

Evidence of the Occupation of Bath by the XX Legion.

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IN the following remarks I hope to lay before you evidence of the existence of the XX Legion in Bath, and to prove that the legion must have been quartered there for a lengthened period.

I would also bring to your notice, if time permitted, the whole of the incised slabs and altars inscribed with the name of the legion, from twenty-three places on the Continent—or, rather, from all the then known world, other than Britain—and from forty-eight places in Britain. Of the former, eighteen are from Spain, ten from Gaul and Cisalpine Gaul, and eight from Rome. Of the latter, some are from Scotland, and the remainder from England.

Wherever the XX Legion came from, we learn from Tacitus that it, and the II, IX, and XIV Legions landed in Britain about A.D. 43. The descriptive title of the XX Legion is very varied in style, as—

LEG. XX. Frequent examples in Gruter and in the *Corpus Inscriptionem*.

LEG. XX. VALEN. VICT. Gruter, 492-5.

LEG. XX. VICT. Gruter, Graevius and the *Corpus*.

LEG. XX. VAL. VIC. or VIC. VAL. } Gruter,
VALERIAE VICTRICIS }
Graevius and the *Corpus*.

LEG. XX. GEM. At Castlesteads, Gruter, $\frac{1178}{12}$; and
at Tarracone, $\frac{417}{5}$

LEG. XX. PRIMIG.

LEG. XX. HISPANICAE.

LEG. XX. GORDIANAE.

And these inscriptions have been found at the following places :

On the Continent, twenty-three :—

Aeso Terraco.	Brundisi.	Patavium.
Ager Novariensis.	Castellana.	Rome.
Aldiguelo.	Grimlichhausen.	Tarragon.
Aquila.	Helvis.	Tergeste.
Arrisi.	Lingonum.	Trumpilini.
Baetica.	Nemausi.	Utera.
Beneventum.	Osunae.	Villa Mejia.
Brixia.	Parma in Liguria.	

In Britain, forty-eight :—

Abbotsford.	Chester.	Lanchester.
Ardoch.	Chesterholm.	Lanercost.
Baintbrig.	Chesters.	London.
Bath.	Colchester.	Moresby.
Beaumont.	Crawdundale.	Netherby.
Benwell.	Dundry.	Peelglen.
Bewcastle.	Dunnottar.	Red Abbey Stead.
Birdoswald.	Duntocher.	Ribchester.
Birrens.	Ellenfoot.	Riechester.
Blencarn.	Erskine.	Rough Castle.
Carraw.	Halton Chesters.	Stanwix.
Castle Cary, Scot.	Heddon.	Thirlwall Castle.
Castle Hill.	Holmes.	Walltown.
Castle Steads.	Hope Castle.	Wetheral.
Carvoran.	Kendal.	Whitley.
Caw-gap.	Kirkintilloch.	Wroxeter.

There does not appear to be any mention of the XX Legion in the *Commentaries of Cæsar*, in the eight books of the Gallic War, nor yet in the account of the Civil War, neither in the account of the African War, nor yet in the Spanish War.

The non-appearance in the first and last accounts would be a negative proof of the raising of the legion in either province

on the close of hostilities, and its deportation to some other province.

In Begerius¹ we have an example of the “*aquila cum signis legionis Vicesimae Hispanicae*,” from a coin or medal; which, on comparison with Gruter (358, 2, and to those to whom he refers)—an inscription of the XX Legion in *Brixia*;² or with the same, as given by Momssen,³ we see it is a fair rendering of the “*signis Legionis*” previously mentioned. These are, as I take it, good proof of the XX Legion having been raised in Spain.

According to Momssen,⁴ there is evidence of the existence of the XX Legion existing in B.C. 44; and in Tacitus⁵ we find the statement that the I Legion was raised by Tiberius (A.D. 14—38), and that it, and the XX Legion had been his constant companions in many battles. That Tacitus has some ground for his statement is confirmed by inscriptions given by Wilmanns,⁶ from Lambaesis, and another given by Henzen, and also by Gruter, $\frac{39^1}{4}$.

Two coincidences would lead to the supposition that, firstly, the XX Legion was raised in Gaul or Spain (independently of the incised slabs found there), and secondly, that it had served in Asia Minor before the Christian era.

Firstly, as to the raising in Spain or Gaul. One of the devices on the coins of Gaul was a boar, according to Eckhel.⁷ The boar was also a device of Spain. Pliny states that in the Roman army boars were carried as insignia before the lines, and Tacitus⁸ gives “*insigne superstitiones formas aprorum gestant.*” But whether this practice were general or not, the boar is seldom, if ever, found on any altar, incised slab or antefixa of any other legion than the XX. Dr. Cardwell,¹ Camden Professor of Ancient History, points out that Hors-

(1). 1700, Pl. 8, No. 22, p. 15.

(3). *Gall. Cis.* 4365.

(5). *Ann.* I. 42.

(7). *Vol. i.* p. 63.

(9). Oxon, 1832, *Coinage of Greece and Rome*, pp. 143-4.

(2). *Temp. Tiberius Cæsar.*

(4). *Ad Cæsar Mortem*, 663.

(6). *Afric.* 2786 and 3005.

(8). *De Mor. Ger.*, c. 45.

ley,¹ in explaining the figure of the boar, which he found inscribed upon an ancient monument of the XX Legion, had forgotten that it was the cognisance of the troops by which the monument was erected, and had erroneously supposed it to represent the conquest of the ancient Caledonians.

Secondly, the striking similarity existing between numerous statues of a "winged Victory," with either the palm and crown, or both, or without, found in the province of Cilicia, and described by W. Burchhardt Barker, the Resident at Tarsus, in his work on Cilicia, 1853, drawings of two of which I here show; and the figures on incised slabs of the XX Legion, would lead to the conclusion that the XX Legion was one of those sent out to quell the excesses committed by the pirates in the Mediterranean during and after the war with Carthage, and that the sculptures had been done by that legion. Incredible as it may appear, between B.C. 68 and A.D. 36, many ships and considerably more than 138,600 men were sent out to Cilicia against these pirates, and those who supported the cause, viz. :—

B.C. 68, Pompey, with 500 ships and 120,000 men. He took 90 ships and 20,000 prisoners (including soldiers of Comagena and Sarmosata).²

B.C. 50, Cicero sailed (number of ships not given) with 14,600 horse and foot.

Between these dates there were many disturbances, and the number of troops sent out is unknown.

A.D. 36, Marcus Trebellius, with 4,000 legionaries and a number of auxiliaries. So that it is possible that the XX Legion was amongst those who served in Asia Minor.

Certain it is that figures of Victory, in more or less elegant attitudes, have been adopted as the supporters—if I may use the term—for any central object depicted in stone or marble

(1). In his *Rom. Brit.*, p. 194.

(2). Hüb. under those names.

by XX Legion Valeria Victricis; and it is to be greatly regretted that Gruter's plan, or an improved one, of a full illustration where practicable, of the subject treated upon, has not been carried out in the *Corpus Inscriptionem*. The veriest outline would have been more useful than volumes of description.

In that famous work on Rome, by Piranesi,¹ is given a drawing of a portion of a piece of stucco taken from the face of a niche in a sepulchral edifice of early date, near the Slaves' Tower (Torre dei Schiavi), in which can be seen the various badges of the legions. There are given in the fragment the well-known badge of the XX Legion, the "Aper currens," but winged; the flying dolphin; the Pegasus; the Gryphon volant; the flying Caper-marinus; the winged lion; the winged bull; etc., etc. The added wings evidently imply zeal and rapidity in action.

It seems futile to combat the argument of Mr. Macnab,² that, because the sculptured stones found on the line of the wall raised A.D. 120, and a stone at Lanchester put up A.D. 238—254, bearing the boar, are the earliest designs of the boar that can be assigned to the XX Legion, when we have the testimony of this interesting fragment from Rome. And I also think it is not proved that the "origin of this symbol of the XX Legion dates from the encounter of its Vexillation with the Caledonian Picts, during the construction of the Antoninian rampart, and must have reference to a similar figure conspicuous to their vision, in use among that people, either from the exhibition of animal forms upon their bodies, or upon sculptured Pictish stones."

In the illustration given by Dr. Bruce, in *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, No. 422, found at Birdoswald, we have an almost perfect figure of a flying Victory, without the globe, but with the eagle in a similar position to that on the pediment at Bath.

(1). Tom. II. pl. xxx.

(2). *Proc. of Soc. of Antiqs.*, Scotland, 1882-3, pp. 400—413.

The XX Legion, it should be noted, was stationed in the neighbourhood of Birdoswald. At Maryport¹ we have two winged Victories, supporting a wreath, in the identical way that the wreath in the Bath pediment is held; but in all the illustrations of this, from Bruce, Stukeley, and Camden, the figures are imperfect from the knees downwards, the lower parts of the incised slabs not having been found. But, in all probability, these figures stood on globes, as perfect figures, or remains of such, on globes, have been met with at Housesteads (2), Netherby (1), Halton Chesters (1), Stanwix (1), and at Corchester.² There has also been found at Great Chesters a slab with two winged figures supporting a ring or wreath, with a manipulum within it, an eagle on either side, in a similar position to that in the Bath pediment, with two boars, courant, and meeting. The design is really a free rendering of, and a palpable reproduction of, the Bath pediment.

An illustration in Camden³ presents two winged supporters of a wreath, with the pelta in their outer hands, whilst their inner hands hold the wreath, with which, and standing upon it, is the boar, passant. The Victories have each one foot resting upon a globe. A similar—if not the same—slab of the XX Legion is represented in Bruce,⁴ found at Lanchester, and its description corresponds mainly with the preceding. Five other varieties of the wild boar, in different positions, are given by Dr. Bruce: Nos. 114, 264, 588, 789. In the two last the boar is seen walking in a forest. No. 892 is inscribed with letters which, extended, imply the erection by “*Legio vicesima valeria victrix Gordiana*,” which is confirmed by another fragment of the Gordianae, given in Hübner, 403. At Ebchester⁵ was found an altar with the figure of a prancing, or, more probably, a flying boar, although the wings are wanting. The slabs erected by the *vexillations* of the XX

(1). Bruce, *Lap. Sep.*, No. 866.

(2). Bruce, *Lap. Sep.*, No. 650.

(3). Vol. iii. p. 365.

(4). *Lap. Sep.*, No. 702.

(5). Bruce, *Lap. Sep.*, No. 666.

Legion also introduce some matter of general appearance or detail, which would serve—where the inscriptions wanting—to identify them with the work of that legion.¹

These remains of antefixæ, and a fragment of so-called Samian, all from Chester, also give the boar as the badge of the XX Legion. A legionary coin of Carausius also concurs. As I have previously remarked, there is not any evidence that I have met with of any other legion acting against the Caledonians, that assumed the boar, either transfixed, statant, or courant, as a badge, and I show here a sketch of a *Patera*, given by Buonarotti, in his *Historical Observations on Ancient Medals*, 1698; wherein we see the XX and the II Legions, with soldiers of each, the standards, the badges of both; the boar for the XX, the *Caper marinus* for the II. The II does not assume in the slightest degree the boar as its emblem, nor even as an adjunct of its emblem.

In the pediment of the public building at Bath, the details of which must be sufficiently familiar to you, from the drawings of Warner and Governor Pownall, in the last century, and of Mr. Irvine, in this—copies of which I give, and here have shown the trifling variations of the three authorities. The head is that of a male in all three, and is certainly not like Medusa. Can it be intended for Apollo? Assuming it to be that of Apollo, we find, according to Chrysippus, that the Latins called him “*Sol quod fit solus*,” and that others² called him so “*ab abigendis morbis*,” etc. Apollo was supposed to possess a three-fold power—in heaven called Sol, in earth Liber Pater, and in the nether regions Apollo. The Romans had their knowledge of him from a Greek source. The first temple erected to him by the Romans was in B.C. 430, for the purpose of averting a plague.³ The second temple was erected eighty years afterwards.

(1). Camden, iii. 308; Bruce, *Lap. Sep.*, 573; at Dunnottar, fig. 2, 360; Gough's *Camden*, 323.

(2). Synt. vii. p. 219.

(3). Liv. iv. p. 25.

On an incised stone¹ found at Musselburgh, near Edinburgh, we have a head of *Apollo*, with flamboyant rays, radiating from the entire oval of the face. C. Julius Solinus, a writer of the first century,² states that there was a temple to Minerva and Sol in Bath. This would lead to the supposition that the pediment was the work of the first century.

Some might enquire, is it possible that in that tympanum we have an apotheosis of *Apollo*, or rather of the *Daphnephoria*? In it we have wreaths of laurel; an emblem of the sun, by whom they meant *Apollo*; a laurel-bearer, a boy of beautiful countenance, robed in a sumptuous garment, reaching to his ankles, his hair loose and dishevelled, reduplicated. In the helmet we may possibly have prefigured the suit of armour presented to Polematas, the general of the Bæotian troops, with a boar's head as crest. We have the omphalos, which occupies the due central position—assumed by Mr. Irvine to be a centre from which the circles were struck; there is the ribbon or string, and one of the two eagles. We possibly have an allegorical representation, hinting at the perfection of the number three, in allusion to the three celestial circles, two of which we see, the third being obscured by Sol in his annual circuit—the star at the apex representing one of the planets, acknowledging the sun as the fountain of light, which the host of heaven have only by participation with Sol, or possibly figuring the emblem of Ebdome—as the seventh day of every lunar month was sacred to *Apollo* (Hesiod, *Diebus*). The globes beneath the feet of the supporters may be reduplications of the moon and stars, subject to *Apollo*'s beams. Others, in support of the above argument, would point out the Sabine name for Sol, the sun—*Selius*, *i.e.*, *ηλιος*, with the usual substitution of the sibilant for the aspirate (as we find from *Fest.*, p. 20):—“*aureliam familiam, ex Sabinis oriundam, a Sole dictum putant, quod ei publice a populo Romano datus sit locus, in quo sacra faceret Soli, qui ex hoc auseli dicebantur,*” etc.

(1). Gruter, xxxvii. 12.

(2). Polyhistor, c. 22.

The first syllable of *ηλιος* means "to burn," as in Greek, and this would seem to confirm Müller's suggestion,¹ that the whole word, *Ausil*, was the name of the sun-god in the Sabine, and perhaps also in the Etruscan, language. In *Ausil* and *Selius* we certainly have a parent, or, at least, a kindred form of *Sulis*, from which Bath derives its Roman name, *Aquæ Sulis*.

Others, without reference to this argument, have endeavoured to show, that as Apollo was the sun, and that as the eastern name or title of the sun was Adonai or Adonis (lord), and that as the wild boar which was presumed to have killed him was the emblem of Winter, and that after his death he passed six months with Proserpine and six with Venus (signifying the increase and decrease of the solar influence), that this should identify Adonis with Apollo, and so introduce the wild boar as the badge of the legion of a nation which adored Apollo.²

According to some traditions, Ares (Mars), or, according to others, Apollo, assumed the form of the boar which killed Adonis.³ Some have held that as the temples of Bel or Baal were called Chamanim (places enclosed with walls, wherein was kept up a perpetual fire); that Bel was a sun-god, and therefore Applo. Others, that as Bel was Saturn, therefore Saturn was Apollo, in another phase of the mythological scene. If such be correct, then the head of Saturn, or Kronos, would be fitly represented by the moustached and bearded head on the Bath pediment.

That Apollo and Horus were identical, is supported by Herodian (ii. 144—156), by Diodorus (i. 25), Plutarch (*de Is et Os.* 12), and others, although Müller rejects the idea that Apollo was derived by the Romans from Egypt. Again, some might put forward the inscription on a figure of Apollo, found

(1). Berlin, *Jahrbücher*, August, 1841; p. 222, note.

(2). Gruter, vol. xxxvii. p. 12.

(3). *Serv. ad Virg. Ecl.*, vol. x. p. 18. Ptolem. *Hephaest*, vol. i. p. 306; ed. Gale.

at Picenum, inscribed, Jupetrul Epure, Jupiter's son Apollo—as a proof of the assumption that the head was intended for the father of Apollo—Jove himself—who would also be surrounded with laurel, and attended by Eagles. Indeed Jove, who was commonly called Diespiter, the *Father of Light*, by Festus (ap. Lil.), and Livy (4, i.), may be intended to be represented on the pediment at Bath.¹ The Cretans also called him “Dies,” as we learn from Macrobius.² A singular fact may be here mentioned in connection with this, that one of the names of Apollo is *Δυκηγενης*,³ which may mean either born in Lycia, or born of, or in, light.

It is well to remember that Apollo was a god of six powers:—

1. Who punishes and destroys *ουλιος* the wicked.
2. Who affords help and wards off evil.
3. Of prophecy.
4. Of song and music.
5. Who protects flocks and cattle.
6. Who delights in the foundation of towns, and the establishment of civil constitutions.

As a patron under either the second or sixth of these, Apollo would fill up the hiatus.

Some have called the human head, occupying the central position in the Bath pediment, the head of Medusa, and pointed out the similarity between it and the *Ægis Palladis*, by Phidias, where the crinated and winged locks are visible; but in the illustration I give of the *Ægis*, neither beard nor moustache are to be found. As in Chester, there has been found an antefixa of the XX Legion, with the head of Jupiter Ammon, we may have the head of Rome's supreme deity within the wreaths. The head is certainly more like Jupiter, or the typical head of Esculapius, the son of Apollo, and grandson of Jupiter, than Medusa; and if we can, by a flight of fancy, such as must have

(1). See the Jupiter on the antefixa found at Chester.

(2). In Saturn ap. Bochart in Geogr.

(3). II. iv. 101.

possessed those old mythologists, assume that the pediment represents the glories of the sun-god, concentrated in the virtues of the thermal waters, *aquæ sulis*, adapted by Esculapius to meet the wants of frail mortals, we have the key to the design, decorating the valetudinarium, which, I believe, stood on the very spot where the remains of the pediment were found, and on the site laid down by Hyginus Gromaticus.

According to Cæsar,¹ “*in signibus suorum*,” were of various kinds.² The standard-bearers had helmets covered with bear-skin, the *pilani* with the skins of wolves; the helmet in the Bath pediment appears to represent a boar’s head. The introduction of this badge, together with the supporting figures—whether victories or not—in identical positions, with well-known works of the XX Legion, and the eagle in the usual position, conclusively point out that the fragments of the pediment of the building in Bath—of which these drawings give but an imperfect illustration—were certainly erected by the famous XX Legion in the latter half of the first century of our era.

(1). *De Bell. Gall.* vii. 45.

(2). Compare Lipsius, *Mil. Rom. Analect ad Dial* ii. p. 436.

