Life and Death in Roman Carlisle. Excavations at 107-117 Botchergate, 2015

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Life and Death in Roman Carlisle

Excavations at 107-117 Botchergate, 2015

by

Matthew S. Hobson

With contributions from

Sophie Beckett, Justine Biddle, David Jackson,
Andrew Peachey, John Summers and Sue Thompson

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Cover: Artistic reconstruction of Cumbria House Cremation No. 10 by Mark Hoyle.

Matthew Hobson is an experienced field archaeologist specialising in the Roman period, with published research foci on Britain and North Africa. In numerous books and articles he has explored the themes of urbanism, municipalisation and the economy, examining how the expansion of the Roman Empire affected existing trajectories of social change.

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The Wardell Armstrong Team dedicate this volume
to the memory of Alan James (1940-2021),
friend, archaeologist and scholar.

Reconstruction painting of the Roman cremation cemetery by Kevin Horsley

Contents

List of Figures

Chapter 1 Roman Carlisle and the Cumbria House Excavations

Chapter 2 The Stratigraphic Sequence

Chapter 3 The Burials

Chapter 5 The Roman Pottery

Chapter 6 Interpreting the Roman Cremation Cemetery

List of Tables

Chapter 3 The Burials

Chapter 4 The Human Remains

Chapter 5 The Roman Pottery

Appendix 2: Osteological Results Tables

Appendix 3: The Animal Bone

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Chapter 1
Roman Carlisle and the Cumbria House Excavations

Matthew S. Hobson

Introduction

This book presents the results of archaeological excavations that were carried out in 2015 on Botchergate, a main street just to the southeast of Carlisle city centre. The work was undertaken as part of a redevelopment project which saw the construction of a new municipal building for Cumbria County Council (now Cumberland Council) named Cumbria House. The excavations revealed two main periods of Roman activity. First came a roadside cremation cemetery in use between *c.* AD 100 and *c.* AD 130. The cemetery activity was gradually replaced and overlain by the remains of mid-2nd century buildings and workshops on the edge of the expanding settlement which developed outside of the Roman fort. The reigns of the emperors Trajan and Hadrian during which the cemetery was in use belong to an interesting time when Carlisle, or *Luguvalium* as it was then known, was the most important Roman military base in northwest Britain. The region was then undergoing major changes related to the halting progress of the Roman conquest of Scotland. The eventual result was a fall back to a defensive line between the Tyne and the Solway along which Hadrian's Wall was eventually constructed. With the construction of Hadrian's Wall in the early AD 120s Carlisle is thought to have gained its second permanent fort, further reinforcing the important crossing over the river Eden. The three legions that were involved in building Hadrian's Wall and its series of forts were accompanied by thousands of auxiliary troops. These units stood guard during the construction works, took part in excavating sections of the Vallum, and were eventually stationed along the Wall in its forts, milecastles and turrets, as well as within a supporting network of other camps and fortifications.[1]

While the frontier system was still in a dynamic state of flux, auxiliary units from various regions of the empire, with a great many coming from modern day northern France, Belgium and the Netherlands, would have been passing through *Luguvalium*. Evidence for a strong Gallic element to the various regiments stationed at Carlisle during this time is now complemented by indications of the identity of the population uncovered in the Cumbria House excavations. Two graves from our site are the most richly furnished examples to have ever been found in northern Britain and throw light on this multicultural aspect of Carlisle's early population. The burial rites used in these two examples have strong similarities with those seen in excavated graves of the same period from cemeteries in northern France and southern Belgium. This was a region that was a major source of auxiliary recruits for the Roman army during the 1st century AD and, as will be argued in detail within these pages, it is likely that these burials relate to individuals from this region who were either recruited into the Roman army and posted to Britain during the conquest, or connected with the movement of troops in some way (perhaps following on as traders, for example).

Until the present excavations took place, there was little indication that the identity of those serving in the fort and living in the extra-mural settlement at *Luguvalium* in the early 2nd century AD might be reflected in the archaeological remains of their burial traditions. The results of the excavations are all the more important because no other sample of any size relating to *Luguvalium*'s cemeteries has previously been published. Discoveries of large numbers of inhumation and cremation burials made during the 19th century were poorly recorded, leaving us with vague and often confusing accounts, which can only be substantiated partially by the handful of funerary urns and tombstones surviving in modern museum collections. Several modern excavations that encountered Roman funerary archaeology in Carlisle remain unpublished. This can be for various reasons, a major one being the collapse of the Carlisle archaeological unit at the turn of the new millennium. One particular modern excavation conducted by the Carlisle unit in close proximity to the current site encountered significant funerary evidence but has never been fully analysed or published.[2] The findings at the Cumbria House site validate a thorough re-examination of the burial evidence from *Luguvalium* and its relationship to the identity of its population.

In the northern frontier zone more generally publications of modern excavations of funerary assemblages of Roman date are also exceedingly

[1] Haynes 2013, 76; Hodgson 2017, 46–7.

[2] Giecco, F. O. et al. 2001.

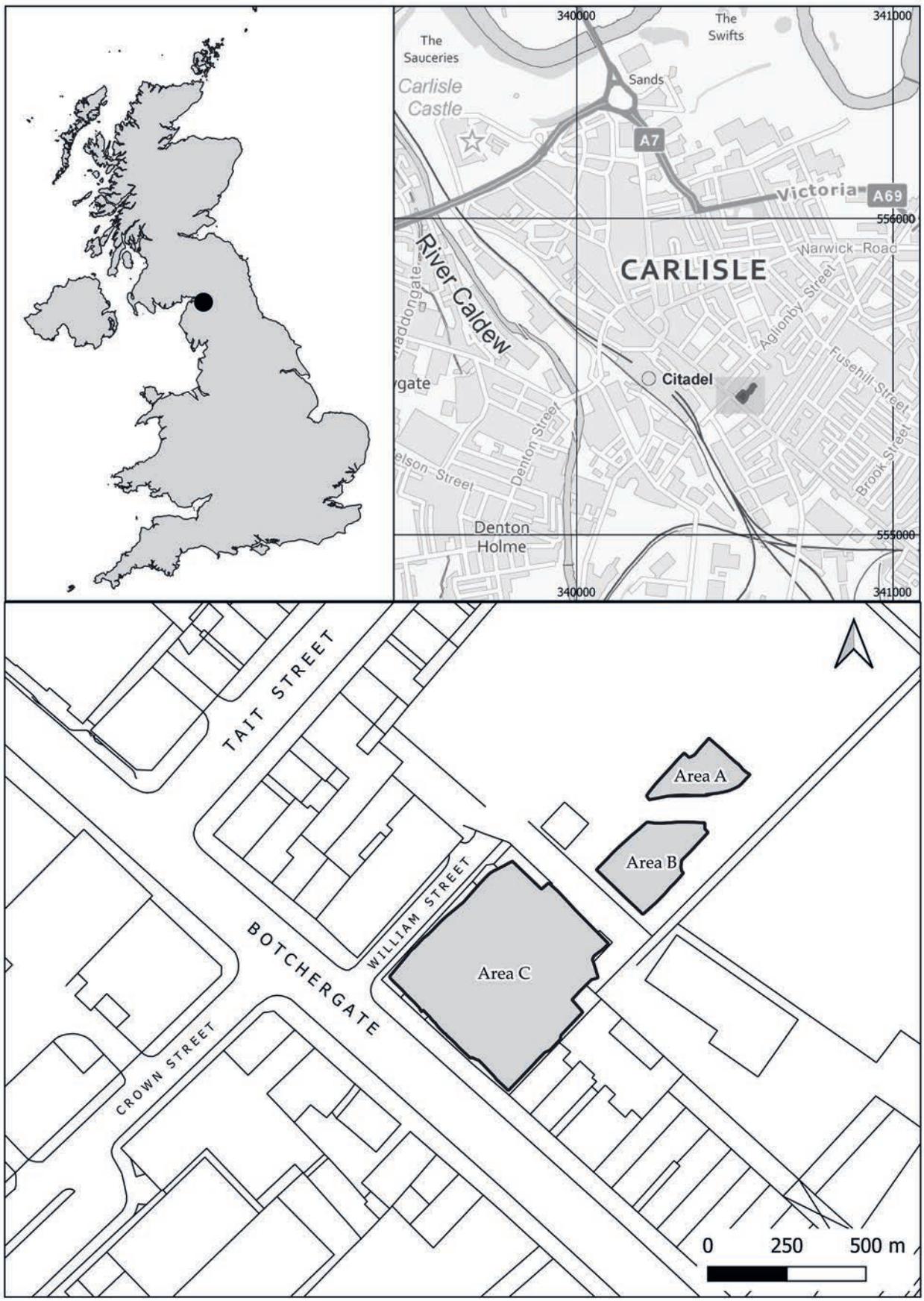

Figure *1.1* Location of the excavation areas at the Cumbria House site, 107-117 Botchergate and the former William Street Car Park.

rare.[3] While the connection between identity and burial practice has been made in the analysis of some legacy data, for example from Brougham,[4] much of the existing corpus of data has been difficult to interpret in this regard. The largest excavations of Roman-period cemeteries in northern England have taken place in Yorkshire, a significant distance from the early 2nd-century frontier.[5] When it appears in the coming months, the publication of the recent research excavations at Birdoswald fort on Hadrian's Wall will form the only truly comparable dataset with Carlisle.[6]

The project to build the new council building was planned with the aim of uniting 700 previously dispersed staff members together under one roof, reducing the council's carbon footprint and annual maintenance costs considerably. The new building was designed by AHR and built by Eric Wright Construction. It was completed in December 2016 and in 2023 the building became the headquarters of the newly formed Cumberland Council. Before construction work could get underway, a programme of archaeological investigation was planned and carried out. The plot of land in question is centred on NGR NY 4052 5544 (Figure 1.1). Prior to redevelopment it included buildings constituting 107-117 Botchergate, which needed to be demolished. Those at 107-109 Botchergate had been built of brick. They had at one time been retail units but had lost their shopfronts when they were later converted for residential use. The building at 113-117 Botchergate had previously been a medical treatment centre and the land at the rear of these properties had been in use as the former William Street Car Park.

At the planning stage, and while the Botchergate properties were still standing, an archaeological evaluation was carried out by Oxford Archaeology North within the former car park.[7] This work, undertaken in 2014, highlighted the presence of intact Roman remains and the likelihood of encountering further significant deposits below the footprint of the extant buildings. The potential for encountering significant archaeological remains within the proposed development area led Jeremy Parsons of Cumbria County Council's Historic Environment Service to request a programme of archaeological investigation in advance of the proposed development. This was in line with government advice as set out in Section 12 of the National Planning Policy Framework at the time.[8]

Archaeologists from Wardell Armstrong were first invited to take part in the project by Eric Wright Construction Ltd early in 2015. Two stages of archaeological excavation were planned. An area to the rear of the extant buildings was to be excavated first, with a further area within the footprint of 107-117 Botchergate being investigated once the buildings had been demolished. In practice, the presence of a live electricity cable that bisected the car park area and had to be left in situ, meant that the first excavation was split into two. These two excavation areas were designated A and B (Figure 1.2), with the larger area beneath the former buildings being described as Area C (Figure 1.3). Areas A and B were excavated simultaneously during the 2nd-20th of February 2015 with the Area C excavation taking place between March 16th and June 5th, 2015. Subsequently a post-excavation assessment report was prepared and submitted in June 2017.[9] Wardell Armstrong were then commissioned by what was then Cumbria County Council to undertake the post-excavation analysis and to produce a publication.

This book is the conclusion of this work of post-excavation analysis. It is divided into six chapters. The remainder of this opening chapter outlines the historical and archaeological background to Roman Carlisle before focussing on the previous discoveries of settlement and funerary activity in the region of Botchergate. Chapter 2 describes the main stratigraphic phases that were identified during the archaeological excavations. The details of the funerary archaeology are given in Chapter 3, with a description of each burial and its grave goods, as well as the details of several finds that were most probably derived from disturbed burials. Some of the graves, both those in which the cremated remains were collected up and deposited within pottery vessels and unurned burials, contained significant quantities of burnt human bone. Chapter 4 written by Dr Sophie Beckett presents results of the osteological analysis of these remains. The Roman pottery, which underpins the dating of the stratigraphy and much of what is said about identity and consumption practices on the site, is discussed in detail by Andrew Peachey in Chapter 5. A final chapter sets the site and its finds assemblages in the broader context of Roman Britain and the near continent. Appendices contain some of the methodological detail and tables of data.

The Roman conquest up to the building of Hadrian's Wall

In order to provide a context within which to interpret the discoveries made during the Cumbria House excavations it is necessary to give a brief historical background. Following the Roman invasion of Britain in AD 43, under the emperor Claudius, it took some

[3] Pearce 2013, 448–9.
[4] Cool, H.E.M. 2004.
[5] Wenham 1968; Wilson 1968, 182; Speed and Holst 2018.
[6] The author is grateful to Tony Wilmott for sharing an early draft of the Birdoswald burial catalogue.
[7] Lupton, A. 2014.
[8] MHCLG 2012.
[9] Jackson, D. 2016.

Figure *1.2* Areas A and B (shot faces southwest).

Figure *1.3* Area C (shot faces southwest).

decades before northern Britain saw the wholesale incursion of Roman armies. Four of Rome's 30 legions were committed to the attempted conquest, but while progress towards the midlands was initially rapid it was checked markedly by resistance and later by revolts within regions thought to have been subdued. After Boudicca led the Iceni of East Anglia to revolt in AD 60, for example, it was another decade before the advance northward was resumed in earnest. The civil war of AD 68 also played a part in the delay. With the emergence of the Flavian dynasty, however, a consolidated effort was once again made to push northwards. Under the new emperor Vespasian Wales was subjugated and northern Britain invaded for the first time. In AD 79 Gnaeus Iulius Agricola, Vespasian's governor, advanced as far north as the River Tay and there was clearly the intention at this time to complete the conquest of the island with the inclusion of Scotland. In the AD 80s, however, problems in the region of the Lower Danube had a negative impact on Rome's ability to pursue these ambitions. While we have no written records to help understand what was happening on the Roman frontier in Britain after Agricola's governorship, the archaeological remains at Roman fort sites in Scotland indicate that the Roman army was forced to abandon its most northerly gains. The scramble to subdue the tribes invading along the Lower Danube, and Trajan's later wars of vengeance against the Dacians, led to troop movements from west to east within the empire. A knock-on effect of this was the removal of several units from Britain to shore up the Rhine frontier. Around AD 105 it appears the Roman army had to withdraw from Scotland completely.[10] As a result, an east-west defensive linear arrangement of forts between the Tyne in the east and the Solway in the west was established, more or less on the same line that was eventually fortified by the construction of Hadrian's Wall. It is within the context of this narrative that one must understand the development of early 2nd-century AD *Luguvalium*, during which time the burials within the cemetery found beneath Cumbria House were interred.

Carlisle's Roman forts

The first fort at Carlisle was situated on a sandstone bluff on the south side of the River Eden, lying within the angle created between the Eden and its tributary the River Caldew (Figure 1.4). The narrow geological corridor available for the north-south movement of troops and supplies over land between what is now southwest Scotland and northwest England invested *Luguvalium* with a particular strategic importance, guarding as it did the main bridged crossing point over the River Eden. The remains of the northern part of the fort now lie beneath the site of Carlisle Castle and extend southward below a substantial part of the northern limits of the town centre. The low-lying boggy nature of the ground at this confluence of rivers has led to the spectacular preservation of organic remains on the south side of the Eden. For example, the excavations along Annetwell Street in advance of the construction of an extension to Tullie House Museum and the new BBC Radio Cumbria building in the 1970s and 80s uncovered wooden writing tablets and timber remains belonging to the southern parts of the fort.[11] Dendrochronological analysis of timbers from the southern rampart has demonstrated that they derive from trees felled between the autumn of AD 72 and the spring of AD 73.[12] Thanks to this precise dating, it can be stated confidently that the fort was established as part of the concerted push north which took place during the early Flavian period. The writing tablets date to the late 1st/early 2nd century and refer to various subjects.[13] One of the writing tablet fragments relates to a letter written to a *singularis* of the *ala Gallorum Sebosiana*. A *singularis* would have been seconded from his unit to serve in the personal mounted guard of a commanding officer, in this case quite possibly the well-known Flavian provincial governor of Britain Gnaeus Iulius Agricola, which would date the tablet to AD 77-84.[14] If the reference is to another Agricola, then a Trajanic or even early Hadrianic date is possible on stratigraphic grounds. A direct parallel with a letter from Vindolanda demonstrates that a *singularis* could have returned to his unit with a letter referring to his secondment, and thus it is thought quite probable that the *ala Gallorum Sebosiana* was stationed at *Luguvalium* in this period. Other fragments of writing tablet with a *terminus ante quem* of AD 103/105 relate to the distribution of grain rations and the loss of armour and weapons of a quingenary *ala*. It is thought quite possible the quingenary *ala* to which these documents relate was also the *ala Gallorum Sebosiana* in residence at the fort. There is evidence that the fort was rebuilt around AD 105, the time when the decision to fall back to the Tyne-Solway line was taken by the Roman administration. Based on the archaeological remains within the fort, it has been suggested that this rebuild was in preparation for the arrival of a new unit, which appears to have brought with it drinking vessels and mortaria from *Gallia Belgica* upon its arrival (see Chapters 5 and 6).[15]

It was probably when Hadrian's Wall was built that Carlisle gained its second fort, *Uxelodunum*, built as an integral part of the wall and positioned on the north side of the Eden on top of the hill at Stanwix. Construction of Hadrian's Wall probably began from the early AD 120s. Carlisle was important because it was here that the wall, after descending from the hill at Stanwix at Milecastle

[10] Hodgson 2017, 32–7.

[11] Stallibrass and Huntley 2011, 27–8; Caruana in prep.; in prep.b.
[12] Zant, J. and Howard-Davis, C. 2019, 4.
[13] Jarrett 1994, 41–2; Tomlin 1998; Kreiner 2023, 11.
[14] Davies 1976; Tomlin 1998, 75 n. 152.
[15] Swan et al. 2009, 596.

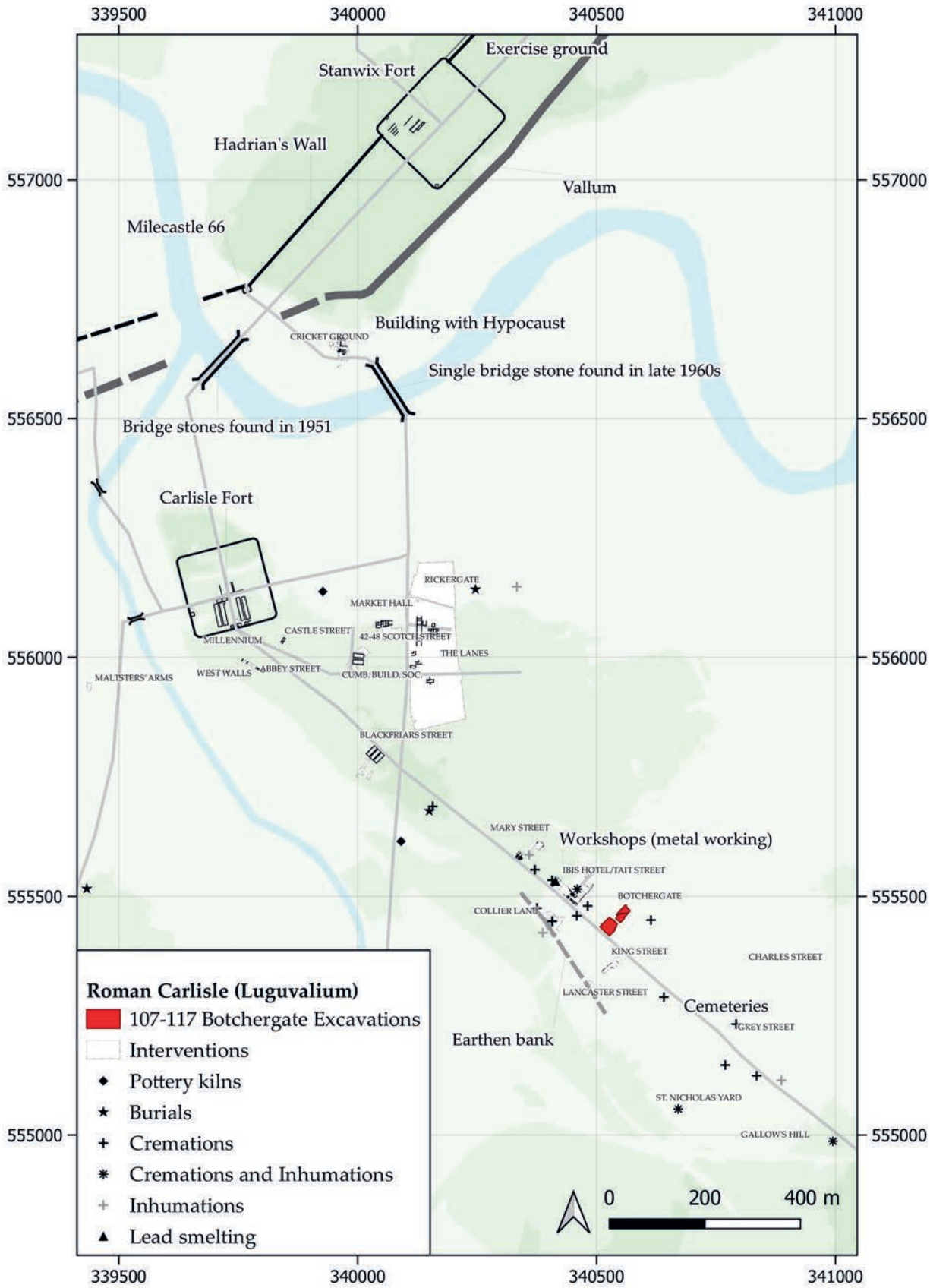

Figure *1.4* Plan of Roman Carlisle showing some of the key excavation sites.

66, crossed the river Eden just below its confluence with the Caldew. This part of the wall, and indeed the whole stretch west of the river Irthing, including its turrets, milecastles and forts, was originally built of timber and turf. It was later rebuilt in stone, probably not long after the Antonine Wall was abandoned. Excavations in 1984 at the rear of Cumbria Park Hotel in Stanwix recorded the unexpected discovery of the northern rampart of a stone fort. It is thought that this fort may have been a later enlargement, perhaps built around AD 160, when the wall was being rebuilt in stone.[16] The existence of the modern suburb of Stanwix makes archaeological investigation of the sequence of construction difficult. Excavation has been piecemeal and hard evidence for the presumed Hadrianic timber and turf fort remains slim.[17] The northern rampart of the stone fort at Stanwix sealed what may have been the original ditch that was excavated when the turf wall was built. This would indicate that the stone fort was indeed an enlargement of a Hadrianic timber predecessor. Where the defensive outline of the stone fort has been traced, its corner comes very close to the Vallum. This indicates that the Vallum was originally laid out to the plan of a fort that was smaller than the later stone fort, hinting at a Hadrianic fort for which more concrete evidence may be found at some stage in the future.[18]

Assuming there was a Hadrianic fort built at Stanwix, it saw contemporary use with the fort on the south side of the river for about two decades, from the Hadrianic period to the early AD 140s. Once enlarged, the fort was the largest of the major wall forts and able to house the full strength of Britain's largest auxiliary unit, the only double-strength cavalry regiment in the province, the *ala Augusta Gallorum Petriana*. This unit appears to have moved to the Carlisle region by the end of the reign of Trajan, eventually taking up residence in the Hadrian's Wall fort at Stanwix.[19] The fort on the original site on the south side of the river is thought to have been abandoned, or repurposed, for a time when the Roman frontier was pushed forward to a line between the Firth of Clyde and the Firth of Forth and a wall constructed under the reign of Antoninus Pius. There is good evidence for continued use, however, following the abandonment of the Antonine Wall. A major reconstruction in stone occurred in the early 3rd century and some of the intramural buildings gained roofs made of ceramic tiles. From the abandonment of the Antonine Wall, therefore, Carlisle once again boasted two forts in contemporary use.

Luguvalium in the Flavian period

Our excavation site is located at the edge of the settlement that grew up around the site of the Flavian fort. The written sources give us few details about the peoples inhabiting this area prior to the arrival of the Roman army. The names of tribes inhabiting northern Britain are known chiefly from Ptolemy's *Geography*, but we know little of inter-tribal relations or the nature of settlements. Latin inscriptions of later date demonstrate that the area of northern Cumbria was inhabited by a people called the *Carvetii*. It seems likely that this people had a dispersed settlement pattern prior to the Roman conquest, with the arrival of the Roman fort and the creation of a bridged crossing the River Eden providing the focus for settlement nucleation.

In contrast to the regions of southeast Britain, where client kingdoms had been established, the decades which followed Julius Caesar's brief campaigns of 55 and 54 BC had little visible impact on the archaeology of the north. Archaeological investigations show that the typical settlement type in the north was an enclosed farmstead, accommodating at most an extended family group.[20] The character of Middle and Late Iron Age settlements is better known in the northeast than in the northwest.[21] Aerial photographs reveal a number of small unenclosed farmsteads on the Cumberland Plain. At Cargo, close to Carlisle, the remains of a multivallate enclosure which may be Iron Age exist, overlooking the River Eden, with a possible Iron Age settlement being known at Burgh-by-Sands. In general, a lack of pottery and finds that are indisputably Iron Age in the region results in a high level of uncertainty. Although some settlement evidence of native character has been found within Carlisle during excavations at Durranhill,[22] the Southern Lanes, the Cumberland Infirmary,[23] and at Botcherby Nurseries, it remains poorly dated. The roundhouses excavated at the Southern Lanes and at Cumberland Infirmary, for example, could easily be contemporary with the establishment of the Flavian fort in the early AD 70s.[24] In the former case, the single roundhouse is likely to have been Flavian in date. At the Cumberland Infirmary site, a lack of material culture recovered from a group of several roundhouses made dating extremely difficult, although occupation clearly continued into the 2nd century AD. As far as one can tell from archaeological remains, the later size and importance of Roman Carlisle had little to do with the presence of any truly dense previous focus of human settlement. The bulk of evidence relating to possible Late Pre-Roman Iron Age settlement activity in Carlisle

[16] Dacre 1985.
[17] Zant 2011, 43–7; Zant, J. and Howard-Davis, C. 2019, 5.
[18] Caruana, I. 2000, 74–5.
[19] Jarrett 1994, 38 & 41–2; Tomlin 1998; 2018, 429–31; Kreiner 2023, 10–1.
[20] Mattingly, D. J. 2006, 83.
[21] Hodgson, N. et al. 2012.
[22] Jackson 2016.
[23] Reeves and Zant 2001.
[24] McCarthy, M. R. 2000; McCarthy 2002, 43–7.

itself has been the discovery of plough marks at several excavation sites within the city. This indicates that the landscape was farmed, but how far this can be pushed back into the Iron Age remains unclear. The Roman military presence was therefore established in a landscape about which we know remarkably little.

The presence of later phases at most extra-mural settlements in the frontier zone means that it is often not possible to distinguish their initial Flavian form. This is true even at sites which have not been overbuilt and for which geophysical survey results are available. What is evident, however, is that many extra-mural settlements grew up organically along the main routes of access into their associated fort.[25] This 'through-road' type of settlement is the most common form found on the Continent and in Britain. Indeed, it appears long-distance roads rarely bypassed forts, with through-traffic being channelled directly through their gates.

At Carlisle evidence for a road that, to judge from its alignment, originated at the south gate of the Flavian fort has been found in several places. It lay more or less precisely beneath the modern A6 entering Carlisle from the south, which today becomes London Road, Botchergate, English Street, and then Blackfriars Street as one approaches the city centre. The Lanes excavations also found evidence for a major road entering *Luguvalium* from the east, thought to have been constructed towards the end of the Flavian period in the early AD 90s. Another road approached from the southwest, the direction of the fort at Old Penrith, perhaps along the line of Dalston Road. Supporting evidence for this road is the presence of a tombstone and funerary urns which may have lined the road, found at the rear of Nelson's Marble Works on Junction Street in 1878 when the premises were being extended at their rear by cutting into Denton hill. The following year the cutting for the railway line was progressing through these same premises and the archaeological remains of a paved road, over 9m wide with ditches either side, and a further cist burial were discovered.[26] The road north into Scotland now lies beneath Scotch Street and led towards the important crossing of the River Eden, which was bridged close to the location of the current Eden Bridge. About half a kilometre farther downstream, slightly fewer than one hundred stones were dredged from the Eden in 1951. Today these stones are on display close to this location within a low-walled enclosure in Bitts Park. Many have dovetail notches and/or Lewis holes demonstrating that the stones once belonged to the piers of a Roman bridge.[27] It is unclear how far the dredged stones were moved downstream by the process of dredging. Some have argued that the stones relate to a bridge which carried Hadrian's Wall across the river, although this seems inherently improbable. Another stone, found very close to the current Eden Bridge by Dorothy Charlesworth, bears a depiction of the head of a marine deity, perhaps Oceanus.[28] This was probably also a bridge stone and may indicate more accurately the position of a Roman road bridge which linked up with the north-south road which now lies beneath Scotch Street to which the dredged stones may, or may not, relate.[29] It is evident from the position of some of the earlier burials, on the west side of English Street beneath the former County Gaol, that the Flavian settlement would have been considerably smaller than the town which emerged in the 2nd and 3rd centuries. It is not easy to trace its limits precisely, nor to find comparative data to elucidate its probable form.

The analysis of Lidar data at a number of other forts along Hadrian's Wall demonstrates the likelihood that multiple camps may have existed at *Luguvalium*. It is also not beyond the realms of possibility that elements of the spatial organisation of such early camps were retained in the delimitation of space in extramural areas within the immediate vicinity of the fort. Where excavations have taken place within a radius of *c*. 100m of the Flavian fort's ramparts, at Castle Street and Fisher Street, for example, there has been speculation as to whether activity encountered through the archaeological remains took place within delimited fort annexes. Excavations on the south side of the fort, off Castle Street for example, found the waterlogged remains of extramural timber buildings erected in the late AD 70s or early 80s, and it has been argued that these may have been contained within a putative southern fort annexe.[30] Finds from a site containing two pottery kilns excavated at 7a Fisher Street indicate that a pottery industry was active in this location from the Flavian period into the 2nd century AD, although the Flavian kilns themselves have not yet been located. The presence of the possible early camp on this side of the fort has led to the suggestion that another fort annexe may also have existed here before eventually being subsumed by the expanding extra-mural settlement.[31]

The state of the evidence means that this can be no more than speculation at this stage, but approximately 300m to the east of the Flavian fort ditches have been found which may have formed three sides of a putative military camp.[32] Parts of the possible south, east and north sides were found within the excavations of the Northern Lanes. In 1976, what may be another stretch of the southern ditch was found farther west

[25] Sommer 2006.
[26] Charlesworth, D. 1978, 126.
[27] Birley, E. 1951; Hogg, R. 1952; Caruana, I. and Coulston, J. C. 1987; Bidwell, P. T. and Holbrook, N. 1989, 107–10.
[28] Hingley 2022.
[29] Caruana, I. and Coulston, J. C. 1987, 46.
[30] McCarthy 1991, 9–10.
[31] Johnson et al. 2012.
[32] Zant, J. and Howard-Davis, C. 2019, 23–8 & 171–7.

at excavations off Scotch Street.[33] It is unfortunate that the Lanes excavations failed to establish the existence of the corners of this possible camp, leaving doubt as to whether the remains can be interpreted in this fashion. Another ditch dating to the late 1st or early 2nd century AD with a similar V-shaped profile has been found farther south on the east side of Botchergate. Although also interpreted initially as evidence for a Hadrianic camp, the recent excavations indicate that such features may simply have delimited different functional spaces in the landscape outside of the fort. Whether or not this is also true of the ditches interpreted as a possible camp found within the Northern Lanes remains to be seen. If these features did relate to an early military camp, it was bisected by the north-south road which is thought to have been built in the early AD 90s.

Neither the extent of putative fort annexes nor the extramural settlement during the Flavian period are known. Flavian period structures have, however, been found at multiple excavation sites within the city. At Blackfriars Street, between the fort and Botchergate, excavations have indicated that an extramural settlement existed already aligned to this road as early as the late AD 70s. Several timber strip buildings fronting onto this road were found in association with pottery of this date. Farther out of town to the south, excavations in the late 1990s on Botchergate close to the current Cumbria House site, between Mary Street and Tait Street, found evidence of a Flavian timber building and a ditch pre-dating the alignment of the road.[34] Here the remains of plot boundaries laid out in the late 1st or early 2nd century AD and aligned to the newly built road were observed, framing funerary activity of the same date. It seems therefore that extra-mural settlement was quickly established on the southern and eastern sides of the fort.

The extramural settlement in the 2nd century AD and beyond

The forts on the northern frontier, and the settlements which grew up around them, will have been the largest agglomerations of sedentary population in this region by a considerable margin and there is little doubt that veterans in combination with indigenous Britons would have made up a significant part of their populations. Inscribed milestones demonstrate that by the 3rd century AD the *Carvetii* had achieved a degree of autonomy, with *Luguvalium* becoming their administrative centre.[35] The settlement of *Luguvalium* was somewhat unique in *Britannia* in having two forts in contemporary use at various moments during the 2nd century AD. The presence and influence of more than one military community in the development of a town or settlement has parallels in some other parts of the Roman empire, mainly on important rivers along the frontier. Along the River Danube in Pannonia, for instance, towns which grew up close to legionary bases at *Carnuntum* (Bad Deutsch-Altenburg), *Vindobona* (Vienna) and *Aquincum* (Budapest) all had auxiliary forts placed just a couple of kilometres from the civil town.[36] Along the Rhine and its tributary the Main, *Mogontiacum* (Mainz) and *Nida* (Frankfurt) are other examples of Roman towns that emerged in the vicinity of multiple forts. In contrast to *Luguvalium*, the *limes* did not crystalise at their location but moved beyond it as the empire expanded. At the site of *Praetorium Agrippinae* (Valkenburg), in Germania Inferior, fieldwork in 2020 has revealed a legionary base occupying the southwest bank of an old channel of the River Rhine accompanied by one, and possibly, more auxiliary forts.[37] Dendrochronology demonstrates that these forts were built late in the reign of Caligula. Had the troops stationed here not departed to *Britannia* as part of the Claudian invasion fleet, the site may well have seen an urban development similar to that at *Luguvalium*, a multicultural melting pot of troops from various different regions mixing and intermarrying with the local population.

Excavations and geophysical surveys around other forts along Hadrian's Wall that have not been overbuilt have demonstrated some of the characteristics that early *Luguvalium* is likely to have shared with other extra-mural settlements on the frontier, but it is likely to have been the largest by some margin and with its own unique topography.[38] Crucial for success as a centre for significant population was the presence of tracts of good-quality free-draining soils within the immediate hinterland of the fort. While *Luguvalium* was bordered by some seasonally waterlogged, poor-quality soils to its north and south, lands much better suited to agricultural exploitation existed to the southeast and west. These included eskers, free-draining sandy gravel mounds dumped by previous glaciations, as well as the sandy loams of the Eden corridor at the base of the Pennine scarp and extending west towards Burgh-by-Sands.[39] By contrast, the soils in much of the north Cumberland Plain would have been difficult to exploit for agriculture in pre-industrial times. Much of this area and the surrounding uplands to the south and east were far better suited to the rearing of livestock, which may well have been marketed at *Luguvalium*.

Few towns in the ancient world could flourish without being able to grow grain reliably within their own

[33] Clare and Richardson in prep.
[34] Giecco, F. O. et al. 2001, 15–6.
[35] Edwards and Shotter 2005; McCarthy 2017, 58–60.
[36] Mladenovic 2019, 429 n. 108.
[37] Vos et al. 2021.
[38] Jones and Leslie, A. 2015; Hobson 2022.
[39] McCarthy 2017, 8–13.

agricultural hinterland, and the largest cities also had access to marine resources and trade afforded by close proximity to the coast.[40] It is only where one finds better soils in certain river valleys that larger settlements in the northern frontier zone developed. The closest regional parallels for *Luguvalium* are provided by *Derventio* (Papcastle) and *Coria* (Corbridge). The site at Corbridge, situated on the fertile alluvial soils of the River Tyne Valley, provides the most accessible and visible example of a mid-to-late Roman town in the region. The walled area of *Coria* enclosed roughly 16ha. Mass excavation between 1906 and 1914 exposed a good part of the remains which, in combination with the analysis of aerial photographs, makes clear that the mid to late Roman town possessed many stone buildings, including strip buildings and structures with more elaborate floor plans. The site at Papcastle is slightly less accessible, as part of it lies beneath the modern village. Recent geophysical survey and excavation work have demonstrated similarities to Carlisle, in that the extramural settlement spread to both sides of the River Derwent.[41] The settlement possessed a sizeable built-up core complete with a bathhouse, temples and other public buildings, covering an area perhaps 30ha in size.

Luguvalium at its height was probably larger still, although it is evident that until the late 2nd or early 3rd century most buildings within the extramural settlement were made of timber. It is impossible to put an exact figure on the size of the 2nd and 3rd-century town, but it is delimited on the south side of the river by known burial evidence to the east at the former Spring Gardens Bowling Green, to the south along Botchergate and to the southwest by the evidence between Junction Street and the now disused railway line mentioned above. The places of recorded Roman occupation indicate that the town could easily have had a built-up area of somewhere between 30 and 45 hectares, supplemented by 5-10ha south of Hadrian's Wall on the north side of the Eden, west of the fort at Stanwix. This would make *Luguvalium* the largest urban agglomeration in the frontier region by some margin.

Understanding of the nature and layout of Roman Carlisle has come on in leaps and bounds, thanks to a series of largescale excavations which took place from the 1970s through to the 1990s. Interpreting the little pockets of information provided by excavations, however, remains challenging and full of uncertainties.[42] The stratigraphy relating to the two fort sites and the settlements which grew up around them is buried beneath the modern city at various depths. While in some places it lies quite close to the surface, excavations provide only small windows through which to explore the nature of the various districts of the Roman settlement. The densest concentration of Roman buildings appears broadly to follow the 20m contour, with some discoveries also being made within the floodplain indicating that settlement would have lined the major roads in and out of the settlement. While little evidence of Roman structures has been found farther west than the medieval West Walls, ditches and pits of 2nd century date were discovered in 2004, for instance, on the site of the former Maltsters' Arms at 17 John Street.[43]

During the Hadrianic and Antonine periods it is evident that the settled area increased in size, with new building and expansion on the periphery to the north, east and south. All the areas known to have contained Flavian buildings continued in use into the 2nd century and it has been observed that different districts of the settlement contained buildings of markedly different character. The strip buildings at Blackfriars Street, thought to have been retired officers' dwellings in the Flavian period, perhaps became used for storage in the 2nd century AD. Such strip buildings are thought to have been characteristic of much of the core settlement. Excavations at the Northern Lanes, however, have indicated that this area was used for official administrative business. A massive timber building, probably a *mansio*, was built on the east side of Scotch Street around the beginning of the Hadrianic period.[44] When this building burnt down in the mid-2nd century AD the area was divided into a set of narrow building plots populated by a more extensive complex of timber buildings. Farther south, in the area of the Southern Lanes, the character of buildings was different again. Here several 2nd-century timber buildings were organised at a distance from the road adjacent to metalled yards surrounded by spacious hedged and ditched enclosures.[45] It has been argued that these might have been occupied by local farmers, beginning to settle on the edge of the growing town.

In the early 3rd century, during the rule of Septimius Severus, the settlement may have been reorganised and gained several stone buildings. Severus, after arriving in Britain, may have visited *Luguvalium* in person and there is some evidence in the archaeological remains of imperial influence.[46] It was at this time that the southern fort was rebuilt in stone. Roof tiles (*tegulae*) found within the fort and hypocaust tiles found within an impressive building equipped with a bath suite on the north side of the river Eden, between the modern Cricket Ground and Eden Bridge, have been found bearing the stamp IMP, indicating that they were

[40] Hobson 2019.
[41] Apperley 2016.
[42] Caruana 2011.
[43] Giecco 2004.
[44] Zant, J. and Howard-Davis, C. 2019, 182–3.
[45] McCarthy, M. R. 2000.
[46] Birley 1999, 184–5. Such a visit is not supported by the recently revised LOEB text of the *Historia Augusta*

property of the emperor, or made on lands belonging to the emperor.[47]

The latter findings support antiquarian reports of substantial remains relating to an extramural settlement on this side of the river. On the south side of the river it seems that the town also gained a number of important buildings in stone at this period, a possible *mansio* in the area of Abbey Street and a possible public bathhouse beneath the Market Hall.[48] Within the Northern Lanes excavations, the first stone-footed house was built in the late 2nd century. The building plots established in the 2nd century continued to develop into the 3rd century and in some of the plots buildings were still in use in the second half of the 4th century. Within the core of the Roman settlement there is good evidence for intensive occupation continuing into the late 4th or early 5th century AD, although parts of the periphery appear to have been abandoned during the course of the 3rd century.[49]

The epigraphic record from *Luguvalium* demonstrates the strength of the military presence and there is little doubt that many of the early 2nd-century town's leading figures would have been men of military origin. A series of dedications found west of English Street, for example, indicate that there may have been a concentration of temples in this part of the settlement.[50] There are dedications to Hercules,[51] Mars Barrex,[52] two to the Fates,[53] and a relief of the Mother Goddesses and a Genius. A dedication to Cautes, a torch-bearing attendant of the god Mithras, also found on English Street in the 19th century, indicates the presence of a *mithraeum*. The military aspect is reflected in many of the dedications, with two of those from English Street being made by prefects of the *Ala Petriana* stationed at Stanwix. Dedications to Mars and Victory,[54] Mars Barrex,[55] Mars Belatucadrus,[56] Mars Ocelus[57] and the Genius of the century of Bassilius[58] all have military connotations. Writing tablets from Vindolanda that are contemporary with the use of the cemetery evidence found at the Cumbria House site preserve military letters and documents, some of which mention *Luguvalium*. One letter, for example, refers to a senior official at *Luguvalium* in the Trajanic period, a *centurio regionarius*, which further demonstrates the administrative importance of the settlement for the region.[59]

Funerary and settlement evidence previously excavated in the area of Botchergate

The aim of this section is to introduce some of the evidence for funerary activity on the south side of *Luguvalium* in the immediate vicinity of the present excavations, to support interpretative discussion of the results which follow in the later chapters. A linear band of burials a little over a kilometre in length is known from beneath parts of the town centre and stretching out along the line of Botchergate and London Road as far as Gallows Hill, where the modern road crosses over the current railway line. Funerary deposits have been discovered in this part of Carlisle for more than a century. In 1786 the mail coach began to run between Manchester and Glasgow through Carlisle and improvements to the road led to some of the earliest discoveries. At the beginning of the 19th century, when the road was lowered through a cutting to facilitate its passage through Gallows Hill, for example, a large number of cremation urns were discovered. Some years later, in 1829, further discoveries were made when another deep cutting was made through the same hill in connection with the rebuilding of the bridge over the river Petteril. The sinking of a reservoir on the west side of Turnpike Road at Gallows Hill in 1847 also led to the discovery of funerary urns. Numerous other finds have been made in the same part of the city associated with the construction of the railway and its various depots, as well as during the digging of foundations for the various residential estates in the region of London Road.

A summary of these early finds was first made by Ferguson at the end of the 19th century and then updated by Patten in 1974, with some additions and omissions.[60] The most comprehensive attempt at compiling a gazetteer of the Roman burials from Carlisle, however, was made by Dorothy Charlesworth in 1978.[61] Charlesworth's work demonstrated that the task of accurately dating, or even quantifying, the antiquarian discoveries is not possible due to the lack of detail in the written accounts. Even the precise nature of some of the burials discovered during the 19th century, whether they were cremations or inhumations, for example, is in doubt. Indeed, a key aspect of the antiquarian reports is that they feature only very conspicuous archaeological remains such as lead (6 attested), stone (4) or wooden caskets or coffins

[47] Walas 2022, 412–5. The author has not yet been able to see photographs or illustrations of the stamped *tegulae* found at Annetwell Street to confirm the identity of the die, but fragments from other sites within Carlisle leave little doubt that this is the same phenomenon.
[48] Frere 1991, 235; Caruana and Morgan 1996; McCarthy 2002, 84–5.
[49] Zant, J. and Howard-Davis, C. 2019, 7.
[50] Charlesworth, D. 1978, 122; McCarthy 2017, 72–6.
[51] *RIB* 946
[52] *RIB* 947
[53] *RIB* 951 & 953
[54] *RIB* 950
[55] *RIB* 947
[56] *RIB* 948
[57] *RIB* 949
[58] *RIB* 944
[59] Bowman and Thomas 1994. *Tab. Vindol.* II.250.
[60] Ferguson, R. S. 1893; Patten, T. 1974.
[61] Charlesworth, D. 1978, 124–7.

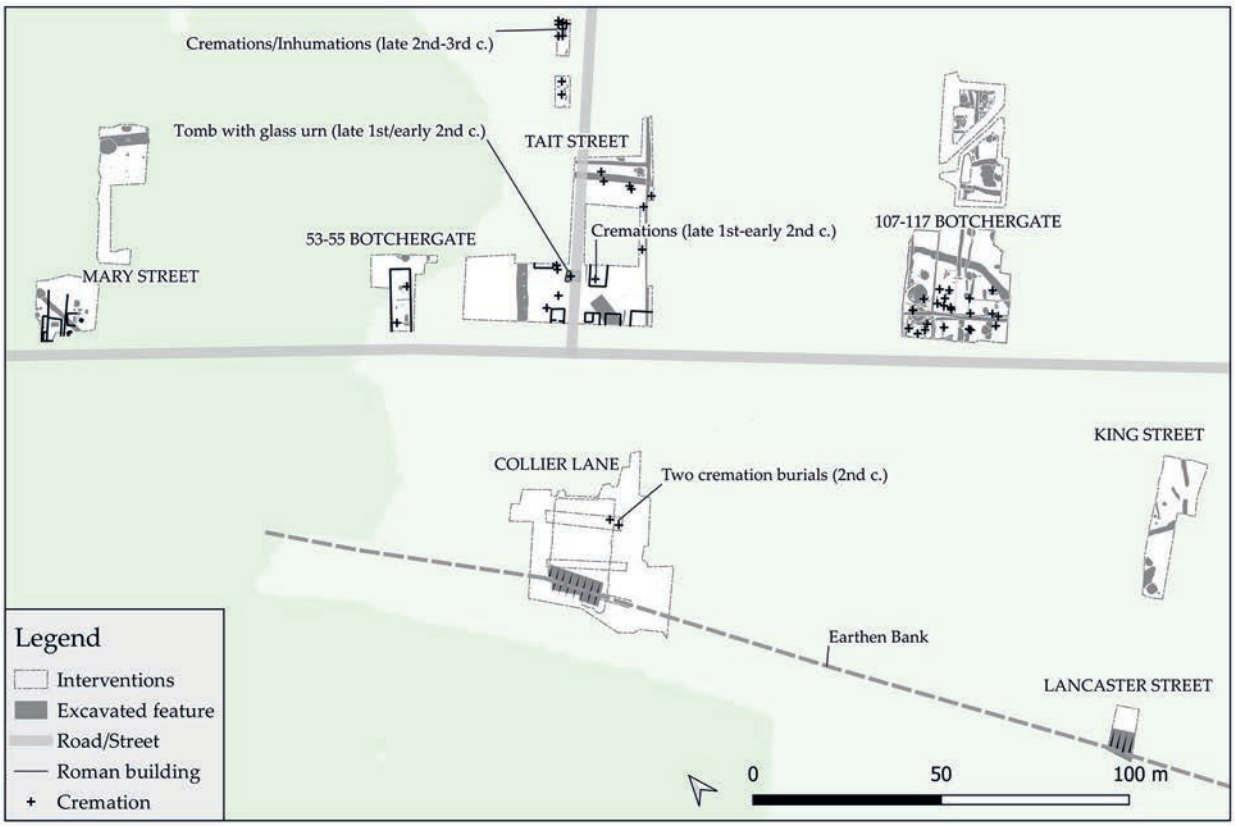

Figure *1.5* Schematic plan of excavated sites in the vicinity of Botchergate.

(3). Cists made of stone slabs are also fairly frequently attested (6). There is little doubt that inhumations which lacked the surviving elements of a coffin, or indeed uncontained cremation burials, interred without accessory vessels, will be underrepresented. Such burials are far less likely to have been noted by the workmen and consequently will not have made it into the written accounts, which partly come down to us through newspaper reports from the time.

In the same category of conspicuous remains are tombstones and parts of sculpted funerary architecture. The most recent discovery of a tombstone fragment comes from Stanwix, in the rubble of a large building on the outskirts of the fort next to Carlisle Cricket Ground, which saw phases of rebuilding carrying on into the mid-4th century. It relates to the relative of a soldier, reading "...aged 60...under the charge of Anic[...]...of the milliary ala Petriana...".[62] On the south side of the river, about ten tombstones have been found, mostly in fragmentary condition. Some preserve fragments of Latin epitaphs. One tombstone, for example, commemorates a woman called Anicia Lucilia who lived 55 years.[63] Another found associated with a lead coffin within a stone cist and an urn commemorates a woman aged 41 years at death.[64] A third tombstone, found lying on the cover of the cist, was too fragmentary to reconstruct more than parts of its inscription, beginning 'to the spirits of the departed'.[65] Another, associated with a wooden coffin, had an inscribed 4th-century gravestone dedicated to a man from Greece, aged 60 at his time of death.[66] Another fragmentary tombstone would have recorded the number of years of service given by a soldier, but unfortunately that part of the broken stone is lost.[67] A tombstone from the Bowling Green site records 'Vacia, an infant, aged 3'.[68] There is as yet no evidence for elaborate mausolea, although sculpted fragments give a clear indication that above-ground memorials existed. Some of the tombstones bear substantially complete carved reliefs. Similarities in artistic style with others in the region are sufficient to posit the presence of one or more workshops of sculptors associated with *Luguvalium*.[69]

[62] Tomlin 2018, 430 no. 6; Hobson in Walas 2022, 412–5. Sculpted stone heads, cremation burials and the base of a mausoleum found in 2023/24 to the south of the building indicate the presence of a substantial cemetery.

[63] RIB 958
[64] RIB 959.
[65] RIB 956.
[66] RIB 955.
[67] RIB 963.
[68] RIB 962.
[69] Phillips 1976.

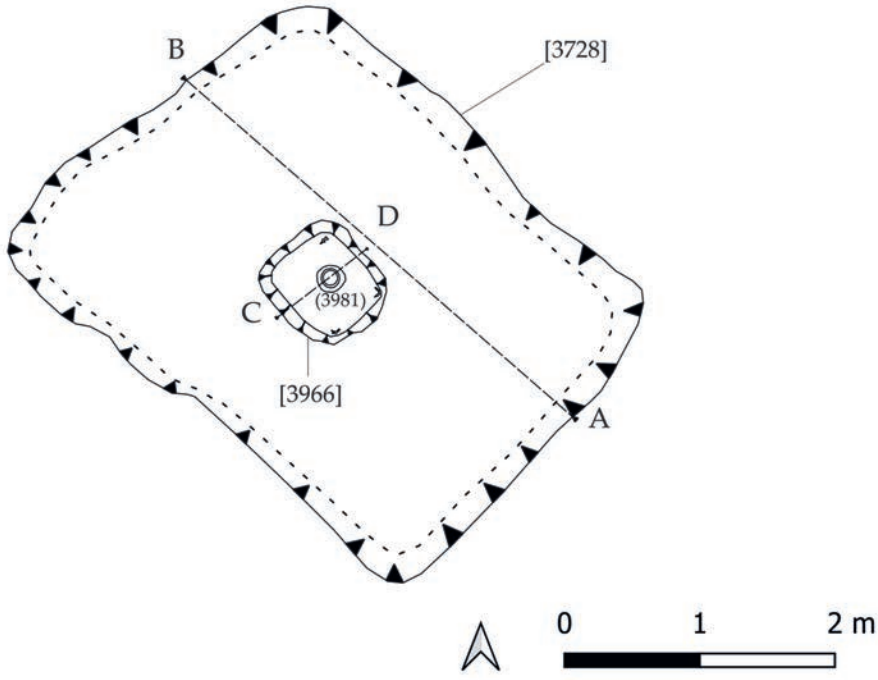

Figure *1.6* Plan of Tait Street tomb containing cremation burial.

While the details of many of the antiquarian finds are sketchy, the character of the Roman settlement and funerary activity at the southern edge of Roman Carlisle has been elucidated by several modern excavations on either side of Botchergate. Unfortunately, with one rare exception (53-55 Botchergate), these remain unpublished, with only brief summaries of the results entering later synthetic works.[70]

Modern sites excavated on the east side of Botchergate

Tait Street (1998-1999)

Beneath what is now the footprint of the Ibis hotel, only 70-130m to the northwest of the present site, excavations took place by Carlisle Archaeology Ltd in 1998-1999 (Figure 1.5).[71] A timber strip building (Building 1) dating to the Flavian period was recorded, which appeared to pre-date the construction of the Roman street leading to the south gate of the Flavian fort. Between the time when this Flavian building was constructed and when it was replaced with a new set of buildings aligned to the new Roman street, two cremation burials were interred. After roughly a century of use for artisanal purposes the settlement appears to have contracted, leaving space for the return of funerary activity by the early to mid-3rd century. The accumulation of soil could be observed, indicating the abandonment of the settlement in this area in the late 2nd century or early 3rd century. This soil layer was then cut by a series of about 30 cremation burials containing late 2nd to mid 3rd century pottery. A number of black-burnished ware jars were used as urns in these cremation burials. Also excavated was a significant number of inhumation burials, perhaps as many as 20.[72] The latter were identified by grave-shaped cuts, three of which had coffin brackets and grave goods associated with them.[73] No human bone survived to be recovered from these probable inhumation burials. None of the later cremation and inhumation burials cut through metalling of the side street. This indicates that the side street continued in use, although the buildings of the artisanal/industrial zone had been replaced by a cemetery.

One of the late-1st/early-2nd-century cremation burials was similar to some of those found in the present excavation, the urn being a 'legionary ware' pottery vessel thought by the excavators to date to the Flavian period. The other burial was of high-status and of great interest. Due to the folding of Carlisle Archaeology this site has never been fully analysed of published. While the budget of the current project could not stretch to this task, some effort has been made to furnish greater detail about the high-status burial. This cremation burial [3728]/[3966] was sealed by the metalled surfaces of a side street constructed at a right angle to

[70] e.g. McCarthy 2002, 77–9 & 85–7; Newman, R. 2011, 102–5; McCarthy 2017, 66–7 & 84.
[71] Giecco, F. O. et al. 2001.
[72] McCarthy 2002, 85–6.
[73] Giecco, F. O. et al. 2001, 25–6.

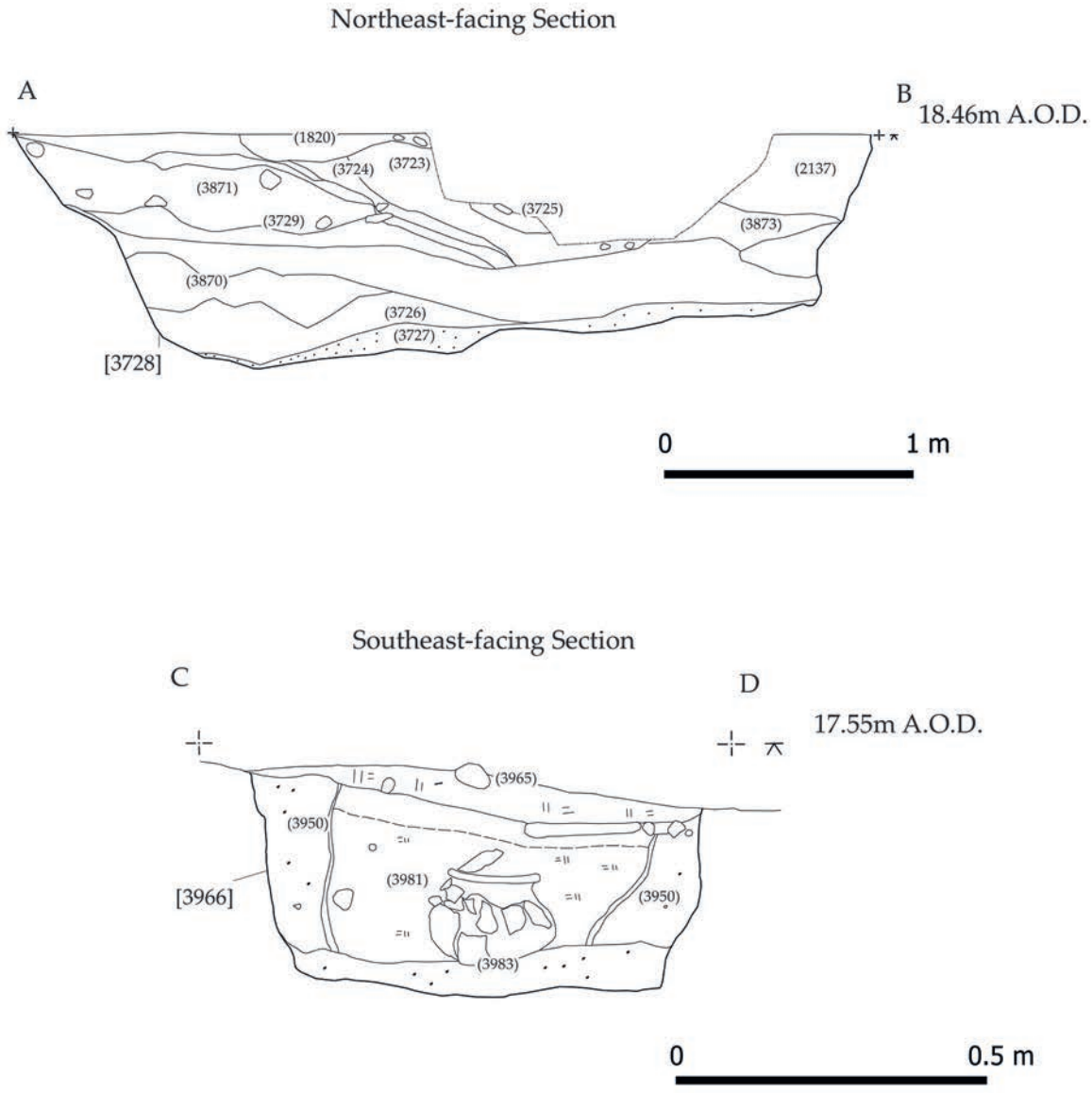

Figure *1.7* Section drawings of Tait Street tomb and cremation burial.

the main Roman road (Figure 1.5). The side street was contemporary with the set of timber buildings which aligned with, and fronted on to, the main Roman road fossilised in modern Botchergate. Some of the buildings may have been domestic in character, although one with evidence for multiple hearths has been posited as a possible bakery.[74] The burial beneath this side street might well be described as a tomb. It presented as a large squarish cut which measured 3.6m by 2.7m in plan and survived to a depth of 0.8m (Figure 1.6 & Figure 1.7). Just under 2kg of fired clay or daub was recovered, some of which remained in situ on the sides of the cut. Several of the fragments bear linear impressions, indicating some form of timber lining to the burial chamber. A second square cut measuring roughly 60cm in diameter was found in the centre of the burial chamber's floor. The remains of iron nails found towards the top of this smaller cut indicate that it contained the remains of a box. In the centre of the box was a large glass funerary urn, which can be dated to the late-1st to early/mid-2nd century AD and contained cremated human remains (Figure 1.8 & Figure 1.9).[75] Such glass jars (*ollae*) will have been used primarily as storage jars, or perhaps as tableware.[76] While similar examples have been found in burials in southeast Britain, glass urns are generally rare in burials in the northwestern provinces and are regarded as an element of superior burial furnishing.[77]

[74] McCarthy 2002, 78.

[75] Giecco, F. O. et al. 2001, 18; McCarthy 2002, 78.

[76] Koster 2013, 247.

[77] Philpott 2016, 23–4. A similar example is also known from

Figure *1.8* Photographs of Tait Street tomb containing cremation burial.

Figure *1.9* Glass urn from Tait Street cremation burial, on display in Carlisle Cathedral.

Aside from cremated bone, the glass urn contained an iron tack and some globules of molten glass, implying that at least one glass vessel had been placed on the funeral pyre. The smaller cut and the base of the larger timber-lined burial chamber were filled with a black charcoal-rich deposit likely to have been pyre debris. Above this, the tomb had been backfilled with redeposited natural. The presence of the pyre debris and the fact that some of the remains of the daub had been fired led the excavators to suggest that this may have been a *bustum* burial, in which the pyre was placed directly over what then became the burial pit. Direct evidence of in situ burning was not found, but this may have been at a higher level and lost, especially if the area was levelled prior to the construction of the side street which sealed the burial.

The Mary Street Site (1998-1999)

Farther to the northwest, below an area that is now occupied by shop frontages on the corner of Mary Street and Botchergate, a similar group of timber buildings was observed, first being constructed in the late-1st or early 2nd century AD. One of the strip buildings was 4.5m wide by 7m long and contained 'a large oven-like structure and at least two hearths associated with large quantities of metalworking slag, indicating an industrial function.[78] This building was extensively remodelled in the mid-late 2nd or early 3rd century but appeared to have continued in industrial use. Another of the buildings did not have such clear evidence for function. It appears to have been demolished, with external surfaces being laid over its remains from the mid-late 2nd or early 3rd century. The buildings all appear to have gone out of use in the early 3rd century, their remains being sealed by a thick layer of soil. No funerary activity was recorded in this area.

53-55 Botchergate (2001)

The excavation of an additional area beneath the corner of the Ibis hotel between the Tait Street and Mary Street excavation areas, at 53-55 Botchergate, characterised the sequence of settlement and funerary activity further.[79] Two cremation burials were excavated. One, set in a shallow sub-circular pit, contained a complete locally produced ceramic cooking pot used as the urn. The other burial was placed in a vertically sided rectangular pit. Both burials contained charred material from the pyre. The latter unurned cremation contained charred wood and three smashed, locally produced, reduced greyware flagons which had been broken in antiquity. These finds and central and

Noviomagus (Nijmegen) Burial 11 no. 34 (Koster 2013, 62–7, 135–6, 241 & 436).

[78] Giecco, F. O. et al. 2001, 10–1.

[79] Newman, R. 2011, 70–124.

southern Gaulish samian ware associated with other features from the same phase, some of which may have been funerary enclosure boundaries, dated the funerary activity to the late 1st-early 2nd century. A later timber strip building complete with a hearth for smelting lead ore at Botchergate supports the idea that this area was given over to artisanal activity in the early-mid 2nd century.[80] The same pattern of reduced activity by the late 2nd/early 3rd century was observed.

Modern sites excavated on the west side of Botchergate

St Nicholas' Yard (1996-1997)

Two broad ditch terminals were recorded, which appeared to form the entranceway into an enclosure. Evidence for a metalled trackway leading to the entrance from the east was found. Inside the enclosure an urned cremation burial and a coffined inhumation burial were excavated. Calcined bone was recovered from the cremation burial, but no human bone survived from the probable inhumation. Iron coffin brackets, two pottery vessels and glass were, however, recovered.[81] Three other shallow features were thought to have been possible cremation burials. Some contained medieval pottery, thought to be intrusive. The small quantity of calcined bone recovered from these features was deemed not to be worthy of further analysis.

The Collier Lane (1997) and Lancaster Street (2020) sites

At two sites, adjacent to Collier Lane and Lancaster Street respectively, parts of what was probably the same early 2nd-century linear earthwork have been found. The sites are approximately 100m west of the current excavation site, in the case of Collier Lane, and southwest in the case of Lancaster Street. At the Collier Lane site a clay core to the bank, as well as postholes along the top of the soil banking up on either side of the core, indicated that it carried some sort of structure. It was probably an aqueduct, or possibly a flood defence against the waters of the river Caldew. Large-scale rubbish dumping had occurred on the east side of the earthwork. Two urned cremation burials dating to the 2nd century were excavated. Both cremation pits cut through soils post-dating the construction of the bank and were sealed by dumped deposits, those immediately above containing 3rd-century material.[82] A clay core to the bank was observed at Collier Lane. This was not visible in the section explored at Lancaster Street, although only the northern part of the bank fell within the excavation trench. Micromorphological analysis undertaken as part of the *Earthen Empire: Earth and Turf Building in the Roman North West* project has confirmed that the bank was constructed of turves.

King Street (2005)

At King Street work ahead of the construction of a block of flats in 2005 revealed early-2nd to late 3rd-century settlement features. Ephemeral evidence of timber buildings was recorded, along with cobbled surfaces and ditch and pit features. No funerary evidence was encountered.

In conclusion, *Luguvalium* was the site of a Flavian fort important for the Roman army from the outset as a defendable location at a strategic river crossing. It gained in logistical significance once the Roman invasion of Scotland was called off, becoming an important node in the new Tyne-Solway defensive line under Trajan and gaining a second fort integral to the structure of Hadrian's Wall probably under Hadrian. An associated settlement appears to have quickly grown up around the Flavian fort. The pace of the fledgling town's development was no doubt increased by the importance of the military presence. From the reign of Hadrian into the 3rd century, apart from a brief period when the Antonine Wall was built and occupied, Carlisle boasted two Roman forts in contemporary use, one on each side of the important ford over the river Eden.[83] The strong military element in its population shaped the character of the town, reflected archaeologically in its architectural remains, inscribed dedications, and to an extent burial practices.

We know the names of two Gallic units stationed in the forts here, the *ala Gallorum Sebosiana* very probably at *Luguvalium* in the Flavian period and the *ala Augusta Gallorum Petriana* at *Uxelodunum* in the mid-2nd century and later. While the names of the units stationed at the forts in the early 2nd century are not yet known, the rebuilding of the fort at *Luguvalium* around AD 105 and the influx of different finds from within the fort at the same period have been used to argue for the arrival of a new unit from the region of *Gallia Belgica*.

Excavated sites on both sides of Botchergate, of which the present site is but one, have shown that in the late 1st and early 2nd century AD this area formed part of the periphery of the early settlement. Funerary activity appears to have ceased, or been pushed further away from the road, as the settlement expanded. Little of great significance can be said about the distribution of cremation and inhumation burials. What may have been the highest concentration of urned cremation burials was found at the far northern end of the distribution, only about 500m from the fort's southern gate and presumably buried by suburbs of the 2nd-century

[80] Newman, R. 2011, 77–9, 95–8, 108–13.
[81] Howard-Davis, C. and Leah, M. 1999, 91–5.
[82] Keppie, L. J. F. et al. 1998, 381–2.
[83] McCarthy 2017, 80–1.

extramural settlement. Reported on in Archaeologia Aeliana in 1832, these remains were found when the foundations for the gaol were being dug at the junction of English Street and the road meeting the Victoria Viaduct.[84] The presence of 3rd-century cremation burials and possibly even later inhumations within the Tait Street excavations makes clear that the area was repurposed on more than one occasion. The Tait Street site also revealed cremation burials dating to the late first or early 2nd century AD, including the high-status example illustrated above. The fact that this site has never seen full analysis, and that most antiquarian records lack sufficient detail about the earlier burials and their contents, increases the importance of the full publication of the findings from the Cumbria House site. The next chapter relates the stratigraphic sequence uncovered within the 2015 excavations, which provide new evidence for Roman funerary and settlement activity on the southeastern periphery of the Roman town during the 2nd century AD.

[84] Hodgson 1832.