

## VII.

REPORT ON THE EXCAVATIONS AT THE ROMAN FORT OF CAPPUCK,  
ROXBURGHSHIRE. BY G. H. STEVENSON, M.A., AND S. N. MILLER,  
M.A.

## I. INTRODUCTORY.

The little fort of Cappuck lies at the point, some three miles from Jedburgh, where the Dere Street descends into the valley of the Oxnam in its course from Corbridge and the south to Newstead. This Roman road, which is such a well-known feature of the Border country, was probably the main highway between England and Scotland in antiquity, and is still used as a means of communication by the farmers who inhabit the breezy uplands through which it passes. For some distance after it has crossed the Roman Wall above Corbridge its course practically coincides with that of the modern road, but at High Rochester, not far from Otterburn, it diverges to the right, and plunges into the Cheviot. Near the remote Roman station of Chew Green it crosses the border into Scotland, and makes straight for the Eildon Hills, whose triple summit forms at many points a striking feature of the landscape to the traveller along the road. The claim of the Dere Street to be of Roman origin is well established by the presence along its line of a series of Roman stations—Risingham (*Habitancum*) and Rochester (*Bremenium*) in Northumberland, the above-mentioned Chew Green camps on the Border, and, on the Scottish side, Pennymuir on the Kale Water. Some six miles beyond Pennymuir the road dips into the valley of the Oxnam, and it is at this point that the fort of Cappuck is situated. Fig. 1 shows the road descending the side of the valley to the point where the fort lies.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For a full account of Dere Street, see Curle, *A Roman Frontier Post, etc.*, p. 7 f.

It is only in quite recent times that the existence of a Roman fort on the Oxnam has been established. In the year 1885 Roman pottery and fragments of quern stones were turned up in the field above the river, with the result that some excavation was undertaken by the late Mr Walter Laidlaw, custodian of Jedburgh Abbey, acting on the

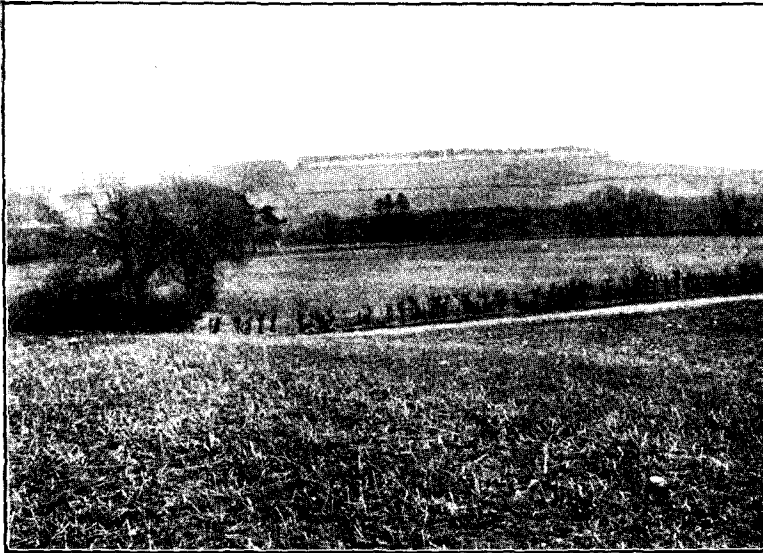


Fig. 1. Showing the Road descending to where the Fort of Cappuck lies.

instructions of the late Marquis of Lothian, the owner of the site. The results were published in the *Proceedings of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club* for 1892-3, and reprinted in Mr Laidlaw's volume entitled *Poetry and Prose*. Some valuable evidence was secured, but much remained to be done; and, in view of the improvement in archaeological methods since the year 1886, it was felt that a more systematic exploration of the site was called for. Accordingly, an appeal was made to the Carnegie Trustees for a grant of money, and

with the assistance of the funds thus provided excavation was undertaken during the months of August, September, and October 1911, and March and April 1912. The work was directed by the writers of this report, Mr G. H. Stevenson, M.A., of University College, Oxford, and Mr S. N. Miller, M.A., Lecturer in Roman History at Glasgow University. They were ably assisted by Mr Alexander Mackie as

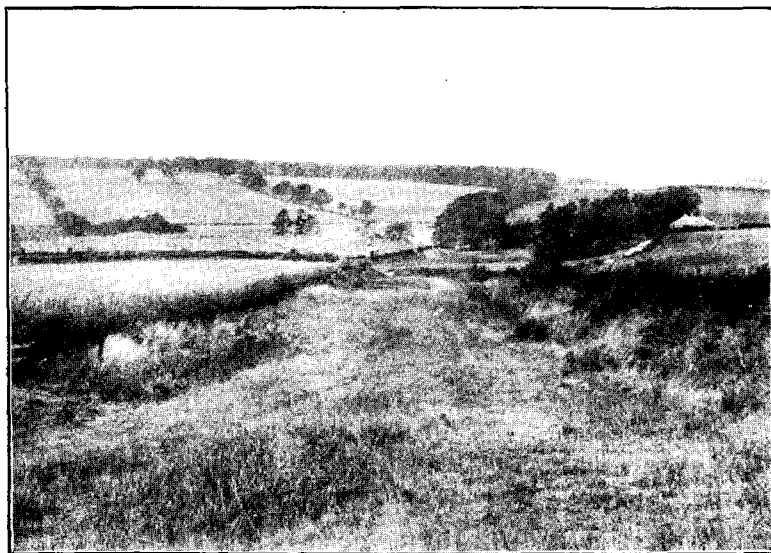


Fig. 2. Showing Site of Fort of Cappuck from the Roman Road.

clerk of works, whose experience at Newstead and elsewhere was most valuable, and they wish to express their thanks to the Marchioness of Lothian and Mr Bertram Talbot of Monteviot House for their interest and encouragement. They are greatly indebted to Mr James Curle of Melrose and Dr George Macdonald of Edinburgh for their kindness in visiting the site while work was in progress, and for their invaluable assistance in interpreting the pottery and coins.

A glance at figs. 1 and 2 will make clear the exact position of the

fort. It lies in a field directly above the point where the Roman Road crosses the Oxnam, and by the side of the modern road from Pennymuir to Kelso. The field slopes gently upwards from this road, then becomes almost level, and terminates at the edge of a very steep bank which rises above the river. Excavation had not proceeded long before it became clear that this bank had altered considerably since Roman times. The encroachment of the river had eaten it away, with the result that a whole corner of the fort had disappeared (see plan, fig. 3). But enough remained to enable us to determine its exact dimensions. The internal measurement from north to south was 80 yards, and from east to west 70 yards. This gives an area of about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  acres, while an almost equal space is covered by the defences. Cappuck is thus considerably smaller than most of the Roman forts hitherto excavated in Britain. It is almost identical in size with Rough Castle on the Antonine Vallum, and considerably larger than the Agricolan fort at Bar Hill. A large number of forts have an area of 3 to 6 acres, and were intended for the accommodation of a cohort, while Newstead with its defences covers as much as 21 acres. Cappuck was not intended to contain more than a handful of troops, but it is a striking fact that, in spite of its small size, the defences occupied as much space as those of many much larger forts, and that the rampart, like that of Rough Castle, was almost as broad as that of Newstead.

Even apart, then, from the historical questions on which the excavation of Cappuck was expected to throw some light,<sup>1</sup> it seemed worth while to explore a fort whose small size distinguished it from most of those hitherto excavated in this country, in order to determine how far the Romans were influenced in their methods of fortification by the actual size of their stations.

Unfortunately, the field in which the fort is situated had been under the plough for centuries, and the stones of the Roman buildings,

<sup>1</sup> These have been discussed in the concluding section of this report.  
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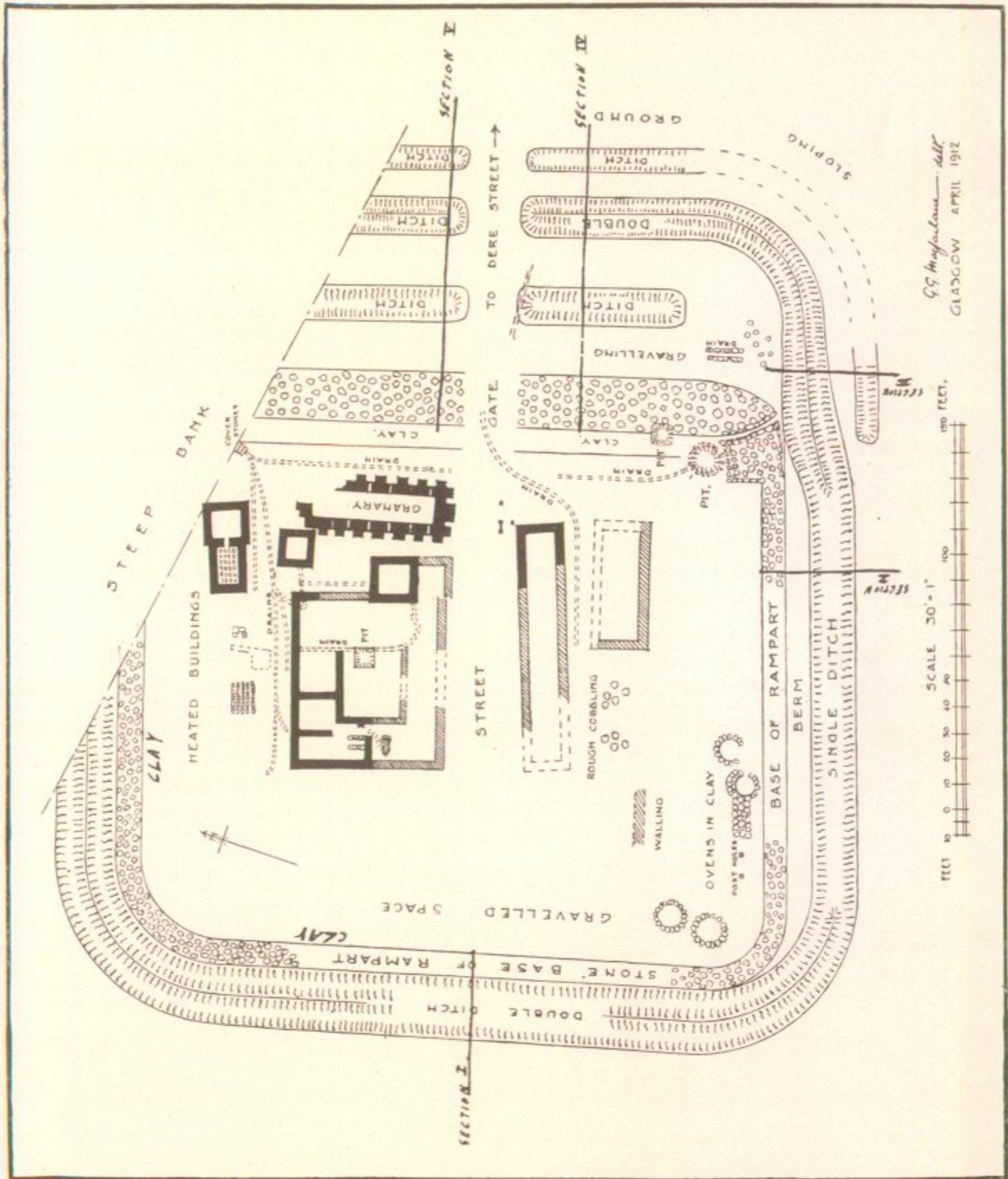


Fig. 3. Plan of the Fort at Cappuck, Roxburghshire.



which seem never to have been of very solid construction, had been removed in large numbers. We had often great difficulty in tracing the line of walls, since mortar seems not to have been used, and clay and cobble foundations, which so often make it easy to follow a wall of which all the stonework has disappeared, were rarely present. In such a small fort it was not to be expected that objects of great artistic interest, such as those found at Newstead, should be unearthed; but, as we hope to show, the small finds were sufficient in quantity to enable us to draw certain quite definite conclusions.

## II. THE DEFENCES.

On starting work, our first object was to discover the defences of the fort. Mr Laidlaw had uncovered several buildings in the interior, but had done nothing to determine the area of the site, and this could only be done by tracing the line of the rampart and ditches. By taking a series of cuts we were able to determine accurately the system on which the fort had been defended. (See plan, fig. 3.)

The whole fort had been surrounded by a clay rampart, resting in part on a layer of cobble-stones. Traces of this foundation were found in all our cuts except one, where it had been ploughed away. At one point on the south side (fig. 4) it consisted of a double layer, of which the upper was set back a few inches from the lower, but elsewhere it was single. On all sides but the east the structure was fairly uniform. It averaged 8 feet in breadth, and was formed of whinstone cobbles roughly placed together on the natural soil, and there was no trace, as, *e.g.*, at Ardoch, of a facing of dressed stones. The distance of this foundation from the inner edge of the ditch varied considerably. On the north and west sides it lay directly behind it, while on the south side there was a berm of about 9 feet—a fact which, together with the doubling of the layer of cobbles, suggests that on this side the ground was marshy. Our first idea was that

we had here the foundations of a stone wall, which had been backed with clay—a form of rampart which exists, *e.g.*, at Melandra and the later fort of Elslack,—but further investigation led us to conclude that this was not the case. There was no trace of building-stone, and it seemed more probable that the layer of cobbles had served simply to strengthen a clay rampart which lay above it and extended



Fig. 4. Cobble foundation of the Rampart.

for some distance behind it. In spite of the nearness of the stonework to the present surface, we found clear traces of puddled clay both above it and behind it, and concluded that we had at Cappuck a parallel to the band of cobbles found by Mr Curle at the base of the clay rampart of Newstead.<sup>1</sup> A similar structure is found in the Antonine *limes*, where a layer of stones, 14 feet wide, underlies the rampart of turf;<sup>2</sup> at Birrens, where the layer is 18 feet wide; at Ardoch,

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Curle, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Vide* Macdonald, *Roman Wall in Scotland*, p. 95.

where it is 7 feet wide; at Rough Castle, and elsewhere. In these forts the structure of the rampart varied considerably, and often consisted of layers of different materials. At Cappuck it was composed throughout of puddled clay.

This view was confirmed by investigation of the east rampart of the fort, which was differently constructed. Here we found, some 22 feet behind the ditch, a broad layer of large cobbles, well and smoothly laid in clay, very much superior in character to the rough stonework which surrounded the other sides of the fort. The outer edge was often difficult to determine because of its nearness to the surface, but the inner edge could be followed with ease, and it seemed that the average breadth of the cobbling was 24 feet. Above it lay a great mass of puddled clay, containing few, if any, stones, which extended for some distance behind it, and may also have projected in front, so that the total breadth of the rampart was probably as much as 35 feet. The breadth may possibly have been the same on the other sides, in spite of the narrowness of the stone foundation, since clay could be detected for a very considerable distance behind the stonework. In the south-east corner a drain ran out through the rampart into the ditch, and the structure of the east rampart was continued for some 20 feet along the south side of the fort. As noted above, the strength of the rampart is very striking, in view of the small size of the station.

When the inner edge of the east rampart was being traced, we noticed a very distinct sink in it at a point not far from the south-east corner of the fort. This suggested that the rampart did not rest on the natural soil, but had been carried over a pit, which had been filled in at the time of its construction. This proved to be the case. The pit was about 10 feet square and 7 feet deep. It contained much burnt wood, and one fragment of coarse pottery, but unfortunately nothing else. A coin or a piece of datable pottery would have been valuable chronological evidence. Still, the existence of the pit proved that the site had been occupied before the rampart assumed its present form.



Another pit was discovered later on under the clay of the east rampart, a little to the south-west of that just described. It was round, 14 feet in diameter and 12 feet 4 inches deep, narrowing towards the bottom. The lower part was lined with puddled clay, and it had been sealed up with the same material. A drain (see plan, fig. 3) emptied into it, and probably fell out of use when the pit was sealed up, though on this point we express ourselves with some hesitation. In the pit were discovered a coin of Trajan, and some pottery which Mr Curle thinks is distinctly not of Flavian date, but belongs to the early part of the Antonine occupation.

The existence of these two pits makes it pretty clear that the east rampart of Cappuck was widened and strengthened in the course of the occupation of the site. Probably the earliest rampart was similar to that which surrounded the other sides. Then it was widened so as to cover the square pit, and finally the width was increased to such an extent as to necessitate the filling in of the round pit, which had for some time drained the south-east part of the fort. We may add that traces of burning were discovered under the stonework of the east rampart, so that there is abundant evidence that it was not constructed by the earliest garrison of the fort. (The historical importance of these facts will be discussed in the concluding section of the report.)

*The Ditches.*—As has been pointed out, the construction of the east rampart presented peculiar features, and we were therefore not surprised to find that the ditches too were more complex on that side of the fort. It has often been noticed that the forts hitherto excavated in Scotland show a more complicate system of ditching than is at all common elsewhere. The regularity of the ditches at Bar Hill is quite exceptional, and as a rule the ditches vary according to the character of the site. At Ardoch, for example,<sup>1</sup> there are six ditches on one side, and only one on another, where the camp stands on a

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, 1897-8, p. 414.

steep bank overhanging the river Knaik. At Lyne,<sup>1</sup> for a similar reason, there are three ditches on one side and one on another. At Camelon<sup>2</sup> there are no ditches at all at one point, because of the existence of a steep bank which served as a sufficient defence. At Cappuck, which stood in a similar position to that of the forts just mentioned, we find a somewhat similar irregularity. The side of the fort in which the only gate occurred was far more strongly defended than the other three. The ditches on the north and west sides were pretty uniform, of the familiar W-shaped type, about 28 feet broad and 7 or 8 feet deep (see fig. 5, sections of defences). On the south side the ditch narrowed and became single, 18 feet wide and 7 feet deep, and was separated from the rampart by a berm of some 9 feet. This may be due to the slope of the ground, or possibly on this side the ground was at one time marshy, so that it was considered unsafe to set the rampart close up to the edge of the ditch. The existence of a strong ditch on the north side may be taken to show that the bank above the Oxnam was less steep in antiquity, and that an attack on this side was considered possible. It was, however, on the east side, where the fort lies near Dere Street, and where the only gate was placed, that an attack was most to be feared. The ditch which runs round the other sides of the fort is here merely the central one of three. It becomes double again near the south-east corner, but is so shallow and irregular that, before we discovered the other two ditches, we concluded that it could not have formed the main defence. At several points it presented quite an unfinished appearance, and where it runs parallel to the eastern rampart its outer part is little more than a shallow drain (see sections 4 and 5 in fig. 5). A single ditch, 15 feet wide and 8 feet deep, broken opposite the gate, north of which it was flat-bottomed, lay between the central ditch and the rampart, and outside lay a subsidiary ditch some 10 feet wide. The space between the innermost and the central ditch was about 20 feet in

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, 1900-1, p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 351.

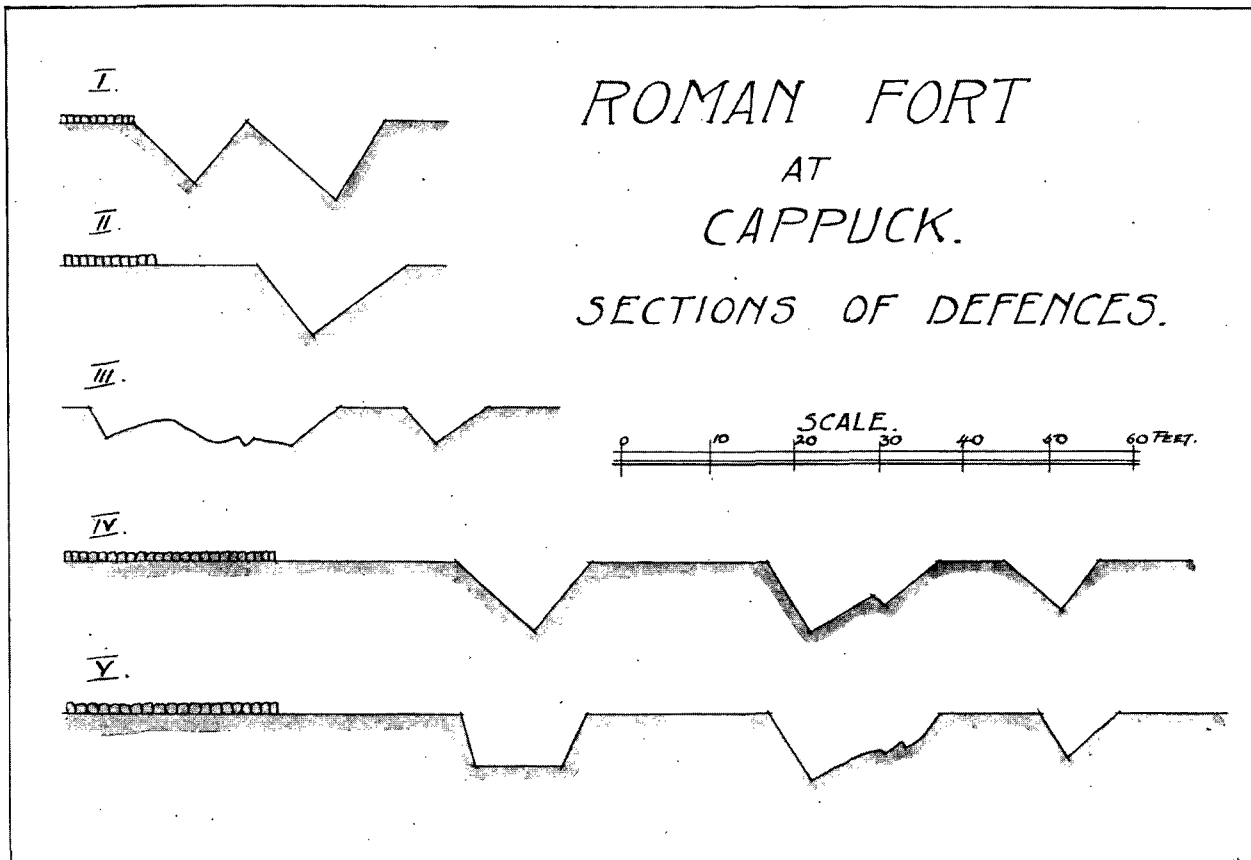


Fig. 5. Sections of the Defences of the Fort at Cappuck, Roxburghshire.

breadth, and may have held a secondary rampart. No obvious traces remained, but many cobble-stones were found in the ditch, which may have formed part of a small rampart in its rear. Without some such defence the space between the ditches would have provided an attacking enemy with a most convenient foothold. In the space (22 feet wide) between the rampart and the first ditch, traces of gravelling and a piece of drain were discovered, which suggests that some secondary defence or extension of the eastern rampart ought to be assumed. An ordinary berm could hardly be 22 feet broad. The earliest rampart of the fort, as suggested above (p. 454), may have run in a slightly different line from that which survives, and it is possible that the gravelling and drain ought to be connected with it.

It is clear, then, from a consideration both of the rampart and of the ditches, that it was on the east side that an attack was considered most probable.

*The Gate.*—It will be seen from the plan that Cappuck is distinguished from the other Roman forts in Scotland by the possession of only one gate. We found a break of about 20 feet in the stonework of the eastern rampart, and a corresponding break in all three ditches, but careful investigation failed to show the existence of any similar opening on the other sides. The small size of Cappuck must account for this peculiar feature, though it is to be noted that Rough Castle possessed the usual four gates. The "mile castles" on the English Wall have commonly two, and instances even of small forts with one gate are rare.<sup>1</sup> No traces of guardhouses were to be seen.

Just outside the gate we discovered a few blocks of red sandstone set in a line, and, curiously, running just across the sloping end of the

<sup>1</sup> The tiny Agricola fort at Bar Hill had only one gate, and Mr Curle has kindly drawn our attention to a similar feature in the fort of Kasr-Rhelan in Tunis (Cagnat, *L'armée romaine d'Afrique*, p. 560), and the fourth-century fort of Kasr-Bšer in Arabia (Brünnow u. Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*). Probably more instances could have been quoted, had a larger number of small forts been systematically explored.

innermost ditch. Unfortunately, they could not be traced further down the hill; but if, as seems probable, they formed the kerb of the road leading to Dere Street, it is necessary to assume that the ends of the southern parts of the ditches were at some date filled up, and the road carried over them. This would give an easier gradient to the approach to the fort than if it had run straight uphill to the gate. Possibly when the rampart was strengthened it was considered less necessary to leave the ditches intact.

### III. THE INTERIOR OF THE FORT.

As was mentioned above, we experienced considerable difficulty in tracing the walls of the buildings within the fort, since the masonry was in most cases of inferior quality and had been freely removed. It proved possible, however, as may be seen from the plan, to form a clear idea of their structure, and we are confident that nothing of importance escaped observation.

A gravelled street, on which the chief buildings stood, ran from the gate across the fort from east to west. To the right of the entrance facing on to the main street was a small granary some 50 feet long by 20 feet wide, of a type common in Roman forts. The walls, which were of white sandstone, were supported by buttresses, between each pair of which was the usual slit for ventilation. The floor had, of course, been raised, but all traces of it had disappeared, so that it was impossible to determine whether it had rested on pillars, as, *e.g.*, at Castlecary, or on dwarf transverse walls, as, *e.g.*, at Corbridge. At one point the west wall of the granary showed a distinct sink, and had been carried over a small pit, which unfortunately contained no objects. Its existence, however, suggests that the site had been occupied before the construction of the granary.<sup>1</sup>

Opposite the granary, on the other side of the street, stood a mysterious structure, which is represented in fig. 6. This was an oblong

<sup>1</sup> See below, Section VII.



enclosure, 10 feet long and 3 feet broad, consisting of a gravel floor surrounded by slabs of stone, which were suspended from notches in stone pillars 2 feet high. One of the slabs, about 3 feet long, was in position, and four of the eight pillars were still standing. The slab was not fitted into the pillars, but was suspended in the air, while the sides were not perpendicular and sloped away from the supports. If this



Fig. 6. Enclosure opposite the Granary.

had not been the case, we should have asserted confidently that we had here a water-tank, such as were found at Corbridge, Housesteads, and elsewhere; but this theory seems inadmissible, unless, indeed, we assume that the water was contained in a tank of wood, which fitted into the stone enclosure. It is just possible that the structure is modern,<sup>1</sup> and we have not found any parallel in other Roman forts.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Conway suggests that it was a sheepfold, but its small size renders this improbable.

Next to the granary stood a large building, 70 feet by 60 feet, which we naturally expected to be the *principia* or headquarters building, almost universal in Roman forts. It turned out, however, to possess features which make it very doubtful whether this name can be applied to it. Along the side furthest from the street there was a series of chambers, but these seem to have been four in number



Fig. 7. North-west corner of Central Building.

and not three or five, as is usual, and in the centre was a square space surrounded by a wall. In the western part (see fig. 7) were remains of dwarf walls, which must have supported a floor, and the presence of burnt soil suggested that this portion of the building had been heated. Behind the dwarf walls was a slit in the ground, about 5 feet long, carefully lined with stone, and full of soot, so that it must almost certainly be interpreted as a fireplace. The building showed distinct signs of reconstruction. A roughly made watercourse, which had

probably once contained a pipe or a wooden channel, ran across it, along the line of an earlier wall, and was taken right over a pit, 9 feet 6 inches square and 8 feet deep. This pit, which had been sealed with clay, and possibly lined with stones, contained among other objects a brooch and fragments of *terra sigillata* of a distinctly second-century type, so that it must have remained open during a considerable part of the Antonine occupation.

Again, at some date subsequent to the erection of the building, there was incorporated with it one of two small square structures of red sandstone which adjoined it on the side of the granary (see plan, fig. 3). It seems certain that this latter originally formed no part of the larger building, since, not only was it constructed of red and not of white sandstone, but its walls were much stronger in character. The floor was of concrete, and the similar building to the north of it, which was never incorporated with the "principia," had a floor of the same material, resting on a mass of boulders laid in clay. The flooring of these two buildings was much stronger than that of any other within the fort. Their purpose and character are rather obscure, but it seems probable that they were storehouses. At the time of the reconstruction the line of the eastern wall of the large building must have been somewhat altered, and the rough wall which connects the square building with its south wall must date from that period. The evidence for reconstruction seems to us to be overwhelming, and we feel inclined to date it within the Antonine period because of the pottery found in the pit.

As has been said, it is hardly possible to designate this building by the name "principia,"<sup>1</sup> and the ground-plan, with its central court surrounded by chambers, suggests rather the so-called "commandant's house," which is frequently found adjoining the principia of larger forts. There is a good example at Gellygaer, and the building at Cappuck bears some resemblance to one which lay alongside the

<sup>1</sup> We have, however, sometimes used the term for purposes of convenience.

principia and granary at Rough Castle.<sup>1</sup> It is probable that the small size of the Cappuck fort rendered it advisable to make one building perform the functions which were usually divided between two, and to accommodate the commander of the garrison in a building, part of which served as an office.

Careful investigation failed to show any traces of walls between



Fig. 8. Bath Building.

the structure just described and the west rampart. The whole of this space seems to have been gravelled, and any buildings which may have occupied it must have been of wood.

To the north of the granary and not far from the north rampart we discovered a very well-preserved building, which is represented in fig. 8. This consisted of two chambers connected by a brick-lined flue, of which the western one contained twenty-four hypocaust pillars

<sup>1</sup> *Vide* Macdonald, *Roman Wall in Scotland*, p. 225.

of stone and brick, which had at one time supported a floor, probably of brick concrete (*opus signinum*), since fragments of this material were found among the pillars. The internal measurements of this chamber were 15 feet by 8 feet, and the walls, which were 2 to 3 feet thick, rested on clay and cobble foundations, which were not found elsewhere in the fort. The adjoining chamber (12 feet square) had evidently contained the furnace. The soil was full of soot, fragments of lead and glass, building-stones, and bones of ox, sheep, pig, and red deer.<sup>1</sup> It seems probable that the furnace was used for cooking purposes as well as for heating the hypocaust. Bath buildings on so small a scale are not common in Roman forts, where they usually form part of larger structures; but a close parallel is provided by the hypocaust found at Castleshaw in 1908, where a single chamber was connected with the furnace by a flue very similar to that discovered at Cappuck.<sup>2</sup> The superior quality of the masonry suggested that this building was not contemporary with the others which we discovered, and this view is perhaps confirmed by the appearance among the pillars of a fragment of *terra sigillata* of a well-known first-century type (Dragendorff, 29). Very possibly the hypocaust is the only survivor of the buildings erected in the time of Agricola.

A little to the west were found scanty remains of what looked like another building of the same type. It had five parallel walls, which must have supported a floor, and traces of burning were found in proximity to them.

A great deal of labour was expended on the part of the fort south of the main street, but without very much result. Wherever we cut, the ground seemed to be full of cobble-stones, and it was difficult to trace definite foundations. We were, however, able to distinguish two oblong buildings of the usual barracks type, and found traces of

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Bryce of Glasgow University kindly examined them for us.

<sup>2</sup> *The Roman Forts at Castleshaw*, pp. 19-20.



what looked like a third. Such buildings are almost always found in Roman forts, and call for no comment.

In the south-west corner, finally, were discovered four round foundations of what were evidently ovens, built into the clay of the rampart, which at this point probably extended further into the interior than elsewhere. Similar buildings in a better state of preservation have been found at Inchtuthill, Bar Hill, Birrens, Castleshaw, and elsewhere. They were domed structures, on the flagged floor of which a fire was placed until they became red-hot. Then the fire was removed, and the food placed in the heated chamber. At Cappuck practically nothing of the walls was intact, but there was no possibility of mistaking the character of the round flagged foundations, especially as the soil in this corner of the fort showed traces of burning. A piece of good cobbling was found adjoining one of the ovens, evidently intended to strengthen the rampart.

A good deal of confused stonework was found in the neighbourhood of the ovens, which we were unable to reproduce intelligibly on the plan. We got the impression, however, that there had been reconstruction in this part of the fort, as well as elsewhere. At several points burnt soil was found below later foundations.

A glance at the plan will show that elaborate arrangements were made for the drainage of the fort. The drains of the part north of the main street converged near the north-east angle, and ran away towards the river in a channel covered by several large blocks of red sandstone. Another drain ran between the two barracks buildings and then through the gate, presumably into one of the ditches; while in the south-east corner were the drain discussed above (p. 454), running up to a pit near the rampart, and a break in the rampart itself probably intended for the same purpose.

## IV. THE POTTERY.

(a) *Terra Sigillata*.

Some seventy fragments of this so-called "Samian" ware were discovered at Cappuck. Most of the pieces were too small to be of any value for dating purposes, and we have reproduced only the more important. They were, in the majority of cases, very much worn, and seem to have been used over a long period. Thanks to modern investigations, of which those of Mr Curle at Newstead are perhaps the most important, pottery now ranks with coins as a trustworthy source of chronological evidence.

(1) Fragment of type 29 (first-century). Two friezes divided by a moulding, having a row of dots on either side. In the upper is a scroll with leaves; in the lower, a row of pointed ornaments. Found among the pillars of the hypocaust. (Fig. 9, No. 1.)

(2) Fragment of a rim of type 29, marked by the usual series of parallel lines. Found in 1886 by Mr Laidlaw. Site uncertain. (Fig. 9, No. 2.)

(3) Fragment of base of type 37. Band of oval ornaments surmounted by a frieze with figures, perhaps separated by cruciform lines (an early feature). Found on floor of headquarters building. Similar pieces were found by Mr Curle in the ditch of the early fort at Newstead. (Fig. 9, No. 3.)

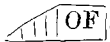
(4) Small fragment of type 37. Wreath of chevron pattern. Beneath, small medallions separated by a flower. Found on floor of headquarters building. Probably early. (Fig. 9, No. 4.)

(5) Fragment of type 37. Row of S-shaped ornaments, surmounted by frieze containing cruciform ornament. Found in 1886 by Mr Laidlaw. Site uncertain. (Fig. 9, No. 5.)

(6) Almost complete shallow bowl of type 35, with rim decorated with lotus buds in barbotine. Such vessels were common in the early

period at Newstead, but continued to be made in Antonine times (*vide* Curle, *op. cit.*, p. 198). Found on floor of headquarters building.

(7) Fragment of rim of Newstead type 11 (Curle, *op. cit.*, pl. xxxix.). Lotus buds in barbotine on a flange just below rim of vessel. Probably a first-century type. Found to the west of the headquarters building.

(8) Fragment of type 27 with imperfect stamp . The glaze is good, and the piece may quite well be Flavian. Found in the round pit behind the eastern rampart.

(9) Fragment of rim of type 18, with good glaze. Probably early. Found outside the eastern ditches.

(10) Four fragments "come from a platter which recalls type 18, but the glaze is poor, and when put together the side seems too high for the Flavian dish" (Mr Curle). Found in the round pit behind the eastern rampart.

(11) Fragment of type 37. Three panels separated by lines ending inallet-shaped head. (a) Nude dancer holding ends of garment in hands (Déchelette 216). (b) Legs of draped figure. (c) Rosette and part of figure. Found by Mr Laidlaw in 1886. Site uncertain. (Fig. 9, No. 6.)

(12) Fragment of type 37. Egg and tassel moulding. Below, fragments of two panels, separated by line ending in a mallet-shaped head. In one a large medallion containing Triton with double fish-tail waving an oar (Déchelette type 16). Design of other panel uncertain (perhaps Déchelette type 104, warrior with lance on left arm). A typical Antonine piece in the style of Cinnamus (*vide* Curle, *op. cit.*, pl. xlv.). Found in the bottom of pit in headquarters building. (Fig. 9, No. 7.)

(13) Fragment of type 37. Egg and tassel moulding. Below, pieces of three large panels. (a) Mars seated, resting on shield, and holding lance in his right hand (Déchelette 9a). Underneath, galloping stag. (b) Figure with arm raised above his head. (c) Nude figure of Pan standing on a pedestal and playing the syrinx (Déchelette



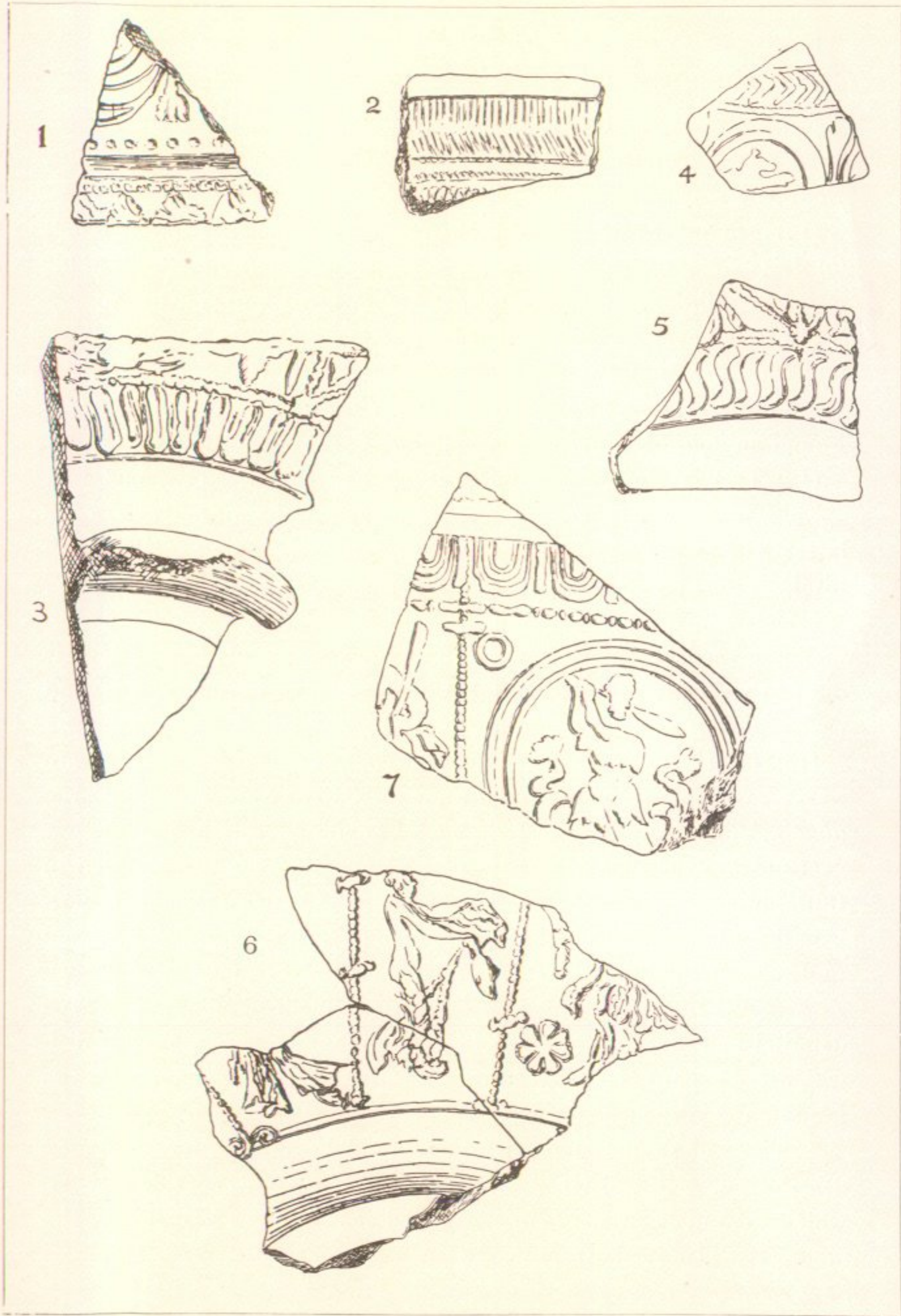


Fig. 9. Terra Sigillata from Cappuck.

411). Found on the floor of the headquarters building. (Fig. 10, No. 8.)

(14) Fragment of a base of type 37. Three panels. (a) Medallion. (b) Legs of a figure. (c) Leaping animal. Found in pit in headquarters building. Perhaps from same bowl as 12. (Fig. 10, No. 9.)

(15) Fragment of type 37. Two panels containing (a) plane leaf, (b) crouching rabbit. The bowl seems to have had two parallel zones of decoration, and so may be early (*vide* Curle, *op. cit.*, p. 202). Found on floor of headquarters building. (Fig. 10, No. 10.)

(16) Two fragments of a fluted bowl, like that depicted in Curle, *op. cit.*, pl. xl. fig. 21, *cf.* p. 200. This type probably belongs to the latter half of the second century. Found in the filling of the south ditch. (Fig. 10, No. 11.)

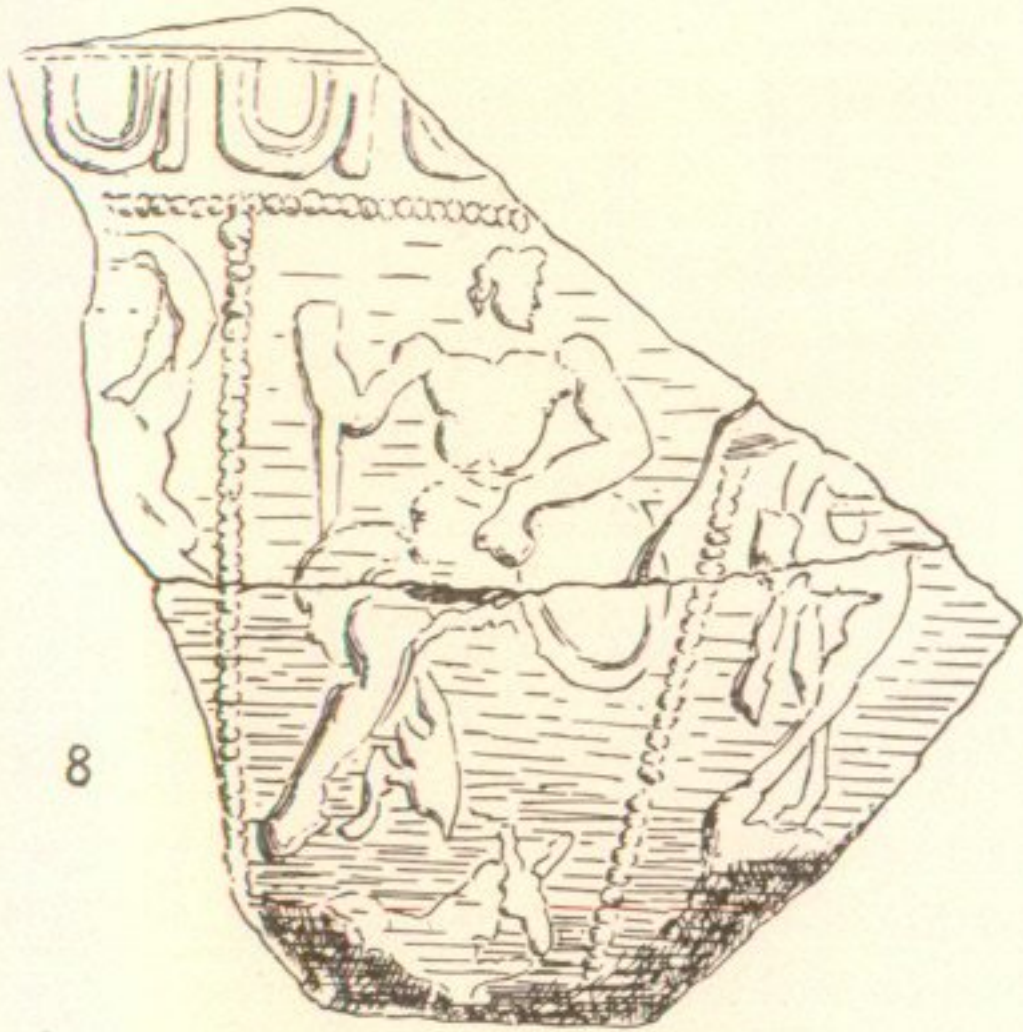
(17) Fragment of rim of type 37. Lines dividing the panels end inallet-shaped heads. "The width and coarseness of the rim take it out of the Flavian category" (Mr Curle). Found in round pit behind east rampart.

(18) Large fragment of cup (type 33), bearing potter's stamp RVFFI MA. This potter is generally supposed to be Antonine (*vide* Curle, *op. cit.*, p. 240). Found in 1886 by Mr Laidlaw. Site uncertain.

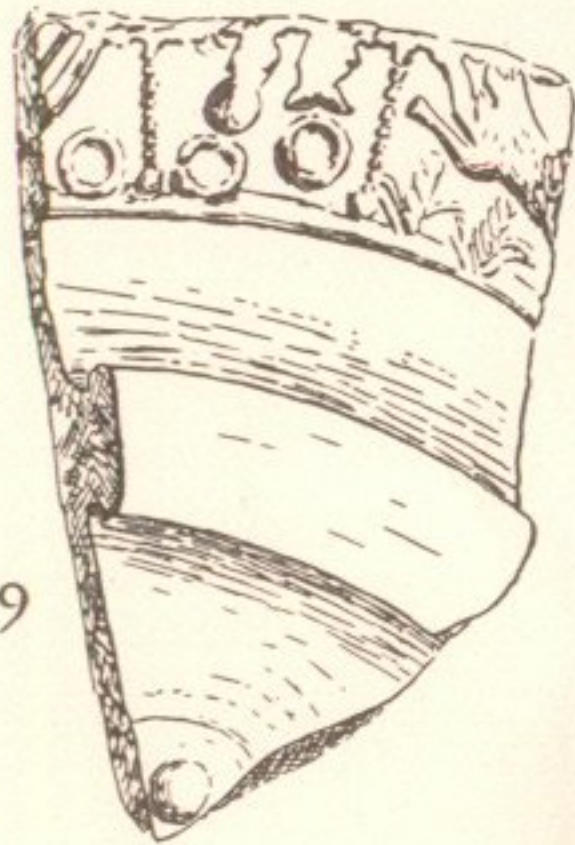
(19) More than half the base of a platter like that represented in Curle, *op. cit.*, pl. xxxix. fig. 2. The outside is decorated with horizontal flutings, while in the inside, along the line where the bottom unites with the rim, there is a rounded band of moulding (*Viertel-rundstab*). In his book (p. 197) Mr Curle is inclined to date this type definitely as first-century, but he writes that he saw a similar dish which he is sure is late at Rough Castle. The Cappuck piece was found outside the eastern ditches.

The rest of the Cappuck *terra sigillata* does not call for a detailed description. Most of the pieces consist of scraps of types 31 and 33, which were in common use in the second century, and probably in the first. It will have been noticed that a large proportion of the pieces

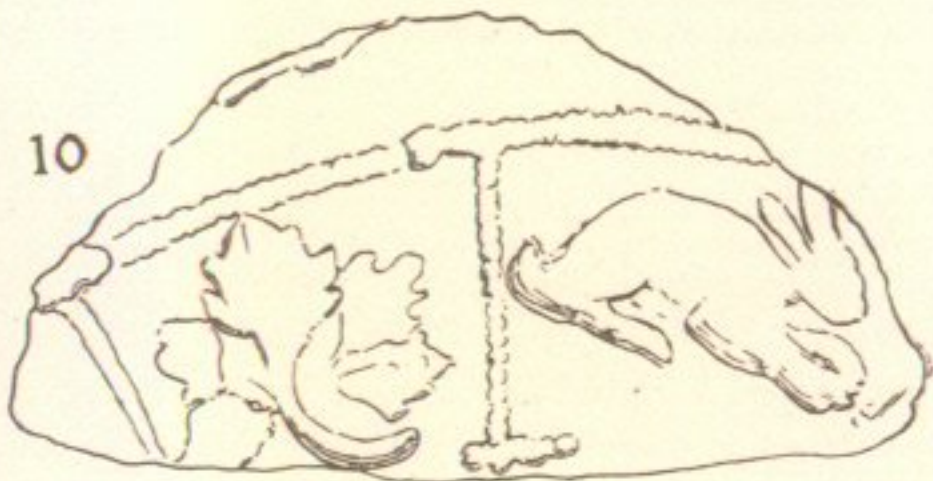




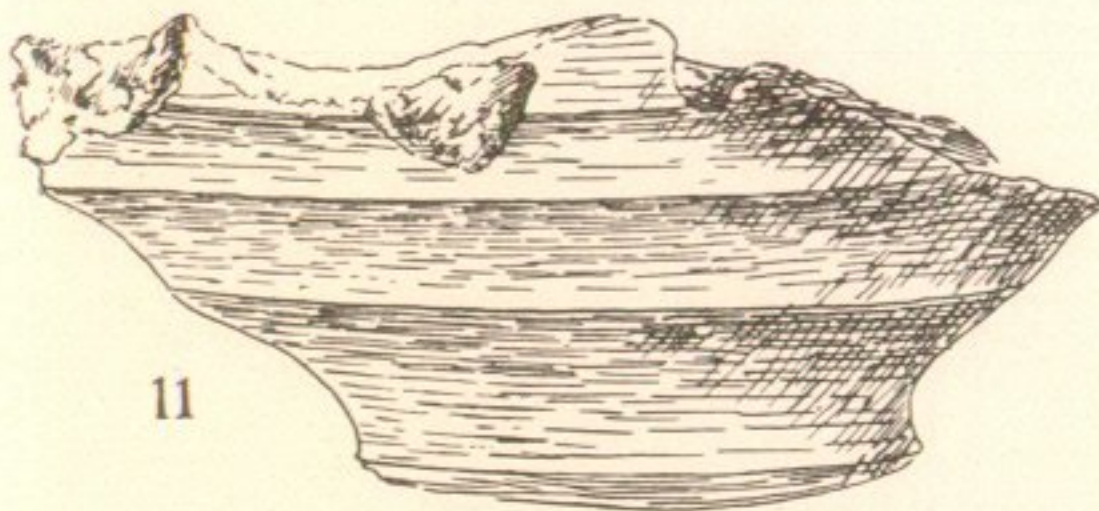
8



9



10



11

Fig. 10. Terra Sigillata from Cappuck.



described above are certainly or probably of first-century date, and, as will be shown below, six of the thirteen coins discovered on the site were issued before the year 84 A.D. The evidence of the coins and the *terra sigillata* is thus very strongly in favour of the view that Cappuck was not occupied merely during the governorship of Agricola, and that its garrison, like that of Newstead, was not withdrawn at the time of the evacuation of the forts on the Antonine vallum.

(b) *Unglazed Ware.*

Mr Curle very kindly examined a representative collection of pieces of the coarser pottery, containing fragments of mortaria, cooking-pots, shallow bowls, jugs, etc., and reported that they all seemed to him to be of Antonine date. Two fragments of black ware from cooking-pots or beakers, found in the round pit within the eastern rampart, appeared to him to be not typically Antonine, but yet not so early as Flavian. They may have been in use during the earlier part of the second-century occupation, and the other objects found in the same pit suggest a similar date.

The predominance of Antonine vessels among the coarser pottery is not surprising in view of the fact that more care would naturally be taken of the imported *terra sigillata* than of the rougher home-made ware. It is thus natural that most of the surviving fragments of the latter belong to the later period of the occupation of the fort.

V. THE COINS.

Thirteen Roman coins—six denarii and seven bronze coins—were discovered at Cappuck.

(a) *Denarii.*

(1) Vespasian (69–79 A.D.).

*Obverse.* Inscription illegible. Laureated head to right.

*Reverse.* TRI POT. Vesta seated left.

(Cohen,<sup>2</sup> i. p. 411, Nos. 561 and 563.) Found in the "head-quarters building."

## (2) Vespasian.

*Obv.* IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG. (?). Laureated head to right.

*Rev.* [PONTIF] MAXIM. Vespasian seated right, with sceptre and bough.

(Probably Cohen,<sup>2</sup> i. pp. 327, 389.) Found in the "headquarters building."

## (3) Domitian (81-96 A.D.).

*Obv.* IMP CAES DOMITIANVS AVG PM. Head right laureate.

*Rev.* TR POT II COS VIII. DES. X. P.P. (*i.e.* 83 A.D.). Pallas standing right with shield and spear on prow of ship.

(Cohen,<sup>2</sup> i. p. 520, No. 604). Found by Mr Laidlaw in 1886. Site unknown.

## (4) Hadrian (117-138 A.D.).

*Obv.* HADRIANVS AVG COS III. P.P. (*i.e.* 120 A.D.). Head right bare.

*Rev.* SALVS AVG. Health standing right feeding serpent coiled round altar.

(Cohen,<sup>2</sup> ii. p. 216, No. 1336). Found inside the east rampart.

## (5) Hadrian.

*Obv.* [IMP CAES]AR TRAIAN HADRIAN[VS AVG]. Bust right laureate. Paludamentum over left shoulder.

*Rev.* PM TR P COS III. (120 A.D.). Pietas standing left raising both hands.

(Cohen,<sup>2</sup> ii. p. 199, No. 1117). Found inside the east rampart.

## (6) Faustina Senior (died 140 A.D.).

*Obv.* [DIVA FAVSTINA]. Bust right draped.

*Rev.* [AVGV]STA. Pietas to left near altar, raising right hand, and holding box of perfumes.

(Cohen,<sup>2</sup> ii. p. 422, No. 124.) Found in "headquarters building."

(b) *Brass or Copper Coins.*

- (1) *Vespasian.* "First brass."  
*Obv.* Inscription illegible. Head right laureate.  
*Rev.* [PAX AVG] s.c. Peace standing left near altar with patera, caduceus, and branch of olive.  
 (Cf. Cohen,<sup>2</sup> i. p. 390, No. 300 f.) Found in hypocaust building.
- (2) *Vespasian.* "First brass."  
*Obv.* Inscription illegible. Head right.  
*Rev.* Inscription illegible. Possibly Rome standing left, holding victory on globe and spear.  
 (Cf. Cohen,<sup>2</sup> i. p. 399, Nos. 419-421.) Found in the "headquarters building."
- (3) *Titus (79-81 A.D.).* "First brass."  
*Obv.* T CAESAR IMP AVG F PON TR P COS VI CENSOR (*i.e.* 77-78 A.D.). Head right laureate.  
*Rev.* ROMA SC. Rome standing left with victory and spear.  
 (Cohen,<sup>2</sup> i. p. 445, No. 184.) Found in "headquarters building."
- (4) *Trajan (98-117 A.D.).* "First brass."  
*Obv.* [IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO] AVG GER D[AC PM TR P] COS v[I ? PP] (112 A.D.). Bust right laureate.  
*Rev.* SPQR OPTIMO PRINCIPI . s.c. Arabia standing to front, head left, holding branch and reed. At her feet, camel left. In exergue, traces of ARABADQ.  
 (Cohen,<sup>2</sup> ii. p. 20, No. 28 or 29.) Found in round pit behind the east rampart.
- (5) *Trajan.* "First brass."  
*Obv.* IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC PARTHICO PM TR P COS VI . P.P. (116 A.D.). Head right laureate.  
*Rev.* PROVIDENTIA AVGVSTI SPQR SC. Providence standing left, holding sceptre supported on a column.  
 (Cohen,<sup>2</sup> ii. p. 51, No. 320.) Found by Mr Laidlaw in 1886.  
 Site unknown.

## (6) Trajan. "First brass."

*Obv.* [IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC PARTHICO  
PM TR P COS VI . PP] (116 A.D.). Bust right laureate.

*Rev.* REX PARTHIS DATVS. Trajan seated right, accompanied by prætorian prefect standing, presenting a king to kneeling Parthia.

(See Cohen,<sup>2</sup> ii. p. 52, No. 328). Found by Mr Laidlaw in 1886.  
Site unknown.

## (7) Hadrian. "Second brass."

*Obv.* Inscription illegible. Head right laureate.

*Rev.* [PROVIDENTIA AVG]. Providence standing left, leaning on column and pointing to globe on ground, in field. [s c.]

(Cohen,<sup>2</sup> ii. p. 207, No. 1203). Found by Mr Laidlaw in 1886.  
Site unknown.<sup>1</sup>

We also discovered on the site a halfpenny of George III., and a penny of the same reign bearing the stamp YOUNG VS, which had probably been used as a token. The interpretation of the two last letters is uncertain.

The historical importance of the coins will be discussed below. Here we shall only note that six of the thirteen were minted before the year 84 A.D.—a fact which suggests that the first-century occupation of the site must have been of considerable duration. As we saw above, the evidence of the pottery points to the same conclusion.

## VI. THE SMALLER OBJECTS.

The objects found at Cappuck, other than the coins and pottery, are of secondary importance. The more interesting of them are represented on fig. 11.

<sup>1</sup> All these coins except two were most kindly interpreted for us by Dr Macdonald.



(1) A brooch of bronze of a well-known late second-century type (the so-called "knee fibulæ"), similar to those represented in Curle, *op. cit.*, pl. lxxxvii., Nos. 28-32.<sup>1</sup> The spiral spring survives, and also the pin-catch. This brooch was found in the pit within the headquarters building along with Antonine pottery, and helps to prove the reconstruction of the building in Antonine times. (Fig. 11, No. 1.)

(2) A penannular brooch of bronze, similar to those represented in Curle, *op. cit.*, pl. lxxxviii. This type of brooch was in use for a long period, and is of no use for dating purposes. The Cappuck specimen was found in 1886. (Fig. 11, No. 2.)

(3) A bronze phalera with one loop complete and traces of two others. The latter were probably used for fastening the ornament to the harness, while from the former a pendant would be suspended. The object was found just within the eastern rampart. (Fig. 11, No. 3.)

(4) A similar bronze object was found in 1886. It is a circular disc, convex in the centre, and with a hole in the middle, through which a stud must have been passed. There were no traces of loops upon it. (Fig. 11, No. 4.)

(5) A bronze armband  $2\frac{1}{4}$  inches in diameter. Found in 1886. (Fig. 11, No. 5.)

(6) Two blue melon-shaped beads. (Fig. 11, No. 6.) Cf. Curle, *op. cit.*, pl. xci.

(7) An iron object  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in length, shaped rather like an anchor. It may have been placed at the top of a fence or gate. Found in the headquarters building. (Fig. 11, No. 7.)

(8) Several spearheads of the usual type were found in 1886, and by ourselves.

We may also note the discovery of a considerable quantity of glass. Most of the fragments—including one long neck—belonged to bottles,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Corbridge Report*, 1910, p. 40.

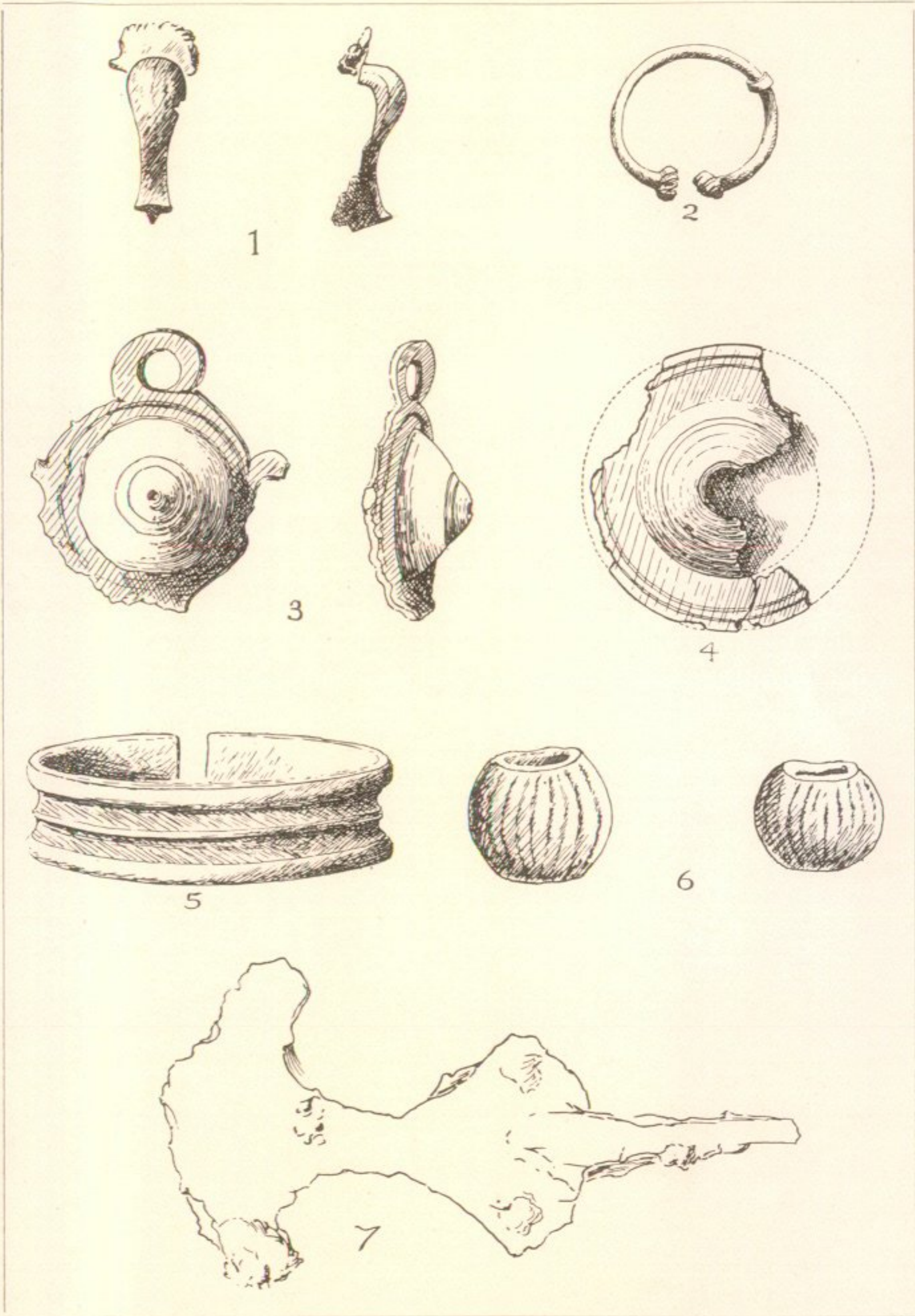


Fig. 11. Smaller objects from Cappuck.

but one or two pieces, rough on one side and smooth on the other, may have been window-glass.

Other finds include a bone counter, two bronze studs, several iron nails, and some fragments of shoe-leather, one of them a complete sole, but none of these seem to call for reproduction or comment.

The only fragment of sculptured stone found at Cappuck is reproduced on fig. 12. It was discovered in 1886, and is in the private museum at Monteviot House. The fragment, which measures 1 foot by 8 inches, forms the end portion of a slab set up at Cappuck by the soldiers of the 20th legion. The fact is established by the presence of a figure of a boar, the emblem of this legion, and by traces of the numeral X in the central part of the slab. Above the boar is the pelta-shaped ornament common on Roman tablets, on which a bird is perched, while a lotus bud springs from its side. The central field is flanked by a representation of a standard. This inscription, together with a stone in Jedburgh Abbey which may have come from Cappuck, is discussed in the concluding section of the report.<sup>1</sup>

#### VII. CONCLUSION.

The excavation of the Roman fort at Cappuck on the Oxnam was a natural sequel to the excavation by Mr James Curle of the fort at Newstead on the Tweed. The large amount of evidence which Newstead supplied was skilfully employed by Mr Curle to define the various stages of the Roman occupation of Southern Scotland,<sup>2</sup> and his conclusions were the more interesting as indicating that those stages did not correspond at every point with the history of the frontier between Forth and Clyde. It was desirable that those conclusions should be tested, and this could be done effectively by



<sup>1</sup> The gem here reproduced was picked up in a field adjoining the fort of Cappuck by Mr R. A. Curle. It adhered to a portion of an iron ring, and represents, probably, a satyr carrying a bunch of grapes.

<sup>2</sup> *A Roman Frontier Post*, pp. 340 f.





Fig. 12. Legionary Tablet of Twentieth Legion, found at Cappuck.



the excavation of the fort at Cappuck, since this station must have shared the vicissitudes of the large fort twelve miles to the north of it. As it has turned out, excavation has supplied a fair amount of material to confirm Mr Curle's conclusions, although the area of the fort was too small to provide a large number of datable objects, and the foundations had been so much disturbed that structural evidences were often obscured.<sup>1</sup>

The first question concerns Agricola. Was this the way he led his troops north in 80 A.D., and was it therefore he who first laid out the Roman road over Cheviot which in the Middle Ages came to be known as Dere Street? Traces of Agricola were found at Corbridge,<sup>2</sup> where this road crosses the Tyne, and again at Newstead,<sup>3</sup> some sixty miles further north on the same road. But this was not quite conclusive. Immediately before advancing into Scotland, Agricola seems to have been operating in the west by Carlisle, and it may have been from the west that he reached Newstead. "On this assumption," says Mr Curle,<sup>4</sup> "he might have followed the valley of the Liddell and the modern line of the North British Railway to Melrose. Another possible route was that of the ancient road known as the Wheel Causeway, which was used in the Middle Ages as a means of communication between Liddesdale and Jedburgh." To prove that Agricola followed the line of Dere Street, it was necessary to find traces of him at some point on the road south of Newstead, such as Chew Green or Pennymuir or Cappuck.

It may be regarded as certain that the fort at Cappuck dates from Agricola's time. Of structural evidence on this point there was, indeed, extremely little. The site showed no trace of two separate forts, an earlier and a later, laid out independently of each other; the earlier ditches must have been cleaned out and again employed when the fort was reoccupied in the Antonine period. Nor did the

<sup>1</sup> See p. 458.

<sup>3</sup> *A Roman Frontier Post*, p. 7, etc.

<sup>2</sup> *Corbridge Report*, 1910, p. 55.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

ditches show any trace of those defensive devices such as distinguish the Agricolan fort at Bar Hill,<sup>1</sup> and the two earliest periods at Newstead.<sup>2</sup> The interior buildings did supply a little evidence of an early occupation, but very little. All the buildings whose foundations could still be traced appeared to belong to the Antonine period, with the single exception of the hypocaust, which was differently constructed and contained a fragment of first-century pottery.<sup>3</sup> The other buildings of this period, having been of wood, can have left hardly any trace behind them, although two post-holes found in the south-west corner of the fort may have represented one of the wooden structures erected by Agricola's troops. Apart from these post-holes and the hypocaust, the only structural indication of a pre-Antonine occupation was the small pit over which the west wall of the granary had been carried.<sup>4</sup> It suggested that the site had been occupied before the building of the granary, and presumably the granary would be one of the first buildings erected by the troops of Lollius Urbicus.

But it is rather the evidence of the datable objects found on the site which shows that the fort was Agricolan in origin. Thirteen decipherable coins<sup>5</sup> were found, and of these six are of Flavian date. Two of them are denarii of Vespasian, and it is impossible that these coins should not have reached Scotland till the Antonine period. Besides the two denarii of Vespasian and an early denarius (83 A.D.) of Domitian, there are two "first brasses" of Vespasian and one of Titus; and again it is improbable that these bronze pieces should still have formed part of the ordinary currency so late as the middle of the second century. The pottery<sup>6</sup> confirms the evidence of the coins. Of the datable fragments of "Samian" ware, a considerable proportion belongs to the first century.

There can be little doubt, then, that the site was occupied by the

<sup>1</sup> Macdonald, *The Roman Wall in Scotland*, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> *A Roman Frontier Post*, pp. 24-25 and 31.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 463.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 458.

<sup>5</sup> See p. 470 f.

<sup>6</sup> See pp. 465-470.

troops of Agricola. How long did this occupation last? Excavation at Bar Hill, Castlecary, and Rough Castle showed that the frontier between Forth and Clyde could not have been held after Agricola was recalled in 85 A.D.,<sup>1</sup> but the evidence of Newstead seemed to Mr Curle to prove that Agricola's strongholds further south were not abandoned so soon.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, Dr George Macdonald concluded<sup>3</sup> from the coin-finds at Newstead that the fort continued to be occupied until well into the reign of Trajan, perhaps until the end of it; so that the Roman troops, as Professor Haverfield has said,<sup>4</sup> appear to have held a line along the river Tweed for more than a generation after withdrawing from Agricola's forts between Forth and Clyde. The evidence supplied by Cappuck goes a little way to confirm this conclusion. For one thing, it is perhaps improbable that a coin minted so late as 83 should have reached Scotland and been lost there before Agricola's recall in 85. Again, the proportion of first-century coins to the whole number found on the site corresponds very closely with the results obtained at Newstead. At Newstead 56 per cent. of the denarii are pre-Trajanic, at Cappuck 50 per cent.; while in the case of the other coins the proportions are 49 per cent. at Newstead and 43 per cent. at Cappuck. No doubt it is dangerous to argue from proportions when the number of objects is small, but even in bulk the early finds at Cappuck become quite impressive when contrasted with the all but complete absence of early finds along the frontier between Forth and Clyde. At Bar Hill, Castlecary, and Rough Castle the evidences of Agricolan occupation are almost entirely structural.<sup>5</sup> Not a single copper piece earlier than Trajan has been found and recorded along the whole *limes*,<sup>6</sup> nor has any first-century pottery turned up except

<sup>1</sup> *The Roman Wall in Scotland*, pp. 385 f.

<sup>2</sup> *A Roman Frontier Post*, pp. 344 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 400 f.

<sup>4</sup> *The Edinburgh Review*, 1911.

<sup>5</sup> *The Roman Wall in Scotland*, p. 385, etc.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 378.

one fragment found at Castlecary in 1841.<sup>1</sup> This contrast in respect of early finds between Cappuck and the Agricolan forts between Forth and Clyde certainly suggests the conclusion that Cappuck, like Newstead, was occupied for some time after Agricola's troops withdrew from the more northerly frontier.

With the exceptions already noted (p. 479), all the structural remains at Cappuck seemed to date from an Antonine occupation. The slab found in 1886 with the figure of a boar upon it<sup>2</sup> shows that men of the 20th legion had a hand in erecting or repairing the interior buildings; at Newstead also the traces which the 20th left behind it are of the second century.<sup>3</sup> The bulk of the datable objects found on the site also belongs to the same period. The seven second-century coins range from a "first brass" of Trajan to a denarius of the elder Faustina, while the pottery includes fragments of both the earlier and later Antonine types. One may conclude, then, that the fort was reoccupied from about 140 A.D., when Lollius Urbicus advanced into Scotland, until the Roman troops again withdrew across the Cheviots. There is nothing in the evidence of either coins or pottery to contradict the now accepted view that this withdrawal took place about the beginning of the reign of Commodus.

Excavation along the line of the Antonine *limes* between Forth and Clyde suggested that the Roman troops had more than once lost, for a moment, their hold upon this frontier,<sup>4</sup> and Mr Curle has shown that the fort at Newstead passed through similar vicissitudes during the latter half of the second century.<sup>5</sup> These disasters have been referred to the widespread Brigantian disturbances about 155 and 162, which are known from other evidences, both literary and epigraphic.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 374. It is true that at Camelon, a little to the north of the Antonine *limes*, first-century pottery was found; but the fort at Camelon was an important post on the Agricolan route to the north.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 477.

<sup>3</sup> *A Roman Frontier Post*, pp. 72 f.

<sup>4</sup> *The Roman Wall in Scotland*, pp. 396 f.

<sup>5</sup> *A Roman Frontier Post*, pp. 347-349.



At Cappuck also there were clear signs of rebuilding to suggest a break or breaks in the Antonine occupation. A pit in the "principia" had been filled up and a drain carried over it. Pottery of a second-century type was found in the pit, which must therefore have been open during part of the Antonine period. As the drain was carried out under the north wall of the principia, that wall must have been destroyed and then rebuilt from the foundation at some point in the Antonine occupation. It was probably when this considerable rebuilding took place that the small square building referred to on p. 461 was incorporated with the principia. There were further signs of rebuilding in the south-west corner of the fort. The remains were much confused, but it seemed clear that all the stonework could not have belonged to the same period. Two distinct levels were represented, and at the lower there were considerable traces of burning. It is true that this was in the neighbourhood of the ovens, but the traces of fire were too widespread to be explained by them. At some time this part of the fort must have been burned down, and new structures hastily erected without the old foundations being cleared away. And, finally, the east rampart must have been at some time destroyed, and then rebuilt in a strengthened form. Traces of burning were found under the cobbling upon which it rested.<sup>1</sup> Again, two pits, which at one time had been immediately behind it, had been filled in, and the rampart widened and carried over them.<sup>2</sup> At least one of these pits must have been open during the earlier Antonine period, because it contained a coin of Trajan and some pottery which Mr Curle assigns to "the beginning of the Antonine advance." All this seems to argue just such vicissitudes as befell the fort at Newstead and those along the Antonine Vallum.

So much for the history of the fort. A word in conclusion about the garrison. As we have said (p. 481), men of the 20th legion were engaged for a time at Cappuck erecting or repairing the interior

<sup>1</sup> See p. 454.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 453-4.

buildings, but no evidence turned up during excavation to show what troops composed the permanent garrison of the fort. Built into the tower stair of Jedburgh Abbey is an altar-piece with this inscription :—<sup>1</sup>

I · O · M · VE[XI]  
 LLATIO · RETO  
 RVM · GAESA  
 Q · C · A · IVL  
 SEVER · TRIB

That is : “ To Juppiter Best and Greatest a detachment of Rætian spearmen, in charge of Julius Severus,<sup>2</sup> tribune (dedicated this altar).” The altar must have come from some fort near Jedburgh, and most probably from Cappuck ; so that it is possible that the fort may have been garrisoned by this detachment of Rætians. These troops were recruited from Alpine tribes, and named Gæsati from the *gæsum* or native spear with which they were armed.<sup>3</sup> They composed one of those corps of irregulars (*numeri*) which, unlike the regular auxiliary cohorts, preserved something of their native character. Inscriptions record the presence of Ræti Gæsati or Gæsati Ræti in Mauritania in the second century,<sup>4</sup> and elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> After the abandonment of Scotland, the Ræti Gæsati serving in Britain are found south of Cheviot at Risingham (Habitancum), where, along with other irregulars, they were associated with the First Cohort of Vangiones in the reign of Caracalla.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Eph. Epig.*, vii. 1092. Prof. Haverfield considers this inscription to be fairly certainly second-century at earliest.

<sup>2</sup> Or Severinus. *C.I.L.* vii. 984 records the presence of a tribune Julius Severinus, at Risingham (Habitancum), with which the Ræti Gæsati had some connection. See *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> Mommsen, *Hermes*, xxii. p. 549 ; Cagnat, *L'Armée romaine d'Afrique*, p. 308.

<sup>4</sup> *C.I.L.*, viii. 2728.

<sup>5</sup> See Mommsen in *Hermes*, xxii. (*Gesarum. Schriften*, iii.).

<sup>6</sup> *C.I.L.*, vii. 1002.