

# SCALEBY.

Side 1 is blank; 2 and 3 as above; 4 The Roman Inscription.  
The above is now (Sept. 11, 1925) in the Tower Door.

TO FACE P. 129.

ART. X.—*The Scaleby Castle Roman Antiquities.* By  
R. G. COLLINGWOOD.

*Communicated at Carlisle, July 13th, 1927.*

IT is well known that there was once a collection of Roman inscribed stones at Scaleby Castle, and that the whole collection has long since disappeared. A large part of it has recently turned up again in an unexpected quarter; and I take the opportunity of putting together, so far as I can, the history of the whole collection.

Bishop Gibson, late in the seventeenth century, reported three altars at Scaleby (Gibson's *Camden*, ed. 4, vol. ii, pp. 81-2), nos. 1, 6, and 8 of the list which I give below. Alexander Gordon, who published his *Itinerarium Septentrionale* in 1726, described three (nos. 2, 3 and 6), and added that there were others (*op. cit.* pp. 81, 95, 96; plates 47 fig. 6, 42 fig. 6, and 45 fig. 4). Horsley, whose *Britannia Romana* was published in 1732, reported six inscribed altars and two uninscribed (pp. 256, 259-60, 265, 266), and printed engravings of all the inscribed ones (my nos. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8). Gordon also mentions an uninscribed altar (my no. 9), and says that the collection included a number of other objects, such as an "urn of stone," which was probably a stone mortar, a gem with three heads in intaglio, which he took for Severus with Caracalla and Geta, a cinerary urn in "red earth," and a pair of shoes.

From these notices we can form an idea of the way in which the collection began, in the hands of William Gilpin, Recorder of Carlisle, to whose father, Richard, the castle had been conveyed after the end of the Civil War (Lysons, *Cumberland* p. 153); and went on steadily growing from 1690 or thereabouts (Gibson's first edition

appeared in 1695) to about 1730. We shall see that at least one addition was made to it after that date (my no. 4). But by the time we come to the next group of topographical writers—Hutchinson, Gough, Lysons—the collection has disappeared. Hutchinson was working at local antiquities at least as early as the 1770's; and when he came to write his *History of Cumberland* he made it plain that he had never seen any of these stones and had no idea where they were. His successors are *a fortiori* in the same position.

Turning to the history of the castle, we find that in 1741 Richard Gilpin, son of the Recorder, sold it to "Edward Stephenson, Esquire, sometime governor of Bengal" (Lysons, *ibid.*) who however did not come to live in it. In 1772, William Gilpin, son of this Richard, vicar of Boldre in Hampshire and author of the *Lives of the Reformers* and other works, revisited his birthplace and was distressed by its neglected and forlorn condition: "this venerable pile," he said, "has undergone a second ruin" (Mr. J. F. Curwen, these *Trans.*, N.S., xxvi, 405). By this time Hutchinson was already at work; so the disappearance of the collection falls in this period of neglect.

Nothing further was heard of the collection till 1923, when the Reverend H. M. Larnier, rector of Busbridge, near Godalming, to whom is due the entire credit for the discoveries I am to relate, drew attention to the existence of a Roman altar in the farmyard of the beautiful old house of North Munstead. The altar (my no. 1) had been hollowed out at the back and was in use as a pig-trough, but, on being unearthed during alterations to the house, it was found to bear an inscription on the under side. The architect in charge of the works, Mr. L. T. Surridge, saved it from being broken up into aggregate for concrete, and it was carefully cleaned and photographed. It was then found to be a dedication to the god Cocidius, a local

god of Northumberland and Cumberland; and \* Mr. Larner's publication of it in the *Busbridge Parish Magazine* for December, 1923, combined with an excellent photograph, both of which he kindly sent to me, showed that it was dedicated by the Birdoswald garrison, the First Aelian Cohort of Dacians. On seeing the altar for myself, I recognised that its material was a yellow sandstone indistinguishable from the material of all the Birdoswald inscriptions; and the obvious inference was that it had been brought from Cumberland by a collector at some time which, even before we recognised its identity with one of the Scaleby stones, we inferred to have been during the eighteenth century. Subsequently, Mr. Larner, pursuing his investigations further in the same neighbourhood, discovered some more inscribed stones, in the grounds of Busbridge Hall. In the autumn of 1926, he sent me two drawings, one of which I immediately recognised as representing an altar formerly at Scaleby (my no. 2); and on following up this clue we found a fourth inscription and an uninscribed altar, making five stones in all.

Mr. Larner's researches have pretty well settled the history of these stones in its later phase. Philip Carteret Webb, who acquired Busbridge Hall in 1748, was a well-known local antiquary and member of Parliament. He was a wealthy and eccentric dilettante, and, among other improvements to the estate, caused a cave to be dug in a soft stone cliff in his grounds. In a niche at the far end of this cave he buried his first wife in 1756, and at its entrance he built a picturesque and ruinous-looking grotto, serving as a kind of vestibule to the cave. The grotto was closed with an iron gate, and over this, according to a letter of 1757,\* a marble slab was placed " with inscription

\* From Major Richard Browne, 88th Connaught Rangers, to his father in Kinsale, Jan. 29, 1757. Major Browne gives a detailed and curious description of the cave, with Mrs. Webb's coffin, draped in a pall, in a lighted apartment at the far end. The letter is in the possession of Mrs. Francis David Webb of Milford House, Godalming; Mr. Larner has not only told me of its existence but has kindly supplied me with a transcript both of it and of the marble slab.

of all her virtues." In 1758, when Mr. Webb married his second wife, he removed his first wife's remains from the cave to Busbridge Church, where she now lies. He also moved the marble slab, and replaced it by a Roman inscription (my no. 4) which now stands over the gate.

There are other artificial grottoes elsewhere in the grounds, together with certain sunk walks between high walls of similar romantic masonry; and the other three Roman stones are inserted in the side wall of one such walk. All this work can be attributed with tolerable confidence to Mr. Webb; and we may infer that it was he who collected the Roman stones, including that which was found close by, at North Munstead. He is not known to have had any connexion with Cumberland, but Mr. Larnier tells me that there is at Busbridge Hall a picture of him and his family dressed as Romans and apparently discussing coins. He died in 1770.

Returning now to Scaleby, we find that the origin of the collection is vouched for by Gordon, who tells us that the objects were owned by "my ingenious friend *Mr. Gilpin*, at *Skelby Castle* near *Carlisle*, and were collected by that Gentleman's Father, who was Recorder of that City" (*It. Sept.*, p. 81). The Recorder was William Gilpin who, Mr. Curwen suggests, rebuilt part of the castle about 1685 (*Trans. N.S.*, xxvi, p. 405); on his death in 1724 his son Richard entered into possession and lived there till 1741 when he sold the property. This gives us a possible date for the transference of the stones to Busbridge. Richard Gilpin is not likely to have dispersed the collection himself; at any rate, Gordon speaks of him as "ingenious," which means educated and intelligent. But when Edward Stephenson bought the castle, and later on, when he and his successors allowed it to lie neglected, opportunities might easily arise for a *virtuoso* like the owner of Busbridge Hall to acquire the altars.

But here a difficulty arises. In a manuscript\* in the

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\* Bodl. MS. Rawlinson B, 206.

Bodleian Library at Oxford there are drawings of various Roman inscriptions, including four of the Scaleby stones (nos. 1, 2, 6 and 8 of the annexed list). The drawings, on two small sheets, are carefully executed and evidently done from the stones themselves; I have compared them with Horsley's, Gordon's and Gibson's copies, and am satisfied that they are not derived from any of them, and that they cannot actually be the work of any of these three scholars. They were sent to the famous Oxford antiquary Thomas Hearne\* by John Woodward, professor of physic in Gresham College and author of the famous *Essay towards a Natural History of the Earth*, published in 1695. Woodward's covering letter, imploring Hearne to send the drawings back, is dated from Gresham College, 28 Aug., 1711. Obviously, Hearne did not send them back; and the explanation appears from a note written upon a third sheet of drawings bound up with them, stating with the corroboration of witnesses, that "these three papers with my own hand writing I discovered in a Book on July 1st, 1725, that Mr. Burghers had at the Rolling Press room of the new printing house\* in wch Book were several other things of mine wch we had pulled out and burnt at that time; yet I had paid Mr. Burghers for what he did to these and other papers all wch he should have therefore faithfully delivered to me, which notwithstanding he kept," and so forth, complaining at length of Mr. Burghers's negligence. Having recovered the drawings after fourteen years, Hearne kept them; no doubt Woodward, who lived till 1728, was by now resigned to their loss.

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\* 1678-1735; son of a working man; rose to be Bodley's Librarian at Oxford and not only produced valuable editions of historical texts but left behind him a vast mass of notes, a mine of antiquarian information, of which Rawl. B. 206 is one volume.

† That is, the so-called Old Clarendon Building, built out of the profits accruing from the sale of Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion*; hitherto the University press had been housed in the Sheldonian Theatre. Cf. *Some Account of the Oxford University Press, 1468-1926*, Oxford, 1926.

Hearne has appended a list of the inscriptions, carefully recording the whereabouts of each. Number 2 of my list is his no. 2, "in Mr. Gilpin's of Whit-Church custody, not describ'd." My no. 1 is his no. 3, "in ditto's Custody, descr. in Camden." My no. 8 is his no. 5, "in Mr. Gilpin's custody, described in Camden"; and my no. 6 is his no. 6, "the same, Mr. Gilpin," and another copy of it, his no. 7, "in do's custody. Desc. in Camden." The whole list is headed "inscriptions communicated by Mr. Gilpin: described by Mr. Hutchinson." This means, I take it, that the author of the drawings was a Mr. Hutchinson; not, of course, the same who wrote the great *History of Cumberland* and other works, but a much earlier person. Mr. Gilpin presumably sent them to Woodward, who was an antiquary as well as a physician and geologist.

I have stated the facts somewhat fully, because of the difficulty arising out of the plain statement that Mr. Gilpin who owned these stones lived at Whitchurch.\* One might imagine that when the Gilpins left Scaleby in 1741 they took the collection to Whitchurch, whence it passed to Busbridge; but Hearne died in 1735, and the papers as I have described them prove that the drawings came to his hand in 1711. Now we know from Gordon and Horsley that the altars were at Scaleby later than that. Gordon is believed to have been collecting his materials about 1720; Horsley dated his preface Jan. 2, 1731/2, and, stating as he does that he saw the stones at Scaleby, would have informed the reader if they had been moved since he saw them. It is therefore clear that Hearne's statement cannot indicate a third stage in the history of the collection between its Scaleby and Busbridge periods.

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\* There is nothing to say which of the many Whitchurches. The only other reference to this place-name that I can find in Hearne's works is in vol. 1 of his *Collections* (Oxf. Hist. Soc.; p. 282): "We have an acct. from *Whitchurch* in *Shropshire* yt ye Dissenters there having prepared a great Quantity of Brick to Erect a Capacious Conventicle a Destroying Angel came by Night and spoyled ym all & confounded yeir Babel in ye Beginning to yeir great Mortification." This does not really help.

Nor can it indicate a yet earlier stage; for we already know that Richard Gilpin the Recorder lived at Scaleby throughout the closing decades of the seventeenth century, and we have seen how the collection grew up there. I can only suggest that Hearne or his informant has made a mistake, possibly through mis-reading *Scaleby-Castle* as *Whit-Church*, in somebody's bad handwriting.\*

The stones are as follows.

1. *Deo Cocidio, Coh(ors) i Aelia [Dacorum, cui praeest . . . . .]ntius Valerianus [trib(unus)]*. "To the god Cocidius, erected by the First Cohort of Dacians, Hadrian's Own, commanded by . . . Terentius (?) Valerianus, tribune."



Fig. 1

Gibson's *Camden*, p. 182; Hearne's MS., no. 3; and Horsley, *Brit. Rom.* p. 256, and engraving, *Cumberland*

\* The MS. in question was seen by Haverfield, who quoted it in *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, vii, under no. 1080, and sent a note on it to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne in 1889, ending with the plea that some northern antiquary would make a search for the vanished Scaleby collection. In part, I have fulfilled his request, more by good luck than good management; but three inscriptions at least remain undiscovered. *Proc. Soc. Ant. Newcastle*, iv (1889), 116-117.



xvii, are the only original authorities; see also *Antiquaries Journal* iv, 157; *Jour. Rom. St.* xii, 277. Gibson did not know whence it came; Horsley conjectured Birdoswald, and we may accept his conjecture. The cutting-down of the stone and presumably its conversion into a trough had occurred before Horsley drew it, and Hearne tells us that it had been used as a pig-trough; the same thing happened to another Birdoswald stone (C.I.L. vii, 817) which long served as a pig-trough at Underheugh, and is now at Tullie House. This stone has served the same purpose for at least 60 years at North Munstead; it evidently reverted to that function when its Busbridge owners ceased to value it as a curiosity. C.I.L. vii, 803.

2. *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo), coh(ors) iii. Gallorum, c(ui) p(raeest) Volcaci* *Hospes, pr(a)ef(ectus) eq(uitum).*

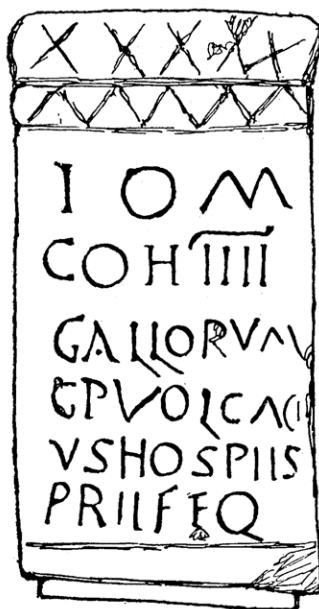


Fig. 2.

"To Iuppiter good and great, erected by the Fourth Cohort of Gauls, commanded by Volcaci<sup>us</sup> Hospes, cavalry prefect." There is some doubt about the origin of this stone. Gordon, who gives a drawing of it (plate 45, fig. 4), says he found it himself at a place in Cumberland not far from the wall (p. 97). Horsley comments severely on this claim: "it is at *Scaleby Castle*, and has been there a long time, having a sun-dial upon it; and, as Mr. Gilpin told me, was found at *Cambeck fort*" (i.e. *Castlesteads*). Horsley is generally right, Gordon frequently wrong; and it is probably so in this

case; but if so, it is curious that Gibson did not see the

stone. Horsley's and Gordon's drawings are substantially correct; the sinking on the top for the sundial is still visible, and the base has been cut into a tenon so as to stand in a socket, not a Roman feature. The material is buff sandstone; the Castlesteads stones are some of this material, some of red. The Fourth Cohort of Gauls is not otherwise recorded in this region of the Wall; it is known at Chesterholm and Risingham, and earlier at Templeborough near Rotherham. Hearne's MS., no. 2; *Journ. Rom. St.*, xvi, 240; C.I.L., vii, 877.

3. *Matribu[s] d[omesticis] [s]uis, Asin[iu]s S[e]nili[s] v(otum) s(olvi)t l(ibens) [m(erito)]*. "To the Mother-goddesses of his own home, Asinius Senilis pays a vow."



Fig. 3.

This is a small altar, 18 by 11 inches, of the red sandstone common in the Carlisle district. It is complete, but damaged by the weathering and flaking of the soft stone, and difficult to read. At first sight, one might think it uninscribed. Gordon (p. 95, and facing, plate 42, nos. 5 and 6) could read no more than MATRIBV . . . OMESTICI . . . and does not say whence it came; Horsley (p. 266, and engraving, *Cumberland xl*), reads MATRIBV . . . | . . .

OMESTICIS | VIS MESSO | SIGNIFERVSL, with less than his usual caution, and says "I believe it belongs to *Stanwicks*, for *Mr. Goodman* of *Carlisle* told me he presented an altar not many years ago to *Mr. Gilpin*, which had been dug up at *Stanwicks* . . . I take this to be the altar, because it never has been published till lately by *Mr. Gordon*."

The dedications *Matribus domesticis* and *Matribus suis*, to distinguish the Mother-goddesses of the dedicator's home from those of the country in which the dedication was made, are well known; here, to make doubly sure, they are combined. *Journ. Rom. St.*, xvi, 241; *C.I.L.*, vii, 913.

4. Slab, 23 by 17 inches, of buff sandstone, built in over the entrance of the cave. *Leg(io) ii Aug(usta)*, *Leg(io) vi v(ictrix) p(ia) f(idelis)*. The names of these two legions are cut in good letters of the second century within a plain border; the stone is broken on the left, and was originally about 27 inches long. I cannot find

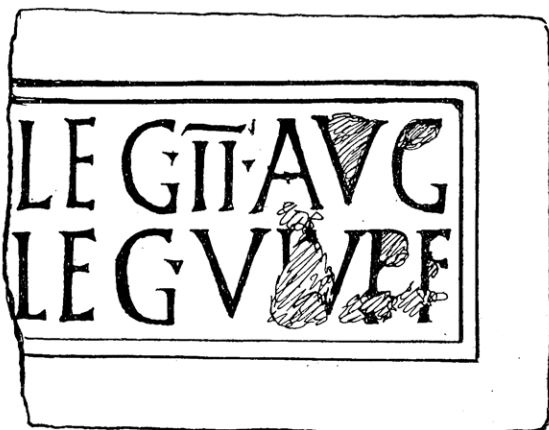


Fig. 4.

that this has ever been published before, except for my own publications in the *Busbridge Parish Magazine* (Feb., 1927) and the *Journal of Roman Studies* (xvi, 241). But its material exactly resembles that of hundreds of Wall stones, and in style it suits well with the Hadrianic period. I suspect that, like the rest, it came from Scaleby; and was added to the Gilpin collection between Horsley's last visit and the break-up of the collection, a period of at least ten years, on the view set forth above.

In that case it came, presumably, from a site not very far from Scaleby, and possibly from the Wall itself. It is not exactly like any other inscription known to me. Clearly it commemorates the co-operation of the Second and Sixth legions in some work of construction; and I do not know of any work large enough to have employed these two legions except Hadrian's Wall. At Bewcastle, it is true, there was an inscription recording two legions at work on a building (C 978; these *Trans.* N.S., xxii, 177, 184) but it probably named a vexillation of these legions, not the legions as a whole. I am inclined to think that the Busbridge stone comes from the Wall and marked a point at which one legion left off building and another began; though there is no exact parallel for this, since in the other known cases each of the two units concerned put up a separate stone for itself, so that two such stones, one for each unit, must have ordinarily stood side by side at the point of junction.

5. Close to nos. 2 and 3, built like them into the rough wall beside the walk, is a little uninscribed altar of the same red sandstone as no. 3, measuring 17 by 7 inches. This, too, came doubtless from Scaleby; by its material, it came from some place not east of Castlesteads; and it may be one of the Watchcross altars mentioned by Horsley (see below, nos. 10 and 11).

These are all I have seen at Busbridge; I add brief notes on the other Scaleby stones.

6. Large altar, broken at the top; [*Deo*] *Soli* [*i*]nvicto. *Sex(tus) Severius Salvator*, [*pr*]aef(ectus), [*v*(otum) s(olvit)] *l(ibens) m(erito)*. "To the invincible Sun-god, Sextus Severius Salvator, prefect, pays a vow." Gibson's Camden (ed. 4), vol. ii, p. 182, with woodcut; Gordon, p. 96, and plate 47 (facing p. 81), no. 6; Horsley, p. 259, and engraving *Cumberland* xxviii. From Castlesteads (Horsley). Hearne's MS. gives it twice, as nos. 6 and 7. C.I.L. vii, 889.

7. Altar, the inscription mostly faded: *Deo Soli Mitr(ae) . . . . vis . . . . cor . . . .* "To the sun-god Mithras" . . . . Horsley, p. 259 and *Cumberland* xxix, is the only authority; he says it comes from Castlesteads. C.I.L. vii, 890.

8. Altar. *Deo S(ancto) Belatucadro au do . . . . (pa)ullinus v(otum) s(olvit)*: "To the holy god Belatucader, Aulus? Domitius? Paullinus paid a vow." The meaning of *au do* is not clear; from Horsley's engraving I suspect the real reading to have been *AVRE[L(IVS)]*. Horsley, p. 260, and *Cumberland* xxxi; Gibson's *Camden* (with woodcut) ed. 4, vol. ii, 181. Gibson says it was found "not far from the castle, in the river Irдин"; Horsley says "Mr. Gilpin refers it to the *Cambeck* fort" *i.e.* Castlesteads. Hearne, No. 5. C.I.L. vii, 874.

9. Large altar "about 3 Foot and a half long, and 2 broad; the Inscription on the Front of which is obliterated." Gordon, p. 95 and plate 42, fig. 1-2, from which it appears that the altar was handsomely ornamented. Nothing is said of its origin.

10. "In the field called the *House-Steeds* near *Watchcross* one of the altars, which are at *Scaleby castle*, was thrown up by the plough, but it had no inscription upon it" (Horsley, p. 265). Had this been the little uninscribed altar 5 (above) I should have expected Horsley to remark upon its smallness.

11. "Another of the altars at *Scaleby castle*, Mr. *Gilpin* told me, had been neglected in the neighbourhood from time immemorial, till it was ordered into his garden, and taken care of there. This has probably belonged to the same station" *i.e.* *Watchcross*. (Horsley, p. 265). This or the preceding might be identical with no. 9.

12. For the sake of completeness, I add an account of the other *Scaleby* Roman inscription, now existing in *Scaleby church*. *I(ovi) [O(ptimo) M(aximo), coh(ors) i. Ael(ia)] Dac(orum), cu[i pr]aeest Funisul[an]us Vetto[n]-*

ianus [t]ri[b(unus)], v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).  
 "To Iuppiter good and great, the First Cohort of Dacians, Hadrian's Own, commanded by Funisulanus Vettonianus, tribune, pays a vow." This was clearly brought from Birdoswald in the middle ages, and has been used twice over as material for the effigy of a priest. The accompanying sketch of the effigies on two sides of the block was



Fig. 5.

kindly made by the President. The stone is of interest not only as showing that material was brought from Birdoswald to Scaleby at that period, but also as a good example of Roman lettering not much if at all later than Hadrian. We know two other Funisulani Vettoniani: one was a distinguished man in the late first century, who might possibly have been the father of our tribune; the other was a governor of Britain, whose tenure of office Mr. Donald Atkinson (*Journ. Rom. St.* xii, 61 and 65) places in the reign of Trajan, so that he would be a younger contemporary of the one and an older, perhaps of the other. See *Prosopographia Imp. Rom.*, vol. ii, pp. 99, 326, for details of their careers. This stone was found about 1869\* in the wall of Scaleby Church (Bruce, *Lap. Sep.* no. 367). It is published there and in C.I.L. vii, 811, from Bruce's notes; in neither case quite correctly. There is also a note of it in these *Trans.* N.S. viii, p. 379.

\* This date is implied in Bruce's phrase "about six years ago," but the actual date was probably 1861, when the church was restored (these *Trans.*, N.S., xxiii, 233).