

ART. XIX.—*Voreda, the Roman fort at Plumpton Wall.*

By PROFESSOR F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., LL.D., V.-P. S.A., etc.

Partly read at the site, September 5th, 1912.

THE Roman fort of Old Penrith or Plumpton Wall, or, as it has also occasionally been called, Castlesteads, stands beside the modern high road from Carlisle to Penrith, about 13 miles south of the former, and 5 miles north of the latter, in the parish of Plumpton Wall. It has been known as a Roman site ever since the sixteenth century. Camden mentions it under the name of Old Penrith in his *Britannia* as early as 1586, and seems to have visited it in 1599. It then contained many traces of antiquity, including some inscriptions which he copied.* The next material references to it belong to the early years of the eighteenth century; Horsley then visited it, and included in his book a detailed description of what he saw, while some correspondents of Roger Gale, Horsley, Patten and Goodman, make other allusions to it about the same time.† Later writers frequently mention it, and chance finds, including inscriptions, have not been uncommon, especially outside the fort.‡ Both the fort, however, and its immediate surroundings seem to have been long under grass, and

* Camden, ed. 1586, p. 455; 1600, p. 701.

† Horsley, pp. 111 (plan), 272-5. The letters to Gale are published in Stukeley's *Diaries* (Surtees Society, 1883), ii. 68 foll., and in Hutchinson, i. 348.

‡ Besides the writers mentioned in other footnotes see Burton's *Antoninus* (1658), 118; Gale's *Antoninus* (1709), pp. 37, 40; Gough's *Additions to Camden* (1806), iii. 443; *Gentlemen's Magazine* 1790, ii. 982, 1092; 1818, ii. 367; *Brayley and Britton* (1802), iii. 171; Whellan (1860), p. 576; these *Transactions*, o.s. xv. 46, and n.s. ix. 311. Nicolson and Burn add practically nothing.

of late years few discoveries have been recorded, save one curious altar found about a hundred yards north of the fort in 1908.*

The site has never been excavated with an archaeological purpose, though the east gate was cleared and planned in 1811-2. It has, however, been freely robbed by modern men searching for stone. Thus West, in his *Guide to the Lakes*, issued in 1778, remarks that at that time parts of the walls were removed to provide field dykes.† A little later Lysons records that the east wall was pulled down in 1811-2, when buildings were being put up on Castlesteads Farm,‡ and a local land surveyor of the time, Jos. Bell, adds that in the same year the south and west walls were also cleared out and the south gate laid bare.§ Roman stones, including a small letterless altar of white sandstone, can now be seen in the dwelling-house walls at Castlesteads, but in general the houses near the fort do not contain much recognisable Roman stonework.

The position of the fort had much tactical strength. On the west the ground falls sharply away to the river Petterill; on the east the slope is also steep, and though the north and south approaches are nearly level, the Galley Gill forms a small but veritable gorge scarcely 300 yards distant to the north. The outlook is wide all round, except to the south; to the west the whole range of the Lake hills lies in full view. As a whole, the site is well chosen; it is far stronger, for instance, than the nearest Roman fort to it, beneath the walls of Brougham Castle. Strategically, the importance of the position depends on its connection with the Roman road which leads from the south to Carlisle. This road, coming

* See altar No. 10, below.

† West's *Guide to Lakes* (1778), p. 149; these *Transactions*, o.s. xv. 46.

‡ Lysons' *Cumberland*, p. cxliii, footnote; these *Transactions*, o.s. xv. 46.

§ These *Transactions*, o.s., xv. 46; *Archaeologia Aeliana*, first series, vol. i. Donations, p. 2 (drawings of east gate, etc.).

PLAN OF THE EAST GATE [as visible in 1912]

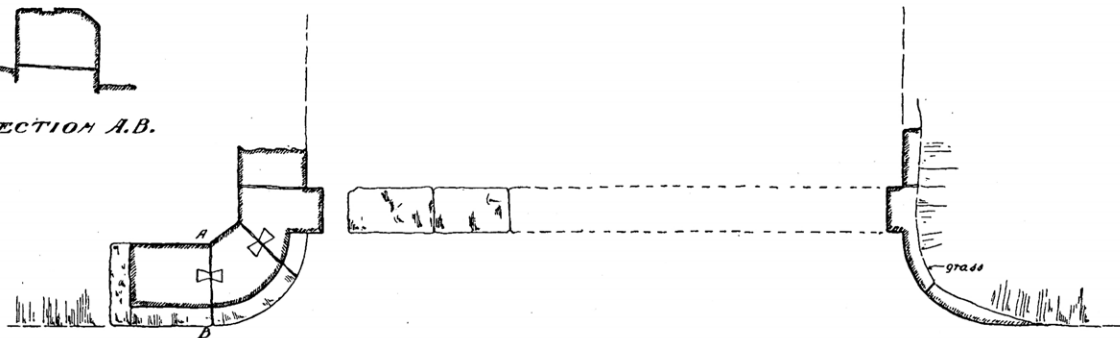
OF VOREDA.

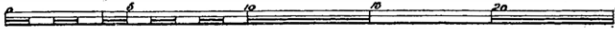


INTERIOR OF THE FORT



SECTION A.B.



SCALE OF  FEET.

*R. M. Rugg
Permit
1912*

from Brougham, passes along the ridge between the Petterill and the Eden, close to the east bank of the former river. Its general course is represented by the modern highway from Penrith to Carlisle, which skirts the east face of the fort. But the discovery of various constructions underneath the modern metalling—for example, a well uncovered in 1817*—shows that the modern road does not here follow precisely the ancient line.

Various structural remains testify to the character of the fort. The grass-grown rampart and ditch are still visible all round it, enclosing an oblong area of about 330 by 500 feet, a trifle over three acres. The east gate has long lain open to view (see plan). It arrests attention by its massive sandstone blocks, with their shapely bevells and the dowel holes for metal clamps, as well as by its somewhat unusual form. When first noticed in the eighteenth century, it was supposed, as Hutchinson tells us,† to have been flanked by circular turrets, but it seems that the rounded parts of the masonry formed only quarter-circles, and that the gateway was in reality slightly recessed, like the south gate at Haltwhistle Burn and various other Roman gates of various dates. The position of the west gate is also clear, though it has not been actually laid bare, and the north and south gates, if less discernible to-day, were both visible in Horsley's time; the south gate indeed was found in 1811 with iron hinges and burnt wood lying within it.‡ Of the internal buildings we know nothing definite. Horsley mentions a "praetorium" near the north rampart, seemingly in the north-east corner, but its real nature is quite uncertain, and in general we can say only that the whole fort was pretty certainly filled with stone

* Jefferson, *History of Leath Ward* (1840), p. 463.

† Hutchinson, i. 348.

‡ These *Transactions*, O.S. xv. 47.

structures, like most of the Roman *castella* in northern England. Outside the ramparts, buildings have been noticed in several directions, particularly on the west towards the river, where indeed faint indications can still be traced on the surface. Whellan adds that an "arched chamber or passage" was found outside the south-east corner of the fort in the early nineteenth century, and that in the same period "extensive remains" were removed from the field east of the fort.*

Smaller finds have been fairly common, at least as far as inscriptions are concerned, as the appended lists will shew. Altars are represented by ten more or less perfectly inscribed pieces, five uninscribed pieces bearing reliefs of deities, and four others. Of tombstones eight have been recorded. Among architectural remains we have several capitals of columns, including one capital carved elaborately with acanthus leaves and human heads, and a slab decorated with vine branches and grape clusters. Few coins have been properly recorded, the earliest being of Faustina (middle second century), and the latest of Licinius, Maximin, and Constantius (early third century). A few bits of Samian and other pottery, a bronze fibula, and two or three trifles complete the lists. Here, as usual, little care has been taken of finds, and it goes without saying that we know next to nothing of the associations in which most of the objects found at Plumpton Wall have come to light.

Though our knowledge of the fort is thus scanty, we can tell its character. Plainly it was one of those *castella* garrisoned by "auxiliary" regiments, generally either 500 or 1,000 strong, which guarded the main roads and the important strategic points in northern Britain, as in other frontier provinces. Of these forts Hardknott is perhaps the best known to Cumbrians; that guarded

* Whellan, *History of Cumberland* (Pontefract, 1860) p. 576.

the mountain road from the west coast to the fort at Ambleside. Plumpton Wall similarly guarded the yet more important road from the south to Carlisle and to the western part of the Roman Wall. Its garrison appears from three or four inscriptions to have been the Cohors II Gallorum Equitata; the size of the fort shows that this must have been what was technically called a Cohors Quingenaria, that is, a cohort of 480 men, while the epithet Equitata shows that of the 480 men 360 were infantry and 120 were cavalry. This combination of horse and foot in the same unit is to be distinguished from the modern use of mounted infantry, and has few parallels in modern armies. But it had obvious advantages in a military post like Plumpton Wall, where it was equally necessary to hold the fort firmly, to keep the road open, and, on occasion, to scour the neighbourhood and cut off casual raiders. Of the Cohort itself, nothing seems to be known for certain, save that it was in Britain at least as early as A.D. 146, and that it was in garrison here, probably for many years, though the only attested date is A.D. 244-249 (inscription No. 2). It may perhaps be identical with a "Cohors II Gallorum" which was in Moesia, on the Lower Danube, down to about A.D. 120, and may have been moved to Britain by Hadrian. Cichorius, however, declares this "impossible."* We have, in any case, no trace of any other corps in garrison here. The Germans mentioned in inscriptions No. 15 and 26 may have served in the Cohort of Gauls, since Roman recruiting was far less territorial than the titles of many of the regiments would suggest. The vexillations apparently mentioned in inscriptions Nos. 6 and 11 may be legionaries present for special purposes.

If, borrowing details from other and better known

* Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 289.

examples of Roman forts, we were to try to reconstruct the fort of Plumpton Wall as it was during most of the Roman empire—let us say, in the second and third centuries, to which some of our surviving inscriptions belong—we should have before us an oblong area of three acres, girt with a broad and deep ditch and a wall of stone, and filled with military offices, barracks, stabling, sufficient for 500 men and officers and somewhat more than 120 horses. Outside the ramparts would doubtless be other buildings of less official character. There was presumably, as at other forts, a Bath-house, serving possibly for a “club,” and a “public-house.” There were two or three shrines to Roman, or Celtic, or even German deities, such as the strange Unseni Fersomari to whom Burcanius and Vagdavercustus and other Germans set up a slab (inscription No. 10). There were, thirdly, some dwelling-houses for the wives of the soldiers and others whom one reason or another led to live on the spot. One such, perhaps, is the nameless veteran of the *Ala Petriana*, native of Xanten on the lower Rhine, who seems to have settled here after his discharge from active work (see inscription No. 13).

When the fort was established, and how long it was held, we cannot tell for certain. Agricola, however, was holding Carlisle about A.D. 80, and he doubtless built the road which runs past Plumpton Wall; very likely he added the fort itself, though perhaps in smaller size than its ruins now show it. From his day the occupation seems to have lasted till some date in the fourth century which we cannot yet fix. Still less do we know how long the *Cohors II Gallorum* remained its garrison, except that an inscription to be noted below (No. 2) shews its presence there in A.D. 244-9.

The Roman, or rather, the Roman-Celtic name of the fort was Voreda. That is proved by the sequences of names in the *Itinerary*, which notes the forts along the

Roman road from Carlisle into Yorkshire, and gives the distances between them. We can be fairly sure—in fact, no one now seriously doubts—that Plumpton Wall is Voreda, Brougham Castle is Brocavum, Kirkby Thore is Braboniacum (also spelt Brovonacae), Brough is Verterae, and so forth. We may then dismiss the vagaries of early writers, headed by Camden, who called this fort Petriana. They were misled by an ill-understood inscription of a soldier in the Ala Petriana, and were also caught by the seeming likeness between the names Petriana and Penrith, which was then, and indeed for some time later, both spelt and pronounced Perith. Such inadequate reasons influenced far too many of the early identifications of Roman place-names in Britain, which have had to be abandoned as archæological knowledge has widened.

A.—INSCRIPTIONS.

NOTE.—In the following list Nos. 1–12 are dedications to gods or emperors or records of building, Nos. 13–21 are sepulchral, Nos. 21–26 miscellaneous items. In the texts, round brackets denote expansions of abbreviations: letters enclosed in square brackets are letters no longer on the stones but probably parts of the inscriptions when originally cut. “C.” refers to the seventh volume of the “Corpus” of Roman inscriptions, which deals with Britain; “Eph.” to supplements to that volume by the late Prof. Huebner and myself in the “Ephemeris Epigraphica”; “LS.” denotes the Lapidarium.

(1) C. 314=LS. 938. Found at Plumpton a little before 1771, for a while in the possession of Capt. Dalston (died 1816), now lost: a small altar,

DEO SANCTO BELATUCA(DRO) ARAM.

“To the holy god Belatucader, an altar.”

[Preserved in the MS. Minutes of the Soc. Antiq. 5 Dec. 1771, and in Gough's copy of Horsley in the Bodleian (Gough, Gen. Top., 128, fo. 58 c.). Published by Pegge, *Arch.* iii., 104, and Gough, *Adds. Camden*, iii. (1786), 190=iii. (1806), 444. There is some doubt whether the stone had on it BELATVCA or BELTVCA; the former seems the better attested.]

(2) C. 315=LS. 789. Noticed about 1730 in an old wall, now lost:

I O M ET G(ENIO) D(OMINORUM) N(OSTRORUM)
PHILIPPORU[M] AUG(USTORUM) COH. [II] GALLO-
[RUM. . .

"To Iuppiter optimus maximus and the genius of the emperors Philip, set up by the Second Cohort of Gauls . . ." (about A.D. 244-249).

[Published by Horsley from a friend's copy, p. 275 and pref. xx.; compare his letters printed in Stukeley's *Diaries*, i. 269; ii. 74. Hence all later writers, with various small errors.]

(3) C. 316=LS. 939. Found a little before 1771, for a while in possession of Capt. Dalston, now lost:

IN H(ONOREM) D(OMUS) D(IVINAE), I O M D(OLICHENO) [AEDEM?] VETUSTATE CO[N]LAPSAM
AURELIUS AT[TIANUS] PRAEF. C]OH. II [GALLO-
RUM] RESTITUIT.

"In honour of the Imperial house, to Iuppiter optimus maximus Dolichenus, a temple (?), collapsed through length of time, is restored by Aurelius At[tianus?] praefect (?) of the Second Cohort of Gauls . . ."

[Preserved in the Soc. Antiq. Minutes, 5 Dec. 1771, and Gough's papers with C. 314. First published in CIL.]

(4) C. 317=LS. 718. First noticed by Horsley about 1728 in an old wall, afterwards (in 1771) in possession of Capt. Dalston, now lost:

"I O M COH(ORS) II GAL(LORUM) EQ(UITATA), T. DOMTIUS HERON, D(OMO) NICOMEDIA, PRAEF(ECTUS)."

"To Iuppiter optimus maximus, set up by the Second Cohort of Gauls under T. Domtius (that is, Domitius) Heron, born at Nicomedia (in Asia Minor)."

[Copied by Horsley, p. 275; compare letters in Stukeley's *Diaries*, ii., 72 foll. Gough, in his copy of Horsley (Bodl. library, Gen. Top., 128, fo. 58) notes that it was shewn to the Soc. Antiq.

in 1771 with 314, 316, and reads DOMITVS; see the Soc. Antiq. MS. minutes, 5 Dec. 1771. Richard Pococke saw the stone at Lough farm in 1750: he read I DOMITVS (Mus. Brit. MS. add. 15800 fo. 36b, Pococke's *Travels* (ed. Camden Soc. 1888), i. 34). Otherwise all later writers depend on Horsley.]

(5) C. 318=LS. 790. Found in 1783 "in an enclosed spot 20 by 9 yards," apparently within the fort and near the east wall; about 1790 it was sent to Hutton's museum at Keswick; afterwards it was in the City museum at Manchester; now (since 1868) it is in the British Museum, where I have seen it.

DEO MARTI BELATUCADRO ET NUMINIB(US) AUG-
(USTORUM), IULIUS AUGUSTALIS, ACTOR IUL(I)
LUPI PRAEF(ECTI).

"To the god Mars Belatucader and the deities of the Emperors, set up by Iulius Augustalis, agent of Iulius Lupus, praefect" (of the garrison, presumably the Second Cohort of Gauls). Which Emperors are meant, is quite uncertain.

[Rooke, *Arch.*, ix., 220, with plate; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1790, ii., 982, 1092; Gough, *Arch.*, x., 118, from Joh. Matthews (MS. note in Bibl. Bodl., Gough, Gen. Top., 141); Hutchinson, i., 487, with cut; all other writers seem to depend on these. See also *Manchester Guardian*, 12th October, 1906, for the history of the altar. When submitted to the Soc. Antiq. in 1784, it was held a forgery, but it is clearly genuine.]

(6) C. 319=LS. 797. Found at Lough, just outside the fort to the south-east, on 28th July, 1728, bought by Dean Fleming, who passed at the moment of its discovery, and set up by him in his garden at Great Salkeld; now lost:

DEABUS MATRIBUS TRAMARINIS ET N(UMINI) IMP.
ALEXANDRI AUG. ET IUL(IAE) MAMMEAE MATR-
(IS) AUG(USTI) N(OSTRI) ET CASTRORUM, TOTI-
[QUE] DOMUI DIVINE AE[ORUM] . . . IATIO
MR . . .

"To the Mother Goddesses across the sea, and to the deity of the Emperor Alexander (A.D. 222-235) and of Iulia Mammea, mother of the emperor and of the army, and to their whole Imperial house, erected by the . . ."

Soldiers probably set this up—*iatio* being part of the word *vexillatio*. The men were perhaps recruited in Germany or north-eastern Gaul, where the Matres were especially worshipped. Hence they describe them as “goddesses from across the sea.” The *ae* after *divine* is perhaps the first letter of *eorum*, spelt *aeorum*.

[Horsley, p. 274, 351; compare the letters of Goodman and Patten to R. Gale, printed by Hutchinson, i., 485-6, and in Stukeley's *Diaries*, ii., 68-73. All later writers depend on Horsley.]

(7) C. 320=LS. 792. Found at the same place as No. 6, C. 319, built into a house-wall there, now lost, a small altar:

DEO MOGTI.

“To the God Mogtis?” Possibly misread for *Mogonti*; there seems to have been a Celtic god Mogan.

[Horsley, p. 275; compare the letters to Gale from Goodman and Patten referred to for C. 319. All later writers depend on Horsley.]

(8) C. 321=LS. 791. Found before 1815, now at St. John's College, Cambridge; seen by Huebner and myself. Small altar, broken:

DEO MOUNTI [PR]O SALUTE . . . STIUS . . .

“To the god Mountis?, for his own preservation, set up by . . . stius . . .”

An altar dedicated *dis mountibus* was found at the Roman fort of High Rochester. Plainly we have to do with Celtic deities who may be connected with Mogan, like Mogti in C. 320.

[Lysons,* *Cumberland*, p. cliv., n. 54, with fig.]

(9) C. 322=LS. 803. Found before 1815, later in the Crosthwaite Museum, Keswick, now in the British Museum. Fragment, $7\frac{1}{2}$ by 15 inches, from the centre of an imperial dedication.

* Not the Bp. of Cloyne (Wm. Bennet), as Bruce says. The same correction is to be made in LS. 799 (No. 12 below).

For another altar, dedicated to Silvanus, which I heard of too late to insert in its place after No. 8, see the postscript.

. . . TRIBUNI]C. POTES[TATE . . . CO]S IIII
P(ATER) P(ATRIAE), P[RO PI]ETATE AC DEVOT-
[IONE . . .

“ In honour of the emperor . . . who had held the tribunician power for . . . years, had been consul 4 times, was ‘ pater patriae ’; erected by . . . in accordance with his loyalty and devotion to his ruler . . . ”

The emperor may be Caracalla, compare Whitley Castle, C. 310, 311.

[Lysons, *Cumberland*, p. clviii., no. 93 (with a misreference to C. 352). The completion of the fragment seems certain, though it was missed by Huebner and Bruce.]

(10) Eph. ix. 1124. Found in 1908 about 100 yards north of the fort, now at Brackenburgh Tower, where I have seen it. Altar 58 inches high, much worn at the bottom :

OMNIBUS DIBUS UNSENI FERSOMARIS, BURCAN-
IUS, ARCAVIUS, VAGDAVARCUSTUS, POV . . .
IARUS VETERA[NI? PR]O SALUTE SUA ET
SUORUM V.S.L.M.

“ To all the gods Unseni Fersomari, set up by Burcanius, Arcavius, Vagdavarcustus, Pov . . . iarus, veterans (?), for the safety of themselves and of their families.”

Although Unseni Fersomari looks remarkably like a forgery (as if “ unseen and fearsome ”), the stone seems quite genuine, and the names must be those of otherwise unknown German gods ; for “ Fersomari ” compare the “ matronae Fernovineae ” of a German inscription (CIL. xiii. 7890). The dedicators are also German ; Burcanius seems akin to the ancient name of Borkum, Burchanis, and Vagdavarcustus to that of the German goddess Vagdavercustis. The word *veterani* is not certain.

[Haverfield, these *Transactions*, N.S. xi. (1911), p. 470, and *Eph. epigr.* ix. The text in *British Archaeol. Association Journal*, 1908, p. 142, is faulty. I regret that the lettering is too faint to allow of a good half-tone illustration.]

(11) Eph. ix. 1126. Fragment found about 1690 and copied by Nicolson, now lost. The recorded letters

. . . UGVEX
X . . . VIC
.
.

which suggest

[NUM(INIBUS) A]UG(USTORUM) VEX(ILLATIO) [LEG.]
X[X VAL.] VIC. . . ., or the like.

[Edited from Nicolson's *Diaries* by R. S. Ferguson, these *Transactions*, o.s. xii. 161, PSAL. xiii. 266, PSAN. v. 16; hence Haverfield, *Arch. Journ.* xlix, 195.]

(12) C. 324=LS. 799. Found long ago; once in Hutton's Museum at Keswick, now lost. Apparently the lower part of a stone recording building by the Second Cohort of Gauls, which garrisoned the fort:

. . . COHORS] II GAL . . . AMPI SUB CALVISIO
RU . . . CURANTE AURELIO . . .

"erected by the Second cohort of Gauls, under Calvisius
Ru . . ., the work supervised by Aurelius . . ."

Whether Calvisius Ru . . . was praefect of the Cohort or a higher official, is unknown. But the usual style of Romano-British inscriptions would lead us to expect that the governor of the province would be named here. A Calvisius Ruso was governor of the province of Asia about A.D. 85, and the same or his son was governor of Cappadocia twenty years later. This Calvisius Ru . . . may belong to the same family.

[First published by Lysons, *Cumberland*, pp. clviii. clxxx. on whom all later writers depend.]

(13) C. 323=LS. 794. Found at Plumpton Wall before 1600, seen there (as it seems) by Camden in 1599 or 1600; lost before Horsley visited the site (1725-1730). The lower part of a soldier's tombstone:

. . . ACADUNO, ULP(IA) TRAI(ANA), EM(ERITUS)
AL(AE) PETR(IANAE). MARTIUS F(ILIIUS) P(ONEN-
DUM) C(URAVIT).

"In memory of . . . born at Ulpia Traiana, discharged
from the Ala Petriana. Set up by his son Martius."

Camden's copy is apparently incorrect in some details, and my rendering is in part conjectural. The first word, *acaduno* (which may also be *agaduno*), must represent part of the soldier's name; then comes his birthplace, Ulpia Traiana, and then his former regiment, the Ala Petriana. Ulpia Traiana is not Sarmizegethusa, as is often stated, but a "colonia" planted by Trajan close to the legionary fortress of Vetera on the lower Rhine, now Xanten. The "ala Augusta Gallorum Petriana" is known by inscriptions to have served in North Britain, and its station appears to have been called Petrianae after it. Unfortunately the site of Petrianae is uncertain; possibly it was at Old Carlisle. There is no reason to accept Camden's idea that the corps was stationed at Plumpton Wall.

[Camden, ed. 1600, p. 702; a perhaps more accurate copy sent by Camden is printed by Gruter, p. 572 (3); Horsley, p. 272. Later works all depend on Camden.]

(14) C. 325=LS. 796. Found at Plumpton Wall before 1600; seen there (as it would appear) by Camden in 1599 or 1600; lost before Horsley visited the site (1725-1730):

D. M. FL. MARTIO SEN(IORI) IN C(IVITATE) CAR-
VETIORUM QUESTORIO, VIXIT AN(NOS) XXXV.
MARTIOLA FILIA ET HERES PONEN(DUM) CURA-
VIT.

"To the memory of Flavius Martius the elder, who served as quaestor in the community of the Carvetii, aged 35. Erected by his daughter and heir Martiola."

The Carvetii are otherwise unknown. They would seem to have been some local tribelet or district in Britain; their name appears to be Celtic: its first syllable is probably akin to the Latin *cervus* stag. The epithet *quaestorius* would naturally mean "one who had been quaestor": the latter title, which, under the Roman Empire, denoted many and various officials, is perhaps here applied to the local magistrate of the Carvetii.

[Camden, ed. 1600, p. 702; Horsley, p. 272. All later writers depend on Camden.]

(15) C. 326=LS. 802. Found at Plumpton Wall before 1600; seen there by Camden in 1599 or 1600 and by a German traveller, perhaps one Reichel of Silesia, about 1602-4,* who gave Camden

* On this German see my notes in these *Transactions*, N.S. xi. (1911), 371, 372.

a copy which still survives in a British Museum manuscript. The stone has not been seen since Camden's day. Camden's text reads :

D. M. CROTOILO GERMANUS VIX(IT) ANIS XXVI,
GRECA VIX. ANIS IIII, VINDICIANUS FRA(TER)
TITULUM POS(UIT).

"To the memory of Crotilo, a German, aged 26, and Greca aged 4. Erected by his (or their) brother Vindicianus."

Crotilo (if that be his name) was probably a German soldier, of whom there were many in the Roman army of north Britain.

[Camden, ed. 1600, p. 702. For the German's text see Mus. Brit. MS., Cotton Iulius F. VI. fo. 322 (olim 305): he omits the letters *D M C* at the beginning, *annis xxvi.* in the middle, and *Vindicianus* in the last line. Probably the stone had got broken between Camden's visit and his; it is also possible that Camden supplied the missing letters very freely. All later writers depend on Camden.]

(16) C. 327=LS. 800. Found at Plumpton Wall a little before 1586; seen there by Camden in 1599 or 1600 and in 1602-3 by a German traveller (see No. 15); lost before Horsley's time:

D. M. AICETUOS MATER VIXIT A(NNOS) XXXXV
ET LATTIO FILIA VIX. A. XII, LIMISIUS CONIU(GI)
ET FILIAE PIENTISSI(MIS) POSUIT.

"To the memory of Aicetuos, mother, aged 45, and to Lattio, daughter, aged 12, set up by Limisius to his loving wife and daughter."

The relationships are somewhat strangely expressed; the above seems the only arrangement of them. A woman aged 45 could hardly have a grandchild aged 12.

The personal names are also puzzling: Lattio seems to be Celtic, but Aicetuos and Limisius (or Limistus) are disowned by German and Celtic scholars alike.

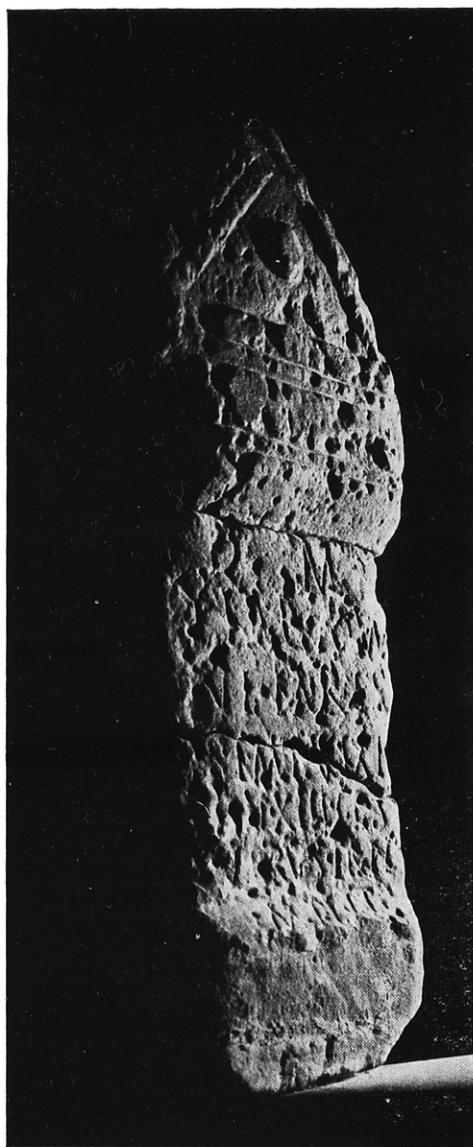
[Camden published a very inaccurate copy in 1586, p. 636 (CIL. VII. No. 8*), and fairly correct ones in 1600, p. 702 and 1607, p. 637; a good copy by a German traveller of A.D. 1602-3 is preserved in Camden's papers in the British Museum, MS. Cotton Iulius, F. VI, fo. 305-322. (A copy sent by Camden to Gruter is plainly incorrect.) Only two variants in these copies are of



TOMBSTONE OF M. COCCEIUS NONNUS
(at Lowther Castle).

Phot. by C. Fearnside.

TO FACE P. 190.



TOMBSTONE OF HYLAS
(at Lowther Castle).

Phot. by C. Fearnside.

TO FACE P. 191.

importance; Camden has LATIO (or LATTIO) FIL., the German LATTIO FILIA, while the German read LIMISTUS for Camden's LIMISIUS. All later writers depend on these; some (Hutchinson, i., 477, 479, etc.) convert Camden's text of 1586 and that of 1600 into two distinct inscriptions.]

(17) C. 328=LS. 795. Found in September, 1828, 200 yards north of the fort and to the east of the present high-road, lying face downwards: some pieces of stone with Roman letters and some urns were near. Sepulchral monument, 88 inches high, 36 inches wide; above is an erect draped figure with a whip (?) and a palm branch (?), intended to represent the deceased; below is the inscription:

DIS MANIB(US) M. COCCEI NONNI, ANNOR(UM) VI,
HIC SITUS EST.

"To the memory of Marcus Cocceius Nonnus, aged 6; he lies here."

The inscription may well be an early one, not later than the end of the first century. The formula *hic situs est* and two tall I's (in the lettering of DI and HIC) both imply an early date.

[See a letter of Chr. Hodgson, 12th October, 1828, in *Arch. Aeliana*, old series, ii. (1832), 265. Now at Lowther Castle, where I have seen it. The cut in the "Lapidarium" is inaccurate: Huebner oddly omits the M before Coccei.]

(18) C. 328a=LS. 801. Found at Plumpton Wall; the circumstances of the find are not recorded. Tombstone, 43 inches tall, 17 inches wide, much damaged, perhaps incomplete at the end: the text seems to be:

D.M. HYLAE ALUMNI KARISSIMI, VIXI[T A]N. XIII,
CL. SEVERUS TRIB. MILIT . . .

"To the memory of Hylas, his dear foster-child, aged 13, Claudius Severus, tribune (in a legion) set this up."

[Now at Lowther Castle, where I have seen it. My reading differs somewhat from those of Bruce and Hübner, but is, I think, fairly certain.]

(19) C. 1344=LS. 798. Found near Plumpton Wall about 1860, circumstances not recorded. Oblong slab, 27 inches long, 8 inches high.

D.M. AURELIUS VIXIT ANNIS XI, AVO PATE (*sic*)
PIENTISSIMUS TAM SIBI QUAM ET FILIO SUO
POSUIT.

"To the memory of Aurelius, aged 11. His affectionate father, Avo, set this grave-stone for both himself and his son."

Pate seems a mere error for *pater*. Avo is the father's name; it occurs elsewhere, though rarely. It cannot be, as Dr. Bruce thought, the ablative of *avus*, "grandfather."

[Copied by Dr. Bruce for Hübner. It is now at Low Grounds, a farm near the fort to the north. I am indebted to Dr. F. Haswell for verifying the text.]

(20) Eph. ix. 1125. Fragment found before 1688, once at Lazonby, now lost:

. . . VOMAI
VIXIIA . . .
A . AIIII
AXII . . .
.

In line 2 the words *vixit a(nnos)* are clear: all else is uncertain.

[Pocket-book of Bp. Nicolson for 1688, who copied it there. Hence R. S. Ferguson, these *Transactions*, O.S. xii. 60, and *Proc. Soc. Antiq. London*, xiii. 266: see *Arch. Jour.* xlix. 195.]

(21) Eph. ix. 1126. Fragment found and recorded and lost with the preceding. It bore the letters:

D M

and was the beginning of a sepulchral inscription.

(22) C. 329 (not in LS.). Fragment said to have been found "upon Penrith Fell near to old Penrith," 16 inches long, now lost. It bore the letters:

AVENTIN (T and I tied).

Part plainly of the name Aventinus.

[Hutchinson, *Cumberland*, i. 490 (plate, fig. 12).]

(23) C. 330 (not in LS.). Fragment found at Plumpton Wall before 1730, now lost :

TORINO.

Part of the name Victorinus.

[Letter of R. Patten to R. Gale, see Stukeley's *Diaries*, ii. 76; MS. note by Gough in his copy of Horsley (p. 275) in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.]

(24) Found inside the fort about 1701 and then copied by Wm. Nicolson, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle ; never seen since :

IMP(ERATOR) CA[E]S. M. PIA[V]ONIUS VICTORINUS
PIUS FE[LIX] . . .

" The emperor M. Piavonius Victorinus, Pious, Fortunate
. . . "

Victorinus reigned A.D. 265-267. This stone is either a milestone or roadstone, or an honorary inscription. As it was found inside the fort, perhaps it might seem rather to be the latter.

[Recorded by Nicolson in his pocket-book for 1701 and in other papers (MS. English History, b. 2, fo. 235, and MS. Ashmole 1816, fo. 515-517, in the Bodleian). Hence published by R. S. Ferguson, these *Transactions*, o.s. xii. 62, and by myself *Arch. Journ.* xlix. 196, 232 and *Eph.* ix. 1254.]

(25) Two more items require notice. Bruce in his *Lapidarium* (No. 804) and Hübner, following him, in the *Corpus Inscriptionum* (C. vii. No. 846 and p. 310), ascribe to Plumpton Wall a fragment bearing the letters :

VEXI	<i>vexillatio</i>
LEGXX	<i>leg. xxii</i>
PRIMIG	<i>primigeniae</i>

This is now walled into the garden of Abbotsford, and is locally supposed to have been brought thither in the time of Sir Walter Scott who resided there from 1812 till his death. With it are five sculptured stones which come from Plumpton Wall (see No. 27). Hence it has been thought that the inscribed fragment also came from Plumpton Wall, and Dr. Bruce, about 1870, found persons yet living in Plumpton "able to bear testimony that the stone was found in the station, was built up, for a while,

O

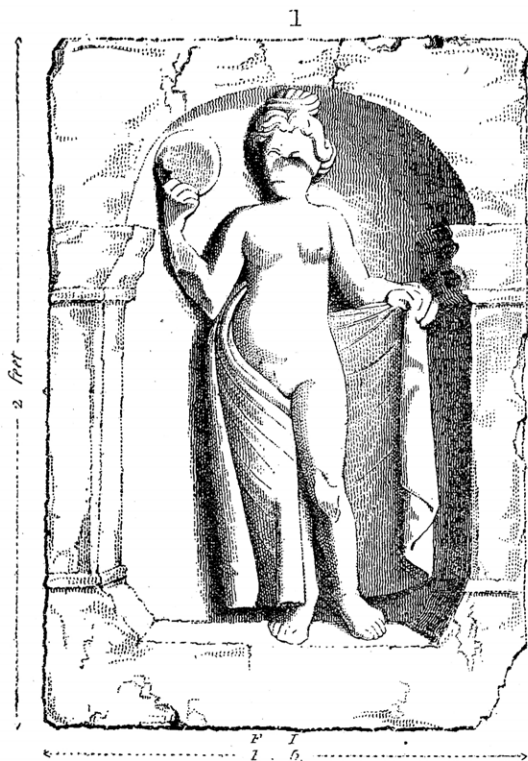
into a neighbouring cottage, and was finally sent by carrier to Abbotsford." This sounds conclusive. But it, nevertheless, appears to be erroneous. In 1797 the stone was in Callander House, near Falkirk, and was then affirmed to have been found in the neighbourhood, on the Wall of Pius (Jas. Wilson's account of Falkirk in Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, xix. (1797), 110).

(26) It is necessary to add a similar note about an altar dedicated DEO MAPONO by various Germans, which was noticed about 1755 at Nunnery near Kirkoswald, four miles east of Plumpton Wall. This was assigned by Lysons and Bruce to Plumpton Wall (see Pegge, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1755, pp. 392, 438; Lysons' *Cumberland*, p. clxxiii.; LS. 793). But it was really found near Brampton, that is, at or near the fort of Castlesteads, about or before 1688. This is attested by a letter of W. Nicolson, later Bishop of Carlisle, dated June 5th, 1693, which is preserved in the Bodleian Library (MS. Ashmole 1816, fo. 466. See CIL. vii. 332, LS. 793, and Eph. Epigr. ix. p. 566).

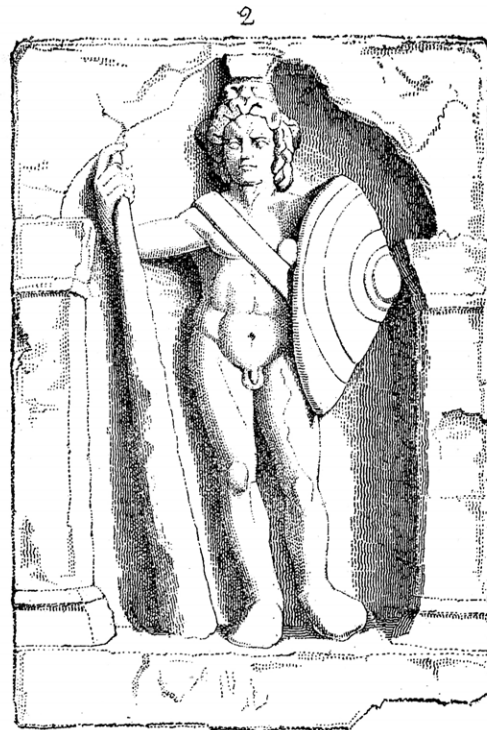
B.—SCULPTURES.

(27) In the autumn of 1813, five "altars" were found at Plumpton Wall, each 24 inches high; in front of each is a niche containing the full-length figure of a Roman deity; the deities are Juppiter with thunderbolt and spear, Apollo with wand or whip (as Sun god), Mercury with purse, *caduceus* and winged cap, Mars with shield and spear (almost a club), and Venus with mirror and shawl round one leg. The exact significance of the quintette is not clear. That they represented days of the week and are part only of the full set, as was suggested by M. Roach Smith, is not especially probable. See Lysons' *Cumberland*, p. clxxxviii. with plate; Bruce, LS. 805, repeating Lysons' plate; these *Transactions*, o.s. xv. 46. Later on, these five stones were sent to Abbotsford, where Sir Walter Scott was residing, where they still are, built into a garden wall in front of the house, and where I have seen them. They have, unfortunately, been patched.

(28) Stone seen by Horsley about 1728, then built into the wall of a house. Ornamented with a carving of branches, leaves and grape clusters (Horsley, fig. LIV.); now lost.



VENUS.



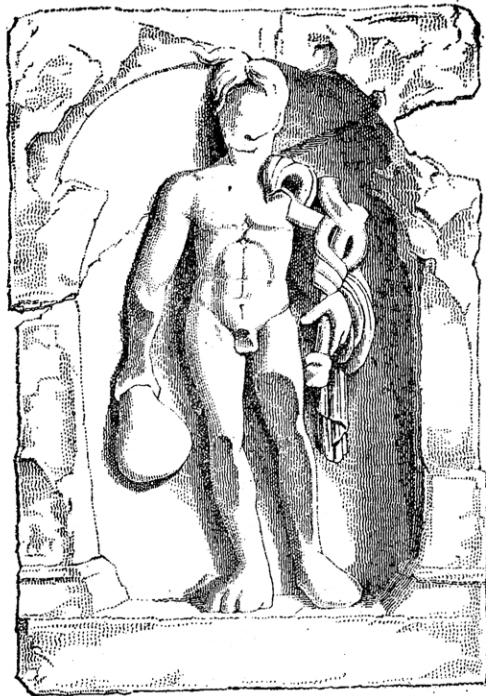
MARS.

Stones at Abbotsford from Plumpton Wall.

(from Lysons, *Cumberland*).

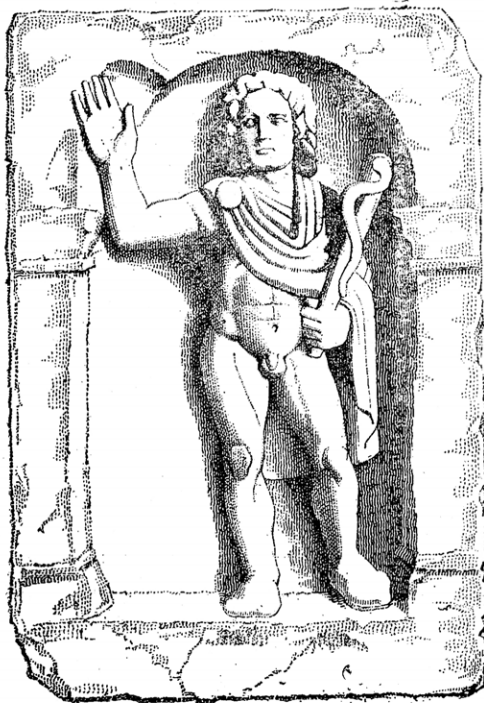
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MERCURY.

4



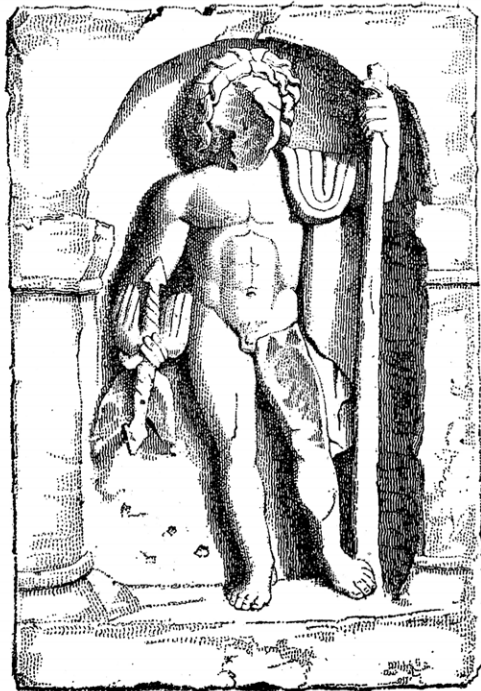
APOLLO.

Stones at Abbotsford from Plumpton Wall.

(from Lysons, *Cumberland*).

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5



JUPPITER.

(29) "Capital of a column ornamented with human busts and acanthus leaves," found about 1800 about 100 yards outside the east wall of the fort. Similar decorated capitals are not unknown in Roman art, as for example at Cirencester and in the Baths of Caracalla at Rome.

[Lysons, *Cumberland*, p. clxxxix. ; now lost.]

(30) Four altars may also be mentioned here. They are either uninscribed or illegible. One, mentioned by Patten writing to Gale, January 30th, 1731 (Stukeley's *Diaries*, ii. 72), was 55 inches high with a "cornucopiae" on one side; it was split up in three pieces and used in a cowshed. Another was seen by Horsley in the pavement in front of the Plumpton Wall Public House (Horsley, p. 275). A third, with a curious hole in it, now in Great Salkeld Church, is said to have been used for a piscina (these *Transactions*, o.s. xi. (1892), p. 62). A fourth is now in the west wall of Castlesteads dwelling-house.

(31) Hutchinson (i., p. 490) mentions and figures a column with base and capital and a circular shaft $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, found "in a large cairn" to the west of the fort.

C.—COINS.

Singularly few coins have been definitely recorded. Patten told Gale of a Denarius with the reverse "three Roman soldiers leading an elephant" (Stukeley's *Diaries*, ii., 76). Another writer of the same time mentions a coin of "Faustina" found "at Penrith," but its genuineness has been doubted. (*Ibid.*, i., 458.) Jefferson, in his *History of Leath Ward* (1840, p. 463), records that, in the removal of the east wall in 1811, silver coins were found of Faustina, Severus, Geta, Caracalla and Maximin, and copper of Geta, Licinius, and Constantius. Lastly, a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1818, ii., 367) notes a coin of the younger Faustina. The Mawson collection, which I saw in 1899, contained some coins from a hoard of the third century (36 Tetricus, 13 Victorinus, 2 Postumus) found at Scratchmere Scar, near Plumpton; these, however, can hardly be connected with the fort.

D.—OTHER SMALL OBJECTS.

Of these we have even less satisfactory record. Hutchinson mentions Samian—one piece with an illegible stamp—as found in the “cairn” west of the fort, which yielded the column mentioned above (i. 480, plate p. 348). Some pottery was also found in 1907 (these *Transactions*, n.s. ix. 311). Other reputed finds are either not Roman or are misdescribed beyond understanding. The two “battle-axes” (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1818, ii. 367), the “crescent of copper” found about 1728, 9 feet deep, in front of the Bush Inn, and some other similar items are worth notice only by way of warning. The gold fibula figured by Lysons, p. clxxxviii. is post-Roman; Sir Hercules Read tells me that it is unquestionably fourteenth or fifteenth century work.

 POSTSCRIPT.

(32) Eph. ix. 1379, found at Plumpton some years ago, now thanks to the exertions of Dr. F. Haswell) preserved in Penrith Museum. Part of a small, very rudely lettered altar

SACTO SILVANO “To the holy God,
 Silvanus ”

Similar rude little dedications to Silvanus are not uncommon in the north of Britain. One example, of unknown origin but probably found somewhere near Carlisle, is now at Tullie House (catalogue No. 3 fig. 1).



PART OF A DEDICATION TO SILVANUS, FROM VOREDA
(in Penrith Museum).

Phot. by C. Fearnside.

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