

ART. XVII.—*Materials for the History of Roman Brougham.* By ERIC BIRLEY, M.A., F.S.A.

Partly read on the site, Sept. 11th, 1931.

HITHERTO, the station at Brougham has received less attention than most of the Roman sites in our district. Stukeley is the only one of the early writers who gives it more than a bare notice—as we shall see, his account is a comparatively full one, and of some value—and of the five papers in our *Transactions* that deal with it, only one describes the fort itself. Discoveries of pottery and coins have been infrequent and ill-recorded, and the inscriptions (though many of them are still extant) contain little information of obvious value for determining its history; moreover, they are so scattered, in the *Corpus* and the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, that what value they may have is seriously reduced, owing to the difficulty of running them to earth.

During the past year or two, H.M. Office of Works has been carrying out repairs to the fabric of the castle, and clearing out its moat; the incidental discovery of three inscriptions and a quantity of Roman pottery provides a convenient occasion for collecting and examining the available evidence for the history of Roman Brougham. The evidence falls under three main heads; previous accounts, inscriptions, and pottery, which I propose to examine in that order. It may be premised that in the section on the inscriptions no attempt has been made (indeed, I have had no opportunity) to examine the stones themselves, in so far as they still survive, except in the case of the three recently discovered inscriptions here published for the first time; otherwise, I have contented

myself with collating the published versions, and indicating what appear to be the best readings; for an authoritative text, it will be necessary to await Mr. R. G. Collingwood's work on the Roman inscriptions of Britain.

PREVIOUS ACCOUNTS.

1. As was the case with so many northern sites, the first antiquary to visit Brougham was Leland. His account is brief and in its way picturesque;

"At Burgham is an old castle that the common people there say doth sink. About this Burgham ploughmen find in the fields many square stones tokens of old buildings. The castle is set in a strong place by reason of rivers enclosing the country thereabouts."*

It will be seen that in Leland's time, early in the sixteenth century, there was nothing to show that there was a Roman station at Brougham; a century later, evidence for that had come to light.

2. Camden looked for modern names of similar sound, to identify the Roman stations in the ancient itineraries; here, for once, the similarity proved a reliable guide (though he took *Brovoniacum* and *Brocavum* as different forms of the same name):

"Tho' Age has consum'd both it's buildings and splendour, yet the name is preserv'd almost entire in *Brougham*, as we call it at present . . . At the confluence of *Loder* and *Eimot*, was dug up (in the year 1602) this stone, set up in memory of *Constantine* the Great . . ."

This last piece of information Camden had received from Reginald Bainbrigg, the schoolmaster of Appleby, who provided much of his material for Roman sites in the north of England;† but it does not appear that either of them had actually visited Brougham.

* VII 63, quoted in Gough's 1806 edition of Camden's *Britannia* vol. III, p.

413.

† No. 18 below; Gibson's edition of 1695, p. 808.

‡ Cf. Haverfield, *Cotton Iulius F. VI*, in *CW*² XI pp. 343, ff.

3. Between Camden's day and the next recorded visit to Roman Brougham, the site underwent considerable changes; for in 1670, or thereabouts, the village that stood near the castle was acquired by the local landowner, Mr. Bird, who pulled down the houses and used the materials from them for building field-walls;* so that many Roman stones, previously hidden, were exposed when Stukeley came there on his northern tour in 1725. Stukeley could be a keen observer when he chose, and he was at his best when he visited Brougham; the *Itinerarium Curiosum* is not easy to come upon now, so that it will be worth while to reproduce his account at length:†

"The Roman city lies on the east side of the Louth, just by Brougham castle, whose walls, and those of the park, are for part built of the stones from the old city, being manifestly of a Roman cut. The trace of the place is very easily discovered where the ditch went between the Roman road and the river. I saw many fragments of altars and inscriptions at the hall nearer the bridge, all exposed, in the courtyard, to weather, and injuries of every sort. In the wall by the Roman road beyond Brougham castle, and near the countess of Pembroke's pillar, is a pretty busto, part of a funeral monument; the *bullæ* of the mantle most conspicuous, though much injured. Farther on, in the same dry wall, nearer the corner, is another *basso relievo*, but so defaced, that I could not make anything of it. The Roman road coming from Carlisle, very apparent as they tell me, passes above or north of the town of Penrith, under the beacon-hill; then passes the river just under the castle; then went by the south side of the city, where its pavement is now firm and good; then where Countess pillar now stands; here it is visible as far as the horizon in a very strait lane, going full east to Appleby. Vast quantities of Roman stone, taken up in the city have been burnt into lime. Coins, Mosaic floors, and every sort of antiquity, are daily found; they cannot strike a stroke into the ground but inscriptions, pillars and some sort or other of ancient remains, appear. The site of the city is an elevated piece of ground by the riverside; a woody country about it; a vast hill, or fell, of an immense

* CW¹ I p. 64.

† *Iter Boreale* (published 1776 in vol. II of the second edition of the *Itinerarium Curiosum*) pp. 45 and 46.

height, goes all along the partition of this county from Durham, in sight here . . .

On the corner of Clifton house is an inscription with carving on it; it is an admirable fine stone, or rather two joined together in the middle; placed at the very top of a gable end; two winged Victories, with garlands and palm branches in their hands, stand on the sides.*

The square plot of the city is very perfect, on the south side of Brougham castle; it had a broad ditch round it. The castle stands on the north end of it, and was built of its wall; the track of which is visible upon the edge of the *vallum*. The high ground by Countess pillar, where most of the inscriptions were found, seems to have been the site of the city, and this the castle or fort; the Roman road lying between . . . The stones of the city are of a different sort from those of the country . . .

The fine inscription at the end of Clifton house has been there for 300 years,† exposed to the rain and weather; so that the inscription is worn away; only it seems that *imper. legat. Aug. in Africa*, is just visible. Another inscription is on the inside of the barn there."

There are many points of interest in this account. The most important for our purpose is undoubtedly the clear distinction between the fort and the settlement outside it; this point is one to which we shall have to return later. It should also be noted that, unusually, the Romans seem to have made use of limestone, though whether in ashlar work or in the rubble cores of the walls does not appear; the matter needs to be tested by excavation. The "broad ditch" also is a point whose significance calls for discussion below.

4. Horsley has little to say; his account is never very full once he gets away from his own district, and he cannot have paid more than a flying visit to this part of the country:

"As soon as the military way, which comes from *Carlisle*, has well entered this county, it comes to *Brougham-castle*; where, as

* No. 1 below.

† If that is so, it is strange that Bainbrigg had no knowledge of it, unless he never went to Clifton.

appears by all the usual evidences, there has been a station, the present castle (now also in ruins) standing within it. Some coins and urns have been found here, as also some *Roman* stones and inscriptions.”*

5. The next account that calls for consideration† is in a paper on Brougham castle by the Rev. James Simpson in the first volume of the Old Series of these *Transactions*:

“Several incised stones were found in a field not far from the Countess’ pillar, but at the opposite side of the turnpike road, where the Roman burial place seems to have been . . . There are two other inscribed stones mentioned in Mr. Hill’s valuable manuscripts, as found near the Countess’ pillar, one is a memorial stone . . . ‡ the other is an altar . . . § which Mr. Hill says was found in 1828 in a field belonging to the Brougham castle estate . . . on the west side of the turnpike road, nearly opposite the Countess’ pillar. The farm servants, while levelling a space behind the hedge in which to winter store potatoes, struck a spade on a stone, which sounded hollow, and on taking it up, the above . . . altar presented itself, the lettered side downwards, and placed over the mouth of a square-shaped well 2 ft. 4 ins. by 2 ft. 7 ins. neatly walled in on all sides with thin stones.”||

Mr. Hill was apparently agent to the estate; it would be interesting to know whether his manuscripts are still in existence, since he seems to have been a good observer, and interested in the Roman remains of the district, and it is possible that there may be further information that Mr. Simpson did not think fit to extract from them.

6. In the next volume of *Transactions*, Professor Harkness records the discovery of a gravestone¶ in “a field on the north-east side of Appleby road, opposite the ‘Countess’s Pillar’,” and great quantities of “bonding

* *Britannia Romana*, p. 297; he then gives the inscriptions nos. 13, 18 and 4 below.

† Nicolson and Burn, and Hutchinson’s *Cumberland*, deal with the site, but contain nothing worth reproduction here. Whittaker’s *Craven*, quoted in CW¹ I, I have not seen.

‡ No. 16 below.

§ No. 5 below.

|| CW¹ I p. 63.

¶ No. 14 below.

tiles " and " dressed stones of nearly uniform size " a short distance to the west of where the inscription was found. He continues:

" The position of the Roman camp, the earthworks of which are still very distinct, is seen on the south-east side of the field in which the castle stands. This position placed it on the south-west side of the town, a site which would connect it with the Roman road over High Street . . . and also with one from the south from the important camp now seen at Borrow Bridge . . . " *

He then refers to the importance of the place as a road junction, " especially as the main road . . . to the wall at Luguvallium passed by it." The dressed stones, and the well recorded by Mr. Hill, show that Stukeley's judgment of the position of the settlement was correct; the grave-stone, that the cemetery was where earlier tradition had placed it, opposite the Countess pillar. Professor Harkness deserves credit for the first attempt to put Brougham into its place as a part of the Roman road system.

7. In the sixth volume of the Old Series, in the course of a paper on the castles of Brougham and Brough, Professor G. T. Clark gives the first description of the fort itself:

" The camp is contained within a single bank and exterior ditch, both very well marked, though in height and depth very much reduced. Along the scarp or inner slope of the ditch are traces of a step or terrace, as for a line of palisades, in front of and below the main defence. The area within the ditch is 113 yards broad, and its length, now 134 yards, was probably 198 yards, those being the proportions of the camp at Brough. The ditch is about 25 yards broad. The entrance is gone; it was no doubt in the centre of the east side, that towards the road. The angles are, as usual, rounded." †

The " step or terrace " can be explained, in the light of excavation at other sites, as the position of the fort-wall, which appears to have been removed almost entirely by

* CW¹ II, p. 151.

† CW¹ VI, p. 16.

stone robbers. There is no certain indication of the north wall of the fort,* so that in default of excavation its area cannot be estimated with any exactness; the position of the south gate is clearly marked (indeed, it is difficult to see how Professor Clark could miss it), that of the east gate less clearly. The great width of the ditch, to which Stukeley referred also, calls for comment; a possible explanation of it is advanced below.

8. In volume xi of the present series, the Rev. A. J. Heelis records the discovery of a hoard of coins, ranging from Valerian to the Tetrici, in 1910:

"These lay together close to the foundations of an ancient wall, the course of which is north-eastward from the old Roman camp, the point at which the coins were found being about 100 yards from the vallum . . . the coins were found beneath two sandstone slabs . . ."[†]

The hoard is one of the numerous examples of money of the inflation period put by, in the hopes that it would one day be of value again, after Aurelian had carried out his reform of the currency; its discovery and that of the ancient wall (apparently Roman) bring the western limit of the settlement a quarter of a mile nearer to the fort, but no doubt it extended right up to the ditches of the fort, in the normal way.

9. Finally, in volume xxii, in "A note on Brocavum," Mr. R. G. Collingwood infers from its place in the road system that the site was originally occupied by Agricola, whilst "the visible Roman ramparts, enclosing as they do a fort large enough for a milliary cohort, are doubtless the work of Hadrian's engineers."[‡]

THE INSCRIPTIONS.

The total number of inscriptions attributable to Brougham and its immediate neighbourhood appears to be eighteen, of which three have been found recently by

* For convenience I use north, south, etc., instead of north-west, south-east, etc.; cf. the map.

[†] CW² XI, p. 209.

[‡] CW² XXII, p. 141.

H.M. Office of Works. Many are fragmentary, and several of the published texts are unintelligible; but, although it will be necessary to await Mr. R. G. Collingwood's book for a proper text of many of them, it may be convenient to give here such readings as are sufficiently clear, and the references to those that are not.

I have arranged the items according to their content, taking military dedications first, other dedications next, and finally gravestones. Of the references given, in each case the last is the most recent.

1. (LS 816; EE iii 88; EE ix 1378).

This is the stone that Stukeley was the first to record; no satisfactory reading of it appears possible. It is clear that it is a building inscription, and the size of it (6 ft. 2 ins. long by 2 ft. 3 ins.) and the ornamentation perhaps suggest a date early in the third century. It is figured in LS at p. 415.

2. (LS 941; EE iii 86; EE iv p. 200; EE ix p. 684).

Found in 1874 "in consequence of the operation of deep ploughing";* an altar, 2 ft. high, the inscription partly defaced by plough marks.

The dedication is DRO MARTI, whilst the dedicator is apparently *Aur. Ianuarius* of the *n(umerus) eq(uitum) Stratonicianorum*. The abbreviated *nomen Aur.*, and the type of regiment, alike point to the early years of the third century; it would seem, then, that in the Severan reorganization Brougham received a newly-raised cavalry regiment as its garrison.

The regiment is otherwise unknown; its title might be derived from any of the towns called Stratonicaea in the Near East; it is hardly likely that it should be connected with the Claudius Stratonicus who was consul under Commodus or Severus.

On another occasion I hope to deal with the new regiments of the British garrison in the third century.

3. (Found by H.M. Office of Works).

Fragment from a large altar once 1 ft. 11 ins. broad; rather more than half of the first line and of the upper part of the second survives; the latter has been erased to a depth of a quarter of an inch:

IRTI § ET VICTOR
 //////////////////////////////////

* LS p. 471.

The inscription no doubt originally ran *Deo Marti et victoriae* *Aug.*; the emperor's name, erased after his memory had been damned, was probably that of Severus Alexander, whose period the lettering suits best.*

4. (C 303; LS 811; EE ix p. 565).

At Lowther Castle in Camden's day, but lost before Horsley's visit; it is not certain that it comes from Brougham, but that is a more likely provenance than Old Penrith, suggested by Haverfield. The first three lines are not in doubt:

Deabus matribus tramari(nis) vex(illatio) Germa(norum)

The reading of the last two lines is obscure, and need not be considered here; the inscription records the presence of another third-century regiment, in this case of infantry.

5. (LS 807; EE iii 85; EE ix p. 684).

At Brougham Hall; an altar, 1 ft. 8½ ins. high; the dedication is

Deo Belatucadro

and there appears to be a reference to a *cuneus* (another third-century type of regiment), but the reading is very obscure.

6. (C 300).

The traditional text of this lost inscription reads R CALLI MIL LEG VIII AVG; Huebner suggested that it had been set up by soldiers of legion VIII Augusta in honour of the commander of a cohort of Gauls. Such an explanation can hardly be right; on the analogy of a Maryport inscription (C 382), it seems best to suppose that the stone is a dedication by the prefect of a cohort of Gauls after he had learnt of his appointment as tribune in the eighth legion; the reading will have been

praef. coh. II Gall. trib. mil. leg. VIII Aug.

or the like.

7. (C. 302; LS 809).

Found in 1847 at Clifton, two miles from Brougham:

I.O.M. genio loci Br(ocavi?) S. V. Apollinaris princep. ce

BR is apparently an insertion, subsequent to the original cutting, the dedicator was senior decurion (*decurio princeps*) of a *cohors equitata*.†

8. (C 297).

Apart from the dedication *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)*, nothing can be made of this inscription.

9. (C 295; LS 808; EE vii p. 306; Black Gate Catalogue no. 7).

* Cf. EE, ix 1005 for a similar dedication of this period.

† Cf. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt*, II A p. 477.

Now in Newcastle, but formerly built up in the stable wall at Brougham Castle:

Deo Blatucairo Audagus v. s. p. s. s.

10. (LS 806; EE iii 84; EE ix p. 684).

At Brougham Hall:

Deo Belatucadro Baculo pro se et suis v. l. s.

11. (Found by H.M. Office of Works).

Most of a small altar, 11 ins. high and 6 ins. wide:

[deo] BELATV | [ca]DRO[. . . | . . . | . . .] VSLM

I have not been able to make out anything of the dedicator's name; it may have been painted in.

12. (Found by H.M. Office of Works).

Base of a small altar, now 7 ins. high by 5½ ins. wide; this and no. 11 were found in the south moat of the castle:

. | . . .]OR[. | . .]NAM[. | . .]AM.V | S.L.M

I cannot suggest an expansion of the surviving letters before *v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*.

13. (C 299; LS 810).

Recorded by Horsley, but now lost. The lower part of an altar, with two lines of lettering surviving:

pro se et suis l. l. m.

14. (LS 942; EE iii 87).

Found in 1874 (*cf.* above, p. 128):

Pluma[e] Lunaris titul(um) pos(uit) coniugi carisim(ae)

"To his dear wife Pluma Lunar set up this inscription."

15. (LS 813; EE iii 89).

Now at Brougham Hall; gravestone, the top broken off, with a cloaked figure standing in an archway: below is an inscription:

Annamoris pater et Ressona mater f. c.

"His father Annamoris and his mother Ressona had this made"; the name and age of the dead person were presumably given on the lost upper portion of the stone.

16. (LS 812; EE iii 90).

At Brougham Hall:

D. M. Crescentinus vixit annis XVIII, Vidaris pater posuit.

"Sacred to the memory of Crescentinus, who lived eighteen years; his father Vidaris set this up."

17. (LS 814; EE iii 91; CW² XXII p. 141).

Built up in the ceiling of a passage in Brougham Castle:

D.C.M. Tittus M[. . .] vixit ann[is pl]us minus XXXII A[. . .]frater titulum [posuit.]

"Sacred to the memory of Tittus M. . . ., who lived thirty-two years or thereabouts; his brother A. . . . set up this inscription."

As Mr. R. G. Collingwood has pointed out, this is in all probability the gravestone of a Christian.*

18. (C 1176; LS 815).

Found in 1602; now at Brougham Hall (*cf.* above, p. 125):

*Imp(eratori) C(aesari) Val(erio) Constantino pient(issimo)
Aug(usto)*

The stone is probably a milestone, recording road repairs in the time of Constantine.

THE POTTERY.

I have not been able to trace any pottery found on the site previously, but a fair quantity has been found during the operations conducted by H.M. Office of Works, mostly in the moat on the south side of the castle; this pottery is at present kept on the site, with a careful record of where it was found, so that it is readily accessible and of value for the study of the Roman occupation of Brougham.

All periods from the second century onwards are represented (as yet, there is nothing that can be attributed to the first century), but the great bulk of the material belongs to the very close of the Roman occupation, as the following inventory shows:—

1. (*From by the wall running across the south moat*).

(a) Painted bowl as *Crambeck* 24 *ff.*; (b) Bowl as *Malton* fig. 21, 5, painted with a pot-hook pattern; (c) *Crambeck* ware bowl, as *Birdoswald* 87; (d) similar bowl, as *Crambeck* 9 (neither of the Brougham specimens has the internal wavy line); (e) rims of a number of *Huntcliff* type cooking-pots.†

2. (*From the east end of the south moat*).

(a) Bowl as *Crambeck* 2 (with the internal wavy line); (b) *Huntcliff* type cooking-pots; (c) part of a *Castor* ware beaker with rouletted decoration in two horizontal bands.

3. (*From the south-east corner of the moat*).

(a) Mortarium as *Malton* fig. 21, 4; (b) flanged bowl as *Birdoswald* 93; (c) outbent cooking-pot rim as *Birdoswald* 19.

4. (*From the east corner of the moat*).

(a) Bowl as *Malton* fig. 21, 6, but with the higher pattern

* CW² XXII, p. 142.

† *Cf.* Corder and Kirk, "A Roman villa at Langton," Roman Malton and District report, no. 4, p. 99.

repeated inverted on the flange; (b) two mortaria as *Malton* fig. 21, 4; (c) mortarium as *Crambeck* 109; (d) two blue-grey flanged bowls as *Crambeck* 20; (e) a similar bowl as *Crambeck* 6; (f) Huntcliff type cooking-pot rims.

5. (*From the north end of the east moat*).

(a) Bowl similar to *Birdoswald* 97, but painted inside as in the example of this type found at Huntcliff.

Altogether, the series is as typical as one could expect to find on a site occupied during the last period—that is to say, after the restoration of the northern frontier by Count Theodosius in 369; the types are all such as have been noted either at Birdoswald or in the Yorkshire coastal signal-stations, and all seem to have been made in the vale of Pickering, with the exception of the Castor beaker and the outbent-rim cooking-pot. It is becoming increasingly clear that the potteries near Malton, so far from suffering from the disaster of 368, were able to capture virtually the whole of the northern market in the last phase of the Roman occupation; at every site, from Ribchester and Ilkley as far north as the native town on Traprain Law, beyond Cheviot, the products of the Crambeck kilns and of the pottery that made the Huntcliff type of cooking-pot figure prominently among the latest material.

CONCLUSIONS.

Until excavations have been undertaken at Brougham (and of that there is as yet neither a prospect nor indeed a pressing need), it would hardly be wise, and it might prove definitely misleading, to attempt to sum up the history of the site. Here I propose merely to indicate some points that appear sufficiently certain to deserve mention, and others that call for detailed examination when the time for excavation arrives.

First of all, for the character of the site; the early accounts make it plain that the fort is but the focus of a considerable settlement. So far, indeed, all the traces of the settlement come from the east of the fort, along the

main north road; but it is reasonable to suppose that it also extended some way along the roads to Low Borrow Bridge and High Street. Structural remains so far recorded are scanty; a well, a piece of walling, and a quantity of building material, and beyond that nothing definite.

The inscriptions do not hold out any prospect of a temple-quarter such as the settlement outside the fort at Housesteads possessed; indeed, apart from two of the ever-recurring dedications to *Iupiter Optimus Maximus*, Mars and Belatucader (who is sometimes identified with Mars) are the only deities mentioned. In the third century, Mars largely takes the place that Jupiter had occupied before as the patron of the army, and the two dedications to him at Brougham are military, as we have seen.

Belatucader is in a rather different category. His worship was strictly confined to the north-west of Britain; Netherby and Kirkby Thore, Hexham (from Corbridge, no doubt) and Maryport, mark the limits of his worship; and, with four altars to him, Brougham provides more than any other site. To a certain extent, Belatucader might seem to resemble Cocidius, another north-western deity sometimes equated with Mars; but the two gods must be regarded as altogether distinct. With the exception of a dedication at Lancaster, Cocidius is found only *per lineam valli* or to the north of the Wall—Netherby has produced one inscription to him, and Bewcastle four; and the place-name *Fanum Cocidi* in the Ravenna list appears to be somewhere on or very near to the Wall.* That is to say, the dedications to Cocidius are far more concentrated,

* The two dedications to Cocidius that were found in the structure on Pike Hill (cf. CW¹ I p. 215) suggest that, like Wachtpost 37B on the Inner Limes, this tower may have been converted into a temple; if not *Fanum Cocidi* itself, it cannot have been very far removed from that place. For the German parallel, cf. my paper on "A new Roman altar, and a note on the garrisoning of the Wall," in AA⁴ IX, p. 205 f.

and on the whole indicate a more northerly centre for the cult, than in the case of Belatucader. A further difference becomes apparent as soon as we look at the names and styles of the dedicators. The worshippers of Cocidius include commanders of regiments,* a centurion† and legionary soldiers;‡ but Belatucader's votaries come from a lower class of people; auxiliary soldiers,§ and civilians such as Audagus and Baculo at Brougham. Both deities, apparently, were indigenous (Celtic I should be unwilling to call them), but Cocidius was clearly more to the Roman taste, and held in greater repute.

It is not without significance, I think, that it was Belatucader that the inhabitants of Roman Brougham worshipped. Besides the dedications to him, the grave-stones from the cemetery by the roadside tell of a non-citizen population; Lunaris and Annamoris and Vidaris have set up good Latin inscriptions, but their names have nothing Roman about them—though Vidaris did call his son by a Roman name, Crescentinus. The *vicus* of Brougham may have had an organization of its own—that is likely, though evidence for it is not yet to hand—but there were many *peregrini* living in it. That in its turn suggests that at Brougham there may have been a settlement rather different from the ordinary *vicus*; that it may have been, not merely a collection of traders and ex-soldiers and the womenfolk of the garrison, but a community of Britons, unconnected with the garrison (for there is no sign of Lunaris and his fellows having any such connection), living at a place whose position in the road-system made it a natural trading-centre. That road-system may have owed much to the Romans, but I think that Brougham is more likely than any Roman site in our district to have become important before ever the

* C 642, 701, 953, 947; EE ix 1227.

† EE iii, 113.

‡ C 644, 800, 801, 802, 876, 914; EE ix 1177.

§ C 318 (Old Penrith), 369 (Maryport); EE iii 85, 86 (nos. 5 and 2 above).

Romans came. Again, it is universally agreed that Brougham is the *Brocavum* of the Antonine Itineraries; place-name authorities have before now refused to see in the modern name anything more than a chance resemblance to the Roman; but if there is any site in our district where Romano-British survival may be postulated, it is here—away from English and from Norse alike—and the name suggests a survival of Roman *Brocavum* long into the post-Roman period. Both the beginnings and the end of the settlement outside the fort deserve to be investigated with the greatest care when the site comes to be excavated.

Of the fort itself, little can be said; the date of its foundation, the period of its occupation, and its final end, are alike obscure. It is clear, indeed, that it was occupied in the early years of the third century; and although the inscription that mentions them is not quite decisive, still it seems probable that the *equites Stratoniciani* formed part at least of the garrison then; indeed, this was a site where in any case a cavalry regiment would be necessary for patrolling the roads that came to a junction there.

There is a possibility that Brougham was garrisoned still later, although it does not appear in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, so that at the time of the compilation of that document (or of the section in it that related to the north of Britain) it was not held. The pottery described above, from the south moat of the castle, proves occupation in the last thirty years of the fourth century; that that occupation was military, I think that there is good presumptive evidence. Stukeley and Professor Clark both referred to the broadness of the ditch that surrounds the fort; its broadness is still the most prominent feature of the site; it is broader than the ditch of Hadrian's Wall, broader even than the medieval ditch to the west of Bowness fort* and analogy with Bowness might suggest that this too

* Cf. CW² XXXI, p. 142

was a medieval deepening and widening of a Roman ditch or ditches. But the south moat of the castle appears to represent the north ditch of the Roman fort; otherwise, it could hardly have yielded so large a quantity of Roman pottery. When, therefore, it appears that with trifling and negligible exceptions that pottery is all attributable to the very end of the fourth century, it seems reasonable to assume that the wide ditch in its present striking form dates from the reorganization of the north of Britain by Count Theodosius in 369; such a date is historically the most likely for the cutting of the ditch in which the pottery listed above was subsequently deposited. If a military re-occupation of the site in 369 be established (and excavation will be needed before we can accept such a re-occupation as more than a probability), it leads us further afield; for it cannot but demonstrate, in a clearer way than ever, that the *Notitia Dignitatum* will not fit the period to which it belongs ostensibly, at all events as far as Britain is concerned; in 369 and the following years, that is to say, Brougham was garrisoned, but the *Notitia*, purporting to describe the distribution of troops in Britain in that period, omits all mention of Brougham. On another occasion, I hope to be able to go in some detail into the question of the manner of its compilation; at present, I will only say that the association of the *Notitia* in one and the same MS. with the *Anonymus de rebus bellicis* is a fact whose significance seems to have been too little considered.

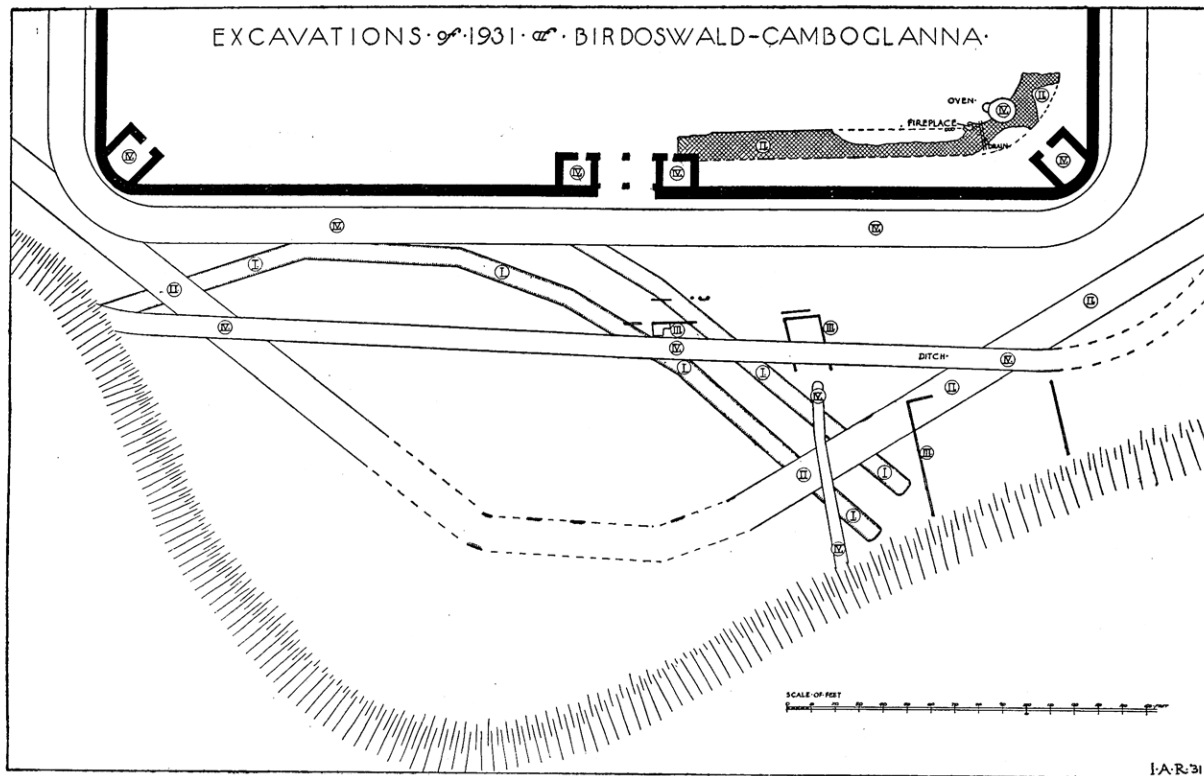


FIG. 1.