

ART. II.—*The Roman fort at Netherby.* By ERIC BIRLEY, F.S.A.

Partly read at Arthuret church, July 9th, 1952.

OUR Society was founded in 1866, but it has only once visited Netherby (in 1885), and it has never yet heard an account of the Roman fort there. That is all the more surprising when one considers what some of the early visitors have to report about it, and what striking inscribed and sculptured stones it has yielded (many of them now on view in Tullie House), not to speak of the inherent interest attaching to the Roman name under which it appears in the Antonine Itinerary, *castra exploratorum*: as the headquarters *par excellence* of the Roman frontier scouts, it must once have been a place of particular importance in the whole scheme of frontier defence, as finally stabilised in the time of Caracalla. But no doubt the main reason for our neglect of the Roman site is simply that it has disappeared, beneath the ornamental grounds of the Grahams' seat, and the Society cannot well be expected to pay frequent visits to a place which seems to retain little or nothing of archæological interest for it to examine. The following account may serve to show, however, that the neglect has not been entirely justified, and that there are a good many outstanding problems for attention at Netherby, once the evidence has been marshalled and set forth.

1. EARLY VISITORS AND ACCOUNTS.

The earliest recorded visitor to Netherby is the antiquary John Leland, who was in Cumberland in 1539; his account is as follows¹:—

¹ *Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Hearne (3rd ed., 1769), vii 56; the substance of it is given by Pennant (1772), i 73, and by Gough (1806), iii 449, while Bruce gives a more accurate transcription in RW2 330.

"*Netherby* is a vii. Myles North fro *Cairluel*, and *Eske* Ryver runneth on the North Side of yt. Ther hath bene mervelus Buylldinges, as appere by ruinus Walles, and Men alyve have sene Rynges and Staples yn the Walles, as yt had bene Stayes or Holdes for Shyppes. On the one Side of yt is the batable Ground; so that it is a limes *Angliae et Scotiae*. The Ruines be now a iii. Myles at the lest from the flowyng Water of *Sulway* Sandes. The Gresse groweth now on the Ruines of the Walles."

The early editions of Camden's *Britannia*, published before his own visit to Cumberland in 1599, do not say more about Netherby than that it is a little village of one or two cottages, where there are the wonderful and large ruins of an ancient city, and that the name of the river Esk, which flows past, suggests the suspicion that this was the Roman *Aesica*²; he names no local informant, and mentions no discoveries of antiquities there. He does not seem to have thought it necessary to go to Netherby in 1599, and in his edition of 1600 he repeated his previous account substantially without alteration, adding only that there was a Roman inscription, a copy of which he had for some time been awaiting but had not yet received, in front of the Grahams' residence there.³ It was not long before the omission was remedied, for on 16 August 1601 Reginald Bainbrigg, the schoolmaster of Appleby, went to Netherby and copied the inscription (which Camden was thus able to incorporate in his 1607 edition, p. 643): his account was printed by Haverfield in our *Transactions* forty years ago,⁴ but two sentences from it deserve to be quoted here:—

"I fond this inscription at netherbie at Walter Grame's house in a fare square stone set in the wall of his howse, xvi. Aug. 1601 . . . here are sene mightie great ruynes of huge buylldings."

² 1587 ed., p. 530 (1594 ed., p. 605): Ad hunc ubi *Netherby* viculus ex una & altera casula iam cernitur, adeo mira & magna sunt priscae urbis rudera, & praefluentis *Escae* nomen ita consonat, ut AESICAM ibi fuisse suspicemur, in qua Tribunus primae cohortis Astorum excubias olim contra Barbaros egit.

³ 1600 ed., p. 706: Hic vero nunc primogenitus familiae Grayhamorum quae militari virtute inter limitaneos admodum celebris habitat, pro cuius foribus Romana inscriptio cuius exemplum promissum iam diu frustra expectavi.

⁴ CW2 xi 353 f.

The inscription, mentioning Hadrian and the second legion (no. I, p. 21 below), has not been seen by any later visitor to Netherby, but Bainbrigg's reading carries conviction; it is a pity that he did not give a more particular account of the structural remains, but he did add an intriguing note on the subject of an ancient port there: "ships' sides, anchors and iron rings such as ships are tied up to" (as his Latin note may be translated) were found there, but the accumulation of sand had shut the sea out, for a distance of several miles, and the port was now blocked and the ancient little city ("urbecula") was now a corpse. The tradition which Leland had noted was evidently still strong at Netherby.

Our next reference is in the *Description of the County of Cumberland* by Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal, written in 1671 but only published, as no. 3 in this Society's Tract Series, in 1889; at p. 30 of the printed version, under Netherby, comes the following brief account:—

"near this place are prodigious heaps of ruins supposed to have been the Asica (*sic*) of the Romans . . . at this place was found a good coin of the emperor Nero and the following inscriptions."

The first inscription is that which Bainbrigg had copied for Camden, but the other two were new; their texts are considered below (nos. 3 and 4, p. 22), but meanwhile it will be sufficient to note that versions of them were to be published in 1695, in the first of Gibson's editions of the *Britannia*. The preface of that work makes acknowledgments to "Dr *Hugh Todd* Prebendary of the Church of Carlisle" for additional material relating to Cumberland, and we may therefore attribute to him the passage printed at p. 842, which mentions, as found lately, "a gold Coin of Nero's of good value; and two stones with the following Inscriptions"; there is no substantial difference between his readings and those of Fleming: no later visitor seems to have seen either text. As rector of Arthuret

from 1688 onwards,⁵ Todd was in a good position to be on visiting terms with the Graham family: his silence will perhaps justify us in supposing that the ruins which Leland and Bainbrigg had both been so impressed by must have been cleared away in the intervening century, once the union of the crowns had brought peace to the border district and it had become worth men's while to improve their properties.

The visits which gave rise to our next three accounts were probably all prompted by the appearance of a revised edition of Gibson's *Camden* in 1722, which led to a very great increase in antiquarian studies up and down the country; I deal with them in what seems to be their correct chronological order, though it is not the order in which they were published, and there is just a chance that Stukeley was here before Gordon.

Alexander Gordon's *Itinerarium Septentrionale* was published in 1726,⁶ and internal evidence shows that the writing of it had not been finished before late in 1725⁷; he had visited Hadrian's Wall for the first time, in company with his patron Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, in 1723 or 1724,⁸ but clearly had to revisit it to take further measurements, and it seems likely that he took in Netherby on that occasion, for we happen to know that Clerk himself did not go there until 1734 (p. 14 below). After describing Drawdykes castle Gordon continues as follows⁹:—

"From hence, I went and view'd the Remains of a large Roman *Oppidum*, or Station at *Netherby*, upon the River *Esk* in *Cumberland*, where formerly a Garrison lay, of which the Right Honourable the Lord *Preston* is Proprietor: Here, indeed

⁵ N. & B. ii 472.

⁶ Some copies have a different title-page, dated 1727; for details see the careful bibliography in PSAScot. x (1875) 371 f.

⁷ Cf. in particular p. 84, where he refers to a recent discovery at Hexham, noted by Gale and Stukeley "when they were in that Country last Summer".

⁸ For his tours in those years, cf. Sir George Macdonald's account, AA4 x (1933) 33; from *Itin. Sept.* 77 we learn that Clerk was with him on his first visit to Housesteads.

⁹ *Itin. Sept.* 97 f.

are great Marks of a ruinous Town; and many Inscriptions, Pieces of broken Sculpture, and Coins, have been found."

He then proceeds to describe three sculptures, including that of a *genius* which is now in Tullie House Museum (he identifies it as "the Emperor *Hadrian* in a sacrificing Posture"*) and one altar (no. 5, p. 22 below), the text of which he misreads; he refers to the Hadrianic text, published by Camden, adding "but I could not see it there", but not to the two inscriptions which Fleming and Todd had recorded, nor to the coin of Nero. He notes that "A great Quantity of Medals have been dug up here, some of the *Higher*, others of the *Low Empire* . . . a few of these, of the *Low Empire*, I purchased, and presented them to my Honourable Friend Baron *Clark*" (in his "Plate of Medals and Intaglios" he figures three coins from Netherby, no doubt some of those which he acquired on this occasion—for details cf. p. 34 below). He concludes as follows:—

"Camden calls *Netherby Aesica*, by Reason of its Situation on the River *Eske*; but I humbly think this is a little disputable, because it is not exactly *per Lineam Valli*, as I have already asserted; but be that as it will, it has, no doubt, been a considerable *Roman Station*, as its august Ruins still show: And near this Place, upon the Bank of the *Eske*, is to be seen a square *Praetorium*, with a *Tumulus*, or little green Mount, rising on the North Side of it, by far the most entire and perfect of its Kind, that ever I met with in *Britain*¹⁰; From hence, a military *Roman Way* goes by *Cannaby*, a Town on the *Scots Side* of the River, and is a Part of the great *Walling Street*, which coming from, and beyond *Carlisle*, passes thro' *Netherby* and *Cannaby*, into *Annandale*, and other Places of *Scotland* . . ."

Gordon deserves credit for thinking about Netherby's place in the Roman road-system, though he has confused the northward road (which leads through Canonbie to the newly discovered fort at Broomholm,¹¹ a couple of miles south of Langholm, and thence up Eskdale or Ewes

¹⁰ This is clearly Liddel Strength, for which cf. CW2 xxiii 234 and xxvi 390-397; Roy too thought it a Roman site.

¹¹ Cf. D. & G. *Trans.* xxviii (1951) 188 f.

Water, or both) with the Annandale route (which is generally assumed to have branched off westward, a mile or two short of Netherby). But it is disappointing to see how little he is able to say about the Roman *site*, as opposed to objects found there; and from the fact that he has not given a plan, it seems reasonable to suppose that he was quite unable to make out the shape of the fort. The next visitor was to do rather better.

William Stukeley's *Iter Boreale*, published posthumously in 1776,¹² describes the tour in the north of England which he and his friend Roger Gale undertook in 1725. After a visit to Scaleby Castle, they made an excursion to Netherby, and it will be worth while, as always, to reproduce Stukeley's account at length:—

"From hence, over a most dismal boggy moor, an uncultivated desert, we travelled to Netherby. We passed by a Roman fort upon the river Leven, where antiquities have been found.¹³ They tell us, that, for sixty miles further up northward, there is scarce a house or tree to be seen, all the way. This was the march, or bound, between the two kingdoms. The land might be drained and cultivated, and how much a greater argument of national prudence would it be to have it done, by those we transport to America!

The foundations of the Roman *castrum* at Netherby appear round the house, or present castle: it stood on an eminence near the river. Many antiquities are here dug up every day. The foundations of houses, and the streets, are visible. They pretend, most of the space between the *vallum* and ditch is vaulted. A little lower down has been some monumental edifice, or burial-place, where they find many urns and sepulchral antiquities. In the garden here, are some altars; and a carving

¹² In *Itinerarium Curiosum*, 2nd ed., ii 17-77; the account of Netherby comes at pp. 57-58.

¹³ The river is now known as the Lyne. The "Roman fort" seems to be otherwise unrecorded, and as Stukeley gives no details of the route which he and Gale followed, it is impossible to locate it precisely; but it may be recalled that W. G. Collingwood noted the occurrence of Roman stones in Kirklington church (CW2 xxiii 233), not far from a ford over the Lyne on the most direct route from Scaleby to Netherby. It seems unlikely that they had travelled along the main road from Carlisle, for that would have taken them through Longtown, which Stukeley does not seem to have visited before his return journey; otherwise one might have suggested, as a likely position, a fortlet guarding the point where the Roman road is thought to have crossed the Lyne near Westlinton, about six miles short of Netherby (cf. Haverfield in CW1 xv 186 f. for a discussion of the course of the road).

of a female head, in a lion's skin; I suppose, *Omphale*; and an admirable carving of a Genius sacrificing. We saw a gold *Nero* found here: a cornelian with a woman's head, flowing hair. This valley by the river side is very good land, with some shadow of Nature's beautiful face left; but every where else about us, is the most melancholy dreary view I ever beheld, and as the back-door of creation; here and there a castellate house by the river, whither at night the cattle are all driven for security from the borderers: as for the houses of the cottagers, they are mean beyond imagination; made of mud, and thatched with turf, without windows, only one story; the people almost naked.

We returned through Longton, a market-town, whose streets are wholly composed of such kind of structure: the piles of turf for firing are generally as large and as handsome as the houses."

Several points may be noted. First, there were Roman remains (which Stukeley took to represent a fort) all round the Grahams' house—which was a far smaller and less impressive mansion than that now visible—on the crest of the hill, while a cemetery had been found lower down (on which side, we are not told). The family had already begun to collect antiquities, and to show them to visiting antiquaries, and the *aureus* of Nero, first noted by Fleming half a century before, was duly exhibited to our travellers; the cornelian, no doubt from a Roman signet-ring, was similarly reserved for visitors of quality to examine, but any traveller who so desired could look at the Roman stones in the garden, as Gordon had done. It is a pity that Stukeley was not more interested in inscriptions; we know that he made drawings of a good many during this very tour,¹⁴ but he published none of them; it would have been useful to know if the altars which he saw in the garden in 1725 included that for which Fleming and Todd are our only sources.

John Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, published in the spring of 1732 (shortly after its author's untimely death), includes several references to Netherby. On p. 78 he notes that *leg. II Augusta* was there in Hadrian's time,

¹⁴ He refers to them in his diary under date 19 October 1754 (Surtees Society, vol. 80, 1887, 140); cf. also the reference to "an immense parcel of drawings which I made in that tour" (*ibid.* 143).

on p. 182 that the site had yielded two or three Roman inscriptions, and on p. 271 he gives careful accounts of the sculptures and inscriptions "at the famous station of *Netherby*"; the first paragraph is worth quoting:—

"I must first take notice of a curious inscription mentioned in *Cambden*, and said by him to be then in the walls of the house . . . This stone is not now to be found; Mr *Gordon* enquired for it, and I likewise sought after it, but in vain; and as part of this house is pulled down, and altered, I doubt this stone has been destroyed, or lost in the ruins. However this makes it evident that the *Romans* were possessed of this station in the reign of the emperor *Hadrian*; and by the medals both of the high and low empire, that have been found here, it seems probable they were in long possession of it."

A footnote adds, "*See Gordon's It. Sept., p. 98*"—for *Horsley* was always careful to give credit to his sources. He records the precise positions in which the stones still kept at *Netherby* were to be found: *Gordon's* altar was "built up in the wall, in a corner of the garden, at the end of the house", and one of the sculptures was "in a stair-case without the house"; but he makes no attempt to describe the Roman site, and the purpose of his visit there must have been to examine the inscriptions and sculptures. *Horsley's* most important contribution, however, was his identification of *Netherby* as the *castra exploratorium* of the Antonine Itinerary (*Brit. Rom.*, p. 409), which all subsequent students have been content to accept; he had come to that conclusion several years previously, as is shown by a letter from Sir John Clerk to Roger Gale, under date 22 December 1729¹⁵:—

"Mr. *Horseley* seems to be of my opinion as to *Middleby's* being *Blatum Bulgium*, but says that a place called *Netherby* was the *Castra Exploratorium*."

Clerk can hardly have read *Gordon's* account of the place, to write of it in such vague terms (we shall see presently that it was another five years before he visited it).

¹⁵ *Surtees Society*, vol 80 (= *Stukeley Correspondence* iii), 391 f.

The year of Horsley's death saw an important discovery at Netherby; workmen digging for dressed stones came upon the remains of an elaborate bath-house, between the fort and the river, with an inscribed altar (no. 6 below, p. 22) standing in one of its rooms. What seems to be the earliest description of it occurs in a letter from Richard Goodman, the Carlisle antiquary, to Roger Gale under date 9 November 1732¹⁶:—

"Last week I went to Netherby, to view some works that were lately discovered there. (*A footnote adds, At the beginning of October last.*) You may please to remember that there was a gradual descent, from the principall and oblong fort on the north-west angle, towards the river Esk, in which there are severall streets very visible. In one of them, which runs north and south on the west side towards the river, by digging among the ruins for stone, were two rooms discovered parallel to the street . . ."

There follows a brief description of the structure, and a reference to the discovery of the altar, and the letter closes with a promise to go over "next week" and to let Gale know what further discoveries might be made; but no later letter on the subject seems to have been preserved. Goodman's second sentence reads as though he had accompanied Gale and Stukeley to Netherby, and was reminding Gale of the configuration of the ground; his letter gives the only clear description of the position of the bath-house and is useful, too, for its suggestion of a series of streets outside the fort, on the westward slope towards the Esk.

News of the discovery in due course reached Sir John Clerk; in September 1734 we find him writing about it to Gale¹⁷:—

"Within these few days I happened to be at Carlile and so returned by way of Netherby, where I had never been before. I know you have been there, and therefore shall not trouble you with any description of the place, except so far as concerns the edifice and altar found there last year (*sic*) . . ."

¹⁶ Surtees Society, vol. 76 (= *Stukeley Correspondence* ii), 77.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

The letter is too long to quote at length, though it gives useful particulars of the building, some of which there may be occasion to refer to later; but I cannot forbear to reproduce one sentence. In the same room as the altar had been found "heaps of heads of different animals, particularly oxen and sheep" and, Clerk writes, "we may guesse the priests had pickt them before they came there, otherwise the place had been a meer nasty slaughter house." Finally, he mentions a spring, "about 30 ells in a straight line" from the building, which it had supplied by an "aquaeduct".

But while Goodman and Clerk were paying casual visits, a local antiquary was at work, watching the excavation and making careful measurements and notes of the building, ultimately preparing an excellent plan of it. He never published plan or notes, but he was prepared to show it to visitors, three of whom in due course gave it wide circulation. The first of them was George Smith,¹⁸ who in April 1740 sent a reading of the altar, with a brief reference to the circumstances of its discovery, to the *Gentleman's Magazine* (x 171 f.), and ten years later he communicated a "draught" of the building, with a brief covering letter (*Gent. Mag.* xx, 1750, 27). The plan itself, here reproduced as fig. 1, is annotated, and a careful comparison shows that it is derived from the same source as that ultimately published in General Roy's posthumous work, the *Military Antiquities of the Romans in North Britain* (1793), at plate xlvii¹⁹; at p. 197 Roy explains how it came to be made. In 1752 (when only 26, and still a civilian) he had been engaged in making a survey of Eskdale and, hearing of the discovery which had been made at Netherby twenty years previously, he had decided to make a plan of the building:—

"but the materials whereof the walls had been composed, as well as the pillars that supported the floors of the different apartments, having been long ago removed, and applied to other

¹⁸ Cf. CW2 xlviii 135 f. and li 22 f.

¹⁹ For a slightly different version of Roy's plan, cf. *Archæologia* lxviii, pl. xxvii, and Sir George Macdonald's discussion of it, p. 167 f.

uses it became impossible to take any plan of what no longer existed; and the north-east part not being then laid open, shewed only some slight and obscure ruinous traces."

He therefore took steps to copy "from an original drawing, in the possession of the clergyman of Kirk Andrews"; the latter "had taken care, while the workmen were employed in freeing the foundations from the surrounding

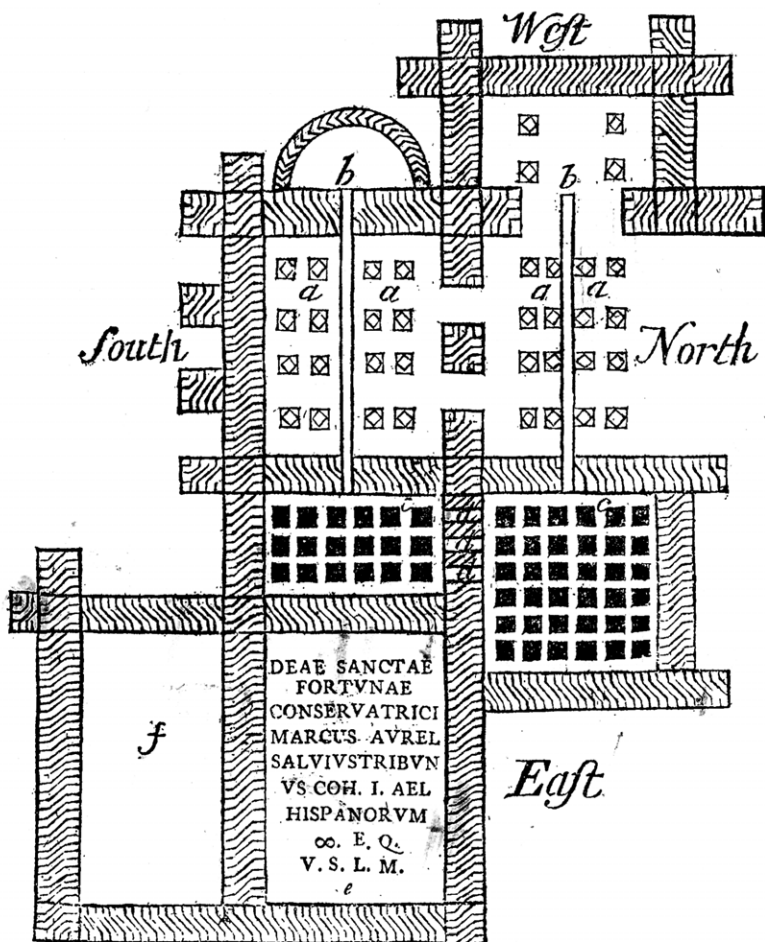


FIG. 1.—George Smith's version of the bath-house plan (*Gent. Mag.* xx, 27).

rubbish, to measure the several parts of the building accurately, whereby its true figure and dimensions were preserved." Smith's letter had given no hint that the plan was not his own production; Roy at least gives us a clue to its author—his own contribution, apart from re-drawing and re-lettering of the annotation, was confined to providing schematic sections through the hypocausts. On referring to Nicolson & Burn (ii 474), I find that Richard Baty was presented to the living of Kirkcudbright upon Esk in 1732, the year of the discovery; he died in 1758.²⁰ It is high time that his services to archaeology should receive recognition: not merely is the plan itself an excellent piece of work, but its annotation shows that he had a very good idea of the significance of the various structures, and we may be justified in suspecting that George Smith had derived from him the following observations, given in the covering letter to which reference has already been made:—

"The rooms mark'd *c* were the sudatories, or sweating places, where the people retired after bathing. *a a* were for exercise, &c. That mark'd *f*, a bath for ablution; a necessary part of the Heathen theology in the worship of Fortune, to whom the altar is consecrated . . . The communicating funnels (*b*) supply'd the fire with fresh pabulum of air, and at the same time the pipes (*d*) heated the sudatories."

It was to be nearly two hundred years before the structure of the Netherby bath-house received a more accurate interpretation, from Sir George Macdonald.²¹ I hope that we may one day learn something more about the personality of Richard Baty, who was clearly a man of considerable intellectual stature; Hutchinson (ii 681) gives a brief account of him, sufficient to whet our appetites for more, and Chancellor Ferguson's paper on the registers and account books of Kirkcudbright-upon-Esk (CW1 viii 280 f.) bears witness to the conscientious

²⁰ Cf. CW1 viii 283, where his christian name is wrongly given as William.

²¹ PSAScot. lxiii, 1929, 483 f., in his report on the bath-houses at the fort of Mumrills on the Antonine Wall; cf. also *Archæologia* lxxviii 167 f.

way in which he served that parish, quoting several documents from his pen.

The third reproduction of Baty's plan was published in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society in 1763 (liii, facing p. 134), in illustration of a short paper by John Taylor, canon residentiary of St Paul's and chancellor of the diocese of Lincoln, reporting the discovery in 1762 of an inscribed stone (no. 7, p. 22 f. below), which "served as a cover to a drain, which did not seem of any considerable age": when we remember how the antiquaries of the nineteenth century mistook late Roman structures for the work of more modern times, we may be prepared to believe that Taylor's interpretation of the drain at Netherby was incorrect.²²

Meanwhile, in 1757 the Rev. Robert Graham had succeeded to the Netherby estate (N. & B. ii 469), which he was to transform by an ambitious and liberal policy of agricultural improvement; the hall itself was largely rebuilt by him and, as Hutchinson puts it, "In carrying on his pleasure works, and levelling the ground most contiguous to the house, he recovered a large quantity of Roman remains."²³ But he also acquired Roman inscribed and sculptured stones from other sites, notably the collection which had been formed by the Rev. John Walton, vicar of Corbridge²⁴; and it is not always possible to be certain that the stones first recorded at Netherby by Pennant or Hutchinson had actually been found there.

Thomas Pennant, the indefatigable traveller, visited Netherby twice, in 1769 and 1772. In his account of the earlier visit,²⁵ he merely notes that "statues, weapons and coins are often dug up" at Netherby, and then describes and illustrates six or seven items in the Graham collection, only three of them from Netherby itself. Three years

²² His version of the plan was given further currency by Gough's Camden (1806 ed., iii, pl. xxv facing p. 449).

²³ Hutchinson ii 533 f.

²⁴ For one altar probably from the Walton collection. cf. my note in CW2 li 182 f.

²⁵ *A tour in Scotland* (4th ed., 1776, 266 f. and plates xxxv and xxxix).

later, he had more leisure to inspect Netherby which, he noted, "has been a rich fund of curiosities for the amusement of antiquaries", and he was able to give a fuller catalogue of the collection, "illustrated with some figures for the amusement of those who are fond of this study"²⁶; the only point which need be noted from his account of the site is that "the burial place, now a shrubbery, was pointed out to me."

Sir James Graham, who succeeded to the property in 1782 (Hutchinson ii 532), continued his father's policy of improvements, and in the spring of 1788, "in making a plantation near the house", found a tombstone (no. 8, p. 23 below); Hayman Rooke, who first reported the discovery,²⁷ noted that "When it was taken up, ashes and bits of burnt bones lay scattered about, but no urn." In 1790 the same writer recorded the discovery of a tiny uninscribed altar, barely 3 in. high, "in making those elegant improvements which surround the house at Netherby."²⁸

Hutchinson's *Cumberland*, issued under date 1794, devotes several pages to Netherby (ii 533 f.); we have already seen that he refers to the improvements which had been effected by Dr Robert Graham, and to the resultant recovery of a large quantity of Roman material. His account of the site itself, as usual, consists mainly of extracts from previous writers, given in long footnotes; but he also gives three plates, illustrating the principal stones in the collection (and, incidentally, including a plan of the bath-house after John Taylor's version, p. 18 above), with a check-list (pp. 535-7); with the assistance of the latter, it is possible to show that as many as six of the inscriptions found at Netherby owe their first record to him, and from the fact that they were not mentioned

²⁶ *A tour in Scotland, and voyage to the Hebrides* (2nd ed., 1776, 73 f. and 79 f.); the Netherby inscriptions in his catalogue are nos. 5-7 and 20 (pp. 26 f., 27 below), the other stones coming from Burgh-by-Sands, Carvoran, Castlesteads and Corbridge.

²⁷ *Archæologia* ix (1789) 222 and plate facing p. 220.

²⁸ *Archæologia* x (1792) 139 and plate facing p. 138.

by Pennant it may seem justifiable to suppose that they had been found after 1772.

Subsequent writers have little of moment to add, and it will be sufficient to give a bare list of those whose works I have consulted:—

(a) Britton and Brayley, *Beauties of England & Wales*, iii (1802) 100-6.

(b) Gough's Camden, 1806 ed., iii 428 and 449 f. (reference has already been made to his reproduction of John Taylor's version of the bath-house plan).

(c) Lysons' *Cumberland* (1816) p. cxlvi (in the list of inscriptions, p. cl *et seq.*, only 11 items certainly assignable to Netherby are included).

(d) Hodgson, *History of Northumberland* II iii (1840) 249-51 (with a competent brief summary of the early writers).

(e) Bruce, RW¹ (1851) 352 f.; RW² (1853) 329 f.; RW³ (1867) 355 f. (in the folio edition, 281 f.)—much of his first account is transcribed, without acknowledgment, by Whellan, *Cumberland & Westmorland* (1860) 628.

(f) Jessie Mothersole, *In Roman Scotland* (1927) 263-75 (with apologies for including a Cumberland site in a volume of that title).

2. INSCRIPTIONS.

In the following list I give the texts and discuss the significance of the 18 inscriptions assignable to Netherby, taking them in the order of their discovery or of their first publication; I then add notes on another half dozen stones in the Graham collection, which have been assigned to Netherby in the past, but probably or certainly come from elsewhere. In each case, the first reference is to the standard publications, after which one is given to the earliest record; where that has already been discussed, the name of the writer and a reference back seem sufficient details to give. The bulk of the Graham collection was

deposited in the Carlisle Museum at Tullie House in 1892, and I add references to Haverfield's catalogue of the stones at Tullie House (printed in CW1 xv 461 f.) and to its second edition (revised by R. G. Collingwood, 1922), as *Cat.* and *Cat.*², so as to show which stones are now to be seen in Carlisle; the remainder, except when I note otherwise, are still at Netherby.

1. C.961, LS 770; Bainbrigg, 15 August 1601 (p. 7 f. above); present whereabouts unknown²⁹: *imp. Caes. Tra. / Hadriano / Aug. / leg. II Aug. fec.* Pennant saw a similar, but not identical, dedication by the second legion to Hadrian at Hoddam castle, noting that it came from Birrens³⁰; Huebner, in C., wrongly equates Pennant's text with the Netherby one, gratuitously assuming that it had somehow been removed thence to Hoddam.

2. C.963, cf. EE IX p. 609 and CW2 xi 376; found in restoring Arthuret church in 1609, and reported to Camden, whose papers are the only source for it; doubtless from Netherby originally: —

IVLIAE AV
M MATRI AV
ELII ANTON
ET CASTR . . .
SENATVS ET
PATRIAE PRO
DEVOTIONE
NVM EIVS
MARCELLO
PR PR COH AELIA
POSVIT

As it stands, the reading is obviously corrupt, but it has clearly been a dedication in honour of Julia Domna, the

²⁹ What seems to be another reference to the same inscription is given by Daniel Wilson, *The Archaeology and Prehistoric Annals of Scotland* (1851), 396, as from "the Morton MS." — "This inscription is in a house of Jockie Graham's in Eskdale, fixed in a wall — *imp. Caes. Tra. Hadriano Aug. / leg. II Aug. f.*"

³⁰ *A tour in Scotland &c.* (2nd ed., 1776), i 105 and ii 406 f.

mother of Caracalla; we must remain uncertain whether it was one of the series set up by various units of Lower Britain, *pro pietate ac devotione communi*, in the governorship of C. Julius Marcus, A.D. 213,³¹ or whether it falls towards the end of the reign, and mentioned the governor Ulpus Marcellus (II).³²

3. C.962, LS 783; Fleming, 1671 (p. 8 above); lost before 1725: *imp. Comm. cos.* This presumably comes from the foot or the side of an altar, giving the date of its dedication—A.D. 177, as Horsley rightly noted.³³

4. C.957, LS 762; Fleming, 1671 (p. 8 above); lost before 1725: *deo Marti Belatucadro* ——— *v.s.l.l.m.* The dedicator's name, as copied by Fleming and Todd, is too corrupt to yield a reading; Huebner's suggestion, in C., is at least ingenious. For Belatucadrus, cf. p. 37 below.

5. C.958, LS 765; Gordon, 1726/7, p. 97 and pl. 44, 4; Cat. no. 71 and Cat.² no. 36: *deo Mogonti Vitire san(ctum), Ae[l(ius)] Secund(us) v. s. l. m.* I discuss the deity at p. 37 f. below.

6. C.954, LS 763; Goodman, 1732, p. 14 above, and George Smith, *Gent. Mag.* x 171 f.: *deae sanctae Fortunae conservatrici Marcus Aurel. Salvius tribunus coh. I Ael. Hispanorum ∞ eq. v. s. l. m.* This is the altar which was found still in position, in the entrance lobby of the bath-house—a typical position for a dedication to Fortune; for the tribune cf. under no. 7 and p. 34 below.

7. C.965 = ILS 2619, LS 774; John Taylor, 1763, cf. p. 18 above; Cat. no. 77 and Cat.² no. 60: *imp. Caes. M. Aurelio Severo Alexandro Pio Fel. Aug. pont. maximo*

³¹ Cf. AA4 xi 127 f.

³² I shall be discussing the evidence for this governorship in some detail in my *Fasti of Roman Britain*, so that it will not be necessary to do so here.

³³ *Brit. Rom.*, p. 271 (correcting Gibson's Camden, 1722 ed., p. 1027, where the year is given as 184; in the 1695 ed., p. 842, it appears as 155). For a similar text, from Stanwix, dated A.D. 167, cf. CW2 xxxii 148 f.

tr(i)b. pot. cos. p. p., coh. I Ael. Hispanorum ∞ eq. devota numini maiestatique eius basilicam equestrem exercitatoriam iam pridem a solo coeptam aedificavit consummavitque sub cura Mari Valeriani leg. Aug. pr. pr., instante M. Aurelio Salvio trib. coh., imp. d. n. Severo Alexandro Pio Fel. Aug. cos. The consulship gives us the year, A.D. 222; the same governor of Lower Britain, Marius Valerianus, is also attested by an inscription of 30 October 221 from Chesters in Northumberland (C.585, with AA4 xvi 244 f.), and at South Shields (EE IX 1140 = ILS 5759a). The inscription records the completion of a long drawn-out building project inside the fort, no doubt one of those halls astride the *via principalis* and in front of the *principia*, as often found in cavalry forts (e.g., in the Severan reconstruction at Haltonchesters, AA4 xiv 168 f. and fig. 5); if Taylor's guess was correct, its re-use as a drain-cover would have to be assigned to comparatively modern times, but it is perhaps easier to suppose that the drain was part of the Diocletianic reconstruction of the fort. The same tribune, as we have seen, dedicated the altar to Fortune in the external bath-house; he is otherwise unknown.

8. C.972, LS 771; Hayman Rooke, 1789, p. 19 above; Cat. no. 82 and Cat.² no. 86: *d. m. Titullinia Pussitta ci(vi)s Raeta vixsit annos XXXV menses VIII dies XV*. How a woman from Raetia (approximately the southern portion of the modern Bavaria) came to be buried at Netherby does not appear: she was presumably the wife of an officer or N.C.O. in the garrison, to receive so handsome and expensive a tombstone. The precise details of age smack of the third century.

9. C.964, LS 772; Hutchinson, ii 537 and pl. 2, 27; Cat. no. 76 and Cat.² no. 61: *im[p. Caes. M. Aur.] Anto[nino] P. F. Aug., bis cos., v[e]xil. leg. II Aug. et XX V. V. item coh. I Ael. Hisp. ∞ eq. sub cura Modi Iuli leg. Aug. pr. pr., instante Ael[io] Nu[—trib. coh. —.]* The emperor is Elagabalus, the year that of his

second consulship, A.D. 219; the governor Modius Julius also occurs on an inscription from the main east gate at Birdoswald (C.838); the full name of the officer in charge, doubtless a tribune of the cohort, is no longer recoverable. Particular interest attaches to the presence of a vexillation drawn from the two legions of Upper Britain, in this outpost fort of the Lower province; they were presumably skilled craftsmen, such as those stationed in the dépôt at Corstopitum, performing tasks which were beyond the capacity of auxiliaries, for example, the installation of plumbing or masons' work of special complexity: unfortunately, there is no evidence to show from what part of the fort this slab comes, and there is at present no indication of the specific job which it records.

10. C.959, LS 767; Hutchinson, ii 537 and pl. 2, 29; Cat. no. 72 and Cat.² no. 42: *deo Silv(ano)*. The dedicator has not left himself enough space to record his name on this small "household" altar.

11. C.955, LS 769; Hutchinson, ii 537 and pl. 3, 32; Cat. no. 74 and Cat.² no. 8: *d(eae) s(anctae) [F(ortunae)?], Iavo[l]ena Monime[—]posuit*. The reading is difficult, the names of the dedicator being quite uncertain: but at least we can say that it is a private dedication and not an official one.

12. C.956, LS 761; Hutchinson, ii 537 and pl. 3, 33; Cat. no. 75 and Cat.² no. 20: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)*, followed by four or five lines of text, the reading of which has never yet been deciphered satisfactorily.

13. C.966 with EE IX p. 609, LS 776; Hutchinson, ii 537 and pl. 3, 35; Cat. no. 78 and Cat.² no. 62: [— *tribunu*]s coh. [I Ael. Hispanor. ∞ eq. Se]verian[ae Alexandrianae] templum num[ini eius vetus]tate conlabs[um refecit et] ad pristinam [statum consum-]mavit, imp[er]p. dd. [nn. ——— cos.] The restoration is obviously to a certain extent speculative, but the general sense seems clear: the text recorded the restoration of a

temple, by a commander of the cohort at Netherby. A problem is presented by the unit's imperial sub-title, as read by Haverfield, and the dating: the latter calls for the consulship of joint emperors, the former giving the sole reign of Severus Alexander; that emperor had been colleague in the consulship with Elagabalus in A.D. 222, continuing as sole emperor and mentioned as sole consul later in the year (cf. no. 7 above), after the death and the *damnatio memoriae* of Elagabalus. It seems possible that Haverfield's reading will have to be revised.

14. C.967 with EE IX p. 610, LS 777; Hutchinson, ii 537 and pl. 3, 39; Cat. no. 79 and Cat.² no. 63: [— *coh. I Ael. Hispanor. ∞ eq.*] *Anto[ninianae] ex solo [extruxit] sub cur. G. Iul. [Marci leg.] Aug. pr. pr., instante [— Vale]r. Maximo trib.* The cohort's title *Antoniniana*, and the complicated ligatures (particularly *INSTANTE* in the penultimate line), leave no doubt that we should restore the name of G. Julius Marcus as governor: the date of the inscription will be after A.D. 213, in which he is attested in Lower Britain but the units of its army have not yet been granted the imperial sub-title, and before A.D. 216, when a different governor had taken over (cf. AA4 xi 127 f.; C.1043 with *Northumb. County Hist.* xv 144 f. and EE VII 986 with AA4 xxii 83 f.); the *nomen* of the tribune is restored conjecturally, to fit the available space. The nature of the building here in question cannot be inferred.³⁴

15. C.973, LS 773; Cat. no. 83 and p. 502, fig. 21, and Cat.² no. 69: the lower right-hand corner of an inscription in an ansate frame; nothing can be made of the surviving letters, read by Haverfield as follows: —] IR / —] CAV / —] ALLI.

16. EE IX 1225, replacing EE III 110, LS 768; Cat. no. 86 and Cat.² no. 2: *d[eo Ap]ollini [A]urelius*

³⁴ Haverfield at one time thought of dating this fragment to the middle of the second century, and connecting it with Julius Verus — but the latter's *praenomen* is now known to have been Gnaeus, not Gaius; cf. PSAScot. xxxviii, 1904, 455.

M[—]us pra[ef. coh. —] v. s. l. m. If the rank of the dedicator has been restored correctly, the inscription will belong to a period when a prefect's command, a quingenary cohort, was stationed at Netherby—presumably at some time in the closing years of the second century, to judge by the occurrence of the *nomen* Aurelius; it will be recalled that quingenary cohorts occupied the forts at Risingham and High Rochester in the same century.

17. EE III III, LS 779; Cat. no. 85 and Cat.² no. 81: *[i]nvidio[s]is mentula*, followed by a phallus, in an ansate panel cut on a door-lintel, to provide a householder with protection against the evil eye. There is no specific record of the discovery of this stone, but it is not, perhaps, sufficiently attractive to have joined the Graham collection by purchase from elsewhere, so that we may have confidence in retaining it as belonging to Netherby.

18. EE VII 1087, recording its discovery at Netherby in 1882: *deo Huetiri*. For the deity, cf. p. 37 f. below, where the reliefs sculptured on the side of this little altar are described and discussed.

All the foregoing inscriptions seem assignable to Netherby with certainty, or at least with a high degree of probability; in the case of the following items, the evidence is at best presumptive, and some of them, though assigned to Netherby by Huebner and Bruce, demonstrably belong to other sites. For convenience, I continue the same numerical series, though it seems proper to make use of smaller print.

19. EE IX 1226; Cat. no. 80 and Cat.² no. 47: —] *anciam vetustate conlapsam restituit ex voto C. Iu[l(ius)] Maximus*. The text, first deciphered by Haverfield, is on the face of an altar-shaped pillar, perhaps the pedestal for a statue; clues to the deity invoked may be provided by the sculptures on either side of the stone, on one side a jug and snake, on the other a *patera* and knife. I have shown, in a note printed in CW2 lii 185 f., that the stone was really found at Old Penrith and that it was acquired for the Netherby collection a year or two before 1784.

20. C.953 = ILS 4724a, LS 764; Pennant, *A Tour in Scotland &c.*, 1772 (2nd ed., 1776, i 80): *deo sancto Cocidio Paternius Maternus tribunus coh. I Nervan(a)e ex evocato palatino v. s. l. m.* There is no record of the discovery of this altar, and there are grounds for suspecting that it really comes from Bewcastle, perhaps in 1765 (when Robert Graham certainly acquired a Roman sculpture from that site): it is of a whitish freestone, quite unlike the red sandstone normally employed for Netherby inscriptions, and closely resembling that of a Bewcastle altar now at Tullie House (EE IX 1227 = Cat.² no. 7); and there is reason to suppose that *cohors I Nervia* (or *Nervana* as on this altar) *Germanorum* was the third-century garrison of Bewcastle.

21. EE III 112, LS 782; Hutchinson, ii 535; Cat. no. 84 and Cat.² no. 78: *7 Ael[i]ani*. It seems probable that this is really the same stone as C.781a, from the Carvoran area, and that it came to Netherby with the Walton collection, like no. 24 below.

22. C.968, LS 778; Cat. no. 81 and Cat.² no. 75: *vexillatio leg. VI Vi[c. p. f.]* This stone, too, looks as if it may have come from the Wall; there seems no record of it before it came to Tullie House, apart from Bruce's copy, on which C. depends.

23. C.970 with EE IX p. 610, LS 400; Cat. no. 27 and Cat.² no. 80: *ped(atura) cla(ssis) Bri(tannicae)*. Huebner equated this stone with that seen by Pennant at Hoddam, which may be presumed to have come from Birrens (*A Tour in Scotland &c.*, 1772, ii 408); but it is more probable that it comes from the neighbourhood of Birdoswald: cf. CW2 xi 378 and C.864 with EE IX p. 601, LS 401. Apart from the fact that it was in the Graham collection, there is no reason to connect it with Netherby, nor does there seem any necessity to follow Huebner in supposing that any part of that collection was acquired from Hoddam.

24. C. 960 = ILS 4732, LS 766; Cat. no. 73 and Cat.² no. 44: *deo Veteri sancto Andiatris v. s. l. m. f.* This altar really comes from the neighbourhood of Carvoran; cf. my note in CW2 li 182 f.

25. C. 969, LS 444. This stone is really uninscribed (cf. EE IX p. 610); and it was not found at Netherby, where it still is, but at Castlesteads; cf. Horsley, Cumberland xxxii and p. 261, recording its discovery in excavations conducted by Joseph Dacre Appleby (for whom cf. CW1 xii 343).

26. C.971 with EE IX p. 610. This fragmentary inscription, as Haverfield pointed out, is probably the same as C.786, found in the Carvoran district but later incorporated in the Graham collection.

3. THE ROAD-SYSTEM.

Horsley, as we have seen, identified Netherby as the *castra exploratorum* of the Antonine Itinerary; in that work, the second British route, starting at *Blatobulgium* = Birrens, reaches *castra exploratorum* in 12 miles and *Lugubalium* (as the name should probably be spelt) = Carlisle in another 12, and Horsley took it as a matter of course that the three places all lay on the same Roman road. But Roy put forward a different view, in his discussion of the road-links northwards from Hadrian's Wall; the western route, from Stanwix,

"leading by a place called Blackford, seems to have passed the Esk at or near Langtown church. In the neighbourhood of this place a road has branched off to the right, leading towards Netherby; but the principal one, or at least that which is most conspicuous at present, points towards Gretna"—

and after Gretna, "for many miles together", towards Birrens.³⁵ Haverfield, apparently without reference to either of the early writers, adopted a viewpoint very close to that of Roy, concluding that the fort at Netherby was served by a road which branched off at, or near, Westlinton, whilst the main trunk route continued from Westlinton, crossing the Esk "at an old ford near Rose-trees", and so by Blackbank cottage and wood, and Redbrae, to Gretna.³⁶ Yet it is difficult to accept the view of Roy and Haverfield, for two reasons. First, it ignores the clear implication of the Antonine Itinerary, that an official or a force travelling from Birrens to Carlisle would pass through Netherby; if the latter had been on a branch route, it would not have been consistent with the normal practice of the Itinerary to mention it. Next, the accounts of Leland and of Bainbrigg give us reason to think that Netherby was a port in Roman times, and in that case it is hardly likely that the Esk, or rather

³⁵ *Military Antiquities*, 1793, 104; he repeats this view, specifically rejecting Horsley's supposition that the Annandale road went by Netherby, *ibidem* 118-119.

³⁶ *CWI* xv 187.

its estuary, could have been bridged (let alone forded) much further downstream than here; Haverfield's "old ford near Rosetrees" cannot have come into use before the silting up of the estuary had made considerable progress. For the extent of that process, reference may be made to George Neilson's *Annals of the Solway* (1899),

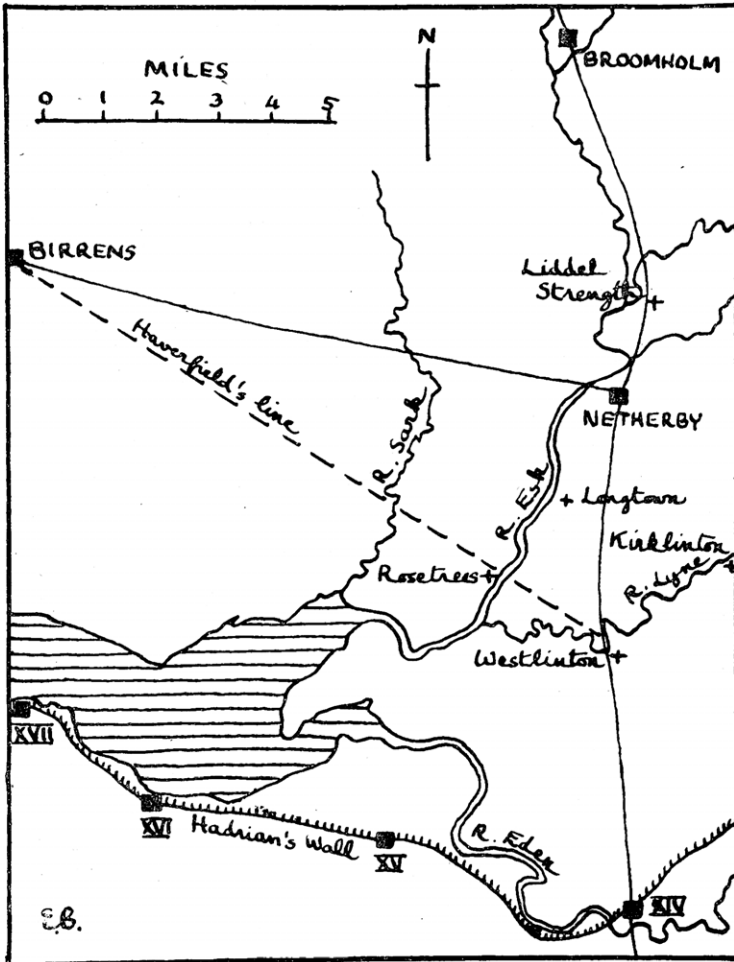


FIG. 2.—Netherby and its setting.

20 f., where it is shown that there has been a considerable westward advance of the land in medieval and later times. We may therefore take it that one reason for a fort having been established here was that this was the lowest point at which the Esk could be bridged, and the highest to which ships could deliver stores—the latter a consideration which the Romans probably had in mind more frequently than we always give them credit for.

It may be supposed, therefore, that the road from the south bore N.N.E. from Westlinton, crossing the Esk close to Netherby and then turning due west towards Birrens; a field survey is badly needed, to establish its exact line, and it is to be hoped that our neighbours of the Dumfriesshire & Galloway Society will be able to join us in making one.

The recent discovery of a Roman fort at Broomholm, higher up the Esk beyond Gilnockie, a mile or so short of Langholm,³⁷ confirms that a branch-road must be postulated, no doubt diverging from the trunk-route just before the latter crossed the Esk. Roy had no doubt that such a road existed, running past "the strong post called Liddel Moat" (which he took to be Roman), crossing the Liddel "near Newtown of Cannaby" and then proceeding "along the south side of Tarras Water, towards Tiviotdale", making for Hawick and Newstead; here, too, there is urgent need for a field survey. Considerations of military geography might well be advanced to suggest that the Romans made some provision for penetration up Liddel Water, too, though as yet there is no evidence for a Roman road along that line. A south-eastward road to Bewcastle seems rather less likely to have been provided; the intervening terrain, though no obstacle to men on horseback, is too cut up by steep ravines to allow of a reasonable connecting road being constructed, and in any case the fort at Bewcastle can be

³⁷ *D. & G. Trans.* xxviii, 1951, 188-189; I had suggested the possibility of a Roman road down Eskdale, connecting the fort at Raeburnfoot with Netherby, *ibid.* xxv, 1948, 141.

explained as an outpost pure and simple, denying to the enemy a basin in which they might otherwise have assembled before an assault on the Wall, rather than as a staging-point on a northward route; it was sufficiently served, on such a view, by its road-link with Birdoswald,³⁸ while the natural southward connection of the garrison at Netherby was with Stanwix and Carlisle.

4. THE ROMAN NAME OF THE SITE.

The Antonine Itinerary, according to which Netherby has been identified as the Roman *castra exploratorum*, can be shown to represent a selection from the routes which were in use during the third century³⁹; in that period, as is well known, the Romans maintained a number of outpost forts north of Hadrian's Wall, and *exploratores* are in fact attested by inscriptions from Risingham and High Rochester,⁴⁰ but as yet there is no epigraphic evidence for their presence at Bewcastle, Netherby or Birrens, so that the Itinerary provides us with a useful indication of the fort's place in the final scheme of frontier control. But before the time of Caracalla, at least for as long as the Antonine Wall was occupied, "Scouts' Camp" would have been a quite inappropriate name for a place so far behind the frontier, and we must suppose that *castra exploratorum* is a functional term which was substituted for an earlier place-name in the course of the third century.

Professor Richmond and Dr O. G. S. Crawford, in their recent edition of the British section of the Ravenna cosmosgraphy,⁴¹ show that it includes at least three

³⁸ Cf. I A. Richmond in CW2 xxxviii 195 f.

³⁹ Cf. Denis van Berchem, "L'annone militaire dans l'empire romain au III^e siècle" (*Mémoires de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France*, 1936, 1937, 117-202, particularly 166 f.), showing that the document was compiled towards the end of the century, and that the routes represent past provision for collection of the *annona militaris*, in connection with specific troop movements, and not the normal services of the imperial post.

⁴⁰ Cf. *Northumberland County History* xv, 1940, 63-154, especially 95 f.

⁴¹ *Archæologia* xciii (1949) 1-50, particularly 26 (*Brocara*), 30 (*Croucingo*) and 34 (*Fanococidi*).

place-names that can be assigned to this district, but are not yet precisely located; one of them, *Fanum Cocidi*, can hardly have been very far from Bewcastle, where the main concentration of dedications to Cocidius occurs, while *Brocara* is placed "north of Hadrian's Wall on the Cumbrian border" and *Croucingo* "in southern Scotland, near the Cumbrian border." On that basis, it seems reasonable to suppose that *Brocara* will represent the original name of Netherby⁴²; its meaning is tentatively given as "foaming stream"—perhaps applicable to the Carwinley Burn, which flows into the Esk a short distance upstream from Netherby, and from the stream transferred to the fort built close by. The Esk itself, like the Exe in Devonshire and the Monmouthshire Usk, no doubt represents an original *Isca*.

5. THE HISTORY AND CHARACTER OF THE SITE.

Let us now consider what is known or to be inferred as to the history and character of the Roman fort at Netherby. For the Flavian period, in the course of which the Roman army first occupied the district and established permanent stations at Carlisle and at Birrens, there is as yet no evidence from this particular site; but its position on the intervening road, and guarding the important crossing over the Esk, makes it reasonably certain that a fort will have been established here, by Agricola if not by Cerialis. It is with Hadrian that our existing records begin (inscr. no. 1, p. 21 above): the second legion was responsible for building a fort here, as at Birrens and (in association with the twentieth) at Bewcastle, to provide a chain of outposts a few miles north of the Wall in its western sector, where it can be shown that the military problems of the new frontier must have

⁴² *Croucingo*, by the same token, might then be the Roman name, given in the locative case, of the fort at Broomholm (since Birrens is already accounted for as *Blatobulgium* — though it must be noted that the latter name does not occur in the Ravenna list).

been most acute—witness the planting of an *ala milliaria* at Stanwix, for its commander was the senior equestrian officer on the Wall, which he may therefore be supposed to have been immediately responsible for controlling. No structural remains of this period have been recorded, but it was perhaps a smaller fort than its successor in the third century, housing a cohort 500 strong (if I am right in my interpretation of inscr. no. 16, p. 25 f. above); in that respect it may be compared with the two forts founded by Lollius Urbicus on the eastern trunk route into Scotland, at Risingham and High Rochester on Dere Street. A fragmentary inscription (no. 3, p. 22 above) shows that this fort was in occupation in 177, but tells us nothing more.

The third century is far better represented by epigraphic material. We have seen that Netherby became the headquarters of the frontier scouts, under the reorganisation of the British frontier by Caracalla after he had withdrawn the Roman garrisons from Scotland in 211. It is not, perhaps, surprising that the dated or datable inscriptions of this period begin with one of C. Julius Marcus (no. 14, p. 25 above), attested elsewhere by inscriptions of 213, for even if the site had been reoccupied by Alfenus Senecio half a dozen years earlier (as was the case with Risingham), its permanent reconstruction can have been a matter of no great urgency as long as the later Severan policy, of reconquering Scotland, prevailed; and it seems possible that it was not until 211 at the earliest that *cohors I Aelia Hispanorum* finally settled down here. During the following ten or twelve years it was busily engaged in making its new fort comfortable; in 219 (inscr. no. 9, p. 23 above) it was receiving assistance from detachments of the two legions of Upper Britain, no doubt specialist craftsmen on loan to the Lower province to help in the completion of just such building-projects; and the completion of the covered riding-school in 222, attested by another inscription (no. 7, p. 22 f. above) may be thought to mark the last stage

of building inside the fort. It was under the same tribune, and therefore within two or three years of 222, that the external bath-house was completed (inscr. no. 6, p. 22 above); and a fragmentary text, assignable to the period 222/235 but most probably likewise of 222 (no. 13, p. 24 above), enables us to add the restoration of some temple, though to what deity we cannot say.

Direct evidence only carries us as late as the reign of Gordian (238-244), a coin of whom is figured by Gordon in his "Plate of Medals and Intaglios" (with one each of Hadrian and Elagabalus); I am indebted to Mr W. V. Wade, F.S.A., for the following note upon it:—

Gordon's no. 10: GORDIAN III. Obv. IMP GORDIANVS PIVS FEL AVG (Bust radiate, draped and cuirassed to r.) / Rev. P M TR P VI COS II P P (The emperor in military dress standing r., holding transverse spear and globe).

The coin is of Gordian's fourth issue from the mint of Rome, and is dated by the reference to his tribunician power to 243; cf. Mattingly & Sydenham 94.

But it seems reasonable to suppose that Netherby, like the other four outpost forts of the Caracallan system, continued in occupation well into the fourth century; and if I am right in my interpretation of the re-use of inscription no. 7 (p. 22 f. above) as a drain-cover in the Diocletianic restoration of the northern frontier system, we may at least carry Roman control of the site thus far. It will need excavation, however, to show whether that control lasted as late as the disaster of 367 (as at Bewcastle and Risingham); and the absence of Netherby from the Notitia list indicates that it, like the other outpost forts, had been written off under the system inaugurated by Count Theodosius a year or two later. Yet it may well be that the site continued in occupation of a kind, by "friendly" irregulars, to become a centre of sub-Roman control of the immediate district during the earlier part of the Dark Ages; at least, it may be recalled that H. M. Chadwick, in his posthumous book on *Early Scotland* (1949), p. 143, suggested that Gwenddoleu, who was

killed by his cousins Gwrgi and Peredur at the battle of Arthuret in 573, had his capital at Netherby: we may compare the evidence for the continuation of sub-Roman occupation at Old Carlisle⁴³ and at Carlisle itself,⁴⁴ not to mention the neighbouring outpost fort at Bewcastle.⁴⁵

The precise position, size and orientation of the fort remain uncertain. It will be seen from Dr St Joseph's excellent air-photographs, here reproduced, that the "elegant improvements" of the last quarter of the eighteenth century and later planning of the grounds have obliterated all traces of Roman structures, at least in the immediate neighbourhood of the modern mansion, which occupies the presumed and indeed the most natural site for a fort, on the summit of a little bluff above the Esk. The bath-house, and the external settlement, the street-system of which was noted by Stukeley, Gale and Goodman (pp. 11, 14 above), were presumably mainly on the north-west side, below the trees beyond the stables, where it seems possible that excavation might one day produce useful information. The cemeteries no doubt lay on the outer fringes of the settlement, but their precise position and extent, too, remain quite uncertain. It may be worth while, however, to point out that here, as at Risingham, though there must have been a fairly extensive external settlement in the third century, there is no evidence to suggest that it was provided with defences of any kind; the strong garrison in the fort, and the scouts ranging far and wide into the tangle of hills to the north and north-east, must have been sufficient to make such defences unnecessary, in a period when in any case (as the developments of later years will justify us in postulating) the Roman way of life was making progress in the land between Hadrian's Wall and the Forth-Clyde line.

For the character of the settlement, our evidence is of the slightest. It has been noted that Titullinia Pussitta, the lady from Raetia whose tombstone was found here,

⁴³ Cf. CW2 li 17 and 38 f.

⁴⁴ CW2 li 83 f.

⁴⁵ Cf. R. G. Collingwood's discussion in CW2 xxxv 11-14.

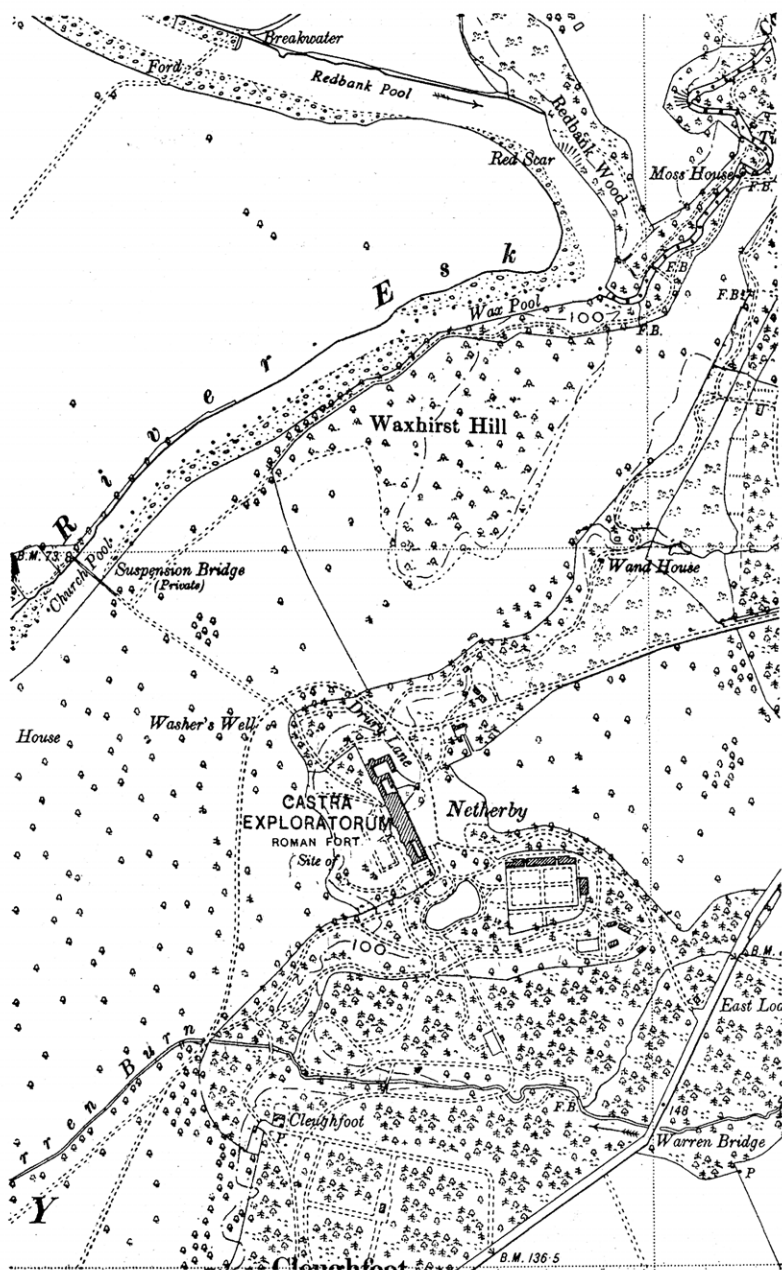
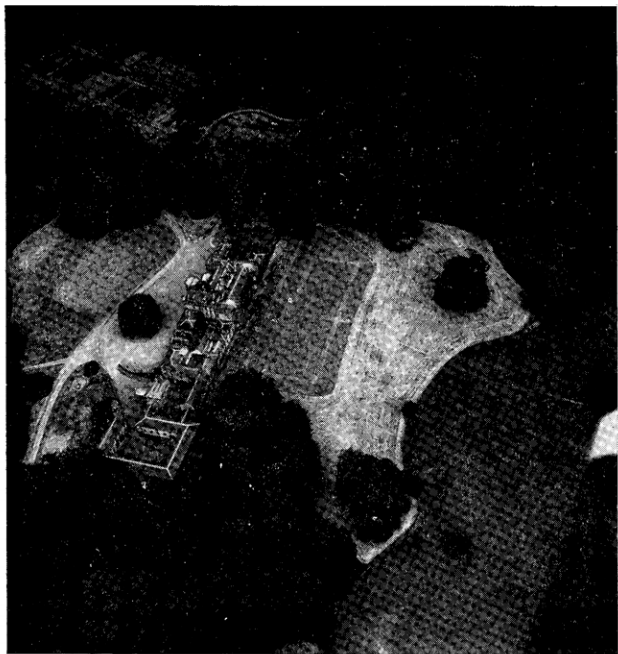


FIG. 3.—Netherby and its immediate surroundings.
 (Reproduced, by permission, from the 6-in. O.S. map, Cumberland VI S.E.)



PL. I, FIG. 4.—Netherby, from the N.W.
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facing p. 36.



PL. I, FIG. 5.—Netherby, from the S.W.

Photographs by J. K. St. Joseph.



PL. II, FIG. 6.—The altar to Huetiris, still at Netherby.
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Photographs by R. Hogg.

was presumably the wife of an officer or N.C.O. in the garrison; and Javolena Monime (if her names have been deciphered correctly), who boasts a rare Italian *nomen*, may well belong to the same category. But it may be noted that the religious dedications include two of some interest and importance. The altar to Fortune (no. 6, p. 22 above) is common form in a military bath-house, and that to Jupiter Best and Greatest (no. 12, p. 24 above) is no doubt one of the normal type, dedicated by a commander of the garrison in fulfilment of a routine vow for the emperor's health, and set up for a year by the side of the parade-ground⁴⁶; and the dedications to Apollo (no. 16, p. 25 f. above) and to Silvanus (no. 10, p. 24 above) can be matched on many sites in the Wall area. But the remaining pair of altars deserves further consideration.

No. 18, p. 26 above, is a tiny affair, with no room on its face for more than the name of the deity, here spelt as though the nominative form were *Huetiris* or the like. That was a local god, sometimes equated with "the old gods" (to judge by the spellings *Veteri* or *Veteribus* on a number of altars), for whom reference may be made to Haverfield in AA2 xv 22-43, R. G. Collingwood's discussion and distribution-map of dedications in the *Oxford History of England* I, 2nd ed. (1937), 265 f., and my own note in *Roman Britain and the Roman Army* (1953), 74 f. But the sculptures in relief on its sides make it clear that the anonymous dedicator thought of the deity as connected in some way with Hercules and his labours, for on one side is a tree which we may identify as the apple-tree of the Hesperides, encircled by a snake—intended for the Lernaean hydra, presumably—and on the other may be seen the snout and forefeet (all that remains of a fuller representation) of the Erymanthean boar. In this case, therefore, *interpretatio Romana* has identified the North British Vitiris with Hercules, as it identified Cocidius now with Mars and now with Silvanus, Belatucadrus with Mars and Maponus with Apollo. But

⁴⁶ Cf. L. P. Wenham in CW2 xxxix 21 f.

on the other altar to the same deity from Netherby (no. 5, p. 22 above), Aelius Secundus has equated him with Mogon, the deity to whom dedications have been recorded at High Rochester and at Old Penrith and in particular at Risingham, and whom Professor Richmond regards as a Germanic god whose cult was brought to Britain by *coh. I Vangionum*, the third-century garrison of Risingham.⁴⁷ The main concentration of dedications to this god comes from Carvoran, but the two altars from Netherby add substantially to our knowledge of his character.

CONCLUSION.

Excavation at Netherby, however desirable it may be on a long-term view, is neither urgently needed nor likely to be an easy matter to carry out, in view of the eighteenth-century landscape-gardening and the extensive planting of the outer fringes of the site, not to speak of the inconvenience which it would necessarily inflict on the occupants of the mansion. But it will be seen that there is sufficient evidence available to enable us to form some picture of its character and of its importance, particularly in the third century; and details may be filled in, by analogy, from the results obtained by excavation of the other outpost forts.⁴⁸

If an opportunity for a trial excavation should offer itself, the most promising area seems to be in the old plantation north-west of the mansion, where it might be possible to locate the bath-house and to trace something of the street-plan of the external settlement; that, in turn, might perhaps lead us to the site of the quay which the accounts of Leland and Bainbrigg entitle us to postulate: such a structure, if it could be identified, would be of exceptional interest. In any case, excavation in that area might be expected to produce sufficient in the way of pottery to indicate how long the external settlement con-

⁴⁷ Cf. *Northumberland County History* xv (1940), 86.

⁴⁸ For High Rochester and Risingham, cf. *Northumb. County Hist.* xv 63-154; for Bewcastle, CW2 xxxviii 195-237; for Birrens, PSAScot. lxx., 275-347.

tinued in occupation. As far as the fort itself is concerned, there seems less prospect of its position and dimensions ever being ascertained — though the example of Castlesteads will serve to show that the most drastic levelling and landscape-gardening need not necessarily remove all traces of Roman ramparts, ditches and buildings. It would also be profitable to pay attention to the Roman road-system, particularly towards Liddel Strength and Broomholm.

It remains for me to express my thanks to our members Mr Robert Hogg (who made a special journey to Netherby in order to take the photographs of the altar to Huetiris, reproduced as fig. 6 above, and kindly confirmed me in my suspicion that the altar to Cocidius, no. 20 above, is of a stone likelier to have come from Bewcastle than from Netherby) and Dr Kenneth St Joseph, F.S.A. (who has kindly allowed me to reproduce his air-photographs of Netherby). Sir Fergus Graham, Bart., M.P., was good enough to allow me to examine the site and the Roman inscriptions still preserved there, and to give permission for the altar to Huetiris to be photographed for reproduction in our *Transactions*; it is a pleasure to record that the visiting antiquary experiences as kindly a reception at Netherby as was accorded to his predecessors in the eighteenth century.

APPENDIX.

With reference to Gordon's altar (no. 5, p. 22 above), I note that Hutchinson, i 489, quotes an undated letter, assignable to 1781, from "the Reverend D. W." to Hutchinson's correspondent Marmaduke Tunstall of Wycliffe, Yorkshire, which deserves to be reproduced here (not merely because it gives us a *terminus ante quem* for the disappearance of the stone):—

"There was formerly at Netherby, an inscription, which Smith, or Pocock, or somebody read *Deo Mogonti vitae restaurat*. When I was there, just before Mr Graham began to build, I could not find it, but was told that such an inscription was on the plinth of a small pillar, on which was placed a devilish ugly Gothic head. The head I saw, but nothing else; the workmanship of which was such as convinced me, the statuary was a most religious observer of the second commandment."