

ART. XVIII.—*The Roman Fort at Bewcastle.* By R. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot.

Read at the site, September 13th, 1921.

I. THE FORT.

THE Roman fort of Bewcastle* lies on a low hill, 500 feet above sea level, projecting southward into the valley of the Kirk Beck and standing in the middle of the Bewcastle basin. The sides of the basin to north, east and south are formed by hills rising steeply but not precipitously to 1,000 and 1,200 feet, their tops lying on a semicircle with a radius of two miles, whose centre is Bewcastle itself. Westward the Kirk Beck escapes to join the Lyne. The position is commanding, and yet it is in a *cul de sac*. Tactically, the hill of Bewcastle is strong, protected by a loop of the beck, scarped with a fall of forty feet or less on three sides, and even on the fourth rising very definitely above the neck of land that connects it with the northern hills. Strategically it commands the whole basin, but nothing more. No natural line of communications passes through it. It guards no pass, and lies on no obvious road. To reach it, the Romans had to

* The only previous account, apart from the brief notices of Bruce, Ferguson, Hübner, etc., is *A Memoir on the Roman Station and Runic Cross at Bewcastle*, by the Rev. John Maughan, A.B., London, Groombridge and Sons, 1857; 9 pp. on the fort. Maughan claims to be able to trace 'ramparts or buildings at a small distance from [the fort, on the N.] which appear to have been a *procestrium*': gates on the E., W. and S., at the last of which he dug a guard-house in 1840: the *praetorium*, at the N.W. corner of the church-yard, and most of the other buildings and streets. Much of this is perhaps over-sanguine, but he was probably right about the E. gate and perhaps the S. More valuable are his statements that the carvings and inscriptions were found S.E. of the fort (cemetery?) and that the finds included jewellery, iron objects, pottery (figured Samian, one piece signed MARTINIM by Martinus, a 2nd-century Lezoux potter) and coins of Nerva (COS iii., i.e. A.D. 97), Antoninus Pius (138-161) and perhaps Victorinus (265-267). All this would suit an occupation lasting from Hadrian to the disaster which overtook the Wall about 270.

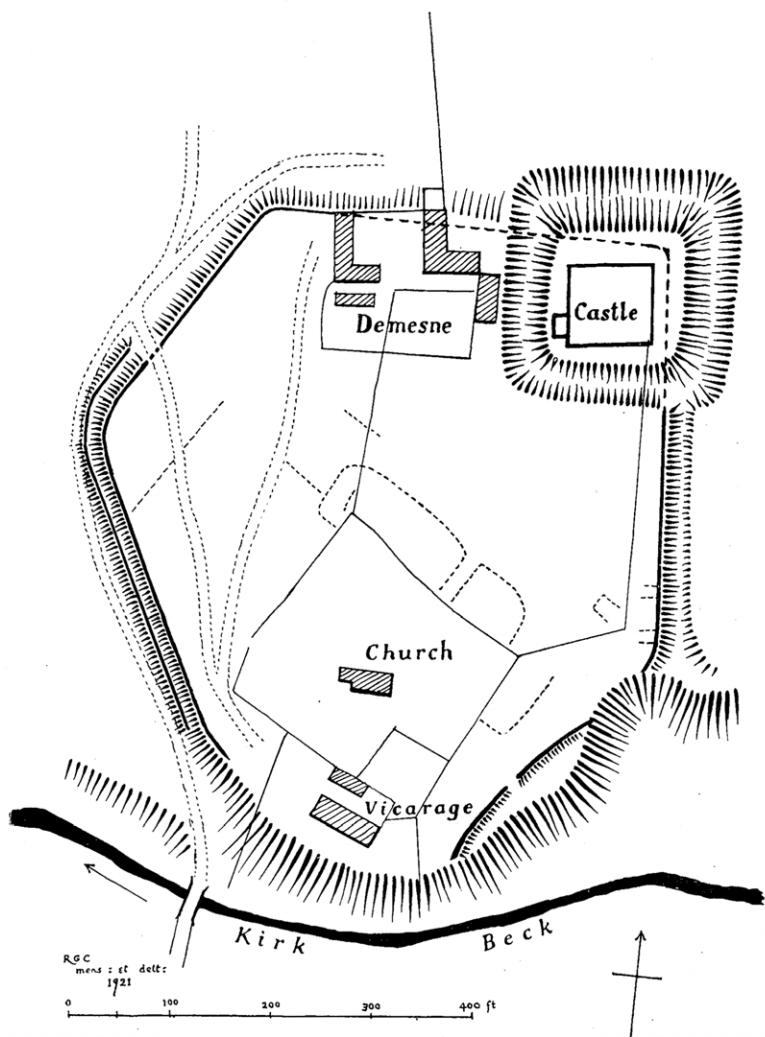


FIG 1.—BEWCASTLE.

build a road over Gillalees Beacon, rising to a summit of 1,000 feet ; for though they could have approached it up the valley, or round by Askerton, the distances would have been considerably longer. The topography by itself thus suggests the conclusion to which we shall find ourselves led by the archaeological evidence ; that Bewcastle in Roman days was an outpost built to keep a wild district quiet, not a halting-place on a military road.

The outlines of the fort, notwithstanding the damage done by the builders of Bueth's castle, are clear, and to anyone accustomed to Roman forts surprising ; for they seem to enclose a hexagonal space of six acres in area. My survey makes the area 5.98 acres, but in view of the state of the defences on the south and south-east, accuracy is impossible. Now the Romans in Britain (whatever they may have done elsewhere at an earlier period) did not build irregular forts ; even if the angles were slightly inaccurate, as they generally were, or wildly inaccurate, as at Whitley Castle, the fort was always a parallelogram approximating more or less to a rectangle. Further, the size of Bewcastle is equally surprising. The ordinary forts run in two sizes, a smaller type at about $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres and a larger type at 4 to 5. The former type seems to have accommodated an auxiliary cohort 500 strong, the latter one 1,000 strong. A few forts only, such as Newstead, whose importance was quite exceptional, fall outside this classification and are larger. At Bewcastle, then, we have the two problems of extraordinary shape and extraordinary size ; we shall return to these problems when we have further described the visible remains.

On the south, where the fort comes closest to the Kirk Beck and in fact is separated from it only by a forty-foot bluff, the defences have wholly disappeared. Probably they have been destroyed in the making of the vicarage garden, and I have assumed, in reckoning the area of the fort, that their line runs a few yards in advance of the

vicarage front door ; but it is possible that they lay further forward and that the beck has eroded them away. Definite traces of such erosion are visible further to the east. The south-east face of the fort also runs along the top of a bluff, and the rampart, here visible, follows a re-entrant curve and is also rather slight and insignificant in appearance. Both these facts suggest that the original rampart lay farther out and that it was undermined by the beck in the Roman period, to be replaced by the existing line.

At the E.-S.-E. corner the erosion has continued since the Roman evacuation, and 60 to 80 feet of the rampart have gone. The rampart now runs north in a straight line in the form of a well-marked bank, for 180 feet ; originally it was more than twice as long, but here it has been cut through by the moat of the mediaeval castle, which is planted exactly on the N.-E. angle of the fort, its N. and E. moat being merely an enlargement of the Roman fosse, while that on the S. and W. is cut through the body of the Roman fort. The N.-E. corner must have been a fairly true right angle, and the N. face was 400 feet long. It is much interrupted, first by the castle and then by the buildings of the Demesne farm ; the last 50 feet are fairly clear and show the rampart as a well-formed mound. At the N.-W. angle it turns about 60 degrees, and the N.-W. face is 275 feet long. For the first 200 feet the rampart, though strongly marked, is single, an outer rampart and ditch having been perhaps destroyed by the modern road which skirts the defences ; but the outer rampart becomes clear towards the W. angle, and continues for the next 400 feet.

The W. corner again shows an angle of 60 degrees, and of the S.-W. side 360 feet remain, which are probably the whole. Here the defences are in fine preservation and the double rampart is very strongly marked ; I doubt whether any unexcavated Roman fort in England, except perhaps

Whitley Castle, shows a more impressive line of rampart. There is no ditch, the ground falling away too steeply to demand or permit it. At the S.-W. corner the angle was probably about 40 degrees, but the total disappearance of the S. rampart prevents our establishing this with certainty.

Inside the fort a number of banks are visible, and I have plotted the most conspicuous of these in broken lines on the plan. I do not think any of them are the remains of Roman buildings except possibly that inside the W. angle running parallel to the N.-W. face, and the four short sections inside the S.-E. corner, which might represent the guard-chambers of a gate. These, to judge by their regularity and alignment, might indicate Roman foundations.

The interpretation of these remains is difficult; and in the absence of excavation any suggestions must be taken as conjectural. It has often been said that Bewcastle was a British fort reoccupied by the Romans, a view held by so eminent an authority as Chancellor Ferguson; and the similarity with the plans of British polygonal towns such as Silchester is very striking. Colonel Karslake has published a group of such polygonal plans in the *Antiquaries' Journal*, vol. 1, pp. 303-315. But against this view it must be remarked that the Roman system of fortification was a highly-specialised thing, skilfully adapted to the tactics and armament of their troops, and that a British fort would be little more valuable to a Roman cohort than a Sudanese zareba to a company engaged in trench warfare. Non-Roman earthworks may for short periods or in emergencies have been occupied by Roman units; the case of Hod Hill in Dorset is well known (plan in Ward, *Romano-British Buildings and Earthworks*, p. 15); but this is a wholly different matter from taking over a British earthwork and occupying it as a permanent garrison fort for centuries. That the Romans

can have done this at Bewcastle is both unthinkable and unsupported by any parallel. The original British earthwork itself would, moreover, be as inexplicable at Bewcastle as the Roman occupation of it; for such polygonal British earthworks are not found in these regions.

Bewcastle cannot be pre-Roman; but the suggestion might be made that in its existing form it was mediaeval, a kind of outer ward or pelegrath to the shell-keep. But this will hardly be maintained by any student of mediaeval fortification. If the Bewcastle fort is too large for a Roman station, it is *a fortiori* much too large for the outer ward of a shell-keep whose own internal courtyard was capable of accommodating all the cattle that its owner can have wished to defend.

No other origin than Roman seems admissible; and the defences, with their double rampart and rectilinear lay-out, are Roman enough. Inscriptions (see Part III) show that the officer commanding was a tribune, and that

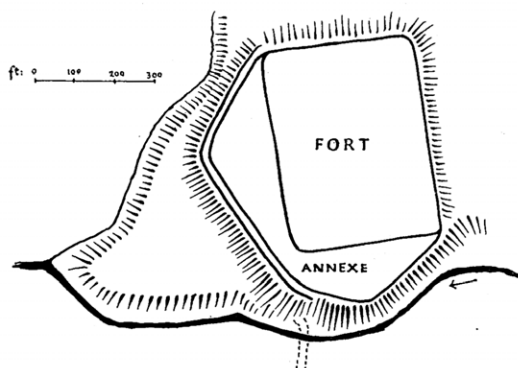


FIG. 2.—SUGGESTED RECONSTRUCTION.

means that the garrison was a regiment 1,000 strong; such a regiment required a fort of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres, or say 500 feet by 400, if rectangular. Now the N.-E. corner of Bewcastle is a right angle; the N. side is 400 feet long; the E. side is also 400 feet, but we have seen reason to

believe that the S.-E. corner has collapsed under the action of the beck, and 100 feet of the E. side may quite easily have gone. There is thus room for a rectangle of 500 by 400 feet inside the existing defences, having an irregular, somewhat crescent-shaped annexe adhering to it on the west and south. The fort would thus be about $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres in extent, the annexe about 2 acres.

Such annexes are well-known features of the Scottish Roman forts; a reduced plan of a specimen (Lyne) is appended for comparison. The annexe is irregular in size and shape, but a total extent of half the fort's own area is not unusual. Further, the annexe is often placed on the naturally-defended side of the fort, to leeward, so

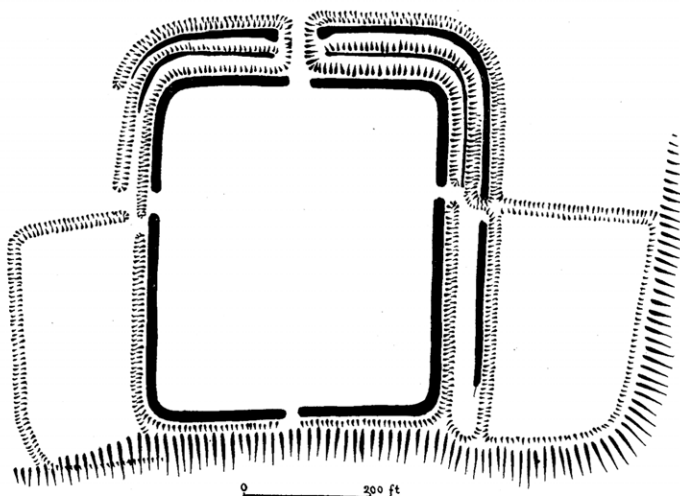


FIG. 3.—FORT WITH ANNEXES (LYNE, PEEBLES).

to speak, of the main fortifications. Hitherto annexes have not been found south of the border, but there is no reason to suppose they did not exist (see further in this vol., Art. xx., on Castlesteads); and all the conditions which made them necessary in Scotland were present at Bewcastle. Their function was to protect those buildings

(such as the bath-house) which the conventions of castrametation excluded from the fort itself.

There are only two difficulties in the way of accepting the suggestion that Bewcastle is a rectangular fort with a crescent-shaped annexe. First, the shape of the annexe is unusual; secondly, one would expect to see a mound and ditch outlining the true fort, running due south from the N.-W. corner towards the bridge over Kirk Beck. The defences marking off a fort from its annexe were sometimes not so large or elaborate as those surrounding the rest of the fort, but one would not expect them to have entirely disappeared.

The first of these objections is not serious; the few annexes whose plans we possess are sufficiently unlike one another to prepare us for further variation. The second has more weight. I do not think from its appearance that the area of the fort has ever been ploughed; if it had been, the missing rampart might have been levelled in the process. But this part of the fort is traversed by two field roads, and these must have disturbed the surface. Only excavation can show whether they have obliterated the rampart along whose line, if my conjecture is right, one of them actually runs.

Turning to the history of the fort, we find little to guide us. Enquiry on the spot has yielded me only one fragment of pottery—a piece of a Samian bowl, shape 37, with ornament in the style of Cinnamus, made therefore at Lezoux in the middle of the second century but in use, possibly, a century or more after that date—and no coins at all. A hoard of coins was found in the beck close to the bridge, but it is dispersed and has left no trace behind. The quantities of pottery which must, in the past, have been turned up in digging graves have disappeared with equal completeness. Apart therefore from the three coins reported by Maughan, we are thrown back on

the inscriptions, which I have described in detail below in Part III.

These enable us to trace the fort back to the reign of Hadrian, and to connect it with the great scheme of fortification which in its final phase produced Hadrian's Wall. The inscription which names Hadrian (No. 8) is a slab such as was set over the gate of the central building in a fort; it names also the Second and Twentieth Legions, or some unit drafted from them for the work. Another stone (No. 9) is an ordinary walling-stone and records building done by the Second Legion as a whole. If Bewcastle was one of those forts which, like Chesters, Birdoswald and others, were first built for a cohort of 500 and then enlarged to hold one of 1,000, it is tempting to suppose that one stone records the building of the original fort, perhaps by the Second Legion, and the other the completion of the *principia* of the larger fort soon afterwards by the Second and Twentieth.* We can say with certainty that the fort was occupied for over a century, doubtless sharing in the disasters of the late second century and the reconstruction at the beginning the third; for No. 3 dates from some time about A.D. 230. The fact that we have no inscriptions later than this does not prove that the fort was abandoned in the third century, for inscriptions of the latter part of that century and of the following century are very rare, and are almost confined to milestones. Bewcastle then had a longer life than Birrens in Dumfriesshire, which is in some ways analogous with it, being in essence a milliary fort pushed forward from Carlisle rather than a stage on a road into Scotland; for Birrens does not seem to have been rebuilt after the disaster of 180. The forts along Dere Street, Risingham and High Rochester, resemble Bewcastle in being reoccupied after this disaster; at both forts we

* Careful examination of the neighbouring ground might reveal the large camps inhabited by these troops during the work.

have inscriptions of the early third century. If, however, as seems probable, the Dere Street forts were abandoned late in the third century, we may reasonably assume for the present that Bewcastle shared their fate. This is borne out by Maughan's coins, which suggest an occupation from the early second to the late third century.

As to the Roman name of the fort we know nothing. It was conjectured by Hodgson that Bewcastle was the Banna of the Rudge Cup, which is engraved with the legend A MAIS ABALLAVA VXELODVM CAMBOGLANS BANNA, a series of five place-names of which Papcastle, Maryport and Birdoswald are identified, but the first and last unknown: at Birdoswald, however, an altar (C.I.L. vii., 830) was found in 1821 dedicated to the god Silvanus by the hunters or foresters of Banna (*venatores*), which again connects Banna with the Birdoswald district, more especially with the wild fells north of it. Hodgson's conjecture is thus plausible; but it remains a conjecture.

II. COMMUNICATIONS: THE MAIDEN WAY.

If a straight line is drawn from the north gate of Birdoswald fort north-westward by north to the ford in the Kirk Beck which gives access to Bewcastle, six miles as the crow flies, the Roman road connecting the two forts is nowhere more than two hundred yards from this line. Indeed, it is an even straighter road than this fact suggests. For two miles, from Birdoswald to Slittery Ford in the King Water, it is practically dead straight: from the ford it is dead straight again for between three and four miles, after which it bends slightly to the right to reach Bewcastle. For the greater part of its course it is either visible *in situ* or capable of easy identification by picking up the straight line in which it lies. The following notes were made during a walk along it in September 1921.

On leaving Birdoswald it crosses Midgeholme Moss, the natural defence of Birdoswald to the northward. Excava-



Fig. 5: THE BUTT.
 Fig. 4: SLITTERY FORD.

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tion here would perhaps reveal a corduroy causeway like that found in the marshes of Ambleside twenty years ago. Climbing out of the moss and ascending a ridge it soon becomes plainly visible as a causeway running across the open moorland of Waterhead Common ; on the summit of the ridge, about 600 feet above sea-level, it is flanked on the left by a fence-wall which helps to indicate its line. Where it leaves this fence-wall behind, it descends sharply into a flattish field, S. and S.-W. of Snowden Close ; and here its line is no longer clear on the ground. The 6-inch O.S. map (Cumberland sheet xii N.E.) makes it turn very slightly to the right so as to cross the King Water 100 yards above the modern ford ; the 1-inch O.S. map makes it go straight on to the modern ford itself. The 1-inch map seems to be correct. The ford (Slittery Ford) is a good natural crossing, where flat slabs of rock give a firm and level bottom ; in low water you cross almost dry-shod. The approach to it is easy, and the opposite (right) bank, which is steep, is ascended obliquely by an artificial ramp which leads the road upstream for a hundred yards before it comes out on the top of the bank. At this point the Roman road picks up its old direction and becomes plainly visible, running, not in its former line, but in a line parallel to it. The 6-inch map makes the road reach this point by a direct ascent of the steep bank, which is very improbable on general grounds and not supported, so far as I can see, by any indications on the ground ; and I believe that the ramp mentioned above is Roman in origin, as it certainly is in type.

For half a mile the road is extremely clear, long consecutive rows of kerbstones being exposed, and both kerbs sometimes visible at once. After passing Highstead Ash it dips into the valley of Farmal Sike, where recent drainage-cuttings have exposed it repeatedly to view. As the road climbs out of this little valley, it passes a number of quarries at about the 600-foot contour-line. Some of

these may have been worked in modern times to get material for fence-walls ; but they appear to be of Roman origin and intended to supply road-metal. I examined them in vain for rock-inscriptions of any earlier date than a conspicuous " J.B." and " W.S."

Crossing another ridge, where the track of the road is fairly plain, it descends slightly into the valley of Ash Moss, where again recent drainage-cuts show it well from time to time. We are now three miles from Birdoswald. Entering a patch of cleared ground, the road skirts the farm of Spadeadam, traverses two plantations, and proceeds again uphill across the slopes of Gillalees Beacon. Here, not far from the 900-foot contour line, is a very conspicuous quarry marked on the 6-inch O.S. map (Cumberland viii S.E.) as " The Butt." There are no fence-walls or any other modern structures within a considerable distance, and it seems evident that its purpose can only be to supply material for the Roman road, which passes within a few feet of it. It shows vertical faces up to about 8 feet high, none of which, however, yielded any trace of rock-inscriptions.

A mile beyond Spadeadam the top is reached, and for half a mile the road crosses an undulating plateau, attaining an elevation of just over 1,000 feet before it begins the steep descent into the Bewcastle basin. At first it can be followed, but it soon loses itself and its line cannot be recovered with certainty till within half a mile of Bewcastle, where it is evidently represented by the straight length of modern road for about 700 yards S. of Shopford. There is reason to believe that it forded the Kirk Beck where the modern bridge stands, and approached the fort much as it does now.

It has often been supposed that after reaching Bewcastle the Maiden Way continued north into Scotland. Whether it really did so is more than doubtful. The Romans had one road into Scotland over the Cheviot,

leading from the military base of Corbridge by the forts of Risingham and High Rochester to the great fort at Newstead on the Tweed ; that, during the two periods when the Romans held sway north of the Border, was their main line, first in Agricola's time and for perhaps twenty years or more after his recall ; secondly in the reigns of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, between the first building and the final wreck of the Turf Wall between Forth and Clyde. This was a good road, properly studded with garrisons, and not venturing unnecessarily into difficult country. If they wanted a second line they had it in Annandale and Strathclyde, a line whose first stage was marked by the fort at Birrens in Dumfriesshire, though it is not certain that it was ever in regular use. And further, these two roads were connected by a cross-road using the upper Tweed valley, connecting Newstead with Carstairs and defended by the fort at Lyne near Peebles.

If, therefore, it is suggested that in addition to these Scottish roads the Romans made another by way of Bewcastle, we must ask three questions : Why should they want a road here ? Are there visible traces of it ? and, By what forts was it defended ?

None of these questions can be convincingly answered. There is no possible motive for constructing a " through " road across the Border by Bewcastle, over extremely wild country and with nothing to serve either as a natural line or as a natural objective. The Maiden Way from Birdoswald to Bewcastle is surely a " branch line " giving the directest possible communication between the Wall and an outlying fort ; not the first stage of a main road into Scotland. Further, such a road ought to be visible ; but it is not. The late Mr. Maughan thought he could recognise it, but later inquirers have discredited even the slight traces which he believed himself to have found. And finally, it is impossible to believe that such a road

would be worse defended than Dere Street. The Romans did not build military roads through wild and hostile country without defending them with a series of forts; and in such country as lies north of Bewcastle the traces of Roman earthworks do not disappear.

For the present, until traces of a stone-built causeway defended by fortifications of the Roman type come to light, we can only assume that Bewcastle was the terminus of the Maiden Way; an outpost, not the first stage on a northward road.

III. INSCRIPTIONS.

Nine inscriptions are recorded to have been found at Bewcastle, of which no less than six appear to be destroyed or lost, though of these six four were in existence in the nineteenth century. Of the three survivors two are safely lodged in Tullie House; the third I saw in 1921 in the vicar's garden and ventured to suggest that it should be housed in the church, so as to avoid the fate of too many of its fellows. Six of the stones are in C.I.L. vii; but on most of them there seems to be something fresh to say, and the whole nine have never been published together; I therefore append here a discussion of the whole series. Something has already been said in Part I about their bearing on the history of the fort.

1. Altar (?) seen by Hutchinson over the gate of the public-house yard: has not been seen by anyone else.

I O M | COH I DAC. I... | DATLE...T CENTVR | OFECITO...

'To Jupiter best and greatest, the first cohort of Dacians...'

L. 3 seems to be hopelessly corrupt. Indeed there is some doubt about the whole reading. The First Cohort of Dacians nowhere else omits its title "Aelia," and it has left no other inscription anywhere but at Birdoswald. Bearing this in mind it seems probable that we ought to read I O M COH. I. ...[name lost] CVI PRAEEST ...[name lost] TRIB CENTVRIO LEGIONIS .. FECIT '... dedicated by the First Cohort of ... under the command of So-and-so, tribune, centurion of the ...th Legion.' The command of an auxiliary cohort was generally taken by a legionary cen-

turion (though Nos. 3 and 4 give examples of other ways of filling such a post); the word *Centurio* is usually represented by the symbol \mathfrak{C} , but its being written out in full is not unexampled; and curiously enough the only other case in Britain is also from Bewcastle (No. 5).

The lost name of the cohort would have told us what regiment was in garrison at Bewcastle. The only thing about it of which we can be sure is that it was a milliary cohort, 1,000 strong; that is clear from the fact that it was commanded by a tribune, since cohorts of 500 were commanded by prefects. For this reason we cannot suggest the tempting interpretation COH I DAL[MATARVM], a cohort which was at one time at Maryport, because we know that this was commanded by a prefect (see *e.g.*, C.I.L. vii, 387). Another conjecture would be COH I THRAC[VM] a cohort which we meet on inscriptions at Bowes in Yorkshire and at Newcastle. No conjecture, however, can be supported by argument.

2. Altar (upper part of), found by Maughan in 1852; probably identical with one recorded by Horsley as broken and lost by his time. Now, apparently, lost again.

I O M | DOLICHENO | TEMPLVM ASC | ...PRO S[E ET SVIS...
 "So-and-so built a temple to Jupiter Dolichenus best and greatest, for himself and his people."

C.I.L. vii, 976.

Jupiter of Doliche (in Commagene on the upper Euphrates) was much worshipped in the Roman army. In l. 3 the end may be A S[OLO], "from the ground"; l. 4 is part of a common formula used when a dedicator discharges a vow in return for his own and his family's welfare.

3. Altar, 27 inches by 16 inches, found 1898; now at Tullie House, Carlisle.

DEO SANCTO COCIDIO | Q PELTRASIVS | MAXIMVS TRIB | EX
 CORNICVLARIO | PRAEFF PRAETORIO EE | MMVV V S L M
 '(Dedicated) to the holy god Cocidius (by) Quintus Peltradius Maximus, tribune, formerly clerk to their Eminences the Prefects of the Praetorium.'

Eph. Epigr. ix, 1227.

Q. Peltradius Maximus (the *nomen* Peltradius appears to be unique) was tribune in command of the garrison at Bewcastle; he had been appointed to the regiment after serving as clerk or registrar in the office of the Praetorian Prefects at Rome. EEMMVV is, of course, the plural of EMV 'eminentissimus vir.' The date of the inscription is probably third century; Haverfield (*Eph. Epigr.* as above) suggests the reign of Severus Alexander or

Gordian (222—238) as probable. The style of the lettering, with its numerous miniature letters, is remarkable.

4. Altar, 21 inches by 12 inches, found in 1792 ; now at Tullie House, Carlisle.

SANCTO CO | CIDEO AVRVCN | FELICESSE | MVS TRIBVN |
EX EVOCATO | V. S. L. M. 'To holy Cocidius, Aurunc(ius) Felicis-
simus, tribune, formerly *evocatus*, pays a vow.'

C.I.L. vii, 974 ; L.S. 732.

An *evocatus* was a time-expired soldier who re-entered the army as a volunteer ; such a man was likely to be a good soldier, and in this case we find one rising to the command of a regiment.

5. Altar, 20 inches by 9 inches, found north of the fort. Now apparently lost.

DEO | SANCTO | COCIDI[O] | ANNIVS | VICTOR | CENTVR |
LEGION[IS] | [S]EX[T]A[E] "To the holy god Cocidius (dedicated
by) Annius Victor, Centurion of the Sixth Legion."

Eph. Epigr. iii, 113 ; L.S. 735.

The writing-out in full of what is generally written 3 LEG VI is most remarkable ; so much so that Hübner (*Eph. Epigr. ad loc.*) insisted that Bruce must have misread the altar. See No. 1. Annius Victor was probably the officer commanding the garrison at Bewcastle.

6. Altar, found 1812 and in that year "in the possession of the curate" ; now apparently lost.

DEO MA | RTI COCID | SANCTO AELIV | VITALIANVS | D D L M
"To the holy god Mars Cocidius, Aelius Vitalianus gives (this altar)."

Maughan, *Memoir* ; C.I.L. vii, 977 (incorrect).

7. Top of an altar, found in the Kirk Beck. Now in the vicarage garden. DEO | ... "To the god..." The rest is lost.

Eph. Epigr. iii, 114 ; L.S. 734.

Probably part of a dedication like Nos. 3 to 6, to Cocidius, who seems to have been the favourite god at Bewcastle.

8. Slab found in digging a grave and later preserved in the churchyard, where Horsley saw it ; in the century following Horsley's work it was lost or destroyed.

CAES TRA... | | ...LE|GIIAVG. ET XXV[V]... | ...
HICNC.IR... | ...V...PR PR

C.I.L. vii, 978.

This was clearly a dedicatory slab stating that the Second and Twentieth legions or a vexillation of them built something in the reign of Hadrian under So-and-so, *legatus Augusti pro praetore* (Imperial Governor of Britain). The name of the legate is hope-

lessly lost; Licinius Priscus has been suggested, but he was legate in A.D. 161-2, which is too late by thirty or forty years.

9. Building-stone seen lying in the church by Bainbrigg: LEG. II. AVG. FECIT " Built by the Second Legion, the Emperor's Own."

C.I.L. vii, 979.

Camden thought this stone had been brought to Bewcastle from somewhere else; Horsley on the contrary, a century or more later, thought that it had been brought in the interval from Bewcastle to Naworth where he saw a stone so inscribed. But neither opinion is convincing. Camden doubtless thought it was a building-stone from Hadrian's Wall; but who would have brought such a stone eight or ten miles to Bewcastle? The stone seen by Horsley at Naworth really must have come from the Wall. There can be no doubt that the stone seen by Bainbrigg belonged to Bewcastle and indicated the erection of that fort by the Second Legion; for any piece of work smaller than the whole fort would hardly be signed by the legion as a whole; rather by a vexillation or a cohort.
