

## CHAPTER 10

# THE TOMBSTONES AND INSCRIBED STONES

By A.P. Fitzpatrick

### INTRODUCTION

Some 52 inscribed and/or sculptured stones are either known or have been thought likely to have been found at Brougham, providing a relatively large sample from a site in northern Britain. The individual inscribed stones catalogued on pp. 408–19 are shown as numbers in italic and bold as **24**, and the sculptured stones on pp. 421–5 as *SSI*.

Twenty-two of the inscribed stones were included in *RIB* I. Three further inscriptions were found and reported after the compilation of the entries for *RIB* I in 1954 but before its publication in 1965 and another two have been found or reported since that date. A further 17 inscribed stones and four sculptured ones from which the inscriptions are missing, and an uninscribed altar were discovered in the excavations (including work in 1958) or in salvage work after the completion of the 1966–7 excavations. In addition a fragment of a tombstone and an uninscribed altar are held at Brougham Castle and are presumed to have been found in the 1960s. An unprovenanced fragment from a tombstone has also been attributed to Brougham.

As a whole, the north-west of England is relatively rich in Roman inscriptions. Most of these relate to the army and the evidence that they yield has been used primarily in the study of military history (e.g. Potter 1979, 351–2). In comparative figures the number of inscriptions from Brougham is large, almost three times the mean of the data assembled by Cepas in her survey of inscriptions from northern Britain. Furthermore those data are dominated by finds from forts and their *vici* (Cepas 1989, 48, fig. II.1), whereas a significant proportion of the finds from Brougham are from the cemetery. Thus not only is the collection of inscriptions from Brougham of general interest, it also provides one of the best samples of commemorative inscriptions presently available from northern Britain. The largely fragmentary site finds also contrast with the well-preserved tombstones that have usually been reported previously in northern England.

### RELIABILITY OF PROVENANCE

Before proceeding further it is necessary, however, to review how reliable the provenance that has been ascribed to some of the older finds is. Of the 52 inscribed and/or sculptured stones that have been attributed to Brougham, it is not certain that seven of them were actually found at Brougham. It is also likely that some finds seen by Stukeley in the eighteenth century and which he described as being ‘exposed to weather and injuries of every sort’ have been lost (1776, 45).

A statue, now lost (*RIB* I, no. 777), is recorded as having been found near Brougham, but not certainly at it. Part of a dedication which is also now lost and listed under Brougham (*RIB*

I, no. 782) is thought to have been found at either Brougham or Kirkby Thore, which is c. 10km away, so there must be some reservation about its provenance.

Another dedication slab which is now at Clifton Hall farmhouse some 4km away has been thought to be from Brougham (*RIB* I, no. 783). In this case the slab has been carefully set in a farmhouse wall as a decorative feature and the deliberate removal of the stone and its deliberate setting-up in the farmhouse might seem plausible. However, the inscription at Clifton Hall mentions '*instrumentum*', a phrase that suggests that it may be from a shrine. As an altar was found at Clifton in 1846 during railway building (and is classified as being of 'origin unknown found at Clifton' (*RIB* I, no. 792)), there is a possibility that a temple or shrine stood near to Clifton.

An altar and a dedication slab built into the church at Cliburn (*RIB* I, no. 790–1) and attributed to Brougham by Collingwood and Wright, could also have come from Kirby Thore, which is slightly nearer to Cliburn than Brougham. Another altar attributed to Old Penrith (*RIB* I, no. 920) has been thought to come from Brougham, but again its origin is uncertain. Lastly, part of a tombstone that might be from the cemetery (Wright and Phillips 1975, 78, no. 233), but which could not be located in 1986, is also omitted here.

The transport of stones known to have been at Brougham over shorter distances is, however, also known. One tombstone (24) is built into a ceiling in the keep of Brougham Castle (Summerson *et al.* 1997), while an altar (*RIB* I, no. 774) had been built into a stable wall at the Castle. Some stones were taken nearly 1km to Brougham Hall where they were set into walls as a *lapidarium* in which they were photographed (*RCHM Westmorland*, 63, pl. 4) before they were eventually returned to Brougham Castle. It may also be noted that it has been suggested that some of the stones used to make an early-medieval drain at Dacre some 8km away may have reused stones from Brougham (Newman 1989, 234), though in terms of distance the fort at Old Penrith is just as likely a source.

Clearly, it is not possible to be certain about the provenances ascribed to these stones, but if *RIB* I, nos 782, 790–2 and 920 are set aside, some 42 inscribed and/or sculptured stones have certainly or probably been at Brougham.

Nearly all the inscriptions seem to use the Penrith Sandstone Series which could be obtained relatively easily within 5–6km to the north or south-east of Brougham although there is some variety in the stones (*cf.* Sedgley 1975, 12, 42, fig. 4). The sources of a small number of the stones have been identified (Young n.d.) and this information has been incorporated into the catalogue at the appropriate point.

## TYPES OF INSCRIPTIONS

The reliably provenanced inscribed stones may be divided into three types (TABLE 10.1): altars, milestones and tombstones; the provenances of the statue of Belatucadrus (*RIB* I, no. 777) and two dedication slabs (*RIB* I, nos 782–3) having been rejected here. The evidence of the altars has a direct bearing on the religious beliefs of some of the individuals who may have been buried in the cemetery so they are considered briefly here, along with one of the milestones discovered after the publication of *RIB* I.

TABLE 10.1: TYPES OF INSCRIPTION CERTAINLY OR PROBABLY FOUND AT BROUGHAM

Type of inscribed and/or sculptured stone	Numbers
Altars	12
Milestones	2
Tombstones	29
Total	43

TABLE 10.2: DEDICATIONS OF ALTARS TO GODS AT BROUGHAM (*RIB* I, NOS 790, 792 AND 920 ARE OMITTED AS THEIR PROVENANCES ARE UNCERTAIN)

God	Altars
Belatucadrus	<i>RIB</i> I, nos 772, 773, 774, 775, 776 <i>JRS</i> , 59 (1969) 237 no. 7
Mars	<i>RIB</i> I, nos 779, 780
Jupiter	<i>RIB</i> I, no. 778
Unattributable	<i>RIB</i> I, no. 781
Uninscribed	One example in Carlisle Museum, and an unpublished find at Brougham Castle

Six of the nine inscribed altars are dedicated to Belatucadrus (accepting the optimistic reading of *RIB* I, no. 776; cf. Birley 1932, 133, no. 12); two to Mars, and one to Jupiter. One altar is unattributable and another apparently uninscribed (TABLE 10.2).

There are, further, two apparently uninscribed altars. One is in Carlisle Museum, and as it was found in 1967 (Wright and Phillips 1975, 75, no. 215), it may well have been disturbed in the course of the roadworks. The other altar is in Brougham Castle and was apparently salvaged during construction works near to Brougham Castle Farm (Acc. no. 81029074).

Belatucadrus was a popular regional deity, at least in terms of inscriptions, in northern Cumbria (Fairless 1984, 225–8, fig. 13.1; Birley 1986, 60–2, fig. 5; Higham 1986, 227, fig. 5.9; Webster 1986, 74, fig. 45; Breeze and Dobson 2000, 281–2, fig. 35; Zoll 1995, 134, fig. 3). The name appears to mean ‘fair in destruction’ or ‘fair, shining one’ which is usually taken to mean that Belatucadrus was a solar deity (Webster 1986, 74–5; Green 1986, 111) and the statue may have been portrayed with a radiate crown (*RIB* I, no. 777). The god is equated with Mars in five of the 28 known inscriptions (18%) (Fairless 1984, 225).

Brougham has yielded almost twice as many dedications to this god as any other site. Because of the small numbers involved this could reflect only sample bias, but as the next largest collection comes from the nearby site of Old Penrith it does seem clear that Belatucadrus was particularly popular in this area and it may be thought that Brougham was a cult centre for this god. Three altars are known to have been found north and west of the fort (*RIB* I, no. 775–6, 779) which may suggest that there was a shrine or temple(s) there.

As Eric Birley and Kenneth Fairless observed, most of the votaries were civilians or auxiliaries, not citizens or higher-ranked soldiers, though *RIB* I, no. 780 is not certainly dedicated to Belatucadrus as Birley (1932, 137) proposed. Fairless suggests that Belatucadrus appealed to individuals in his role as family protector, and one of the Brougham dedications is on behalf of Baculo and his family (*RIB* I, no. 773; Fairless 1984, 228). However, the formula ‘*pro se et suis*’ is conventional and was used often, and towards many deities.

Most of the Brougham dedications seem likely to be of third-century date. Although Fairless suggests that the style of lettering on two of them (*RIB* I, nos 775–6) is indicative of a second-century date (Fairless 1984, 227), dating by this criteria is hazardous. Nonetheless, it is quite possible that some of the individuals buried in the Brougham cemetery had worshipped, amongst other gods, Belatucadrus.

Two milestones are known from Brougham. The first is *RIB* I, no. 2285, the second was found at Frenchfield, north-west of the river Eamont, in 1964. That stone misspells three of the Emperor Postumus’ names but also shows that it probably marked the 20th Roman mile from Carlisle, demonstrating that Brougham lay within the *civitas* of the *Carvetii* and also confirming that Carlisle was its centre (Sedgley 1975, 12, 42, no. 80).

## THE TOMBSTONES

It is, however, the tombstones from Brougham which are of most interest here. Although the majority of the tombstones from Brougham seem to have been for civilians, which is consistent with the overall trend in northern England (Biró 1975, 45–6), it is likely that those people who were commemorated had strong links with the military (Hope 1997, 247). In Roman Britain

there is a clear correlation between military sites and what has been called the 'epigraphic habit' (MacMullen 1982; Mann 1985).

The correlation between inscription and military sites has been used as an index of Romanisation (e.g. Biró 1975). However, it is important to remember that tombstones such as those found at Brougham also carried a visual language in the form of the representation of the dead. The reasons for the commemoration of the dead in this way were not simply to do with being able to read or speak Latin, or with being able to afford to commission the grave *stela* 'to preserve the memory.' The situation is rather more complex and subtle, with tombstones also being a means by which foreigners or outsiders could seek acceptance into a community (Hope 1997). Those who were commemorated by tombstones at Brougham were not necessarily representative of the community that was buried in the cemetery. Similarly, the cemetery may not be the only one associated with the fort and *vicus*.

#### PROVENANCE

Many of the older discoveries were found on the site of the cemetery and their findspot was often given in relation to the Countess' Pillar (e.g. Birley 1932, 128), providing a clear finds pattern. Lady Anne Clifford had the pillar erected in 1656 at the place where she parted from her mother for the last time and it is a well-known and striking local landmark.

The pillar stands by the roadside about 800m east of the Roman fort and the medieval and later castle. It is 4.3m high and bears sundials on three faces, the fourth has a plaque stating that Lady Anne left £4 a year to be paid 'every 2nd day of April for ever on ye stone table here hard by'. It is possible that the 'stone table' is the impost of an arch from the fort (Charlton 1988, 12; Tyson 1988; compare Bennett 1989). The nineteenth-century Hill manuscripts that were referred to by Eric Birley (1932, 128) in the hope that they might contain further information about the discovery of some inscribed stones do survive, and they are held by the Dean and Chapter Library at Carlisle. However, they contain details of the discovery of just two inscribed stones, the altar *RIB* I, no. 774 and tombstone *RIB* I, no. 785 (22 here), and that information derives from secondary sources which Birley had himself already considered.

The stones found in the excavations or their aftermath are reported on first, in order to distinguish between them and finds that were included in *RIB* I.

#### Inscribed tombstones found in the excavations

Parts of 13 inscribed tombstones were found in the course of the excavations, and transcriptions, but not illustrations, were included in R.P. Wright and E.J. Phillips's catalogue of the *Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones in Carlisle Museum*, which was published in 1975.

- 1 Gabled tombstone in twelve fragments reused in long cist **68** together with **9** below (3.13, FIG. 10.1).

Setting out lines are visible and it seems that the stone may already have been weathered when inscribed as these lines appear to go through fractures.

D(is et Manibus) ET M(emoriae) |NITTIVN|IS VIXIT|ANNOS|XXXX ET ME|NSES VI|.]|TALIO CON|IUX TITVLVM| PONENDVM|CUR[a]VIT

'To the spirits (of the departed) and the memory: Nittiunis lived 40 years and 6 (or 7) months. Talio, her husband, had this memorial erected.'

Wright 1968, 208, no. 15; 1969, 246, no. xxxx; Wright and Phillips 1975, 57–8, no. 136.

- 2 Fragment of a gabled tombstone with a shell niche. Unprovenanced (FIG. 10.2).

D(is) M(anibus)[...]

'To the spirits of the departed...'

Wright thought that the D was followed by the remains of a splayed M, but this is not now visible.

Wright 1968, 204, no. 9; Wright and Hassall 1973, 333(b); Wright and Phillips 1975, 60, no. 142.

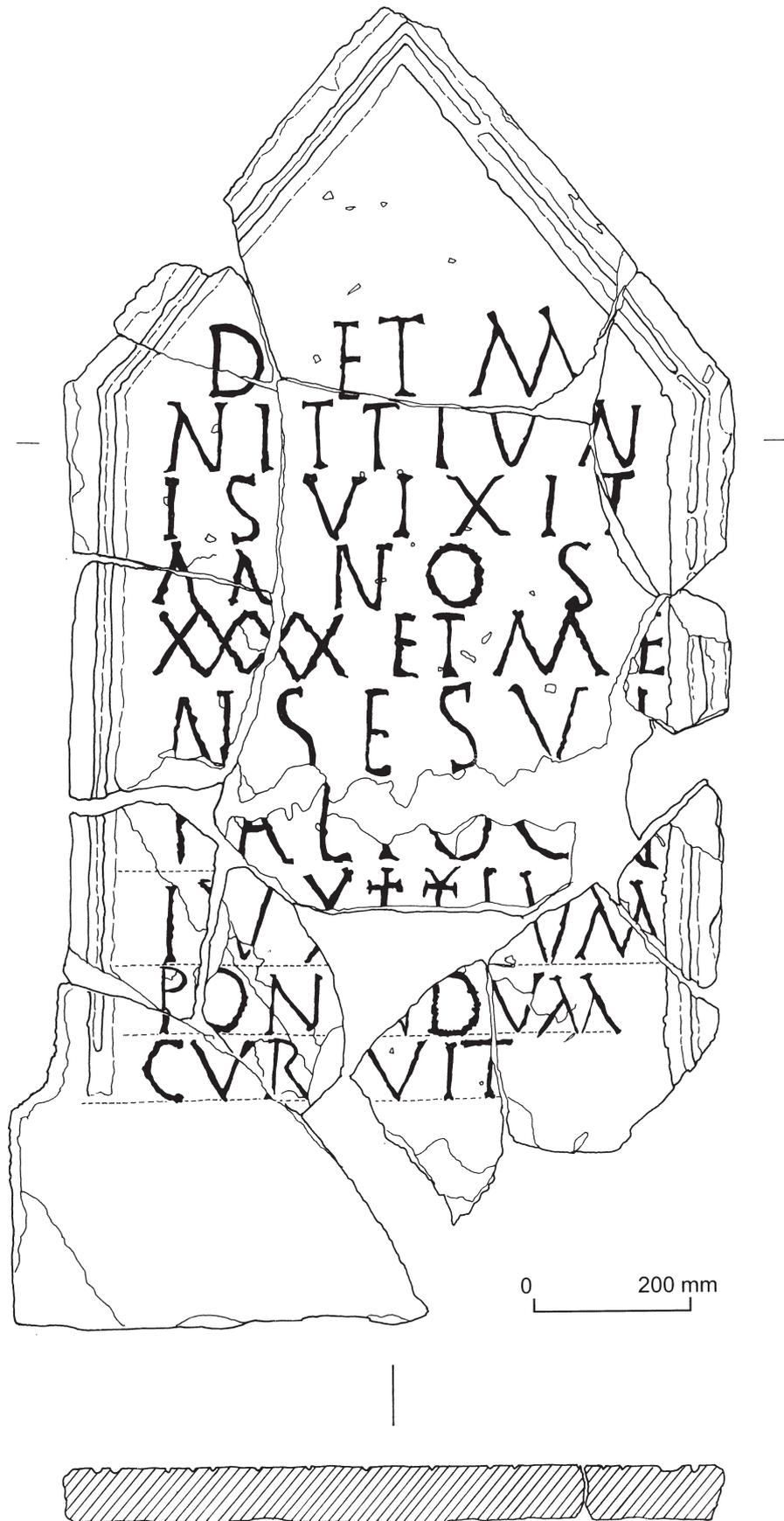


FIG. 10.1 Tombstone 1 from 68.

- 3 Fragment of a gabled tombstone. Unprovenanced (FIG. 10.2).  
The lettering is well executed.  
D(is) M(anibus) [e]T[...]  
'To the spirits of the departed and...'  
Wright 1968, 208, no. 16; Wright and Phillips 1975, 60, no. 143.
- 4 Three fragments of a tombstone. Reused in long cist 67 (FIG. 10.3).  
One fragment may have formed part of a gable with M(anibus) above a curved moulding.  
The second fragment is from the right margin with the letters.  
...|ET|...|ATR|...  
Wright 1968, 208, no. 18; Wright and Phillips 1975, 60, no. 144.

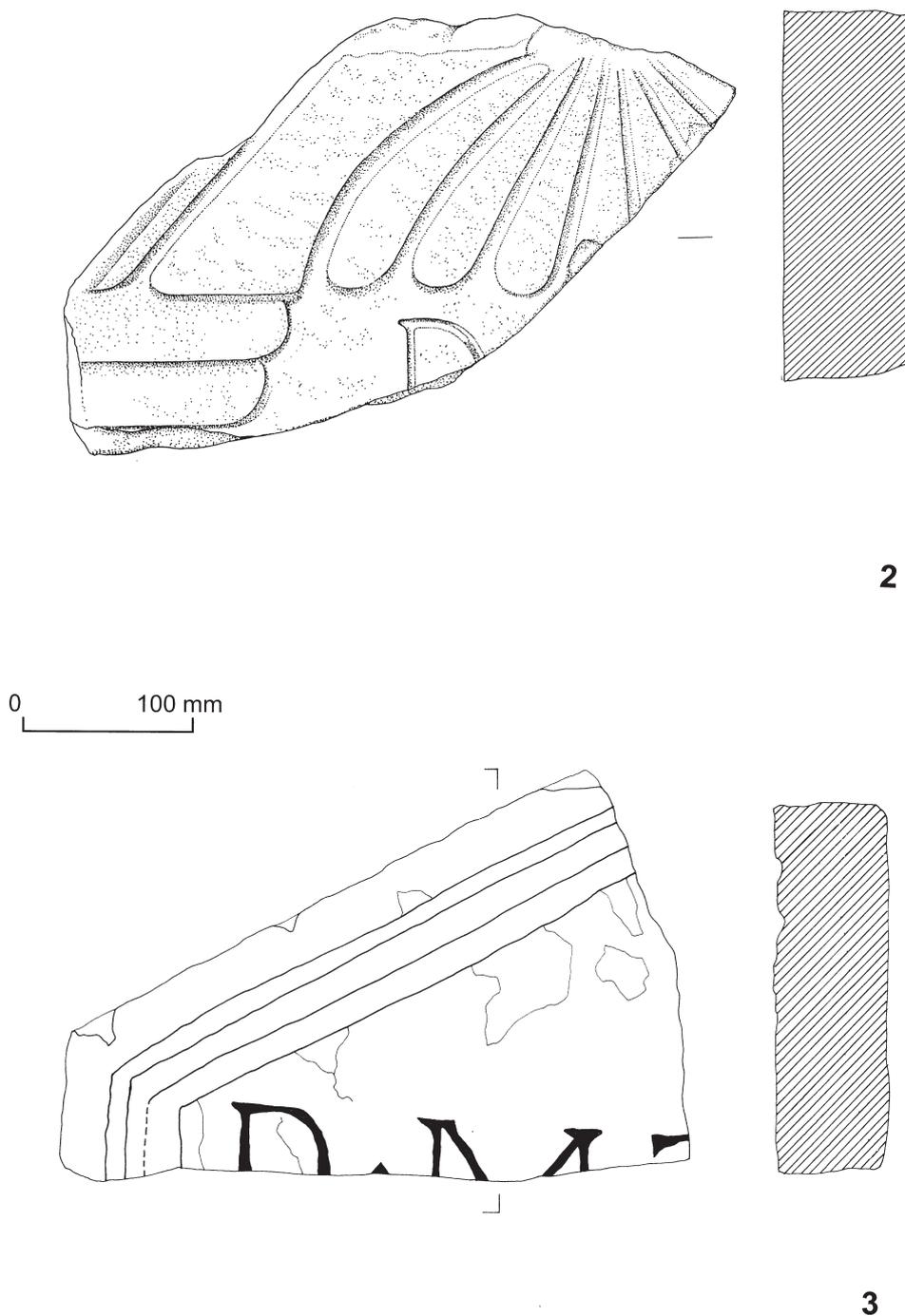


FIG. 10.2 Tombstones 2 and 3.

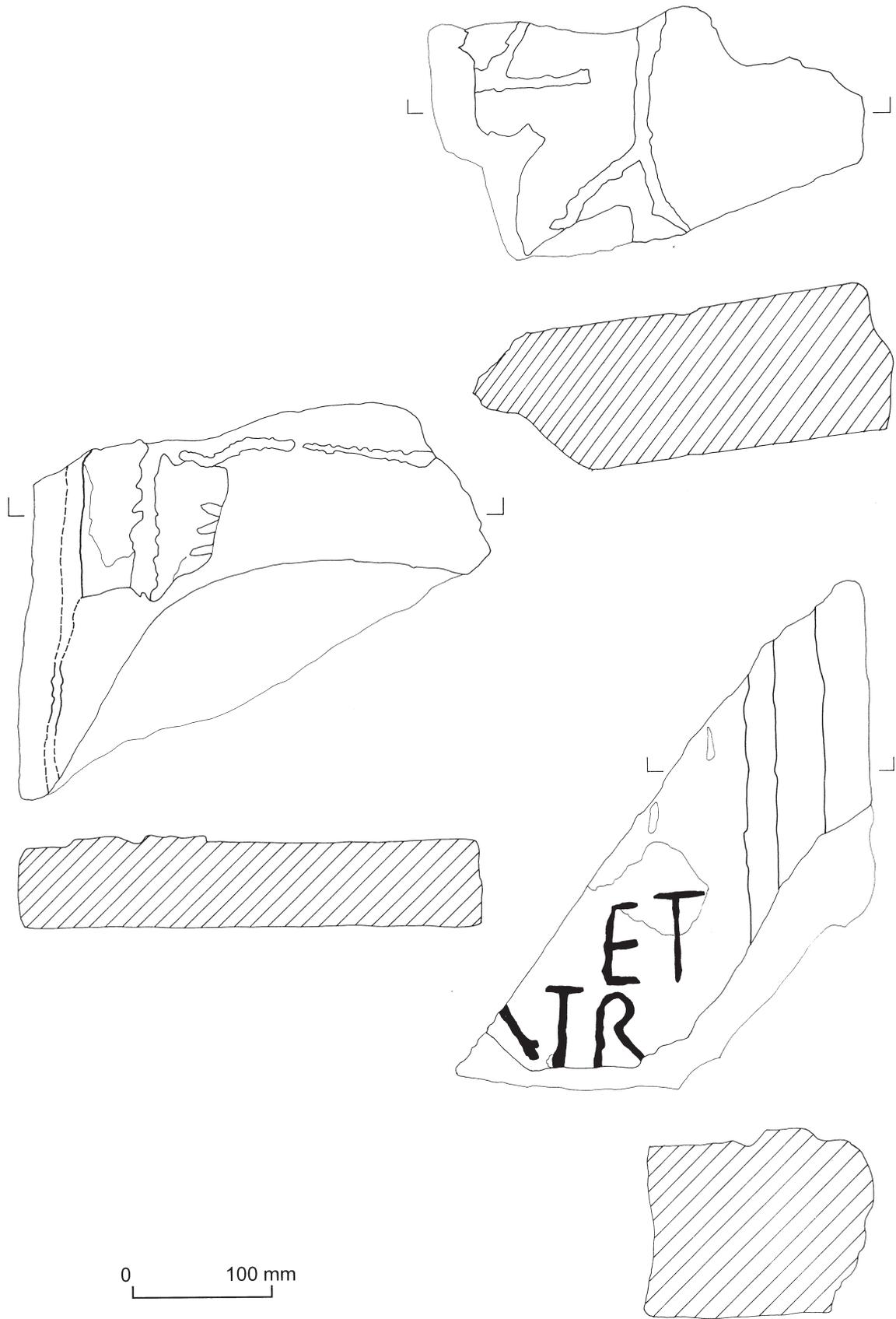


FIG. 10.3 Tombstone 4 from 67.

- 5 Two (probably joining) fragments from the gable of a tombstone. Reused in long cist **15** (FIG. 10.4).  
D(is) [M(anibus) S(acrum)] | [...  
'Sacred to the spirits of the departed...'  
Wright 1968, 208, no. 17; Wright and Phillips 1975, 60–1, no. 145.
- 6 Fragment of a gabled tombstone. Unprovenanced (FIG. 10.4).  
AV[...  
Probably preceded by Dis Manibus on the gable.  
Wright 1968, 209, no. 10; Wright and Phillips 1975, 61, no. 146.
- 7 Fragment presumed to be from a tombstone. Unprovenanced (FIG. 10.5).  
...]N ^ I[...|...] VS^ V[...  
Wright 1968, 204, no. 11; Wright and Phillips 1975, 61, no. 148.
- 8 Three fragments each with the right hand moulding. Unprovenanced (FIG. 10.6).  
...]PA| ... |;...]CV|;...]V|.  
...]Curaverunt|;...had this set up...  
The order of the three pieces is not certain. It is difficult to close the apex of an 'A' in the first fragment and PR and PH are also possible readings, but PA is the only likely word ending. Wright and Phillips suggested that there was a symbol resembling a modern number 2 placed sideways after the PA of the first fragment but there is no evidence for this and it seems to be CV which could be mistaken for a 2 as the break between the C and V is faint. The number may be part of the life or age of the deceased.  
Wright 1967, 204, no. 12; Wright and Phillips 1975, 61, no. 149.
- 9 Two parts of a tombstone. Found reused in long cist **68** together with **1** above (FIG. 10.7).  
The first part in two fragments, the second has part of the left-hand margin.  
(a) ...]VACON[...|...]VM[...  
(b) ...CON|IVX I[...|PONE|NDVM...  
...spouse...(had it) set up.  
Wright 1968, 209, no. 23; Wright and Phillips 1975, 62, no. 153.
- 10 Fragment of a slab, presumably a tombstone. Unprovenanced (FIG. 10.7).  
The 'X' was no longer visible in 1990.  
...]V[...|...]ORIX[...|...]CV[...  
...[Cun]orix (?)  
The medial point after the V suggests a numeral.  
Wright 1968, 204, no. 13; Wright and Phillips 1975, 62, no. 154.
- 11 Five fragments from the lower part of a tombstone with the left margin lost. Only three fragments survived in 1990. Unprovenanced (FIG. 10.8).  
...]......|[TITVLV]M PONENDVM|]CVRAVIT  
'Merispater (?) had this set up'  
Wright read the top line of the fragment as Rerisiris, though this is by no means certain and ...]merispater is quite possible, i.e. the (German?) personal name ending in -meris of the father of the deceased (compare *RIB* I, no. 926, Fersomeris) (Wright 1968, 209, no. 24; Wright and Phillips 1975, 63, no. 158). Although Wright considered a fragment with what he read as ...MP[...|...] CV[... as coming from a separate stone (Wright 1968, 209, no. 26; Wright and Phillips 1975, 61, no. 147), it joins the larger fragment and incorporates the beginning of Ponendum and Curavit. Both stones also have the same small finds number. (402).

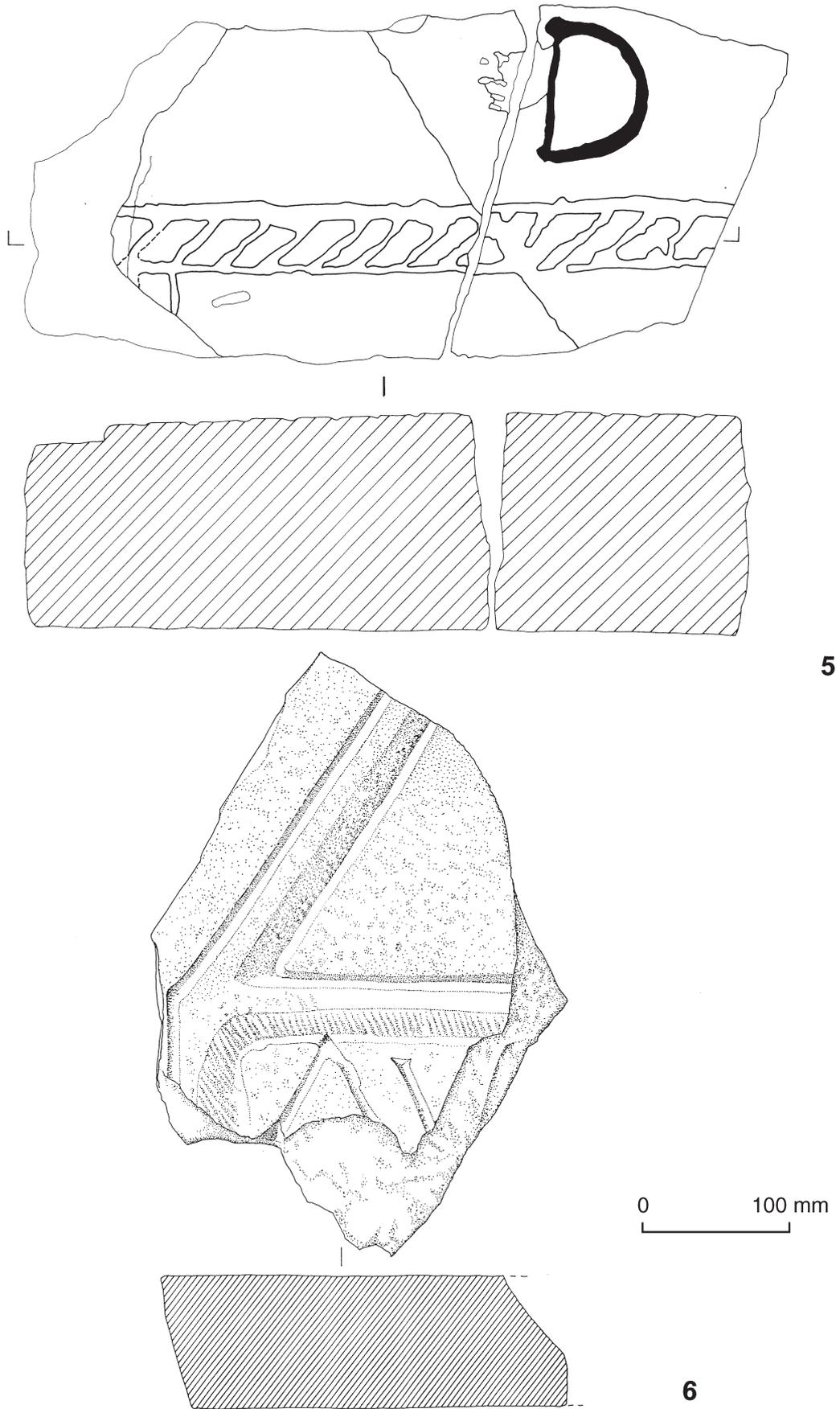


FIG. 10.4 Tombstone 5 from 15 and Tombstone 6.

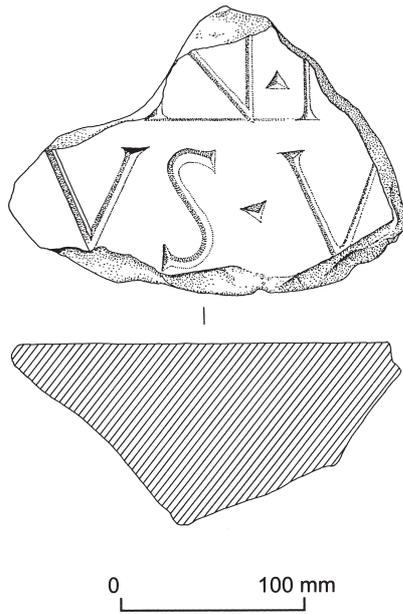


FIG. 10.5 Tombstone 7.

- 12 Seven fragments from the base of a tombstone with a fragment of one margin. Unprovenanced (FIG. 10.9).

...PONEN]DV[M|C]VRAVERVNT

'They had this set up'

Wright expanded the largest fragment to this reading (Wright 1968, 209, no. 25; Wright and Phillips 1975, 63, no. 159) but another stone, which was thought to be separate, and read as VA joins it (Wright 1968, 209, no. 27; Wright and Phillips 1975, 62, no. 152). Because of damage at the fracture the reading is not entirely clear but is almost certainly Curaverunt. The uninscribed fragments are likely to be from the lower part of the panel. Again the stones have the same small finds number. (403).

- 13 Fragment of a tombstone with the left-hand margin. Unprovenanced (FIG. 10.8).

AVR(elia) C[...|VINDA V[ixit...|ANNIS[...

'...Aurelia. C[uno]vinda lived...years'

Wright read the medial point before Vinda as

indicating that it was a separate name. However, there are also traces of a medial point before Aurelia which suggest that the stone cutter was separating lines as well as words. As Birley suggests (1979, 113) the name is most likely to have been Cunovinda, although it should be noted that there is a name Vindauscius. Wright also read the fragmentary last line as the age of the deceased but this is not certain.

Wright 1968, 208–9, no. 20; Wright 1969, 246; Wright and Phillips 1975, 60, no. 140.

### Inscribed tombstones found after the completion of the excavations

Two tombstones were recovered from the site after the completion of the 1967 excavations by Mr A. Priestman. They were temporarily brought to Clifton Hall Farm in 1990 where they were examined. The stones are currently (2000) held by Mr Priestman's son-in-law, Mr E. Holliday, at The Garth, Clifton.

- 14 Three fragments of a tombstone, only two of which have survived. The two fragments are likely to have joined (FIG. 10.9).

...]MTA[...|...P]ANNONICI M[...|...VI]IXIT ANNOS LXX[...|...ISONPI[...

'... Pannonian(?) M... lived 70 years'

Wright 1968, 209, no. 21.

- 15 Two fragments of the upper part of a tombstone, which are again likely to have joined. There is a cable moulding at the base of the gable and below it is the inscription (FIG. 10.10).

...]R TATA V[...|... RQOPO[...

'...Tata lived...'

Wright 1968, 209, no. 22.

- 16 Fragment from the upper part of a tombstone found in dismantling a field wall on the site of the cemetery in 1967 (FIG. 10.11).

[D]M[...|INI•|[...

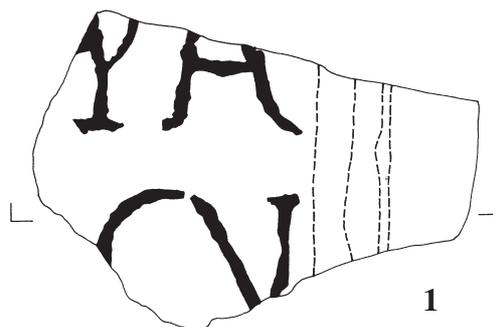
After D(is) M(anibus) in the gable, the top line is likely to have given the name of the deceased.

Wright 1968, 208, no. 19.

- 17 The right-hand side of a tombstone with the moulding discovered in ploughing in 1974 by Mr J. S. Slack 100 yds (91m) to the north of the modern route of the A66. The stone is at Brougham Farm (FIG. 10.11).

...]ALIS VIXIT|[Annis] .. LXXX. |[...u]S  
A(v)NC(ulo)|[Titul]VM POSV(it)  
'...]alis lived 80 years. [...]us set up the inscription  
to his uncle'

Wright *et al.* 1975, 285, no. 5; Tomlin 1976.



- 18 A fragment from the base of a tombstone with cabling similar to nos 5 and 15 is held at Brougham Castle. There are no records of its discovery but it seems probable that it derives from the cemetery (FIG. 10.12).

#### Inscribed tombstones found before the excavations

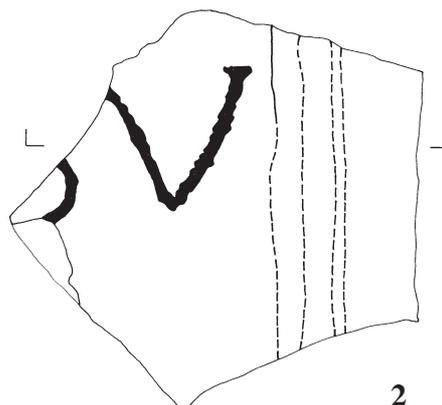
- 19 Lower part of a tombstone (FIG. 10.13).

AN LXXX MEN V|POSIERVNT FILI

'lived 80 years, five months; his or her sons set  
this up.'

Found during ploughing in 1960 north of the A66  
and about 700 yds (640m) east of the fort.

Wright 1961, 193, no. 6.

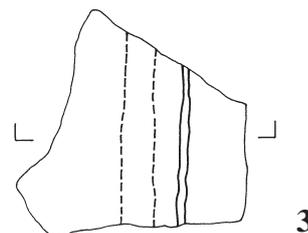


- 20 Fragment of the lower right-hand part of a  
tombstone (FIG. 10.13).

]ET MES| ...]PONERE|...

This gives part of the deceased's age and probably  
the name of the person who had the stone erected.  
Found in 1960 in ploughing the same cemetery  
area as 19 above.

Wright 1961, 193, no. 7.



- 21 Most of a tombstone (FIG. 10.14).

In relief a cloaked figure with the inscription below;  
...]|ANNAMORIS PATER|ET RESSONA  
MATER|F(aciendum) C(urauerent)

'...Annamoris, his father, and Ressonna, his mother,  
had this put up.'

Found in a field about 500 yds (457m) south of Brougham Castle and used in weiring on  
the River Eamont. Pale brown medium-grained, slightly micaceous sandstone, probably  
a Carboniferous sandstone (Young n.d., no. 6).

RIB I, no. 784.

- 22 A complete gabled tombstone with a pinecone motif in the gable (FIG. 10.15).

D(is) M(anibus)|CRESCENTINV|S VIXIT ANNIS|XVIII  
VIDARIS|PATER POSVIT

'To the spirits of the departed; Crescentinus lived 18 years. Vidaris his father had this set up.'

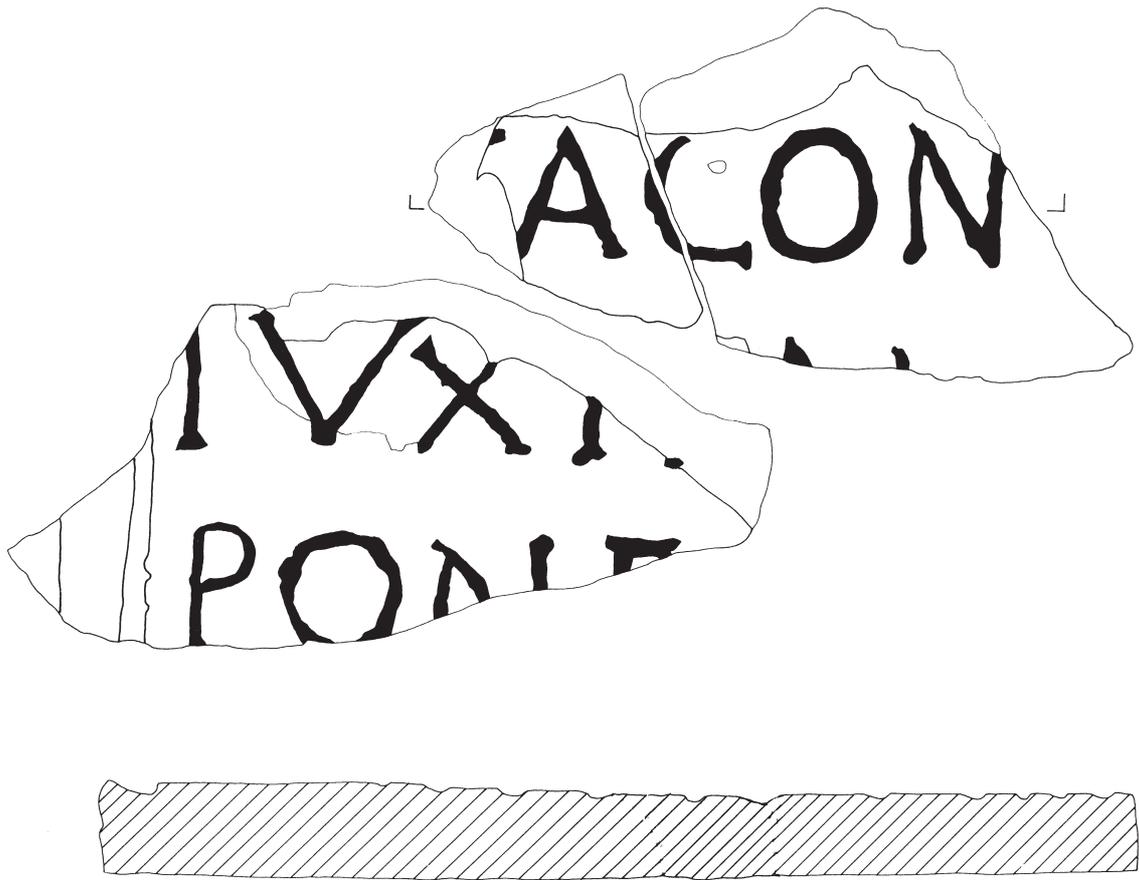
Found 'near the Countess's Pillar in 1828 in a field on the right hand side of the road going  
to Penrith.' Purplish red Penrith Sandstone (Young n.d., no. 7).

RIB I, no. 785; Hill MSS, vol. 5, 295.

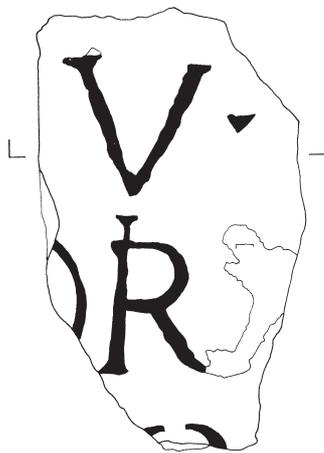


0 200 mm

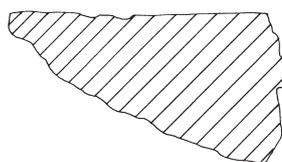
FIG. 10.6 Tombstone 8.



9

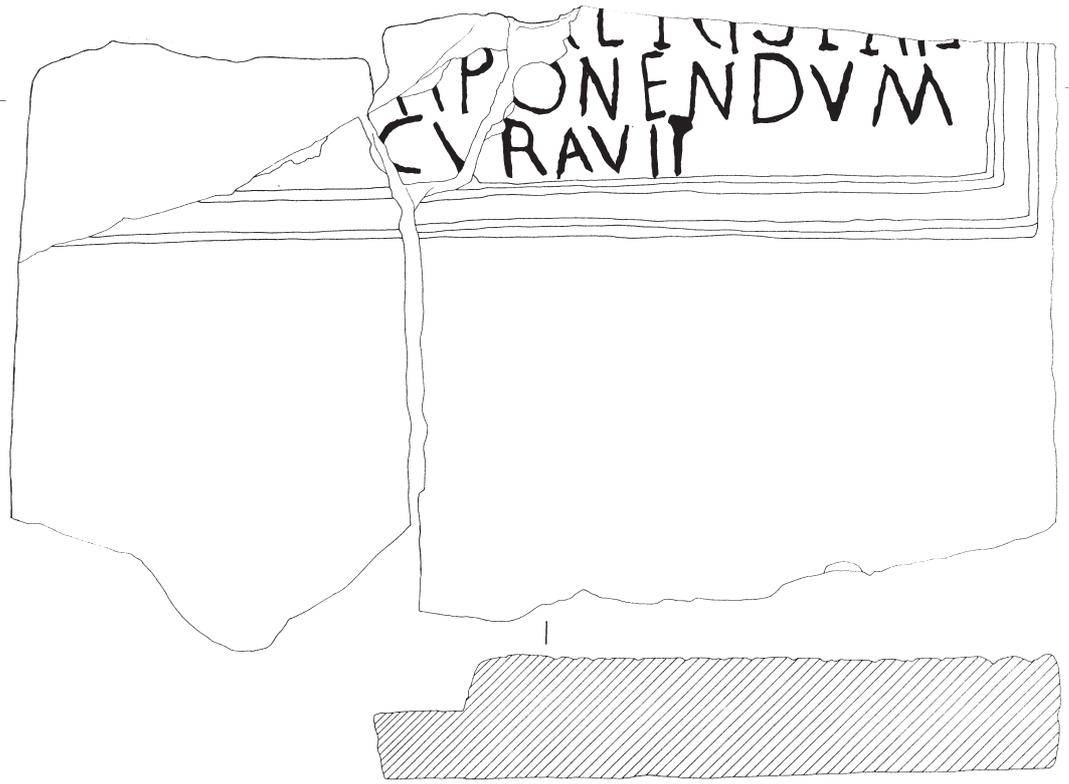


0 100 mm



10

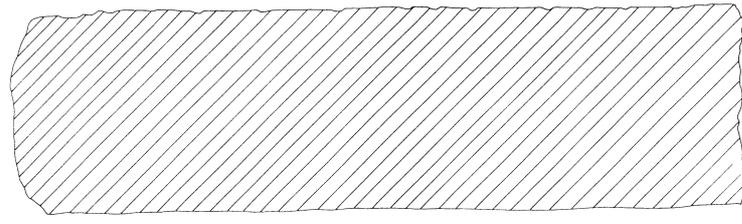
FIG. 10.7 Tombstone 9 from 68 and Tombstone 10.



11



0 200 mm



13

FIG. 10.8 Tombstones 11 and 13.

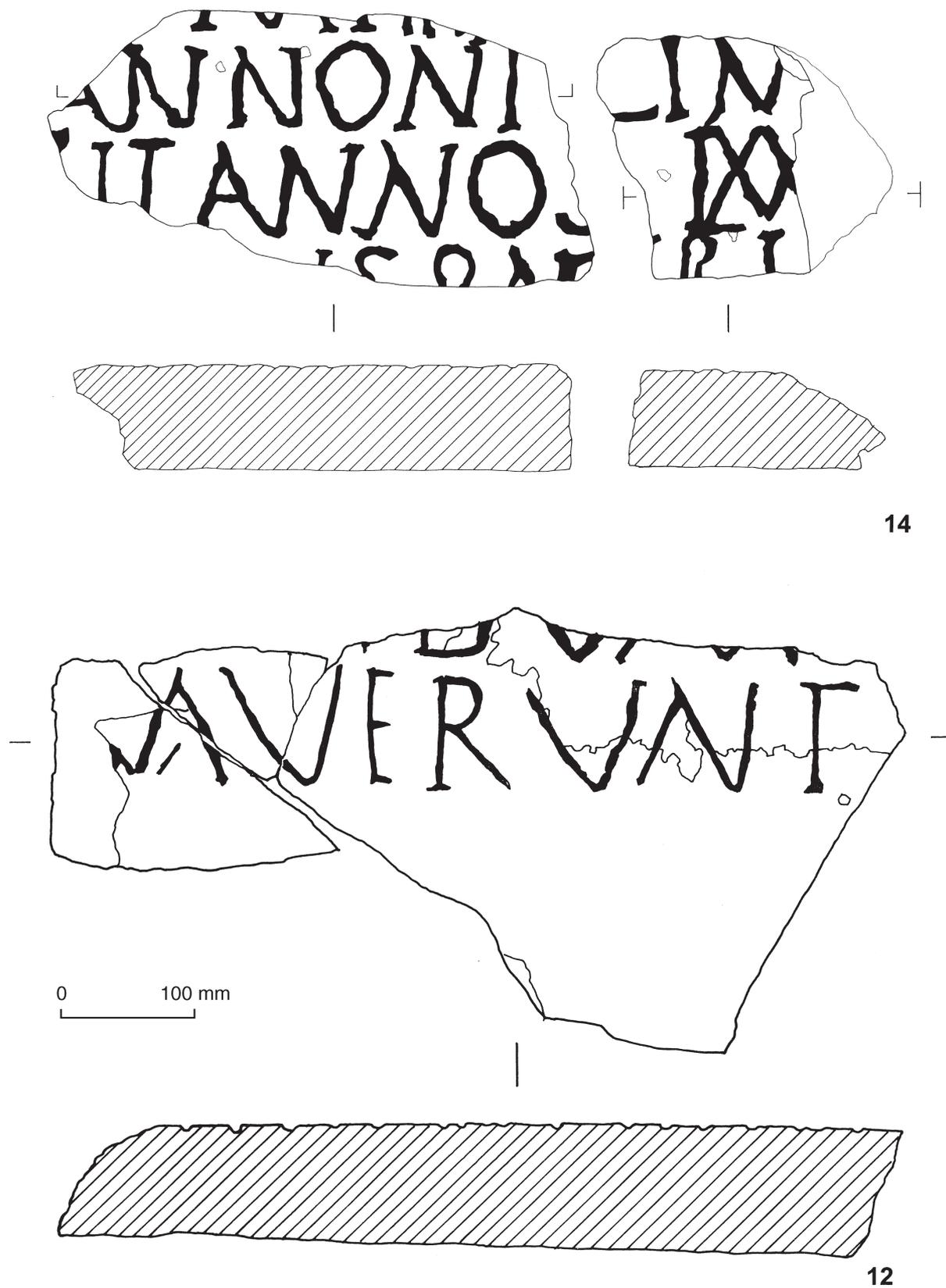


FIG. 10.9 Tombstones 14 and 12.

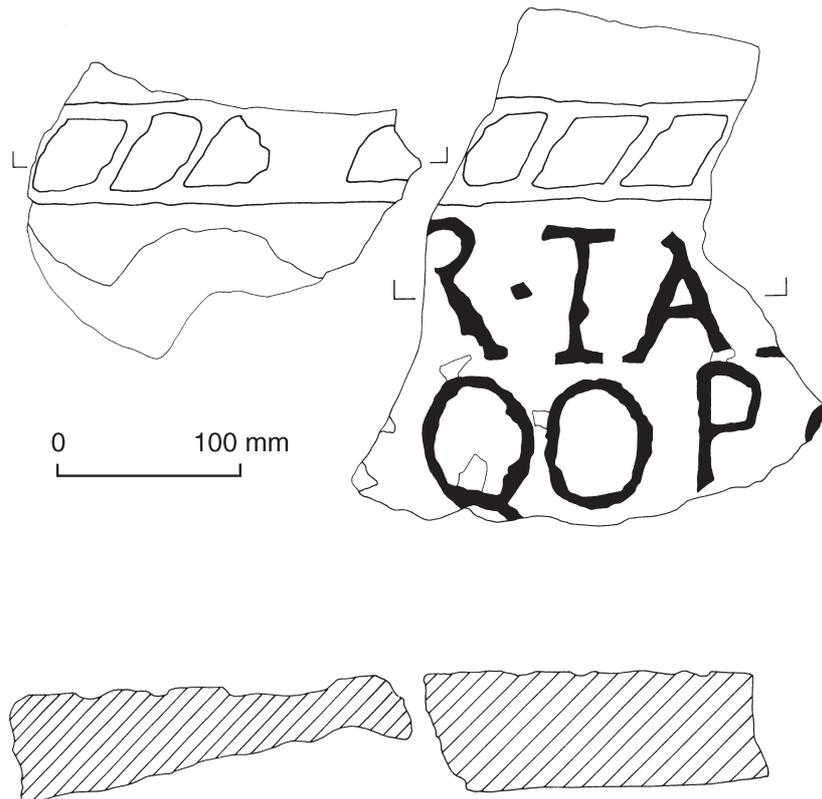
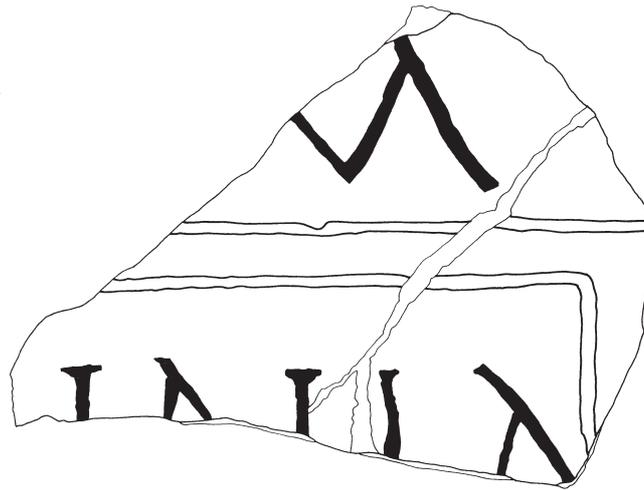
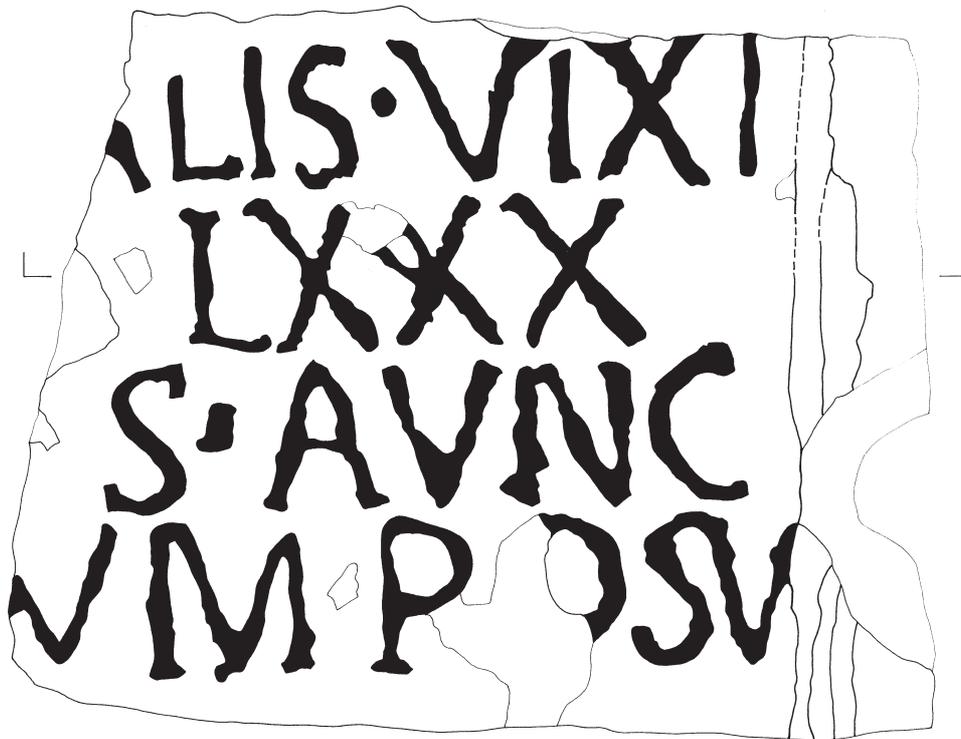


FIG. 10.10 Tombstone 15.

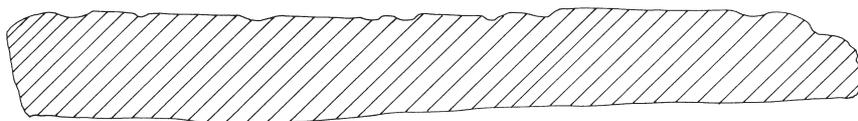
- 23 A complete small rectangular tombstone (FIG. 10.16).  
 PLVMA[e]|LVNARIS|TITULO POS(uit)|CONIVGI| CARIS(s)I|M(ae)  
 'To Plumae, his beloved wife, Lunaris set up this as a memorial.'  
 Found in 1874 on the north-east side of the (modern) A66, immediately opposite the Countess' Pillar. Orange-red to brown Penrith Sandstone (Young n.d., no. 6).  
*RIB I*, no. 786.
- 24 Part or all of a tombstone which is now built into a ceiling in Brougham Castle and not completely visible (Summerson *et al.* 1997) (FIG. 10.17).  
 D(is) <C> M(anibus)|TITTUS M[...] VIXIT ANNI[is|  
 pl]VS MINVS XXXII M[...] |FRATER TI[t]VLVM|[posui]T  
 'To the spirits of the departed; Tittus M[...] lived 32 years more or less. M[...], his brother, set up this inscription.'  
 This stone was reused in Brougham Castle before 1760 and sometimes suggested to be the tombstone of a Christian because of the usage 'plus/minus'. *RIB I*, no. 787.
- 25 An inscribed slab with the word *Civis* suggesting that it may be a tombstone with *Civis* giving the community of the deceased. Now virtually illegible (FIG. 10.18).  
 ]CIVIS|♥S[|]CI  
 '...tribesman...'  
 Found in, or before, 1935 in repairing Brougham Castle.  
*RIB I*, no. 788.



16



0 100 mm



17

FIG. 10.11 Tombstones 16 and 17.

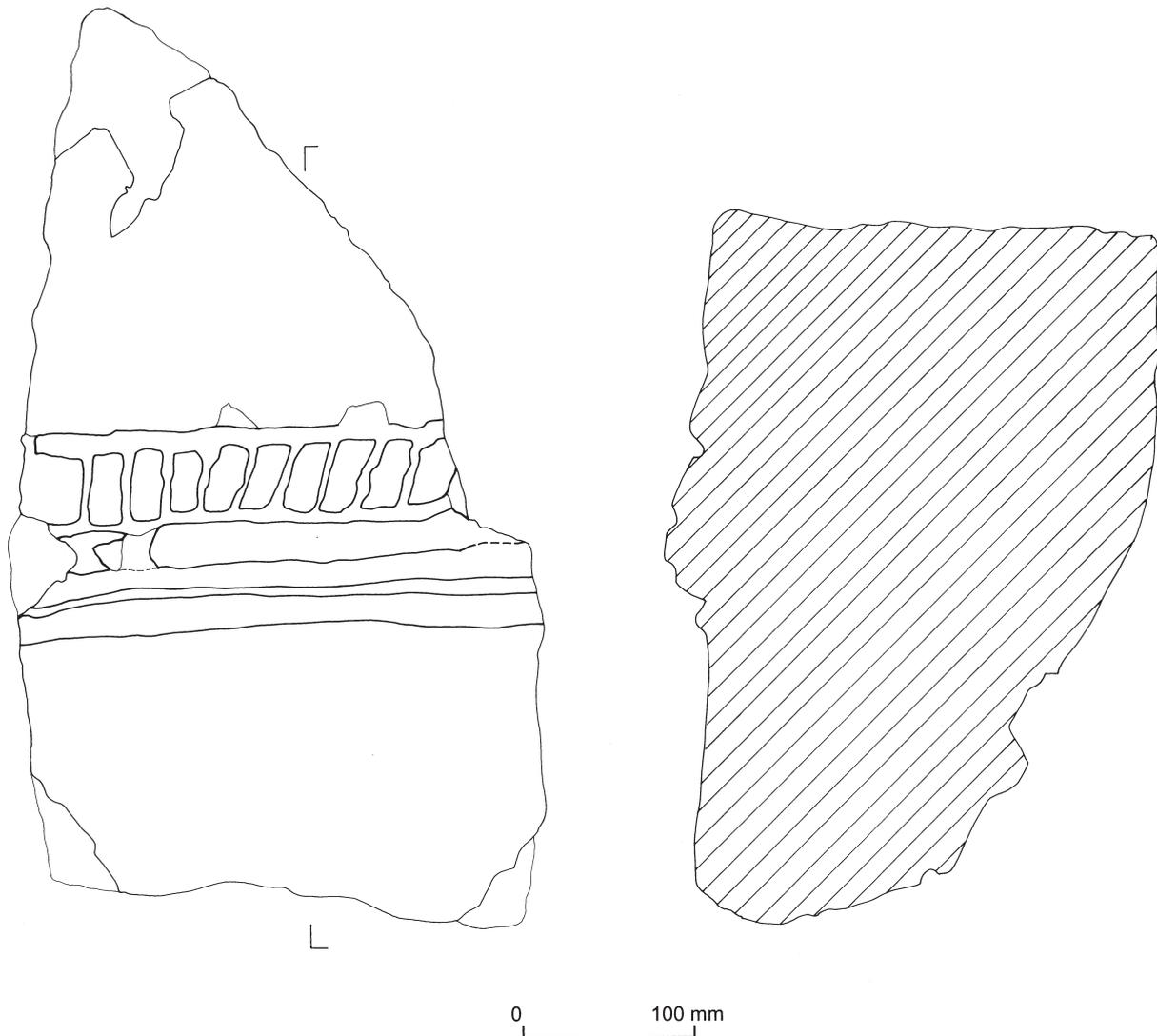


FIG. 10.12 Tombstone 18.

#### SCULPTURED TOMBSTONES

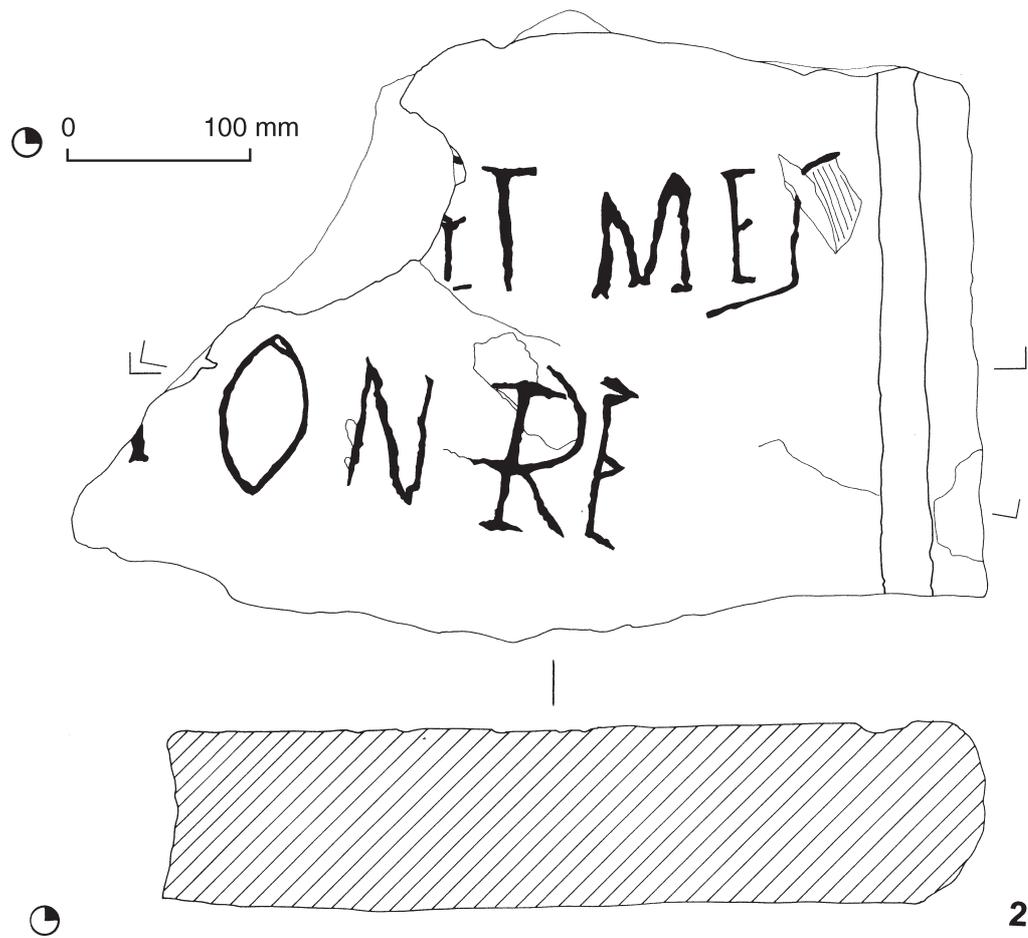
Additionally parts of a further four tombstones or monuments with sculptured decoration, but no surviving inscriptions, have been recovered at Brougham. Other decorated stones have certainly been lost, as in 1725 Stukeley saw 'a pretty busto' and a 'basso relevo' near the Countess' Pillar (Stukeley 1776, 45–6 – see p. 4 for full quotation). These stones do not seem to have survived, but Stukeley's 'busto' may have been a tombstone with a bust of the deceased in the gabled niche, although these monuments are not particularly common in northern Britain.

#### Decorated tombstones found in the excavations

**SS1** A badly damaged tombstone in two parts showing two men, one of whom is dressed in a tunic and cloak, which is fastened by what appears to be a disc brooch suggesting that he was a soldier. Found in 1967 apparently in the cemetery, but there are no further records of its discovery. Wright and Phillips described the better preserved figure as reclining on a couch (1975, 77, no. 226) but the broken, lower, part of the stone shows the figures to be standing; assuming that the same stone was actually being described (FIG. 10.19).



19



20

FIG. 10.13 Tombstones 19 and 20.



FIG. 10.14 Tombstone 21.

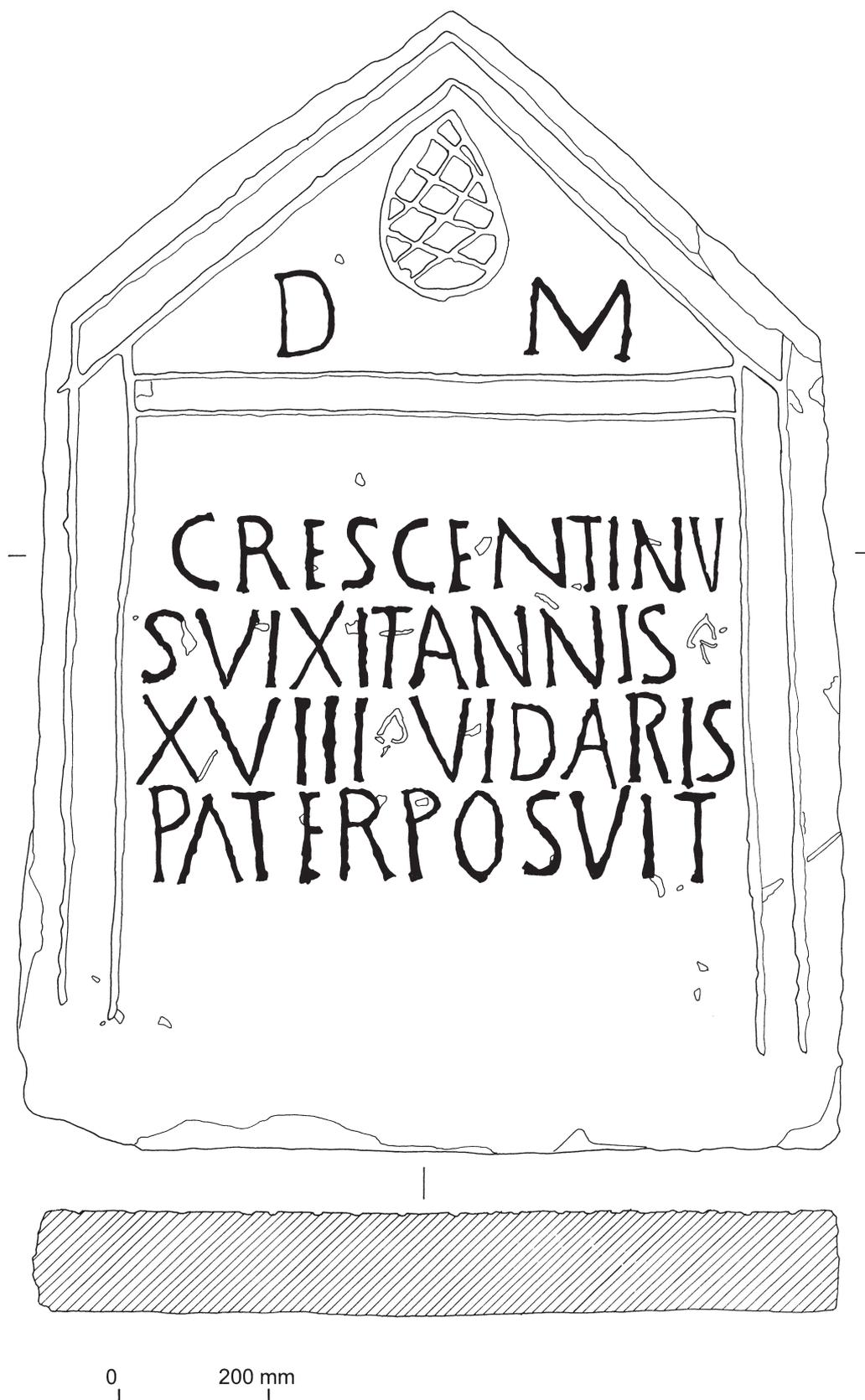


FIG. 10.15 Tombstone 22.

**SS2** A large block with a finely worked hippocamp in relief. This was found in **F40**, a monumental circular tomb. On excavation it appeared to have been reused, face down, as a plinth in the centre of the Monument (p. 31). Whether it was reused from another burial or monument in this role, or derived from the superstructure of **F40** is not known (FIG. 10.20).

#### Decorated tombstones found after the completion of the excavations

**SS3** Part of the chest and right arm of a figure wearing a tunic and cloak. The elbow is bent and appears to hold a shafted object. Found by Mr E. Holliday in 1967 in salvage work after the completion of the excavations (FIG. 10.21).  
Wright and Phillips 1975, 77, no. 227.

#### Decorated tombstones found before the excavations

**SS4** Part of a canopied tombstone with the head of a beardless man with curly hair, a small nose and mouth, and large prominent eyes. Found close to the foundations of a large stone structure in 1958 while erecting an electricity pylon which proved on further excavation to be the Monument (*see also* 349) (FIG. 10.21).  
Richmond 1959, 106, pl. xviii, 5; Wright and Phillips 1975, 77, no. 225; Ross 1968, 89, pl. 33a.



FIG. 10.16 Tombstone 23.

#### CHRONOLOGY

As is usual, none of the tombstones bear dates but as all but one (21) seem to come from the cemetery under consideration, the excavated areas of which were in use for cremation burial between *c.* A.D. 200/220–300/310, it seems likely that they are also mainly of this date. Epigraphic and stylistic considerations tend to support this dating.

#### Epigraphic considerations

Stylistically many of the tombstones are similar, both in their gabled shape and in their scripts. The contraction of *Dis Manibus* to *DM* rather than an intermediate stage is suggestive of a later second or third-century date. The *gentilicium* *Aurelia* on 13 also suggests a third-century date, and this is part of a well-attested pattern (Biró 1975, 30).

The style of script on one tombstone (23) has been thought to indicate a third-century date (Hübner 1873) but this may reflect only that the style has been influenced by cursive writing. The rectangular shape of the stone, which contrasts with the usually gabled shape of the other stones, might be a better reason for suggesting that it may be one of the later memorials.

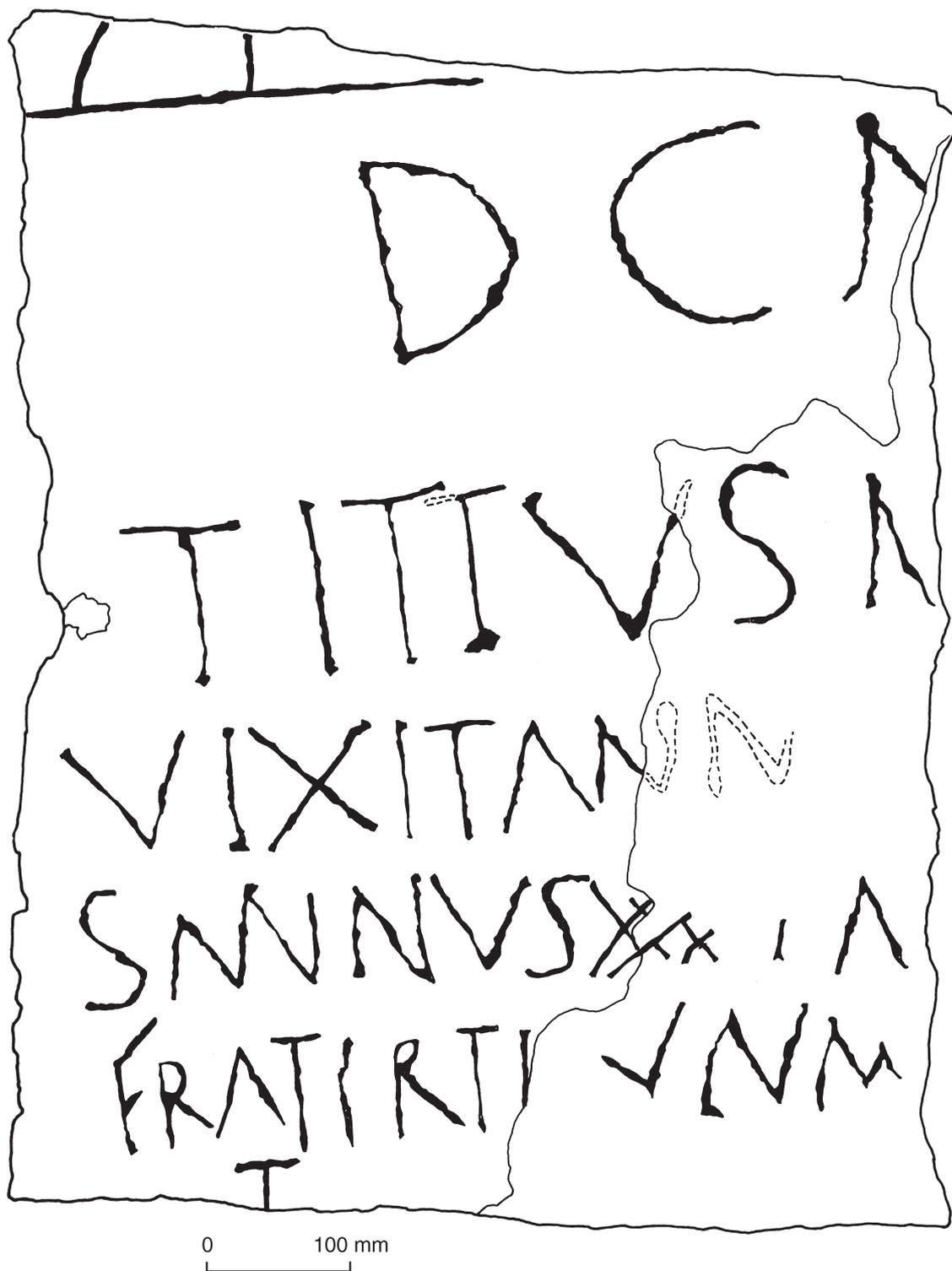


FIG. 10.17 Tombstone 24. Scale 1:4.

There is some variety in the quality of the lettering and although traditionally the better quality inscriptions (7 and 10) would be interpreted as indicating an earlier date, it may reflect only the skills of different masons or the investment in the commission. The soft sandstones of the Penrith series would also not have been conducive to precise work. Another possibility is that these stones were set into monumental tombs rather than having been freestanding, though this is also the case for some of the other stones (*cf.* Richmond 1962, xxxviii).

One tombstone (24) has been thought to be Christian on the basis of the usage 'plus/minus' reflecting a publicly advertised indifference to earthly age, hinting at a Christian belief in an eternal afterlife (Collingwood 1922). This view has been questioned by Toynbee (1953, 14) and although Collingwood and Richmond retained the suggestion (1969, 208–9) and Thomas also inclines to it (1981, 127–8), it must be doubted if this is sufficient evidence to suggest that the deceased was a Christian. This is particularly so as the inscription also employs the pagan formula 'Dis Manibus.' On the other hand, the phrase 'plus/minus' is not abbreviated which may suggest that it was not well known in Britain (compare *RIB* I, no. 955). Even if accepted as Christian, there is no reason why the tombstone should be any later in date than the others from the cemetery are.<sup>1</sup>

### Stylistic considerations

Where the shape of the tombstone can be determined all the tombstones seem to have been free-standing stelae with a gabled top (1–3, 6, 22 and possibly 5 also). In one instance, 2, there is shell decoration within the gable. There are no portrait busts or *totenmahl* representations and this may be for chronological reasons (*cf.* Faust 1998). As a group the decorated tombstones are comparable to stones from northern Britain that are thought to be of second or third-century date (e.g. Mattern 1989, 742), and the stylistic homogeneity of the Brougham finds is noteworthy.

Figures on tombstones from High Rochester are comparable to that sculpted on the inscribed tombstone 21 from Brougham and are suggested to be of early third-century date on the basis of the hairstyle (Phillips 1977, 100–1, no. 272–3, pl. 74).

The cabling on inscribed tombstones 5, 15 and 18 (taking them to be from separate tombstones) is, however, found on inscription borders of Antonine date at, for example, Carlisle (*RIB* I, no. 946; Coulston and Phillips 1988, 157–8, no. 474, pl. 107), Corbridge (*RIB* I, no. 1148; Phillips 1977, 32–3, no. 85, pl. 25), York (*RIB* I, no. 658; *RCHM York*, pl. 47, 54; Tufi 1983, 11, no. 21, pl. 5) and Carleith (*RIB* I, no. 2204; Keppie and Arnold 1984, 56, no. 154, pl. 38, 154). Cabling also occurs on foliate capitals, and on a tombstone at Halton Chesters for which a date in the first half of the third century has been suggested (Phillips 1977, 95, no. 258, pl. 70). A similar date has been suggested for an example from Carlisle (*RIB* I, no. 960; Coulston and Phillips 1988, 166, no. 494, pl. 110).

Within this broad grouping a few more localised traits are apparent. Motifs such as the pinecone in the gable of tombstone 22 have a northern British distribution with a particular emphasis in the North-West (Biró 1975, 36, fig. 19; Blagg 1977, 51–2, fig. 4.1).

Sculptured stone SS1 bears comparison with a series of representations of third-century soldiers (Coulston 1987; 1991). The sculptured stone SS3 with the arm and tunic is also of a soldier and is comparable to two gravestones from Housesteads thought to be of second or third-century date (Coulston and Phillips 1988, 84–5, no. 202–3, pl. 57, 202–3). There is also a related fragment thought to be of early third-century date which was found in the headquarters building of the fort at Vindolanda (*ibid*, 130, no. 357, pl. 90, 357) which might not be from a tombstone. Lastly, there is a very finely worked tombstone fragment from Carlisle that is suggested to be of second or third-century date (*ibid*, 168–9, no. 498, pl. 111, 498).

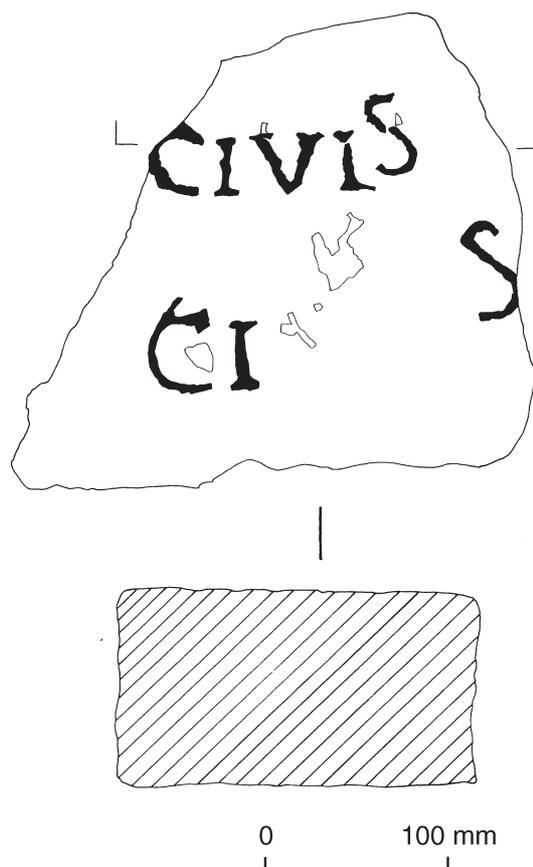


FIG. 10.18 Tombstone 25.



FIG. 10.19 Sculptured stone SS1. Scale 1:5.



FIG. 10.20 Sculptured stone SS2. Scale 1:4.

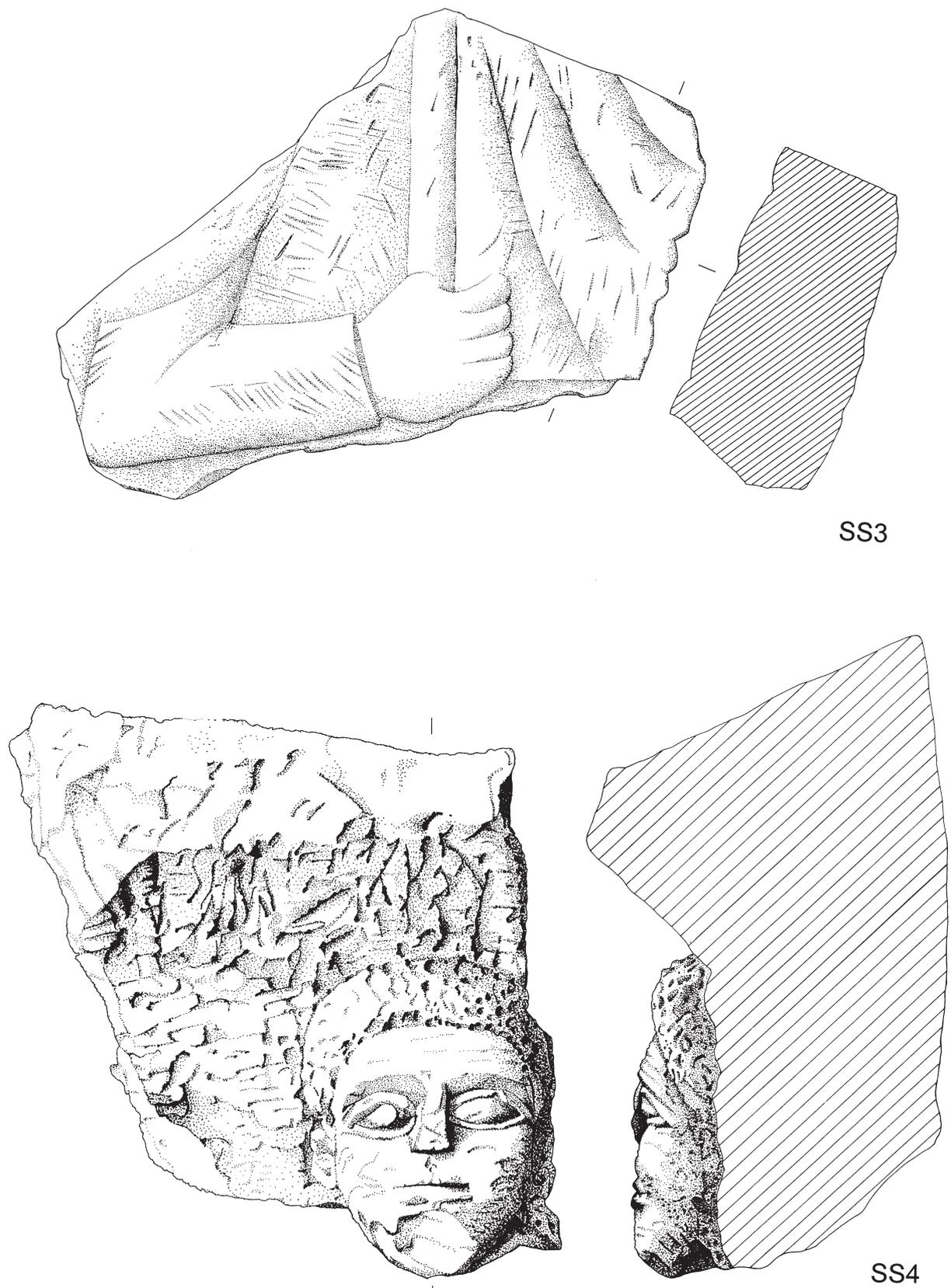


FIG. 10.21 Sculptured stones SS3 and SS4. Scale 1:4.

The sculptured stones that probably derive from the monumental tombs appear to be of a higher quality and, unlike the tombstones, may not have been made at Brougham. The head (SS4) is comparable to one from Carlisle which is more naturalistically and finely worked but which may be a representation of Hercules rather than a tombstone. This piece is thought to be of second-century date (Coulston and Phillips 1988, 167, no. 496, pl. 111, 496) and to be a product of a Carlisle workshop (*cf.* Phillips 1976), and this could be the source of the Brougham stone.

The same may be true of sculptured stone SS2, which shows a hippocamp. Although no other hippocamps are yet known, fantastic marine beasts that can be related to SS2 occur on a number of stones from Scotland (Keppie and Arnold 1984, no. 84 (triton), nos 135, 152, 154 and 171 (capricorns)), and England (Coulston and Phillips 1988, no. 87 (sea monster), nos 249, 398 (capricorns), and no. 382 (two sea monsters, one with a bull's foreparts) from Chesters). There is also a fragment of what is thought to be the tail of a sea monster from York (*RCHM York*, 131, no. 121, pl. 48, 121; Tufi 1983, 69, no. 116, pl. 31, 116). Many of the finds from Scotland occur with capricorns and Pegasus, both symbols of *Legio II Augusta*.

Other carvings are certainly known to have decorated funerary monuments in this region, for example the lion and stag groups from the Shorden Brae, Corbridge, mausoleum (Gillam and Daniels 1961, 51–5, figs 6–7, pl. xii). A number of other sculptures from northern England probably decorated funerary monuments (Alcock 1981, 55–6), as did the Cramond lioness (Hunter and Collard 1997). It seems likely that the Brougham hippocamp did also and it would be appropriate to a water deity connected with the idea of the journey to the Isles of the Blessed.

#### AGE STRUCTURE

The age at death of the population as evidenced by the commemorative inscriptions is set out ranked by years in TABLE 10.3. As would be expected, very young children appear to be absent as they are likely to have been buried within settlements (Struck 1993b), though of course at Brougham they are also known in the cemetery (see p. 289). The age of the child buried by his parents who set up tombstone 21 is not known. Adolescents appear to be absent but this could be due to the small size of the sample. In general, however, it was individuals towards the upper end of suggested life-expectancies who were commemorated in the Brougham inscriptions.

TABLE 10.3: AGE OF DEATH RANKED BY YEARS IN INSCRIBED TOMBSTONES

Inscription no.	Age	Comments
11	?6	fragmentary
21	18	–
23	32 plus/minus	–
1	40 years and 6 to 7 months	–
14	70 plus	fragmentary
17	80	–
18	80 years and 5 months	–

The presence of one septuagenarian and two octogenarians may give rise to suspicion. As Tomlin has already noted of the individual commemorated by inscription 17, these ages may be thought of as approximations. In Roman Britain approximately 10% of the inscriptions giving ages and which are complete and/or legible claim an age at death of 70 or more (N= c. 20/220 as of 1976). Tomlin suggests that 'it is ominous that the age claimed is almost without exception divisible by 5, if not 10' (1976, 4). Conversely the person commemorated by inscription 19 was apparently 80 years and 5 months when they died. The precision with which that age is given might suggest that it was accurate. Whether this was the case for the other octogenarian and the septuagenarian (14 and 17) is unknown. The fact that Tittus M[ buried his brother whom he thought was 32 'plus minus' [*sic*] (24) emphasises the uncertainty.

## FAMILY RELATIONS

The Brougham inscriptions provide valuable information as to who set up the memorials if not who made the burial. The evidence points firmly to nuclear families (TABLE 10.4), and the proportion is considerably greater than that adduced for Britain overall (Saller and Shaw 1984, 141).

In the nine memorials seven different relationships are expressed, suggesting not only nuclear families but also close family ties. The apparent absence of memorials to soldiers buried by their colleagues may be for chronological reasons. However, one of the sculpted stones whose inscription does not survive was probably set up for a soldier (*SS1*). More importantly, when considered alongside the emphasis on nuclear families, this would appear to support the interpretation of the *vicani* as being closely related to the soldiers of the garrison, quite possibly their families. The extent to which the Celtic names indicate that the garrisons of the fort were from Britain and drawn from hereditary military families (Dobson and Mann 1973, 197, 201–2) rather than coming from continental Europe (Saller and Shaw 1984, 142–3; Mann 1985) is not our concern here.

The one case of an avuncular relationship (*17*) could refer to fosterage, but as this refers to one of the octogenarians it could also reflect a situation where the children had predeceased the individual commemorated.

It is noteworthy that females are not recorded as having commissioned memorials on their own in any of the seven definable relationships. Only one woman is mentioned, *Ressona (21)*, and she is second to her husband in commemorating their son. If this is not an accident of sample bias, it may represent a formulaic statement of patrilineal descent and/or access to disposable wealth, rather than necessarily the gender of the relations of the deceased.

TABLE 10.4: FAMILIAL RELATION TO DECEASED OF THOSE COMMISSIONING MEMORIALS

Inscription no.	Relationship to deceased
<i>1</i>	Husband
<i>9</i>	Spouse
<i>11</i>	Father
<i>17</i>	Nephew
<i>18</i>	Sons
<i>20</i>	Parents
<i>21</i>	Father
<i>22</i>	Husband
<i>23</i>	Brother

## THE GARRISON(S) OF THE FORT

Although it is possible that the fort, whose size is appropriate for a cohort, was occupied throughout most of the second to fourth centuries, and perhaps later, only three inscriptions certainly or possibly pertain to its garrisons. This information is important to any consideration of the ethnicity of those buried in the Brougham cemetery.

Shotter's assertion that four separate units can be named as having garrisoned the fort (1984, 75) is based in part on accepting the attribution of some altars to Brougham by Eric Birley (1932, 132, nos 6–7). Of these, however, *RIB I*, no. 782 is not reliably provenanced and *RIB I*, no. 792 was found at Clifton. Although Birley inclined to attribute it to Brougham, it may have been *in situ* (see p. 406).

Of the inscriptions found at Brougham, the first (*RIB I*, no. 780) is an altar dedicated by Januarius of the *numerus equitum* of Stratonician cavalry and is likely to date to the early third century. Both Hübner (1873) and Birley suggested that the abbreviated nomen Aur(elius) preceded Januarius, which led Birley to suggest this date (1932, 131). The reading published

by Collingwood and Wright in *RIB* regards the first part of the line as illegible, but an abbreviated *nomen* would fit the gap neatly.

The title of the unit, the *numerus equitum*, is taken by Mann to suggest an irregular cavalry unit (unlike a regular unit such as the *cohors equitata*) which enjoyed only a short vogue (Mann 1988). Mann sees the title *numerus equitum* being superseded by *cuneus equitum*. The title *numerus equitum* occurs on an inscription of A.D. 238–244 at Ribchester (*RIB* I, no. 583), but the term *cuneus* was already in use by A.D. 222–235. This suggests that the term *numerus equitum* went out of use in the first half of the third century. It is likely therefore, that the unit was the garrison of the fort at Brougham in the later second or earlier third centuries.

The Stratonician cavalry are otherwise unknown but it seems likely that the names derives from one of the number of towns called *Stratonicaea* in the east of the Empire (Birley 1932, 131; Jarrett 1994, 69).

The second inscription is an altar, now almost illegible, dedicated to Belatucadrus (*RIB* I, no. 772). This mentions a *cune(o)*. It seems unlikely that *Stratonicianorum* can be expanded to fit the surviving traces of letters (*RIB* I, 260). From what is known of the service of the *numeri equitum*, it seems likely that this *cuneus equitum* may have been one of the successors of that unit at Brougham. Hübner suggested that the reading might be expanded to EX CVNEVM|[FR]IS|[IORVM|GER]MANO|RVM (1873). While this is little more than a guess, and the stone is now decayed to virtual illegibility, it should be noted that Frisian units and/or 'Frisian ware' pottery are known at a number of sites in the area of the west-central sector of Hadrian's Wall and at Burgh-by-Sands (Dobson and Mann 1973, 196, 201; Jobey 1979; Baldwin 1986; Greene 1986), though no 'Frisian ware' has been recognised at Brougham.

The third inscription that might bear on the garrisons of the fort(s) at Brougham is a dedication slab, *RIB* I, no. 783, which is flanked by two victories and is also extremely difficult to read. If it is a building slab from the fort (and it is now at Clifton 2km to the south), then the connection with *Legio VI Victrix* might suggest legionary involvement in the construction or repair of the fort, a practice which is well attested. However, as the inscription mentions '*instrumentum*', it is possible that the slab relates to a shrine and that it was found nearer to Clifton. This may be relevant in view of the altar found there during railway construction in 1846 (*RIB* I, no. 792) – see p. 406.

Most recent interest in the military occupations of Cumbria has focussed on the western extension of the Hadrianic and later mural frontiers, and in the south-western part of the region (Potter 1979, 351–66; 1980), with little work being undertaken nearer the Pennines (cf. Jones 1986). However, the epigraphic evidence from Brougham suggests that in the third and perhaps fourth centuries the site formed part of a broader flexible disposition of cavalry forces in the hinterland of Hadrian's Wall (e.g. Breeze 1988, 16–18).

## ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF THE POPULATION

Salway has considered the ethnicity of the population of the northern frontier region as a whole (1967, 16–17), and many of the Brougham names have also been considered by Anthony Birley (1979, 112–13). They are summarised in TABLE 10.5.

Most of the names are single. One name, Vidaris, has been thought to be a Germanic name (*RIB* I, no. 785) and **11**, perhaps Fersomeris, may be also. Salway regarded all of the names known up to 1961 as non-Roman (1967, 136).

However, Birley accepts Lunaris and Pluma as Latin (1979, 113), and although this is followed here, it should be noted that records of the name appear to be concentrated in Gaul. Birley also suggests that the Lunaris who commissioned the memorial at Brougham may have been the same individual as the Lunaris who set up an altar to Belleticaurus at Carrawburgh (*RIB* I, no. 1521). Belleticaurus is likely to be a variant spelling of Belatucadrus (cf. Fairless 1984, 227). Birley also proposed that the individual commemorated by tombstone no. 13, Aur C[...|Vinda had the female form of the name Cunovindus, Cunovinda, with the standard

TABLE 10.5: NAMES AND ETHNICITY ON INSCRIBED TOMBSTONES

Inscription no.	Name	Ethnicity
1	Nittinius	Celtic
1	Talio	Celtic
9	Vacon	Celtic
10	[Cun]orix (?)	Celtic
11	[Ferso]meris (?)	?German
13	Aur(elia)	Latin
13	C[uno]vinda	
15	Tata	Celtic
17	-alis	Celtic
20	Anamoris	Celtic
20	Ressona	Celtic
21	Crescentinus	Celtic
21	Vidaris	?German
22	Pluma(e)	Latin
22	Lunaris	Latin (?Celtic)
23	Tittus M[	Celtic

third-century *gentilicium* Aurelia (Fairless 1984). Lastly, it is possible that Pluma is not Latin, meaning ‘feather’, but a Celtic name.

However, for present purposes and accepting Anthony Birley’s attributions, the 15 ethnicities may be attributed as in TABLE 10.6.

The high proportion of non-Roman names, nearly 4:1 or c. 80%, is much higher than the 1:1 ratio deduced by Salway for the frontier areas of northern Britain as a whole using all inscriptions. If there are two German names (11 and 21) they comprise up to 14% of the total, a figure not dissimilar to the 17% calculated by Salway (1967, 17–18; Birley 1979, 110–11), but the sample is too small for much weight to be placed on this.

The tombstones make very little direct reference to the origins of the deceased. They may have given the *civis* or community to which the deceased belonged. The inscription on 14 might be thought to suggest the genitive ‘Pannonian’, but if the reading ‘Pannonicianus’ is correct, it is an adjective though it is possible that it may have been used like ‘Pannonius’. Both may suggest a Pannonian origin. In part this lack of reference to origins is chronological, with the *origo* being given less frequently later in the Roman period. However, as Salway suggested, it also seems that only the mourners of those who died away from their homeland made reference to the *origo* of the deceased (Salway 1967; Hope 1997).

The impression that the majority of the population at Brougham was native is borne out by the other epigraphic evidence from the site. Two of the named votaries of Belatucadrus had native names: Audagus (*RIB* I, no. 774) and Baculo (*RIB* I, no. 773), while the third, Julianus (*RIB* I, no. 775) has a Latin name, although this may not be a good guide to their ethnicity. However, taking these individuals into account, the figures alter slightly, as shown in TABLE 10.7.

The army adds a more cosmopolitan air. A dedication to Mars was made by an individual with some association with the *Legio VI Victrix* and who probably came from Africa (*RIB* I, no. 783; Birley 1979, 113). Unfortunately the ethnicity of the individual with the seemingly Latin name Januarius, who was a cavalryman in the n(umerus) eq(uitum) [St]ratonicianorum and who dedicated an altar to Mars, a deity popular with the military (*RIB* I, no. 780; Mann 1988), is not clear. The now lost inscription by an officer recording his promotion from the command of a cohort of Gauls to a military tribunate in the *Legio VIII Augusta* could have been found at either Brougham or Kirkby Thore (*RIB* I, no. 782) and so is not included here.

Lastly there is one graffito on the shoulder of what was described as a dull red jar with the name ]HIL [... apparently found unstratified. The beginning of the word is lost, but it may have been the Latin name Hilarus or Hilara or a cognate form (P15, TABLE 8.25). There is only

TABLE 10.6 ETHNICITY OF NAMES ON THE  
INSCRIBED TOMBSTONES

Ethnicity	Total
Celtic	10
Latin	3
German	2
Total	15

TABLE 10.7 ETHNICITY OF NAMES ON THE  
INSCRIBED TOMBSTONES AND ALTARS

Ethnicity	Total
Celtic	12
Latin	4
German	2
Total	18

one graffito on a vessel from a burial, the complete name Bata (153.3, TABLE 5.26), which is likely to be a 'Celtic' name, and may be more precisely Illyrian, again implying a Pannonian origin (R.S.O. Tomlin pers. comm.).

### CONCLUSION

The inscribed tombstones provide a picture of those commemorated in the Brougham cemetery as having Celtic names and possibly being British and living as nuclear families. There are resonances of this familial concern in the suggestion that the many altars dedicated to the god Belatucadrus reflect his appeal to individuals in their role as family protector (Fairless 1984, 228).

The extent to which the Celtic names indicate that the garrisons of the fort were from Britain rather than continental Europe is uncertain. There are hints, however, that not all those commemorated were British. There may have been some Pannonians also and this should be borne in mind in interpreting many of the seemingly 'Celtic' names presumed to be British.

If the Lunaris who erected the altar to Belleticaurus at Carrawburgh (*RIB* I, no. 1521) is the same individual who buried his wife at Brougham (22), it may be speculated that he was a merchant who travelled within the frontier zone. Other than that there is no written evidence for the occupations of those buried, though at least one soldier is likely to have been commemorated (*SSI*).

Apart from a few of the altars, there is little direct evidence for soldiers. But, if as Sommer suggests, most of the *vicani* were related in some way or another to the soldiers serving in the garrison of the fort or to the veterans settled in the military *vicus* (Sommer 1984, 31), then either the garrison was not distinguished from the *vicani* in death (Jones 1984, 221), or they were little or no different in life.

### ENDNOTE

<sup>1</sup> In 1958 Simpson argued for a sub-Roman occupation at Brougham which had some contact with a suggested early monastic foundation at Ninekirks near Brougham by St Ninian (Simpson 1958). This drew on three strands. Firstly, Collingwood's view that the tombstone was that of a Christian (1922), secondly that the place-name reflected an ecclesiastical origin (Nine-kirk) and thirdly that the coin hoard from Ninekirks was of Dark-Age date (Bouch 1955). The coin hoard is in fact of third-century date (Casey 1978; Shotter 1979, 9, n. 10). While there may be an anchorite foundation at Ninekirks (Thomas 1981), there is as yet no unequivocal evidence for one (O'Sullivan 1980, 203–4) or for a sub-Roman phase at Brougham, although there is some evidence for later activity (Bailey 1977 – see also p. 5).

