.O. Tomlin*)

- 46. Ibid. Ten sherds from the wall of a buff flagon (IM 156), six of them conjoining and bearing part of a graffito lightly scratched after firing: [...].XXI[...].⁷⁴
- 47. **South Shields** (*Arbeia*), in the fort *vicus*. Base sherd of a samian (Drag. 33) cup (IM 162), scratched inside after firing: ΛVR, *Aur(elius)*.⁷⁵
- 48. Ibid. Two conjoining sherds from the wall of a buff flagon (IM 169), scratched just below the handle after firing: [...]LΛΤΙΙΛ, presumably [Ga]latea.⁷⁶
- 49. **Wallsend** (*Segedunum*, NZ 300 660) (FIG. 28). Cavalry harness fitting, probably Antonine, a copper-alloy junction *phalera* 39 mm in diameter with three junction loops, one of which is now missing, found⁷⁷ in 1998 in the demolition period (c. A.D. 230–50) of Barrack XII. Punched in dots
- 71 The first stroke might be part of N or V, but the sequence of letters does not suggest any likely name. Another possibility is that the first two strokes are an incompletely-formed O; this would then suggest [m]odii VII[...], 'seven (or more) modii', the average capacity of a Dressel 20 amphora.
- 72 The sequence of strokes cannot be determined from the photograph, but the graffito was probably made as usual in this position, with the vessel inverted. The graffito might be a single letter, but is more likely to be an abbreviated name such as [CA]N or [IA]N.
 - 73 The nomen *Iulius* is quite often used by soldiers, especially legionaries, as a cognomen: see *Britannia* 29 (1998), 64.
 - Presumably part of a numeral, perhaps of capacity.
 - The nomen is very common, but here it is presumably a cognomen.
- ⁷⁶ Galatea is a feminine name of Greek etymology, suggestive of a slave or freedwoman. This is its first occurrence in Britain, but it is well attested in CIL v (twice) and CIL vi (four times), in all but one instance explicitly the name of a freedwoman.
- ⁷⁷ During excavation for North Tyneside MBC directed by N. Hodgson: see *Britannia* 30 (1999), 334–9, and N. Hodgson, *The Roman Fort at Wallsend: Excavations* 1997–8, (2003). We have not seen the original (WSCA689), but Alex Croom provided a drawing, colour photographs and an X-ray photograph.

around the flange: PRVSOIANA MARC...., perhaps t(urma) Pruso(n)iana Marc[...], 'From the troop formerly of Pruso, Marc[...].'⁷⁸

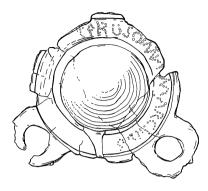


FIG. 28. Wallsend, inscribed harness fitting (No. 49). Scale 1:1. (Drawn by R.S.O. Tomlin after Tyne and Wear Museums)

WALES

RADNORSHIRE

50. **Castell Collen** (SO 57 60). Oval lead sealing, 18 by 11 mm, found⁷⁹ near the Roman fort. One face has been impressed by a rectangular die: FIT.⁸⁰

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

- (a) *RIB* 2202 (Duntocher). This (lost) inscription can be identified with a stone seen there by John Knox in 1775. He notes that the modern village is built from the Roman fort, 'for many of the stones are smoothed upon the side, and on one is the word *Nero* very legible'. Knox removed it to Richmond (Surrey).⁸¹
- Only the sequence from P to M is visible, but underneath the corrosion, in the X-ray photograph, there is a possible trace of initial T, certain evidence of ΛRC, and then trace of c.4 more letters. Two names can be recognized, PRVSO and MARC[...]. Pruso is a Celtic personal name (see CIL xiii. 6294 and 6310, and compare 4579 for Prusonius), appropriate to an eques or decurion of Gallic origin in a cohors equitata. It is followed by some cramped letters which can be read as IΛNΛ for –(n)iana, identifying the turma by the adjectival form of the last decurion's name when its command had become vacant. The traces after MARC are faint and confusing; the last letter looks like S, but Marcellus or Marcianus cannot be read.
- ⁷⁹ By a metal detectorist who has sold it to Landrindod Wells Museum. Published (but with 'Specialist comment awaited') by Britnell in J.E. Britnell *et al.*, 'Recent discoveries in the vicinity of Castell Collen Roman Fort, Radnorshire', *Studia Celtica* 33 (1999), 33–90, at 71, No. 21 with 72, fig. 13. We owe this reference to Prof. Sheppard Frere.
- Similar to, if not identical with, the well-attested reverse of a sealing of the nearest legion, *legio II Augusta*: *RIB* II.1, 2411.59–62 (Brough under Stainmore). FIT is unexplained. It is not an abbreviated verb or *tria nomina*, but it might be an abbreviated name like *F*(...ius) *It*(*alicus*).
- ⁸¹ John Knox, *A View of the British Empire* (3rd edn, 1785), 611–12, footnote. We owe this reference to Prof. Lawrence Keppie.

- (b) *RIB* II.4, 2448.7(a) (Rudston). The caption in the western lunette of the Venus mosaic⁸² should read: [LEO] F[L]AMMEFER, 'The lion "Flame-bearer".'⁸³ The caption in the southern lunette should then be translated by analogy: 'The bull "Man-killer".'
- (c) **RIB II.5**, 2491.150 (Caves Inn), [C]IVITATIS CORIELTAVVOROM. The name of the *civitas* in this graffito should be 'Corieltavi' (with ν pronounced like English w), not 'Corieltavi' (with the diphthong au).⁸⁴
- (d) *RIB* II.4, 2473.9 (South Shields). Tile 25 mm thick (not a 'brick'), bearing the impressed stamp COHVG, *coh(ors)* V G(allorum). The previous reading and interpretation are withdrawn.⁸⁵
- (e) *RIB* II.6, 2492.8 (Colchester) and 28 (London). Amphoras of form London 555 (Augst 21) are now known⁸⁶ to originate from the middle Rhône valley, not Baetica.
- (f) *Britannia* 25 (1994), 308, No. 79 (Hoxne). This silver spoon (*ligula*) has now been examined⁸⁷ with the other inscribed objects in the Treasure. The two graffiti underneath the bowl were scratched by different hands. (a) PER. (b) PR (*not* PV).⁸⁸

- ⁸² D.S. Neal and S.R. Cosh, *Roman Mosaics of Britain*, I (2002), 353–6, Mosaic No. 143.2. This corrigendum derives from discussion with Prof. Roger Wilson; see above pp. 288–9.
- This was Richmond's reading, as the apparatus notes, and it was preferred by Toynbee (*Britannia* 8 (1977), 479) and by Colin Smith (*ANRW* II.xix (2), 908, n. 14), who notes that FLAMMIFER would be the Classical form, but that unstressed (short) 'i' and 'e' fall together in Vulgar Latin. This reading is also more compatible with Wright's 1951 drawing and Neal's 1962 painting, both of them made before the mosaic was lifted, than is F[R]AMMEFER ('spear-bearing'), which the editors of *RIB* II took from Collingwood and Wright. RSOT noted that the supposed trace of R 'is not borne out by the drawing', and he now finds that it is not supported by Wright's contemporary notebook either. The analogy of *armifer* (etc.) makes it difficult to derive any sense of 'pierced by a spear' from *frammefer < framea ('spear'). The mosaicist has used red chips to outline the lion's mane, the piercing of its back, and the streams of blood, but he may have misunderstood a millet stalk in the drawing he used: compare Witts in *Britannia* 25 (1994), 112–13, with pl. VI.
- A. Breeze, 'Does *Corieltavi* mean 'army of many rivers'?', *Antiq. J.* 82 (2002), 307–10, where RSOT is the anonymous referee quoted on p. 308. Sheppard Frere adopted the form 'Corieltavi' without explanation in the third (revised) edition of *Britannia* (1987), but Breeze now reconciles the *Corieltauui* of the Caves Inn graffito with the literary evidence, Ptolemy's variant *Coritavi* and Ravenna's *Rate Corion* and *Eltavori*, by explaining its *-uu-* as a hypercorrection or perhaps 'an attempt to represent a Latin sound resembling English w'. This admits the attractive etymology from Celtic **Tauia* ('Tay', i.e. 'river', with semi-vocalic u and i).
- ⁸⁵ R.P. Wright read COHVGG: 'the final G is faint but definite', which he interpreted as *G(ordiana)*. This was questioned by Alex Croom, who showed the tile (T66 DK.2) to RSOT. The published drawing is inaccurate: after COHVG there is a circular projection and part of a concentric 'rim' above it, certainly not G, which correspond to a circular depression before COH, this pair of marks being due to the ends of the pegs which secured the wooden die to its handle. They are visible on many of the cohort's stamped tiles (*RIB* II.4, 2473.1–6).
- ⁸⁶ By Élise Marlière, University of Lille, as Robin Birley has informed RSOT. Dipinti identify the contents as black olives and *defrutum*. Compare item No. 36 above.
- ⁸⁷ By RSOT in preparing his contribution to the definitive publication by Catherine Johns. For an interim report of the inscriptions see *Britannia* 25 (1994), 306-8, Nos 41-60.
- ⁸⁸ P in both graffiti is of 'capital' form, as usual in New Roman Cursive, but R in (a) is 'capital', in (b) it is 'cursive'. Both forms are found in New Roman Cursive: see *Tab. Sulis*, p. 94. The graffiti are presumably the abbreviated personal names of successive owners.