

ART. VI.—*The Roman site at Burrow in Lonsdale.* By
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Partly read on the site, June 19th, 1946.

THE Roman site now to be described¹ lies just outside our district proper, across the Lune in that remote corner of Lancashire for which Kirkby Lonsdale in Westmorland rather than Lancaster is the natural centre. It has been known variously as Borow, Over Burrow, Burrow upon Lewin, Overborough and Overburrow; Burrow Hall, in the grounds of which most of its remains are to be sought, and the modern village of Burrow, justify the adoption of the simple form of the name in the title of the present study. Some might, indeed, have preferred to substitute a Roman name for the somewhat colourless English one; but its Roman name is not yet established beyond all question. If the current interpretation of the tenth Antonine Iter is correct, it will be *Calacum* or *Galacum* (as Camden originally conjectured, taking the neighbouring Leck beck to retain the second syllable of the Roman name), but the sequel will show that that interpretation presents one or two difficulties when one considers the place of Burrow in the Roman road-system. Camden's second thoughts, later hotly championed by the "Historian of Overborough," Richard Rauthmell, equated it with *Bremetennacum* (however manuscripts or antiquaries have spelt the name), now firmly established

¹ The following abbreviations are employed

CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.</i>
CW	I, 2	These <i>Transactions</i> , old and new series.
EE	<i>Ephemeris Epigraphica.</i>
ILS	Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae.</i>
JRS		<i>Journal of Roman Studies.</i>

as Ribchester, and that error has persisted too long for me to wish to risk perpetuating what may be another one.

I have endeavoured, in the present paper, to collect and set forth all the evidence for the character and history of the Roman site at Burrow. I cannot claim that the results are impressive; but at least they may form a basis for the further study of the Roman lines of communication from Chester and York to the north-west of England, and of the Lonsdale district in particular, which is long overdue. Burrow is a key site, in the sheltered dale where the Roman trunk roads from Chester to Carlisle, Lancaster to Catterick and York to the Lake District converged and crossed; a fort there must, as Rauthmell realised two hundred years ago, have had exceptional strategic importance. The existence of a fort, however, still remains to be proved by excavation, and the date of its foundation, and its later vicissitudes, will remain matters for mere conjecture until excavation can be carried out. Such excavation need be neither extensive nor costly; and it is greatly to be hoped that an opportunity may arise, before long, of doing sufficient digging to determine the existence and position of the fort, and the periods of its occupation.

A. PREVIOUS ACCOUNTS.

The very existence of a Roman site at Burrow would hardly have been guessed, but for the evidence of early writers. Such as it is, I summarize that evidence in the following paragraphs.

The earliest extant description is that by Leland, official antiquary to Henry VIII; I quote from the third edition (Oxford, 1769), of his *Itinerary*:²

“*Borow* now a *Vyllage*, set in *Lunesdale* a vi. Myles beneth the Foote of *Dentdale*, hath beene by likelyhod sum notable Town. The Plough menne find there yn

² Vol. VII, p. 51.

ering *lapides quadratos*, and many other straung thinges: and this Place is much spoken of of the Inhabitants there."

One wishes that he had been more explicit about those other strange things; but as to the inhabitants' talk, some of that is perhaps reflected in our next description, by the great Elizabethan antiquary William Camden. Camden visited Lonsdale soon after 1580, and printed the following note in the first edition of his *Britannia* (London, 1586):³

"Quam primum Lancastrenses inviserit, *Laccus* amniculus ab ortu aquas illi committit suas. quo in loco nunc *Over Burrow* est, pertenuis sane rusticorum viculus, quem urbem magnam fuisse, amplosque campos inter *Laccum & Lonum* occupasse, & ad extrema deditionis, fame nihil non experta, compulsam nobis memorarunt incolae, quod a maioribus quasi per manus traditum acceperunt. et variis certe priscae vetustatis monumentis, insculptis lapidibus, tessellatis pavimentis, Rom. nummis, & nomine hoc novo quod nobis *Burgum* denotat, locus iste antiquitatem suam asserit."⁴

Camden continued with a note on the Roman name of the site, putting forward the suggestion that it was the *Galacum* of the Tenth Iter, and that the Leck Beck (which he spelt Lacc) retained the second syllable of the name); in a later edition⁵ he abandoned that identification, preferring to equate Burrow with *Bremetennacum*

³ P. 433.

⁴ Philemon Holland's English version (London, 1610, p. 753) is as follows: "As soon as *Lune* is entred into Lancashire, *Lacc*, a little brooke from out of the East joyneth his stream with it. In which place now standeth *Over-Burrow*, a verie small village of husbandmen; which, as the inhabitants enformed mee, had beene sometimes a great City and tooke up all those large fields between *Lacce* and *Lone*, and after it had suffered all miseries, that follow famine, was driven to composition through extremity: This tradition they received from their ancestours delivered as it were from hand to hand unto them. And in very truth by divers and sundry monuments exceeding ancient, by engraven stones, pavements of square checker worke, peeces of Roman coine, and by this new name *Borrow*, which with us signifieth a *Burgh*, that place should seeme to bee of great antiquity."

⁵ London, 1600, p. 680.

(as the name should really be spelt), but he never altered his description of the site itself in any of his later editions.⁶ Bishop Gibson's two editions of the *Britannia*⁷ added nothing fresh, though each offered a new English version of Camden's Latin; and Gibson's contemporaries Gale⁸ and Horsley⁹ were content to paraphrase or quote from Camden, but neither of them visited Lonsdale. It was left to two minor local antiquaries to take up Camden's torch.

Thomas Machell the antiquary, rector of Kirkby Thore, died in 1698, leaving behind him a mass of MSS. collected for a proposed history of Cumberland and Westmorland; and among those MSS. R. S. Ferguson, a former President of this Society, came across descriptions of two inscribed stones from Burrow seen by Machell in Tunstall, and another found in Kirkby Lonsdale *circa* 1684, and seen by him there at some unspecified date thereafter. Machell then, visited Lonsdale on the look-out for Roman antiquities, but I do not know if he ever wrote a description of Burrow; I have not had an opportunity of looking through his MSS., though there are many reasons for thinking that they would repay a fresh examination.¹⁰ It was almost half a century after Machell's death before a new account appeared.

It is precisely two hundred years since the publication of *Antiquitates Bremetonacenses: or, The Roman Antiquities of Overborough*.¹¹ Its author, Richard Rauthmell, did not live to see his book in print, for he died in 1743, three years before it was published by his friend and

⁶ 2nd, 1590, p. 619; 3rd, 1594, pp. 585/6; 4th, 1600, p. 680; 5th, 1607, p. 617.

⁷ London, 1695, p. 794; 1722, vol. II, p. 976.

⁸ *Antonini Itinerarium Britanniarum*, London, 1709, p. 119.

⁹ *Britannia Romana*, London, 1732, p. 454.

¹⁰ For Machell's versions of the Tunstall and Kirkby Lonsdale stones, see pp. 137-9 below. His MSS. are deposited in the Dean and Chapter Library in Carlisle.

¹¹ London, 1746: pp. xv + 111 and five plates.

patron, Robert Fenwick, M.P., of Burrow Hall.¹² Rauthmell's text was written, for the most part, in the second half of 1738, and completed early in the following year: the preface, a lengthy dedication to Robert Fenwick, is dated "Bolland, March 24, 1738-9." At that time, Burrow Hall was assuming its present appearance, for Mr. Fenwick was devoting a legacy of £500 from his father John Fenwick (d. 1732) "to build a New House here if he continue to live at it,"¹³ and Rauthmell (who was Vicar of Grindleton and Perpetual Curate of Whitewell in Bowland, twenty miles away across the hills to the south) was no doubt led by the discoveries then made to write his monograph. His own words show that he paid several visits there; but internal evidence makes it plain that those visits were confined to Burrow Hall and its immediate policies, for he knows nothing of the stones recorded by Machell, nor of the fine stretch of Roman road which passes three quarters of a mile to the east of the hall; and his discussions of the Roman remains there seem to have been with the Fenwick family but not with their tenants, for he has no word of local traditions or discoveries other than those made by the Fenwicks. His book is entertaining and discursive. It is noteworthy for the first reasoned survey of Agricola's second campaigning season (which he locates in Lancashire, Westmorland and Cumberland, as most writers have done since his day), and for a concise description of the Roman trunk road from Ribchester through his own district of Bowland to the river Wenning (from there on he lost it, expecting it to make for Burrow); but on the Burrow site itself, the proclaimed subject of his treatise, he has almost nothing to say, beyond quoting Camden's account (Leland's had not yet come to light). But he had found an inscribed altar¹⁴ in the wall of a derelict

¹² For an outline of Rauthmell's life, and that of his patron Robert Fenwick, see Appendix, pp. 155-6.

¹³ See CW 2, xxxvi, pp. 11, 17.

¹⁴ No. 1, pp. 135-6 below.

building near by, which he published with a wildly fanciful interpretation of its simple text; and he placed on record one or two other discoveries, a gold ornament found in the garden by Miss Fenwick, and a couple of Roman pots turned up in the course of digging foundations for Robert Fenwick's new building; and that is all. Seldom can so large a book have been made out of so little material. The fairest estimate of Rauthmell is that of Whitaker, the historian of Richmondshire (of whom more presently): "His experience of Roman antiquities was not equal to his zeal, and his imagination often got the better of his judgement."

Rauthmell's book at least served to direct continued attention to Roman Burrow, but the antiquaries of the next half-century were not field-workers, and they were content to follow him in maintaining Camden's identification of it as *Bremetennacum* (however they spelt the name), without visiting it or adding to the tally of its finds. It is not until 1823 that we have further progress to record. In that year Thomas Dunham Whitaker published his *History of Richmondshire*, a tall and richly embellished folio in two volumes, in which several pages¹⁵ are devoted to Burrow and its finds, with the first real description of the site:

"The Leck, or Leck Beck, a rapid and stony torrent coming down from the north, makes a sudden curve to the south, and then towards the west, forming a bold precipitous bank which on those two sides has been the boundary of the station. This, which in later days has been planted and adorned with sloping walks, had evidently been formed by Roman hands into a steep and magnificent rampart . . . In the opposite direction, a sloping lawn, descending towards the Lune, formed the area of the station, of which the exact dimensions cannot now be ascertained. It is however probable

¹⁵ Vol. II, p. 260 f.

that the line of the road from Lancaster to Kirkby Lonsdale Bridge is precisely that of the Roman Iter, and the Roman itinera usually passed through, not beside, their stations. It follows, therefore, that the western boundary of the fortress extended to some distance westward from this road; yet to suppose that it actually stretched to the bank of Lune is to assign a magnitude to Bremetonacae which belonged to none but their great provincial capitals, since from the eastern rampart to the bank of Lune is a distance of at least half a mile. On the north I conceive that the road from Borough-town to the ford of Lune pretty nearly ascertains the remaining limit of this station. The fortress itself must have excluded much of the fertile plain immediately north from the conjunction of the Leck Beck and the Lune, though it may bear a question, whether, though without the walls, these fields may not have been the site of that city, of which tradition spoke with so much uncertainty in the time of Camden and Leland."

Whitaker, then, suggests the distinction between a fort on the Burrow Hall site and an external settlement to the west and south-west of it; that is an important point, to which we shall have to return; but his estimate of the size and shape of the fort is based on premises which cannot be accepted; and he has no new finds to record, despite careful searches for further inscribed or sculptured stones in the surrounding walls and buildings.

Whitaker's *Richmondshire* started something in our district. Within a year of its publication, Arthur Foster of Kirkby Lonsdale published a new edition of Rauthmell's book, omitting its long dedication to Robert Fenwick and substituting for it a formal one to his collateral descendant Thomas, and adding as appendices lengthy extracts from Whitaker's account, and some observations of his own on the course of the Roman road from the Greta as far north

as Casterton. On the fort itself he has nothing more to add, except to record the discovery of what seems to have been a cremation burial below the lawn in front of Burrow Hall, a few years previously; but his description of the road is careful and convincing, and he refers also to indications of another road, leading from the fort towards the Lune and thence, by inference, to Watercrook near Kendal.¹⁶

Almost sixty years later, W. Thompson Watkin put together an account of the site in his *Roman Lancashire*.¹⁷ He quoted Leland, Camden, Rauthmell and Whitaker, and added a brief description of his own:

“The station lay just within the county boundary, about two miles south of Kirkby Lonsdale, in Westmorland, and occupied part of a long ridge of elevated ground between the rivers Lune and Lac; the former, running north and south, protected the western side, and the latter, running east and west, protected the southern side, falling into the Lune some distance beyond the south-west angle of the station, which was thus in the usual position on a *lingula*.”

He has nothing to report about finds made in the previous sixty years, though he is able (through R. S. Ferguson's courtesy) to print versions of the three inscriptions recorded in the Machell MSS., unknown to earlier writers. Watkin's collation of all earlier accounts was painstaking, and will always serve as a starting-point for the study of the site; but for all his preoccupation with the Roman road-system, he does not attempt to put Burrow into perspective as a link in it, nor does he follow up Whitaker's suggestive distinction between fort and external settlement.

¹⁶ Foster's edition (Kirkby Lonsdale, 1824), is a slim octavo, pp. vi. + 138, with frontispiece of Burrow Hall and reproductions of Rauthmell's plates; it is not an exact reprint of the 1746 text, but I have not thought it worth while to make an exhaustive collation of the two.

¹⁷ London, 1883, p. 193 f.

It was not until 1929 that this Society took direct cognisance of Burrow. In that year our late President, R. G. Collingwood, studied the visible remains, publishing the results of his study in the report on the excursion of 12 September in our *Proceedings*¹⁸ and, more briefly, in the *Journal of Roman Studies*.¹⁹ He concluded that the south rampart of the fort had been destroyed by the Leck Beck's erosion of the bank on the summit of which it had stood; he noted traces of the east rampart (or rather, the ditch in front of it) and north-east angle in the park and plantation east of the house, and suggested that the ha-ha in front of the house marks the line of the west ditch.²⁰ He inferred that the fort had originally been about 500 feet long and 300 (or 270)²¹ wide, giving it an area of about three and a half acres. Independently (it seems) of Foster, he drew attention to the road pointing towards Watercrock which can be traced in the meadows beside the Lune, but he did not refer otherwise to the road-system; it was not, indeed, his purpose to attempt a detailed survey of the site and its character on that occasion, but merely to define the area within which it would one day be worth while excavating in order to elucidate the fort itself. Like Rauthmell before him, he did not have occasion to talk to local people apart from the Fenwick family, so that he did not realise that some excavation had in fact been done. That was by Anthony Moorhouse of Kirkby Lonsdale, a member of this Society from 1904 until his death in 1914; Moorhouse himself left no record of his work, but it was finally brought to our notice ten years ago by F. Villy, who had been shown

¹⁸ CW 2, xxx, pp. 216-7.

¹⁹ JRS xx, 1930, pp. 190-1.

²⁰ Collingwood's orientation must be revised, for the ha-ha is on the south side of Burrow Hall; it was therefore the north rampart whose position he inferred from traces of its ditch in the enclosures north of the hall, and the north-west angle—which Anthony Moorhouse, unknown to him, had already found by digging thereabouts.

²¹ So JRS xx, p. 191.

by Moorhouse "where he had found the wall (sc. of the fort) sweeping round the north-west corner, and he had quite a collection of Samian ware obtained in the course of his work."²² The Samian ware cannot now be traced, and the precise position of the north-west angle is no longer known; but employees of the Burrow estate still remember Moorhouse and his digging, and confirm that it was in the plantation and enclosures to north and west of the hall that he made his discoveries.



Fig. 1.—(reduced from Rauthmell, pl. IV, 1).

B. INSCRIPTIONS.

Five inscriptions have been found at Burrow or may be assigned to it with a high degree of probability, but only one of them is now extant, built into the fabric of Tunstall Church. Details follow:

1. CIL vii 290; Rauthmell, pp. 5, 95-98; cf. fig. 1. Built into the wall of a building near Burrow Hall when first seen by Rauthmell; the wall was pulled down "by the interest of Nicholas Fenwick esq." (younger brother of Robert Fenwick), and the altar presented to Rauthmell, in whose possession it was when he wrote his book. It has not been seen since then; but it may still lurk in Rauthmell's own district of Bowland (where, so far as I am aware, no one has sought for it):—

deo san(cto) Contrebi Vatta posu(it)—"Vatta placed (this altar) to the holy god Contrebis." The name Vatta

²² CW 2, xxxvii, p. 49. Cf. also p. 144 below.

is unrecorded elsewhere; he (or she) has the single name of a non-citizen, and in default of any mention of military rank must be taken to be a civilian. There is only one other record of the god, on an inscription from Lancaster (CIL vii 284):—

deo Ialono Contre(bi) sanctissimo Iulius Ianuarius em(eritus) ex decu(rione)—“Julius Januarius, time-expired former decurion” (in this context, one of the sixteen troop-commanders in an *ala quingenaria*, such as we know to have been stationed at Lancaster) “to the most holy god Jalonus Contrebis.” Here the name Contrebis looks to be attached as an epithet to another name which, in its turn, is only recorded once elsewhere, namely at Nîmes, the Roman Nemausus in Gallia Narbonensis (CIL xii 3057 + add. p. 834):—

Ialon(o) et Fort(unae) Son——“To Jalonus and Fortune—” (it is not certain whether *Son—* represents an epithet applied to Fortune, or the beginning of the dedicator’s name).

Rauthmell assigned the Burrow altar to the second century, following Horsley’s rule for dating inscriptions which lack ligatures; the single name of the dedicator is a further pointer to an early date, which may be accepted with confidence. The Lancaster inscription, too, cannot well be later than the second century, since it gives the common *nomen* Julius at full length and not contracted to its first three letters;²³ no evidence is available for the date of the Nîmes fragment.

Contrebis is undoubtedly a Celtic word, matched by Contrebia, the name of the chief town of the Celtiberi in northern Spain, which Holder²⁴ analyses as particle *con-*

²³ Students of Roman Order of Battle should note that Julius Januarius cannot well have served in the *ala Sebosiana*, for it was probably stationed at Binchester in County Durham during the second century; he is more likely to have been a decurion in the *ala Afrorum*, the name of which is probably to be restored on CIL vii 288, also assignable to the second century.

²⁴ *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz, sub voce.*

followed by stem *trebo-* (compare the Welsh *tref*), meaning joint settlement. Now there was in the Roman Army of Britain a cohort from Celtiberia, *cohors I Celtiberorum*²⁵ and it might seem no unduly wild guess to suppose that the god worshipped at Burrow and at Lancaster had been brought to Britain by that regiment, and that he represents the patron deity of the Celtiberians. But Vatta, as we have seen, was presumably a civilian; and if at Lancaster Contrebis was in fact used as an epithet applied to Jalonus, otherwise only attested in Gallia Narbonensis, the Celtiberian connection can hardly stand. It may indeed be that Contrebis was a native British deity

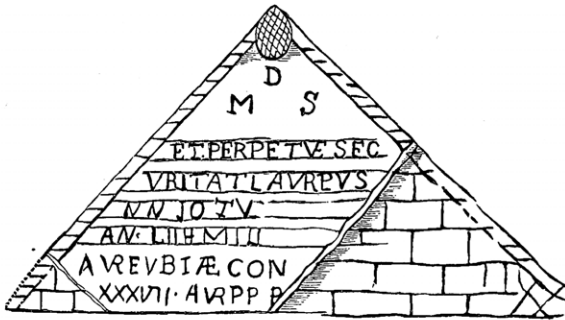


Fig. 2.—(reduced from *Roman Lancashire*, p. 194).

of the Lonsdale district, equated by the decurion at Lancaster with a more romanised god of his native Narbonensis.

2. EE vii 947; Machell MSS., quoted by W. Thompson Watkins, *Roman Lancashire*, p. 194; cf. fig. 2. "At the Vicaridge House in Tunstall are two fragments of Roman Inscriptions, Translated hither by the late Minister, from Burrow upon Lewin in ye said Parish"; never seen by any later writer. Fig. 2 is reproduced from Watkin's woodcut; Machell's reading is too corrupt to admit of certainty, but the following text seems possible:—

²⁵ CIL xvi 51, 69 and 93 for A.D. 105, 122 and 146 respectively.

d(is) m(anibus) s(acrum) et perpetu(a)e securitati Aur(eli) Pus[i]nni civ[is] . . . qui vixit] an(nis) LIIII m(ensibus) III [d(iebus) . . . et] Aur(eliae) Eubiae con[iugis eius quae vixit an(nis)] XXXVII, Aur(elius) Pr . . . “ Sacred to the divine shades and enduring rest of Aurelius Pusinnus, citizen of . . . , who lived 54 years 3 months . . . days, and of his wife Aurelia Eubia, who lived 37 years. Aurelius Pr . . . (their son?, set this up).” The formula *d. m. s.*, markedly less common than *d. m.* as far as Britain is concerned, is dominant in Africa, but occurs sporadically throughout the Empire, so that one cannot base any conclusion on its appearance here; the association of *perpetua securitas* is far rarer—Dessau only gives three instances of it—²⁶, and its significance not beyond question: I take it to embody the hope that the burial will never be disturbed.

The inscription is the tombstone of a married couple, set up no doubt by their son or daughter; all have the *nomen* Aurelius, abbreviated to its first three letters, which is common on military inscriptions from the time of Marcus Aurelius, and on civilian ones from that of Caracalla onwards. If my interpretation of Machell’s drawing is correct, the husband was a civilian (no military rank being mentioned, but merely the province or city from which he came); and the stone may be assigned to the middle or later part of the third century.

3. EE vii 948; Machell MSS. as for no. 2; Watkin, p. 195 with woodcut; not seen since Machell’s time:—

d(is) m(anibus) s(acrum)—“ Sacred to the divine shades—.” This is the head of another tombstone, no doubt of the same general period as no. 2 above.

4. EE vii 946; Machell MSS., quoted by Watkin, p. 196; cf. fig. 3. “ An altar (above a yard high) digg’d up at Kirkby in Loansdale *circa* An 1684, in a Bank by the river Leun called Abbat’s Brow adjoining the north

²⁶ ILS 2308 (Pannonia), 7579 (Italy) and 8027a (Raetia).

east side of ye churchyard and now lyeing in the High Street for a seat at Widdow Morris' doore. One side of the altar (which I have supplied) is broke off and lost. The 1st line seemed to be NVMINIBVS, the 4th APOLLINIS, the last VOTVM SOLVIT." No later writer records the altar, here illustrated from Watkin's woodcut; the reading is uncertain, but may have been as follows:—

[*nu*]minib(us) [*Aug*(ustorum)] n(*ostrorum*) et ge[ni]o collegiū [*A*]pollinis [*B*]ellinus v(*otum*) s(*olvit*) l(*ibens*) m(*erito*) — "To our emperors' guardian deities and the genius of the college (of worshippers) of Apollo, Bellinus (or some such name) willingly and deservedly fulfils his vow."



Fig. 3.—(reduced from *Roman Lancashire*, p. 196).

Here, too, the dedicator has the single name of a non-citizen, and makes no mention of military rank; like Vatta and Aurelius Pusinnus he must be regarded as a civilian. The college of Apollo (if that reading is correct) is a community of his worshippers, frequenting the same temple—to the existence of which this altar will testify; such colleges do not appear on military inscriptions before the time of Severus, but in civilian life they occur all at periods. The present inscription is likely to be earlier than the time of Caracalla, since the dedicator is not a

Roman citizen; if I am right in assuming that it contained ligatures which Machell missed, it is likely to be little if at all earlier than the time of Severus.

5. EE ix, 1377; CW 2, xii, p. 431. "At the restoration of Tunstall Church in 1907, Mr. Anthony Moorhouse observed an inscribed Roman stone built into the rubble forming part of the window in the north-eastern corner, and revealed by the stripping of the plaster." Still in Tunstall Church, where I have examined it; my reading differs slightly from Haverfield's in EE *cit.*:—

deo sanc[to] Asclep(i)o [et] Hygiae et [num(inibus)] Aug(ustorum) VMS [. . .] Iul(ius) Satur[ninus . . .]—
 "To the holy god Asclepius and to Hygia and to the emperors' guardian deities . . . Julius Saturninus (fulfils his vow)." The word or words immediately preceding the dedicator's names defeat me; it is to be hoped that Mr. R. P. Wright will be able to produce a fuller reading of the stone in due course.

Asclepius, the patron deity of the medical profession, and Hygia (whom the Romans identified now as his daughter, and now as his wife) normally received such dedications on the successful termination of an illness; the dedicator is sometimes the doctor, but more commonly the patient. Both in the army and in civilian life such dedications are extremely common; Dessau gives more than a dozen instances.²⁷ The ligatures show that the inscription is not an early one; it should perhaps be dated somewhere in the first half of the third century. Julii Saturnini were three a penny in the Roman world (Dessau includes seven in his index of names²⁸), so that there is no reason to identify the dedicator of the Tunstall stone with the tribune of *coh. I Aelia Dacorum* at Birdoswald on Hadrian's Wall,²⁹ or to assume that he held military rank;

²⁷ ILS 2194, 3842, 3844 f., 6048, 7146, 7149, 7213, 9259.

²⁸ ILS iii, p. 83.

²⁹ CIL vii 812, built into the fabric of Lanercost Priory, whither it was doubtless brought from Birdoswald.

but he was presumably reasonably well to do, since he was able to pay his doctor and still have enough money left over to afford an altar.

It is remarkable that none of the foregoing inscriptions can be shown to have any connection with military life. Vatta, Aurelius Pusinnus and his family, Bellinus and Julius Saturninus may well have been civilians every one of them; and their epigraphic records attest the beliefs of Roman Burrow rather than its history. Contrebis seems on the whole to be best taken as a local Romano-British god; there is no knowing whether the Apollo worshipped by Bellinus and his fellow-votaries was the Greco-Roman deity or a Celtic one equated with him; but Asclepius and Hygia are to be met with wherever doctors trained in the good Greek tradition practised, and the dedication to them suggests that Roman Burrow was important enough to support a doctor (though he may, of course, have been medical officer in the cohort stationed there). There is nothing certain to be learnt from the names of the people; Vatta, as we have seen above, occurs nowhere else; Pusinnus seems indeterminate³⁰ and Eubia (if that reading is correct) is a Greek name such as might be given to a slave from any part of the Roman Empire—she was perhaps his freedwoman as well as his wife; Bellinus is indeterminate but possibly Celtic.³¹

C. OTHER FINDS.

Apart from the inscriptions, Burrow and the surrounding district have produced remarkably little Roman material still available for record. I list what there is by categories:

³⁰ Pusinna occurs on an inscription from milecastle 42 (CIL vii 692), apparently as the wife of one Dagualdus, soldier of *coh. I Pannoniorum* (Dagualdus seems to be a German name, cf. Bang, *Die Germanen im römischen Dienst*, p. 46). Cf. also Titullinia Pusilla, *ci(vi)s Raeta*, on an inscription from Netherby (CIL vii 972).

³¹ The name recurs, as Watkin noted, on an inscription from County Durham (CIL vii 430 + EE ix, p. 569—from Piercebridge and not, as Watkin thought, from Binchester).

1. *Sculptured stones.* Camden's *in sculptis lapidibus* must mean sculptured stones (as Philemon Holland took it to mean) rather than inscriptions (as Rauthmell thought, following Gibson's translation);³² I only know of two, namely the fine sculptured capital still preserved in the garden of Burrow Hall,³³ and the fragment of an elaborate door- or window-head still built into the wall of a barn, belonging to High Burrow farm, some twenty yards north of the Burrow Hall entrance gate.³⁴ The latter stone was recorded and illustrated (shockingly badly) by Rauthmell;³⁵ the capital was found subsequent to his time but before 1824, when it was described by Foster, according to whom it was "said to have been dug up at the time the garden-ground was trenched": it does not appear which part of the garden is meant.³⁶

2. *Metal objects.* Rauthmell described and illustrated³⁷ a gold *bullā* or amulet, "found in the fortress by Miss Fenwick"; this jewel remained in the Fenwick family until very recently,³⁸ but its present whereabouts cannot be traced. Watkin refers to a *bullā*, likewise of gold but of a rather different type, found some two miles from the Roman fort at Manchester,³⁹ and points out that

³² 1695, p. 794: "inscriptions upon stones" and 1722, vol. ii, p. 976: "Inscriptions." Rauthmell was puzzled why Camden should mention inscriptions but give no readings of them, and was driven to conclude that the stones must have been sent off by sea, on their way to join the Cotton collection in the south of England, and the ship that carried them lost (pp. 6-9) "to the great grief of all *British* antiquaries, and the irretrievable loss of *British* antiquities." This story still persists locally; Rauthmell's book is still read.

³³ Illustrated in CW 2, xxx, facing p. 216, from a photograph by R. G. Collingwood. The reliefs merit further study; the capital must come from a temple or shrine—there is no place for it inside a Roman fort.

³⁴ Watkin, *Roman Lancashire*, p. 199, took this stone to be part of an ansate tablet, but the triangular recess which he interpreted as part of the *ansa* is certainly secondary cutting, whether Roman or later I cannot say.

³⁵ P. 111 and pl. V, fig. 15; cf. 1824 edition, p. 137.

³⁶ 1824 edition, p. 137.

³⁷ P. 99 and pl. V, fig. 6; cf. *Roman Lancashire*, p. 198.

³⁸ It was exhibited to this Society by the late Mrs. Fenwick at Burrow Hall on 12 September, 1929.

³⁹ *Roman Lancashire*, p. 121.

no other instances have been recorded in Britain, which seems still to be true. The only other metal object conceivably associated with Burrow is a bronze bull's head of late Celtic type, probably the escutcheon of a second-century bowl; this is thought locally to have been found at Burrow by Anthony Moorhouse, in the possession of whose daughter and son-in-law it still is—but it seems more likely that it was dug up in the small hut-settlement west of Kirkby Lonsdale (see fig. 4), a mile or two to the west-north-west.⁴⁰

3. *Coins.* Camden, as we have seen, speaks of Roman coins having been found at Burrow, but none have been recorded since his time; Rauthmell's coin of Vespasian *cos VIII* was found at Ribchester and not at Burrow (as some later writers have supposed);⁴¹ and the only coin from the surrounding district of which I know is a *foliis* of Galerius (A.D. 296-305) found "in the bank of the Lune near *Kirkby Lonsdale*."⁴² Anthony Moorhouse certainly found pottery in the course of his digging at Burrow, but there is no record of him finding any coins; Rauthmell would surely have placed on record any that came to light during Robert Fenwick's building operations at Burrow, and the fact that he has no such record is the best possible argument against R. G. Collingwood's hypothesis⁴³ that those operations involved the drastic levelling of the hill-top to provide a level site for Burrow Hall, and thus the destruction of the Roman fort.

4. *Pottery.* Rauthmell published two vessels, a "patera" and a "praefericulum," found "in the fortress" and "deep in digging the cellars of Mr *Fenwick's* house" respectively; his illustrations are no better than

⁴⁰ See R.C.H.M. *Westmorland*, 1936, pp. xxxiv (with excellent drawings) and 140; *Antiquaries Journal*, xv, 1935, p. 79; CW 2, xlv, pp. 192-3 (describing some excavation done in 1945); CW 1, vii, pp. 111-113 (the first published account of the site).

⁴¹ Pp. 55, 110; cf. pl. V, fig. 14.

⁴² JRS xviii, 1928, p. 194, *Roman Britain in 1927*.

⁴³ CW 2, xxx, p. 216.

the normal eighteenth-century standard and do not allow one to draw any conclusions as to the date of the vessels which they represent.⁴⁴ Foster recorded one further find, from below "the lawn in front of Burrow Hall:" namely, "an earthen vessel, resembling the Roman funeral urn, and containing (as our intelligent informant believes) human ashes."⁴⁵ If it was in fact, as this account suggests, a cremation burial, we must infer that the lawn in front of Burrow Hall is outside the perimeter of the Roman fort, within which no burial of any kind would be permitted. Finally, Anthony Moorhouse, as we have seen,⁴⁶ had "quite a collection of Samian ware obtained in the course of his work" at Burrow Hall; that should demonstrate occupation during the first or second centuries rather than later, but as the Moorhouse collection has vanished, it will be necessary to await further digging at Burrow before pottery can assist in the elucidation of its history.

D. THE SITE AND ITS SETTING.

Three Roman routes seem to have passed through Lonsdale (fig. 4). The first and best known is the road from Ribchester near Preston, discovered and placed on record by Rauthmell, which passes three quarters of a mile east of Burrow Hall on its way to Low Borrow Bridge, Brougham, Old Penrith and Carlisle; Percival Ross showed reason⁴⁷ for supposing that this road was earlier than the Stainmore road from Catterick via Scotch Corner to Carlisle, itself demonstrably a very early Roman line of advance; and it must certainly have been one of the first

⁴⁴ Pp. 101-2 and pl. V, figs. 7 and 8.

⁴⁵ 1824 edition, p. 132, footnote.

⁴⁶ P. 135 above. Some Roman pottery found at Burrow by Anthony Moorhouse was exhibited at the Society's meeting in September, 1904 (CW 2, v, p. 293), but was not further particularised in our *Proceedings*.

⁴⁷ CW 2, xx, pp. 1-15; for the course of this road southwards from Burrow cf. Ross, *Bradford Hist. and Antiq. Soc. Journal* VI, 1916, p. 243 (a workmanlike study) and W. Harrison, "The Roman Road between Ribchester and Overborough," in *Trans. Lancs. and Cheshire Antiq. Soc.*, xxxi, 1914, pp. 69-87.

of the trunk routes opened up during the Flavian campaigns in the north of Britain; Ribchester to south and Carlisle to north have produced Flavian pottery in plenty, sufficient in the case of Carlisle to suggest that its founder was Petillius Cerialis rather than Julius Agricola.⁴⁸ The second route, the course of which through Lonsdale itself remains to be recovered, runs from Lancaster towards

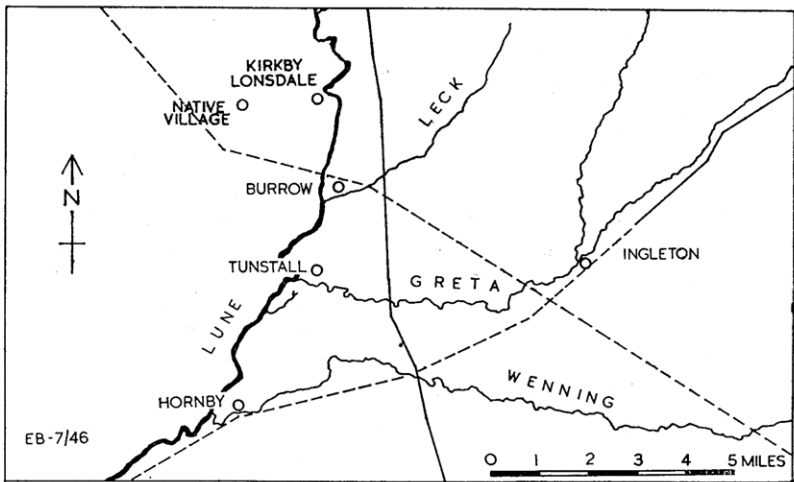


Fig. 4.—Roman routes through Lonsdale.

Hornby, and from the neighbourhood of Ingleton to Bainbridge in Wensleydale, no doubt continuing thence towards Catterick or thereabouts; Lancaster has produced a fragmentary Trajanic inscription,⁴⁹ and from Caton near by comes a Hadrianic milestone,⁵⁰ showing that this route was then in use; both Lancaster and Bainbridge have

⁴⁸ Cf. J. P. Bushe-Fox, "The use of Samian pottery in dating the early Roman occupation of the North of Britain," *Archaeologia*, lxiv, 1913, pp. 295-314; Bushe-Fox's conclusions about Carlisle were questioned, but without seriously weakening them, by Haverfield, CW 2, xvii, pp. 235-8.

⁴⁹ EE vii 943.

⁵⁰ CIL vii 1175 + EE ix, p. 637; the stone was not set up before A.D. 128, since Hadrian is given the title *p(ater) p(atriciae)*.

produced Flavian pottery, so that the road might well have been laid out a generation or more before Hadrian's time. As far as one can judge from the known stretches, this second route must have crossed the Ribchester-Brougham road between the Greta and the Wenning,⁵¹ four or five miles south of Burrow. The third road runs from Ilkley past Long Preston towards Ingleton, as if to cross the Ribchester-Brougham road within a mile or so of Burrow, to pass close by Burrow itself and to continue west and then north-west to Watercrock, Ambleside, Hardknot and Ravenglass;⁵² Flavian occupation is attested at Ilkley, Watercrock and Ambleside at least.

Reference to the sketch-map, fig. 4, will show that the position of Burrow in relation to the foregoing three Roman roads is an odd one; it ignores each of the three road-junctions, and is placed merely so as to command the crossing of the Lune on the third and (as far as can be judged) least important of the three roads. Such a situation invites speculation, and I find it difficult to see why there has hitherto been no response to the invitation; for the Roman occupation of Lonsdale cannot begin to be understood while the position of its principal Roman site remains unexplained. But by the same token, it is hardly likely that Burrow was the only Roman site in the district. There must surely have been, at least in the Flavian period, a fort on the main north road, perhaps at the junction with the Lancaster-Bainbridge road somewhere close to the Wenning (cf. fig. 4); that would still make a

⁵¹ Watkin, *Roman Lancashire*, p. 84, suggested that the road from Lancaster into Yorkshire crossed the trunk road to the north at Ivah, upwards of three miles south of the Wenning; but the evidence he adduces is weak, and such a course seems impossible, to judge by the map.

⁵² Cf. *Roman Lancashire*, p. 84; CW 1, vii, p. 111; F. Villy, "A Roman road north-west from Overborough", CW 2, xxxvii, p. 49 f. I have followed much of Villy's line myself in the course of a rapid reconnaissance of the Burrow district and think it sufficiently suggestive of Roman origin to merit excavation at two or three selected points; the native village, already referred to (p. 143) lies close by (cf. fig. 4).

long day's march over the hills from Ribchester, something like twenty-two miles from the Wenning, and a more reasonable stage northwards to Low Borrow Bridge, the next known fort site on this road. It is for consideration, too, whether there may not have been at least a small post at the crossing of the second and third roads near Ingleton (fig. 4). But further speculation on likely sites is premature—the outstanding need, in the elucidation of Lonsdale in Roman times, is methodical field-work, such as can only be done in days of continued rationing by someone resident in the district. Air photographs, if they can only be obtained, should do something to assist the field-worker, whose first concern should be to clarify the still obscure details of the road-system, and to identify such occupation-sites as existed in relation to that system. One or two occupation-sites are already known: Hornby has produced a certain amount of Roman material,⁵³ though insufficient to indicate the nature of the occupation there; there is the native village between Kirkby Lonsdale and Hutton Roof, a bronze from which has been referred to above;⁵⁴ and there is the hill-fort on Ingleborough behind Ingleton, the bold massif of which closes the eastern skyline to the observer standing on the Burrow Hall site.

That site itself deserves a fresh description. Burrow Hall stands on a ridge running almost due north and south, the east side of which falls steeply to a very small beck (such as in Northumberland would be called a sike at best), and the west side gently towards the meadows and ploughlands beside the Lune. The beck is nameless—at least, lifelong employees of the Burrow Hall estate assured me that they had never heard it named—; to the

⁵³ Whitaker, *Richmondshire*, 1823, vol. ii, p. 250; Watkin, *Roman Lancashire*, 1883, p. 218.

⁵⁴ CW I, vii, pp. 111-113; R.C.H.M. *Westmorland*, 1936, pp. 139-140; CW 2, xlv, pp. 192-193.

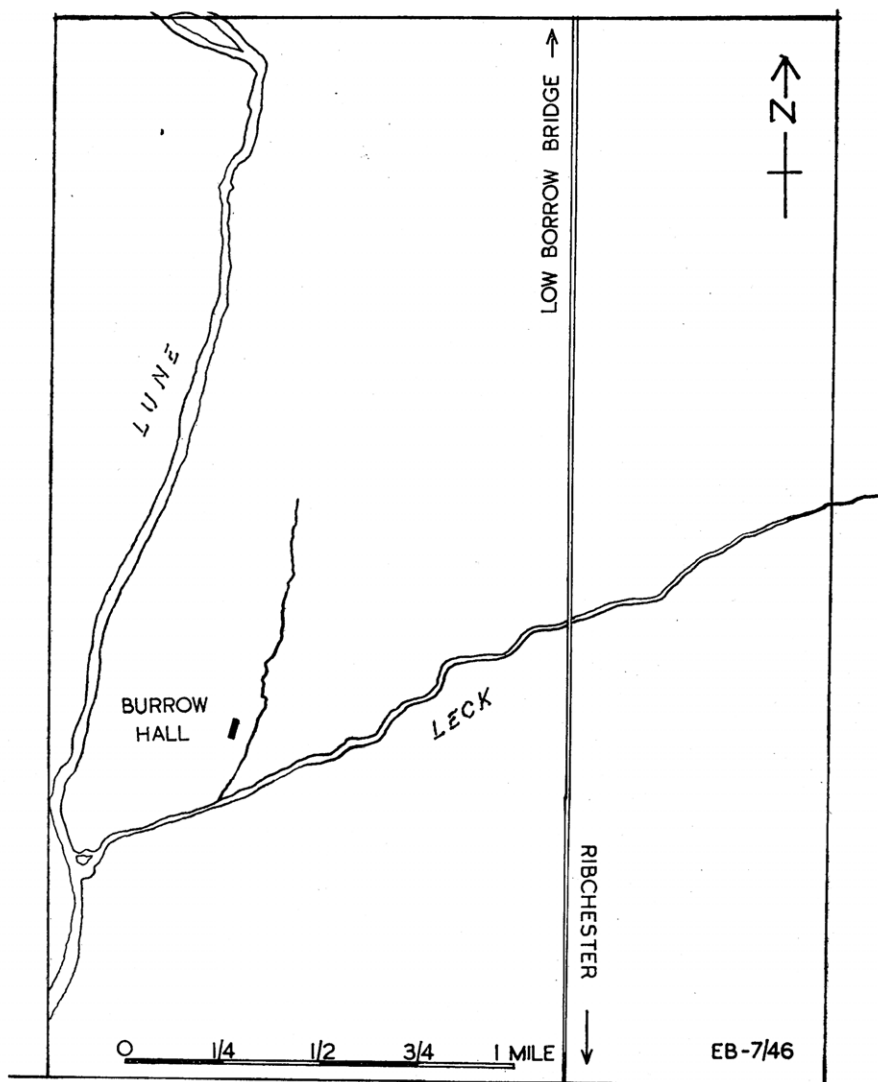


Fig. 5.—The Burrow Hall site.

east of it, the ground rises gradually towards the northward road, three quarters of a mile away, which passed in full view of the ridge (though at present planting and overgrown hedges make it easier to see Burrow Hall from the road than vice versa). To the south the ridge ends in an abrupt escarpment, reminiscent in its general appearance of the southern aspect of Birrens in Dumfriesshire, the south rampart of which has been eroded by the waters of the Mein Water; at Burrow, the Leck Beck has no doubt been responsible for similar erosion, but whether that was after or before the Roman period I should not like to guess; for the past two hundred years, at least, it has not changed its course at all, still flowing swiftly under the bridge which Nicholas Fenwick had a share in the building of. Since Whitaker's time, it has been customary to regard the southern end of the ridge, up to the escarpment, as the site of the Roman fort, and that is where it is marked on the six-inch Ordnance Survey map; but the record of discoveries, considered above, shows that none have been made further south than the lawn in front of the house—and thence comes what seems to have been a cremation burial, *a priori* outside a fort or settlement rather than inside it.

The size and orientation of the Roman fort are alike unknown. R. G. Collingwood's interpretation of the ground did not satisfy me when I was last at Burrow; for one thing, the cremation burial came within the area taken by him to have been occupied by the fort; and when his orientation is corrected, it will be seen that it is not the Leck Beck but the little nameless sike which, on his view, must be given the credit for eroding the east rampart of the fort. Further speculation would be idle when a few days' digging might clear the whole problem up; but two alternatives may be put forward for testing by excavation; (*a*) the long axis running north and south, along the ridge, and the fort itself facing either north or

south—the approximate position of Anthony Moorhouse's digging, which produced the north-west angle of a fort, would best fit such an orientation; or (b) the long axis running east and west, and the fort facing west across the Lune, with its rear or decuman gate on the crest of the slope (in the manner recommended by Hyginus)⁵⁵—such an orientation would accord well with the siting of the fort in relation to the Lune crossing rather than to the northward road, and it would leave room for the cremation burial to have been outside the south rampart. But in either case the fort can hardly have been much larger than R. G. Collingwood's three and a half acres, and it may well have been smaller, as many cohort-forts in the north of Britain were. But Roman Burrow seems to have comprised more than a small cohort-fort. To judge by Leland's and Camden's accounts, the earliest discoveries of Roman remains were not made on the Burrow Hall site, but in the fields between it and the Lune; and it will probably be justifiable for us to follow Whitaker in postulating the existence on the west side of the fort of an extensive non-military settlement.

The view from the site, impressive enough now, must have been even more striking before the surrounding district was planted. To the south, five or six miles away across the undulating plain, rises the range of hills over which the trunk road from Ribchester has climbed before dropping down into Lonsdale; the road itself reaches 1450 feet at its highest point, on the western shoulder of White Hill (1784 feet), eleven miles south of Burrow. To west, across the Lune, the ground rises in folds to a closer skyline, barely two miles away and less than 600 feet above sea level. To east, the most striking feature is the bold and enigmatic outline, eight miles

⁵⁵ *De munitionibus castrorum*, p. 29 (von Domaszewski's edition): *nam quod attinet ad soli electionem in statuenda metatione, primum locum habent, quae ex campo in eminentiam leniter attolluntur, in qua positione porta decimana eminentissimo loco constituitur, ut regiones castris subiaceant.*

E.S.E., of Ingleborough (which Gale took to be the native predecessor of Roman Burrow, and Rauthmell claimed as the site of a look-out maintained by the Burrow garrison), north-westward from which is a series of tangled hills—Scales Moor, Leck Fell and Casterton Fell—which gradually closes in upon the Lune gorge to the north. The traveller in Roman times must have found the Lonsdale plain a pleasant interlude between two hard stages through difficult and sombre hills.

Burrow itself, as we have seen, lies a little west of the trunk road (though no doubt it afforded accommodation for travellers along that road); the purpose of the fort there must have been primarily to guard the crossing of the Lune, where the existence of a bridge is to be inferred,⁵⁶ and to keep open the route to Watercrock and the Lake District (in this respect, it counts as the equivalent in Roman times of Oxenholme Junction in the railway era), in addition to maintaining order in the surrounding district of Lonsdale. And, if Leland and Camden were correctly informed, the flats between Burrow Hall and the Lune were occupied by an extensive civil settlement, which may be regarded as the predecessor of Kirkby Lonsdale. Such a settlement is not likely to have come into being before the Roman occupation brought roads and bridge into being, and opened up the low ground for peaceful occupation; its predecessor may well have been the hill-fort on Ingleborough, as Gale supposed. If it was in fact the *Calacum* or *Galacum* of the Tenth Iter, the name (assuming it to be Celtic, as seems most likely to be the case) need not necessarily imply the prior existence of a place so called on the present site; plentiful analogies from the Danube lands show that the Romans were prepared to retain native names, even when they built their new fortresses or towns several miles away from the old native ones.

⁵⁶ Cf. *Roman Lancashire*, p. 84.

E. THE ROMAN NAME OF THE SITE.

It remains to say something about the Roman name of the Burrow site, and the associated problem of the Tenth Iter; a brief discussion will be sufficient for our present needs.

Camden's first guess, put forward with some show of confidence, was that its name was Galacum:⁵⁷

" Nomen vero antiquum si recuperet, fluviolo illi *Lacco*, & Antonino debet, qui GALACVM urbem, quam Ptolemaeus CALAGVM dixerit, circa hunc locum statuerit, in quo *Galaco*, *Lacci* illius nomen quis non planissime perspiciat? "

But a few years later he changed his mind, and substituted the guess that it was Bremonacum, though he was clearly not altogether happy about the identification:⁵⁸

" Nomen vero antiquum si recuperet aliis, non mihi debeat, etsi ut formicae semitas anxia sedulitate quaesivi, Nec est cur quis putet singulorum in Britannia oppidorum nomina sigillatim in Ptolemaeo, Antonino, Provinciarum Notitia, & classicis authoribus adnotari. Si tamen coniecturae sit locus BREMETONACVM, (quod aliud fuisse a BREMENTVRACO vere iudicat Hieronymus Surita Hispanus in suis ad Antoninum Notis) ex distantiae ratione a Coccio sive *Rible-chester* libens opinarer."

⁵⁷ 1586 ed., p. 433; 1590 ed., p. 619; 1594 ed., p. 585-6: " If it is to recover its ancient name, it owes it to that little river *Lacc*, and to Antoninus, who places hereabouts the city of GALACVM—which Ptolemy calls CALAGVM; who could fail to recognise in *Galacum* the name of that *Lacc*? "

⁵⁸ 1600 ed., p. 680; 1607 ed., p. 617. Philemon Holland's translation, p. 753, may be quoted: " But if it recover the ancient name, it may thanke other and not me, although I have sought as narrowly, & diligently for it, as for Ants pathes: neither is any man to thinke, that the severall names of every towne in Britain are precisely noted and set downe, in *Ptolomee*, *Antonine*, *The Notice of Provinces* and other approved and principall Authors. But, if a man may goe by guesse, I would willingly thinke, that it was BREMETONACVM (which *Ierome Surita* a Spaniard in his notes upon *Antonine* deemeth truely, to be a different place from BREMENTVRACVM) and that by the distance from COCCIVM, or *Rible-Chester*."

At first Camden had gone on no system in seeking identifications, apart from looking for modern names of similar sound to those attested in the ancient sources; the change of mind was due to his realisation that the distances in the Antonine Itinerary must be taken into account, and all later writers have followed him in taking the Tenth Iter as their basis for identifying the Roman name of Burrow. It will be convenient to quote that Iter here, adding the identifications which have been generally accepted since the appearance of Haverfield's paper on the subject in 1915:⁵⁹

- p. 481, 1: item a *Clanovanta* Mediolano m.p. CL, sic:
 (Ravenglass)
 2: *Galava* m.p. xviii (Ambleside)
 3: *Alone* m.p. xii (Watercrock)
 4: *Galacum* m.p. xviii (Burrow)
 5: *Bremetonnaci* m.p. xxvii (Ribchester)
 p. 482, 1: *Coccio* m.p. xx (Wigan)
 2: *Mamcunio* m.p. xvii (Manchester)
 3: *Condate* m.p. xviii
 4: *Mediolano* m.p. xviii

Manchester and Ribchester are certain; 27 miles fits pretty well the distance from the latter site along Rauthmell's road through the Forest of Bowland to Burrow, so that it seems likely that we may revert to Camden's original conjecture and equate Burrow with Galacum or Calacum (the MSS. attest both readings), which Camden was undoubtedly right in equating with Ptolemy's *Κάλαγον*; whether Holder⁶⁰ was correct in equating it also with the Calunio of the Ravenna List is less certain. But 19 miles will not do at all for the distance between Burrow and Watercrock, only 11 English miles as the crow flies, and is slightly too long for the 17 or so miles between Burrow and Low Borrow

⁵⁹ "The Romano-British Names of Ravenglass and Borrans," *Archaeological Journal*, lxxii, 1915, pp. 77-84.

⁶⁰ *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz*, s.v. GALACVM.

Bridge (where Watkins sought to place Alone). Otherwise, the distances fit well enough, 12 miles and 18 miles according with the intervals between Watercrock and Ambleside and Ambleside and Ravenglass respectively; and it seems best to suppose that there is an error in the Itinerary, and that the distance from Galacum to Alone should be emended from m.p. xviii to m.p. xiiii (allowing for a somewhat winding course for the road, which Villy showed to be necessary, the shorter distance seems approximately correct). But the identification Burrow = Galacum or Calacum still falls short of certainty, and seems likely to continue so.

What the name means, remains uncertain. On the whole, it is perhaps best to follow Holder in calling it Celtic, though Holder does not regard it as one of the common Celtic place-names in *-acum* (such as Bremetenacum) which attest the farm or settlement of a person or family; but for what it is worth it may be noted that Huebner⁶¹ drew attention to the existence of a stream called Calacum, five miles from Tarentum in Calabria, the water of which was thought especially suitable for the washing of wool: and when one stands on the bridge over the Leck Beck, a short way south of Burrow Hall, and looks at its clear and rapid stream, one may well be forgiven for wondering whether the first Roman to penetrate into Lonsdale may not have named the stream, and hence the Burrow site, after that in Calabria.

The mention by Ptolemy of Calagum as one of the "cities of the Brigantes" does not necessarily imply that it was the site of a native town before ever the Romans came upon the scene; it might mean nothing more than that the latitude and longitude of the Roman fort there had been worked out and reported in Ptolemy's source. But the possibility of such a Brigantian settlement in Lonsdale, not far away even if it was not at Burrow itself, cannot be excluded, and adds something to the interest

⁶¹ Paully-Wissowa's *Realencyclopädie*, vii, col. 513.

of the district; it is not merely the Roman archaeologist who has profitable matter for research awaiting him in Lonsdale.

APPENDIX.

RICHARD RAUTHMELL AND ROBERT FENWICK.

The life of the Historian of Overborough and that of his patron still remain to be written, but brief notes on them will not be out of place at the close of a study of their Roman site. For the bulk of the information in the following lines I am indebted to Mr. F. P. White, Tutorial Bursar of St. John' College, Cambridge (through the good offices of our member, the Rev. M. P. Charlesworth, F.S.A.), though I have been able to add a little from other sources, including Rauthmell's own book and T. D. Whitaker's Histories of Richmondshire and of Whalley. Mr. White's information is marked (FPW).

Richard Rauthmell was born at Little Bowland (so Whitaker) or at Lees-in-Bolland, the son of Arthur Rathmel, husbandman (FPW); the year is not directly recorded, but may be calculated as 1692. According to Whitaker, he was baptised at Chipping in Lancashire, but the Rev. A. Gibbons tells me that the registers of Chipping contain no entry of his baptism. He was educated at Clitheroe, whence he proceeded to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he matriculated at the age of 18 in 1710; he took his B.A. in 1713/4, and was ordained deacon 13 March, 1715/6, by the Bishop of Bristol, and priest on 21 September, 1718, by the Archbishop of York (FPW). He was Vicar of Grindleton from about 1718, and from 1720 Perpetual Curate of Whitewell (Whitaker and FPW); he died in May, 1743, and was buried at Chipping 15 May. The *Antiquitates Bremetonacenses*, published by Robert Fenwick three years later (Stukeley Correspondence iii, Surtees Society, vol. 80, 1885, p. 354), is his only published work, though Whitaker has printed one of his letters in the History of Whalley (4th ed., 1876, vol. ii, p. 506) and

seems to have known of others; he seems, too, to have had other sources of information, for he writes that Rauthmell was "said to have been a lively and entertaining man." Rauthmell's book certainly leaves that impression upon one; it is written with great gusto, and one can imagine the words pouring from his tongue. Burrow was not the only Roman site in which he was interested; he watched deep digging at Ribchester, and placed on record a coin of Vespasian turned up by it (1746 ed., pp. 55, 110), besides attempting to interpret a fragmentary inscription from that site (CIL vii 225; his version, just as wild as that which he offered on no. 1, p. 135 above, is printed in Stukeley Correspondence ii, Surtees Society, vol. 76, 1883, pp. 243-244); and he not only traced much of the road northward from Ribchester to Burrow, but also excavated some barrows near by—exactly where, he does not say, though they were probably fairly close to Whitewell—and recorded what he found in them in his book (pp. 22-23, 107-110).

Robert Fenwick was born in 1688, the elder son and heir of John Fenwick of Nunriding Hall, Northumberland; he was baptised at Tunstall, 5 November, 1688, educated at Lowther, and admitted a pensioner of St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1706, matriculating in 1708, but never proceeding to a degree; meanwhile, he had been admitted a student of Gray's Inn, in 1705, and he was called to the Bar in February, 1714/5 (all FPW). His father purchased the Burrow Hall property in 1690, and Robert Fenwick inherited it on his father's death in 1732 (CW 2, xxxvi, pp. 8-9); he was M.P. for Lancaster from 1734 to 1746, and died in February, 1749/50, being succeeded by his brother Nicholas (*ibid.*, p. 12). It is to be inferred that he first made Rauthmell's acquaintance at Cambridge, and that the latter's visits to Burrow Hall marked the continuance of a friendship which had begun when they were undergraduates nearly thirty years previously.