NOTES

1. **Stone rough-out axe from Crag House, Grasmere**  
   By M. E. Burckett, O.B.E., B.A., F.M.A.

   This summer a pointed butt rough out axe 22 cm. × 6.5 cms. was found in the old in-fill in a boundary wall at Crag House, Grasmere (Grid Ref. 334076) by Michael Berry. It had been buried, which explains the heavy patination and brown iron staining, and had probably been in the ground for some time. It is a characteristic example of the Great Langdale Neolithic axe-working sites and Miss C. I. Fell says that it is probably Group VI (Great Langdale), a tuff of the Borrowdale volcanic series. In the chip at the butt end of the axe the darker grey/green colour of the natural stone shows clearly. The cutting edge of the axe is damaged in several places.

2. **A Barbed and Tanged Arrowhead from Torver Low Common**  
   By R. A. Parkin, B.A.

   While walking to Throng Moss Reservoir, Torver Low Common on the 15th July 1984, I found a barbed and tanged arrowhead protruding from the surface of the trackway, at grid reference SD 281921. The arrowhead, of a type often associated with the Beaker Period, is heavily patinated, although the sides are still sharp and the facets still clearly defined. The tip and one of the barbs have been completely snapped off; the latter may have been lost due to the weakness caused by the flaw in the flint (see drawing). The arrowhead is currently in possession of the finder.
3. **A settlement in Deep Gill, Ennerdale**  
By the late W. Fletcher

Some years ago I noticed a settlement high up Deep Gill in Great Cove, at approximately NY 143114 and made a plan of it. The site lies immediately below Haycock, about 1600 ft. (488 metres) above sea level. It has been constructed by the builders from the great scatter of boulders that have fallen from Haycock, or Little Cowder Crag, or from eroded material which covered the Great Cove area after the last ice age.

At first sight the dozen or so round and sub-rectangular, rough stone structures could be overlooked as they do not rise more than a foot or two above the short grass that covers the settlement area. There is no bracken or heather here. One of the sub-rectangular structures, marked A on my plan, stands to a height of 4 ft. 6 in. (1.371 metres), probably due to the recent work of a shepherd. Ennerdale granophyre is the main rock used in the constructions.

There are no old levels in Great Cove, though iron has been mined at no great distance to the north-west of the settlement below Iron Crag.

The structures seem to indicate a “Highland Situation”, probably used by a “summer alp” type of people. The site is sheltered from the south-east and from the west by high land, but is open to the northerly winds. There has been a determined effort by the builders to clear the boulders over a considerable area to secure better grazing. The herbage for sheep is to-day excellent and covers many acres. Some of the walls round the “houses” seem to indicate a field system, or to have acted as some protection.

The site was reported to the Cumbria County Archaeologist in 1985 and has now been added to the Sites and Monuments Record. A photostat copy of my plan was also deposited with him.

4. **Shapbeck Stone Circle**  
By V. E. Turner

A previously unrecorded stone circle was discovered at Shapbeck Plantation, NY552658865, during field-walking undertaken as part of the Cumbria and Lancashire Archaeological Unit’s Lake District National Park Survey in 1985. This was subsequently investigated and planned at 1:20.

The ground on which the monument is situated is c. 0.2m higher than ground to the north-west, due to erosion by the ploughing of the surrounding area, which has also damaged the circle.

The circle comprises the remains of three concentric rings of stones. The tallest stones lie in the eastern part of the outside ring, and stand to a height of c. 0.9m above the present ground level. Twenty-eight stones survive in the outermost ring (which has a diameter of c. 20.5m), eighteen stones form the second ring, and seven are visible in the innermost ring, protruding only slightly from the turf.

Within the outermost ring there is a cairn of stones of varying sizes (c. 0.1m to above 1m across). The larger stones of the cairn have obviously been added later, and may have been derived from the outer edge of the circle, as well as from field clearance. At least one of the large stones in the cairn has been scored, possibly by the plough, rather than as the result of tooling, although glacial striation cannot be ruled out. The position of the Shapbeck cairn, not centrally located within the stone circle and partially overlapping the line of the second ring, may indicate that it is secondary to the original monument. At Lacra B (SD149809) a low cairn within a stone circle was found to cover a turf stack and a fire-reddened area on the buried land surface. Other small stones protrude from the vegetation, which comprises short grass and moss, and are particularly noticeable close to the north-eastern edge of the outermost circle. This might suggest cobbling similar to that
observed at Birkri gg (SD292739) where a stone circle, c. 25.9 m in diameter, was cobbled and contained several cremations. However, the stones of the postulated cairn at Shapbeck form a mound too substantial to be the mere continuation of a cobbled surface.

It is possible that the Shapbeck stone circle may be the one referred to by the Rev. Canon Simpson in 1882. (Dr J. Waterhouse, pers. comm). Simpson records the presence of two
concentric ring stone circles on Knipe Scar and “another in the adjoining field”. The two other stone circles in close proximity to Knipe Scar both appear to have been single circles i.e.: Wilson Scar (NY549182) excavated c. 1943, in advance of quarrying, and Knipe Scar, a single ring of stones situated amongst the limestone pavement (NY529183). At Gunnerkeld (NY568178) c. 2 km to the south-east, a cist was discovered at the centre of concentric rings.

The Shapbeck circle is situated on the edge of the enclosed land, adjacent to Knipe Scar, in an area prolific in stone circles. In addition to those mentioned above, a further six circles are listed by Burl on Askham Fell, c. 6 km to the north-west, and a seventh at Oddendale, c. 6 km to the south.

Acknowledgments
My thanks are due to Lowther Scott-Harden and Partners and to Mr Thompson of Southfield, for permission to carry out this work.

References

5. A polished stone axe from “Kirkby Stephen”.
By Colin Richardson.
Since the note appeared on this axe (CW2, lxxx, 157-8), it has now been established that it is the same axe which was donated to Barrow Museum by the Rev. N. Rigg of Kirkby Stephen in January 1975, and subsequently stolen from the Museum later that year. It is pleasing to report that the object was eventually returned to Barrow Museum prior to April, 1981 (Registration No. 741300).

The axe was originally ploughed up between 1950-1960 on Crag Farm, Egton with Newland parish (c. SD 305 806), and was in the possession of the Rev. Rigg in 1968 (see CW2, lxxi, 10).

My thanks to Clare Fell for her ‘detective work’ in establishing the connection between the two axes, and for providing further information on the ‘travels’ of this particular specimen.

6. A Roman hoard from Cliburn, Penrith
By D. C. A. Shotter
In 1984, a hoard of tetrarchic follis was recovered from the grounds of Shaw Hall, Cliburn (precise reference lodged with Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery). The 62 coins, which were mostly in a good condition, were recovered with fragments of a black cooking-pot (see below). The range of the hoard is from A.D. 294 to a SOLI INVICTO COMITI issue of A.D. 310-313; this is a
not uncommon hoarding-period, which might be connected with the political and military conditions which had brought Constantius I to Britain in A.D. 306. It is, however, more likely that the reason is economic: the coinage reform of A.D. 294 had brought order out of the chaos of the mid-third century. This order had, however, been short-lived: the widespread SACRA MONETA issues of A.D. 300 and Diocletian's Price Edict of A.D. 301 are clear signs of the government's continued attempts to grapple with continuing problems. The coinage itself gives visible demonstration of these problems, with the decline in the size of the follis during the first decade of the fourth century, which incidentally caused the abbreviation of the legend GENIO POPVLI ROMANI to GENIO POP ROM by A.D. 307. Similarly, the nominal silver content of the tetrarchic follis was declining, with the result that people attempted to hold on to the better coins.

The bulk of the present coins are issues of the London, Trier and Lyons mints, with a few issues from Rome, Ticinum, Aquileia and Carthage. The nearest comparable hoard is that from Kirksteads, Carlisle (Coin Hoards IV (1978), 50-55 and CW2 lxxxiv, 260-2.)
# The Coins

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## Mint Marks

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## Additional Information

Trier Mint

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NOTES

254

Constantine I

49. CONSTANTINVS P F AVG

LYONS MINT

A

GENIO POPVLI ROMANI (6 coins)

Maximian

50. IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG

51. D N MAXIMIANO P F S AVG

Galerius

52. MAXIMIANVS NOB C

Constantius I

53. CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES

54. IMP CONSTANTIVS AVG

Maximinus Daia

55. GAL VAL MAXIMINVS NOB C

B

CONSECRATIO (1 coin)

Constantius I

56. DIVO CONSTANTIO AVG

ROME MINT

A

GENIO POPVLI ROMANI (1 coin)

Constantius I

57. CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES

B

SACRA MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS N N (1 coin)

Galerius

58. MAXIMIANVS NOB CAES

C

SAC MON VRB AVGG ET CAESS N N (1 coin)

Diocletian

59. IMP C DIOCLETIANVS P F AVG

TICINUM MINT

A

GENIO POPVLI ROMANI (1 coin)

Constantius I

60. CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES

AQUILEIA MINT

A

SACR MONET AVGG ET CAESS NOSTR (1 coin)

Maximian

61. IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG
NOTES

CARTHAGE MINT

A

FELIX ADVENT AVG N N (1 coin)

Maximian

62. IMP MAXIMIANVS P F AVG

H 25b 298

PKB

The Pot By B. J. N. Edwards

Fifteen sherds were recovered from a pot which was presumably the hoard container. These allow the certain restoration in drawing of the profile and decoration of the vessel up to a height of 14.5 cm. This, in turn, permits the conjectural restoration of the whole vessel.

The pot was made in a smooth pale grey fabric which today can be seen only in a few modern breaks and chips. Otherwise, all surfaces, including those of fractures, have been stained brownish by the soil conditions. This fact indicates that the pot was broken long ago, as is also suggested by the survival of no more than perhaps 20% of the vessel. The outer surface of the pot was smoothed by the potter with the exception of a horizontal zone commencing 6.0 cm up from the base and 7.0 cm wide. This zone was defined at its upper edge by a tooled line, and vertical lines were made with the same tool down the untreated zone. Form, fabric and decoration all agree in suggesting that the pot approximated to Gillam’s Types 40 and 41 and the drawing restoration has been completed on that basis. The date range of those two types (A.D. 290-400) conforms to the deposition date of the hoard.

I should like to thank Mr P. V. Webster for pointing out that the vessels illustrated by Gillam are Crambeck types, more likely to be found west of the Pennines after c. A.D. 350.

Reference

1 Gillam, J. P. Types of Roman Coarse Pottery Vessels in Northern Britain, 3rd ed. (Newcastle upon Tyne).

7. Numismatic notes from Cumbria

By D. C. A. Shotter

The following coin finds from Cumbria have recently been brought to my attention; those marked with an asterisk now form part of Carlisle Museum’s collection.

1.* Carlisle (London Road, 1977)

Sesertius of Julia Domna (A.D. 211-217; RIC (Caracalla) 602; Museum Acc. No. 218-1983).

Obv. IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG

Rev. PVDICITIA S C

2.* Carlisle (Greystone Road, 1975)

AE coin of Valens (A.D. 364-375; LRBC II. 516; Museum Acc. No. 50-1975)

Obv. D N VALENS P F AVG

Rev. SECVRITAS REIPVBLCAE OF/ I

CON

3.* Carlisle (Bitts Park, 1981)

AE coin of Constantius II (A.D. 324; LRBC I.40; Museum Acc. No. 72-1981)

Obv. FL IVL CONSTANTIVS NOB C
Rev. PROVIDENTIAE CAESS PTRE

4. North of Carlisle (NY 3845 6050)  
   Denarius of Trajan (A.D. 98-117)

5. Carlisle (English Dam Side, c. 1932)  
   Denarius of Domitian (A.D. 94; RIC 180)  
   Obv. IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM P M TR P XIII
   Rev. IMP XXII COS XVI CENS P P P

6. Carlisle (Murrell Hill, 1983)  
   Sestertius of Severus Alexander (A.D. 222-231; RIC 623; Museum Acc. No. 151-1985)  
   Obv. IMP CAES M AVR SEV ALEXANDER AVG
   Rev. VIRTVS AVGSTI S C

7.* Scaleby (The Lodge, 1982) – coins identified by Dr P. J. Casey  
   (i) As issued by Claudius I (A.D. 41-54; Museum Acc. No. 26-1982.1)  
      Obv. GERMANICVS CAESAR TI AVG F DIVI AVG N  
      Rev. TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG GERM P M TR P IMP P P SC  
   (ii) As of Nero (A.D. 64-68; RIC 203; Museum Acc. No. 26-1982.2).  
      Obv. IMP NERO CAESAR AVG GERM  
      Rev. PACE P R VBIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT S C

The finding of two pre-Flavian Aes coins, especially the comparatively rare Claudius issue, may, if the coins are ancient losses, point to pre-Agricolan activity in the area.

8. Harraby (?) (1977)  
   Illegible Sestertius of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161)

9.* Stanwix (Beech Grove)  
   Denarius of Septimius Severus (A.D. 196-7; RIC 79; Museum Acc. No. 97-1976)  
   Obv. I SEPT SEV [PERT AVG IMP VIII  
   Rev. Hercyli [Defens

    Obv. DIVO CONSTANTIO PIO  
    Rev. MEMORIA FELIX

11. Easton, Longtown (Park End Farm, 1980)  
    AE coin of Constantius I (A.D. 294-306)

12.* Longsowerby (1981)  
    AE coin of Constantine II (A.D. 321; RIC (Trier) 318; Museum Acc. No. 94-1984)  
    Obv. CONSTANTINVS AVG  
    Rev. BEATA TRANQUIVILLAS VOTIS XX STR

13. Whitley Castle/Alston area  
    Antoninianus of Maximian (A.D. 286-294; RIC 388)  
    Obv. IMP C VAL MAXIMIANVS P F AVG  
    Rev. IOVI CONSERVATORI

14. Maryport (Ewanrigg Road, 1980)  
    Worn Sestertius of Hadrian – A.D. 117-138

15. Near Parton (1984), where a site was recorded by Jones and Higham (S 138 in Arch. Journ. 132 (1975), 33)  
   (i) AE Constantine I (A.D. 318-9; RIC (Siscia) 52)  
   Obv. IMP CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG
Rev. VICT LAETAE PRINC PERP ASIS
(ii) AE Constantine I (A.D. 330-5; LRBC I.51)
Obv. VRBS ROMA
Rev. She-wolf and twins TRP
(iii) AE Gratian (A.D. 367-75; LRBC II.529)
Obv. D N GRATIANVS AVGG AVG
Rev. GLORIA NOVI SAECVLI SCON

16. Carlisle (River Eden, near Rickerby Park, 1985) (NY 407356657)
(i) Denarius of L. Rubrius Dossenus (87 B.C.; Crawford 348, 2).
Obv. Head of Juno DOS
Rev. Triumphal Chariot L RVBRI
(ii) As of Nerva (A.D. 96-8).

17. Carlisle (River Eden, 1985) (NY 405568)
(i) Sestertius of Nerva (A.D. 96-8)
(ii) As (probably Flavian, A.D. 69-96).

18. Etterby, 1985
As of Vespasian (A.D. 72-73; RIC 528).
Obv. IMP CAESAR VESPASIAN AVG COS IIII
Rev. Eagle on Globe SC

19.* Carlisle 1985
Sestertius of Commodus as Caesar (A.D. 179-180; Museum Acc. No. 71-1985).

20. Beckfoot, Beach near Cemetery, 1985 (NY 086485)
Dupondius of Trajan (A.D. 99-100; RIC 411).
Obv. IMP CAES NERVA TRAIAN AVG GERM P M
Rev. TR POT COS IIII P P S C (Abundantia)

21. Papcastle (The Mount, 1985)
Denarius of M. Aurelius as Caesar (A.D. 159-160; RIC (Antoninus) 484).
Obv. AVRELIVS CAESAR AVG PII [F
Rev. TR POT XIXI COS II

22. Cartmel
AE coin of Constantine I.

I am grateful to Ian Caruana, Alan James and Colin Richardson for information relating to the coins listed above.
Ian Caruana has also pointed out addenda to my compilation of Roman Coin Hoards from Cumbria (CW2 lxxix), 5ff and lxxxi, 197f.).

(i) Gallows Hill, Carlisle (my Inventory no. 4): Hodgson (History of Northumberland II. 3. p. 200) says that this hoard contained around 600 coins covering the period from Julius Caesar to Septimius Severus.
(ii) Fisher Street, Carlisle (my Inventory no. 5): The Crosthwaite Museum (Catalogue (1826), p. 29) contained 8 coins from this hoard, which was found during “pulling down some old houses”.

References
Crawford: Crawford, M. H. Roman Republican Coinage (Cambridge 1974)
RIC: H. Mattingly et al., The Roman Imperial Coinage (London 1923-1983)
8. **The Romano-British Farmstead at Fingland**

**By R. L. Bellhouse**

The report by the late George Richardson in CW2, lxxvii, 53-59 ends with an acknowledgement that my hopes that the site "might prove to be a Roman signal station were disappointed". I respected George’s interpretation of the features because I took no part in the work, but my assessment of the overall picture had alerted me to the possibility of the site having been a signal station in the early second century, soon abandoned, and then, much later, adapted as a refuge or defensible farmstead in the third or fourth century. My reasons for this view were, first the position of the site on Fingland Rigg with an excellent all-round view, and its proximity to the modern road which follows the line of the Roman road eastward from the fort at Kirkbride, and second, the regularity of the ring ditch and the placing of the round house concentrically within it. I imagined an abandoned site with a ditch and inner bank of earth still affording protection, requiring only ditch cleaning and repair to the bank, but offering only a limited circular area within the bank for a round house. Probably for these same reasons Professor G. D. B. Jones re-examined the site in 1983. A summary of the results appeared in *Britannia*, XV, 1984, 281. Second century pottery was found and six posts of a tower in the west rampart. The presence of the circular hut, probably of the fourth century was confirmed.

9. **An Intaglio from Carlisle**

**By Martin Henig and Martin Millett**

During the summer of 1984 an anonymous American visitor called at the Department of Archaeology in Durham to have an intaglio identified. It had been found by him when visiting the site of a recently completed excavation in Carlisle. The intaglio was examined by Martin Millett, and photographs and impressions were made in Durham. Martin Henig examined the photographs to prepare this note. The object was returned to its finder who has returned to the United States, but an impression from the stone is to be deposited in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

The intaglio is cut on a cornelian. The stone is oval and the shape is Curved Type 6A (Henig 1978, 36). It measures 12mm by 9mm and is 3mm thick (Plate 1).

The device is Jupiter standing to the front and facing right. He is nude apart from his mantle, hanging over his right arm. In his right hand he holds his sceptre and in his left a patera. An eagle stands below, looking up at him. There is a groundline.

Amongst parallels to the type are two from Britain, respectively from Little Brickhill near Fenny Stratford, Buckinghamshire (Henig 1978, 188 no. 15) and from Newstead (*ibid.* no. 14; Jupiter holds a thunderbolt instead of a patera). An intaglio from Cramond depicts Jupiter in a more relaxed stance facing in the opposite direction, holding a patera as here but with a lighted altar rather than an eagle at his feet (*ibid.* 297 no. App. 91). There are numerous examples in foreign gem-cabinets (e.g. Zazoff 1975, 254 no. 1358 and especially, for schematic style, Zwierlein-Diehl 1979, 160 no. 1234).

Carelessly cut gems, composed of coarse, broad wheel-cuts are often dated as late as the third century, although on no very firm basis. Nevertheless intaglios of the Julio-Claudian and Flavian periods are generally finer than this and it is probably fair to place the stone no earlier than the middle of the second century.

**References**


Ian Caruana (Carlisle Archaeological Unit) comments:
The history of this gemstone has been traced in detail and thanks to the co-operation of Vejle Museum in Denmark has been returned to Carlisle Museum (Acc. 108 – 1986). Almost certainly it came from the excavations at Annetwell Street, Carlisle and was probably removed from a section during a site visit on 14 August 1984. The finder has supplied details of the findspot which suggest it came from late second century soil dumping in the area over structure A1896.

10. *The Provenance of RIB 2028*
By Ian Caruana

In *Roman Inscriptions in Britain* the entry for the lost stone RIB 2028 gives for its provenance “Found before 1794 at Stanwix. Now lost. Reproduced from Hutchinson”. The source of the information is given as “Hutchinson *Cumb. ii* pl. facing p. 577 fig. 13 but not cited in the text”. This plate contains a mixture of material from Carlisle and Stanwix as well as a gold brooch from Old Penrith. The editors of *RIB* seem to have missed the reference in the footnote to p. 653 where it says “No. 13 was found built in the back of a chimney in rebuilding the house of Edward
Nevinson, Esq., two years ago, who presented it to us". They have assumed it was from Stanwix probably on account of its position on the plate and the plate's position in the volume at the beginning of the entry for Stanwix parish and perhaps also from an assumption that it related to Hadrian's Wall.

Edward Nevinson (c. 1736-1825) can be traced through various Carlisle sources. The Universal British Directory of 1790 (p. 632) has an entry for NEVISON ——, Esq. among the gentry of the town. In The Carlisle Directory of 1810 (p. 138) he appears as EDWARD NEVINSON ESQ. living in Castle-street and Jollie's Cumberland Guide and Directory (1811) confirms this with a similar entry listed among 'Persons Not in Trade'. This is the only occurrence of this name in any of the directories with the exception of that of 1790 which also has a NEVISON Mrs, widow. Edward Nevinson's will was proved at Carlisle, 10 March 1825 (C.R.O. Carlisle, p. 1825).

Having traced Nevinson to Castle Street, we are fortunately able to locate his house with the aid of Wood's Map of 1821. Here the name E. Neveson Esq. appears running parallel to Finkle Street from the property at the corner of Finkle Street and Castle Street to the rear of property fronting on to Fisher Street. Given the evidence of the Directories it can be confirmed that the slightly ambiguous position of the name on Wood's map does in fact refer to the corner of Castle Street. The 1874 O.S. Map of Carlisle shows what seems to be the same building and it corroborates the lack of housing on this part of Finkle Street where Neveson's name occurs on Wood's map. The O.S. map shows an elaborate garden to the rear of the first houses on Castle Street with its path leading to Nevinson's house. The property was doubtless well suited to one of the gentry.

The various Land Tax assessments give only two houses owned by Edward Nevinson in Castle Street one of which is occupied by himself e.g. 1790 (C.R.O. Carlisle QRP 1/24). The two entries appear consecutively and it seems likely that the properties are adjacent. They also confirm the testimony of the Directories that there was only one Edward Nevinson in Carlisle who can be identified with the man mentioned by Hutchinson.

The weight of evidence seems to suggest that RIB 2028 was not found in Stanwix but actually came from a building at 1, Castle Street before 1792. While it is tempting to link the inscription to Hadrian's Wall we know now that the third century fort excavated at Annetwell Street was built by legionaries and this may be regarded as the more probable source of the stone. The inscription is now lost but the note in Hutchinson suggests that it may have gone from Nevinson to Francis Jollie.

I am grateful to David Bowcock and Jeremy Godwin of Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle, for advice on sources quoted in this note. Also to Bruce Jones who writes: Nevinson's house in Castle Street stood on the site of a medieval burgage belonging to the bishops of Carlisle. About 1295 the property was leased to John of Rillington. In rentals of the 17th and 18th centuries it appears as Monk's tenement. (Canon R. Wilson. Rose Castle, pp. 24-25). In a lawsuit, William Simpson v. Hodgson, 3oth March 1748, it was stated that the bishop's house and stable were "built by James Simpson 24 years ago", which would place that rebuilding to about 1724. (C.R.O. Carlisle D/Hud 8/23.) The house was finally demolished for street improvements in 1891. Mr. Keddy's hairdressing shop now stands on part of the site.

11. An Altar to Victory from the Birdoswald sector of Hadrian's Wall
By IAN CARUANA

About 1965, the top of a broken altar was seen by Michael Finlay in the garden of the late Mr Walton of The Hill just west of Gilsland (NY 624668). It was subsequently given by the owner to Mr Finlay who presented it to his father-in-law George Richardson. In January 1985, on reading of the opening of the Roman suites in the Cumbria Park Hotel, Stanwix, Mr Finlay offered the
altar to Mr and Mrs R. Lowther, the owners of the hotel, who bought it for exhibition in the hotel. Following the work of the Carlisle Archaeology Unit in excavating in the hotel car park the new owners contacted the Unit for further information about the altar and they have generously allowed its publication here. The exact provenance of the altar cannot now be determined but its presence at The Hill gives a probable link to Birdoswald or perhaps to Harrow’s Scar (MC 49) which is close to the house.

The altar (Fig. 1), of medium-coarse white sandstone is broken across the die along the top line of the inscription. It measures 21 × 18.5 (min.) × 17 cm. None of the breaks are fresh. All over the broken edge, up the back and on the right side there is hard white mortar adhering to the stone. In places there are hints that the mortar may have been cleared out of some of the lettering. The top has two bolsters, the left one of which is damaged, and a round focus. The mouldings of the capital are continuous round all four sides of the altar. Both the left side and the front bear writing. The right side and the back are blank.

**Left Side:** DEA
The first two letters are deeply cut with a punch or drill. There is little doubt that they are D & E. The first stroke of the third letter is near vertical but there is no sign of a third stroke for the final vertical of an N. Although there is no horizontal bar the third letter is almost certainly an A. It is difficult to see what other word could be intended but **DEA**.
Letter height: 35 mm (estimated)

**Front:** VICTORIA
The central part of the line has well defined letters. The tops of the C & T have joined up
but there is little doubt of the reading. The right stroke of the V is firm and clear; the left
stroke appears faintly. The surviving parts of the fifth and sixth letters are consistent with
the tops of a half size O and the loop of an R. At the end are traces of the top of a letter
similar to the A on the left side. Some damage to the stone might be read as an E ligatured
to the A but this seems unlikely. There are no surviving traces of an I although there is
sufficient space for it to have been present faintly or below the break in the stone.
Letter height: c. 27 mm

The texts, as they survive, present several problems. VICTORIA ought to be in the dative and
should, therefore, end with an E. It is perhaps present at the end of the first line but this is most
doubtful. On a text of this rather rough character, the E could well have appeared on the next
line (cf. RIB 1224, 1322, 1333, 1539). However, it is interesting that DEA appears to be in apposition
to VICTORIA and it too lacks the dative ending in a place where there is no pressure on space which
might have caused its omission.

More crucial is the appearance of text on the front and side of the altar. It is tempting to read
the two parts of the altar continuously as DEA(E) VICTORIA(E). However, inscriptions reading from
side to front on altars are virtually unknown in Britain. Other possible interpretations should be
considered besides the obvious one which may, in fact, be largely contingent on the break in the
stone.

1. That the inscriptions on the two sides represent two separate texts. It is conceivable that one
text represents a re-use of the altar. The left side text could have been of the form DEA[E . . .
with the name of the goddess following. The front text would have been of the common
VICTORIA[AUGUSTI] type (e.g. RIB 842, 1731). Against this reconstruction is the fact that the letter
styles are similar on both faces and neither shows signs of any attempt to erase one of the texts.
Moreover, the position of the bolsters shows clearly which is the front of the altar and this is also
the widest face. There is not the slightest hint of any re-modelling of the top of the altar. Re-use
of the altar can be eliminated.

2. That the inscription continues down the left side and then passes on to the front,

   e.g. left: DEA|BUS|EPON|AE ET
       front: VICTORIA|E . . .
   or left: DEA|E|EPON|NAE ET
       front: VICTORIA|E AVG . . .

The problem with this solution is the lack of parallel. VICTORIA is linked occasionally with other
deities. Most common is MARS ET VICTORIA (RIB 585, 1595). More rarely VICTORIA appears in a list of deities including other female deities such as Epona and Minerva (RIB 2177). Finally, there is one link with Pax (RIB 1273). On the whole the probability of two goddesses being linked here is slender. Not unnaturally Victory is usually associated with the god or gods of war. MARS is, of course, male and grammatically cannot be fitted in between DEA and VICTORIA. On the whole, therefore, while this suggested reconstruction of the text cannot be discounted it does not seem very probable.

3. In view of the unusual nature of the altar, it is pertinent to ask if there is evidence for the altar having been tampered with in modern times. However, there is no reason to believe that any of the altar or its inscriptions has been falsified. The lettering is generally of a standard, though the left side is more deeply cut. No letters are fresh and the weathering of the exposed surfaces is even. It is interesting in this respect that part of the broken bottom is fresher than the other surfaces, where it is visible below the mortar. This suggests that the altar may have been trimmed for use in a modern building. The forms of the lettering such as the asymmetric V and the A's are all common on roughly cut Roman altars. The appearance of drill or punch holes forming the letters, whether or not it is indicative of work after the second half of the second century (Susini 1973, 27) can be paralleled in a centurial stone from the Wall area (RIB 1547).

Having considered alternatives to the “natural” reading and generally found them defective, we must return to the first proposed reconstruction. Normally where space is limited on the die, texts spill over on to the capital (e.g. RIB 1594, 2177) or the base (RIB 1589). Very few texts occur on other than the front face of an altar. The same text sometimes appears on the front and back. (RIB 460 Chester; RIB 1072 Lanchester— in Latin and Greek). An altar from Ebchester (RIB 1100) appears to have a monogram on the left side. Neither of these cases offers much help. However, there are altars which have more bearing on the problem. A fragment from Malton (RIB 713) bears text on the side but it is too fragmentary to give more information. RIB 627 from Greetland, Yorks. bears a consular date on the right side of the altar and this should be seen as the tail end of the inscription on the face. Even more crucial is RIB 1366 from Denton Hall on Hadrian’s Wall. Although now lost it was read by Collingwood Bruce. The text which reads IOV | IO MA begins on the front and continues round first on the right and then on the left side.

R. P. Wright (in RIB) comments on this arrangement being a result of the restrictions of space on the altar which was even smaller than the present altar. It would seem, therefore, that the altar here provides a second example of a mason with the same problem.

With regard to the grammar of the dedication, the use of the dative case for the dedicatee is one of the most immutable rules of religious dedications. However, there are occasional inscriptions which appear to be in the nominative case - RIB 138 (Bath) - DEA DIA | NA SACRAT | SISIMA . . . ; RIB 125 (Leamington, Glos.) a relief inscribed DEA REGINA; and RIB 1454 (Chesters) DEA | RAT | VSL. In the latter case the editors of RIB restore the text as DEA(e) RAT(i).

The appearance of a dedication to Victory from Hadrian’s Wall need occasion no surprise. Victory appears as a goddess in her own right (equivalent to Greek Nike) and as a personification of virtue of the Emperor (Henig 1984, 76–7). As a goddess she appears mainly as sole dedicatee or linked, in second position, with Mars as for example in RIB 1899 from Birdoswald. Otherwise she takes her place in dedications to the full range of military deities (RIB 2177). At Castlesteads has been found a sculpted relief of a winged victory bearing the legend VICT AVG (RIB 1995) and there are fragments from two statues of Victory from Stanwix (Bruce 1867, 292).

Acknowledgements

I am most grateful to Mr and Mrs Lowther for permission to publish the altar; to Michael Finlay for supplying background on the provenance; and to Dr R. S. O. Tomlin for reading a draft of this paper. Susan Winterbottom did the drawings and E. R. T. Allnutt photographed the

Bibliography


12. *A Roman brooch from Braithwaite, Cumbria*  
By COLIN RICHARDSON and ROGER BROWNSWORD

This interesting object (Plate I) was found in the garden at Coledale Cottage, Braithwaite, nr. Keswick, in 1982-3, and was brought into Carlisle Museum for identification and recording in September 1984 by Mr and Mrs J. W. Quine, of Windermere. The object is almost certainly a penannular brooch with the sliding pin missing, and while research to date has failed to locate close parallels amongst Roman brooches of this type, it was decided to sample the brooch for analysis in order to find possible support for a Roman period date, or at least the exclusion of other possibilities.

The hoop is a stretched oval and roughly circular in section, with large cone-shaped terminals carrying decoration in the form of short incised ‘slashes’ on the angled surface, and lines of punched dots on the convex surface (averaging four to five dots per line). The decoration on the hoop behind each terminal is similar and extends for a distance of 23 mm at one end and 25 mm at the other. This decoration consists of five well-defined encircling bands; the third band (from the terminal base) being broader and carrying oblique incised marks. Below the fifth band, there is a slim triangular-shaped incision along the line of the hoop which is surrounded by shorter incisions producing a herringbone pattern, the whole enclosed within a shield or leaf shape although the latter is not defined by any line marking. The number of herringbone incisions within the ‘shield’ total fourteen at one terminal and fifteen at the other, and these marks become progressively more angled as they approach a deeply incised ‘V’ which delimits the decorated area.

Dimensions: max. ext. hoop measurement 58 mm, max. int. hoop measurement 46 mm. The hoop varies in thickness from 6-7 mm, while the terminals are oval-shaped in plan, measuring 13.5 x 11.2 mm and 12.5 x 11.8 mm, one being slightly longer than the other, 10 mm and 11 mm from tip to base. Weight 44 g.

The small sample was analysed by an X-ray fluorescence spectrometry technique, with the results given in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>% Copper</th>
<th>Zinc</th>
<th>Tin</th>
<th>Lead</th>
<th>Nickel</th>
<th>Iron</th>
<th>Antimony</th>
<th>Arsenic</th>
<th>Silver</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>71.0</td>
<td>27.1</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.98</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>0.85</td>
<td>&lt;0.04</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
<td>&lt;0.01</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The analysis has proved valuable in regard to the question of the date of manufacture of the brooch. Comparisons of the brooch alloy data with accumulated data on objects ranging from Bronze Age to modern times, not all of which have been published, have been made to good effect. A wide range of possibilities is considered since stylistic assessment has not produced a clear view on dating.

Bronze and pre-Roman Iron Age dates are essentially excluded on the zinc content, since those alloys have been shown to be bronzes or leaded bronzes with only insignificant amounts of zinc present. In the few instances of zinc-containing alloys which are known, the zinc is present in
addition to tin, the present brooch alloy contains only trace amounts of tin. The same arguments may be advanced to exclude dates in the post-Roman, pre-Conquest periods in Britain.

In the Romanesque period relatively high zinc-content alloys were used to cast fine objects, but again these alloys usually contained a small percentage of tin and/or lead. The levels of the impurity elements nickel, arsenic, antimony, and silver, are low in alloys of the period but not all at the very low levels of the brooch alloy. In alloys of the later Medieval and post-Medieval periods down to the turn of the 19th century, these same impurity elements are present at relatively high levels (0.1-1.0%), and therefore these periods too may be eliminated. Modern zinc-containing alloys again show low levels of these impurities, but also low levels of iron. The brooch alloy contains much more iron than would be present in 19th-20th century brasses, whatever the zinc content.

From the foregoing, it is evident that lack of an alternative indicates the Roman period as being the only likely one for the manufacture of the brooch. However, the matter need not rest on this negative evidence alone, since many Roman objects have been analysed by, amongst others, Dr Paul Craddock, who comments that “the brooch alloy is typical for a Roman brass, especially one of the 1st century A.D.” It would have been made by the cementation process using copper and calamine which resulted in a high zinc alloy with the expected low tin but relatively high iron content.

The brooch has now been returned to Mr and Mrs Quine, and is in the possession of the finder.
References and Notes

1 The writers wish to thank a number of individuals for their helpful comments and assistance in the “search” for brooches of similar design, especially Dr Paul Craddock, Justine Bayley, Sarnia Butcher, Lindsay Allason-Jones, Roger Miket, Prof. Richard Bailey and Ralph Jackson. Our thanks also to Margaret Snape for drawing the brooch at short notice.

2 Sarnia Butcher of the H.B.M.C. examined a sketch of the brooch, but was not aware of any close parallels amongst Roman penannular brooches but commented that “it is not like any of the post-Roman developments of the penannular brooch and so is probably Roman”.


4 Personal communication from Dr P. Craddock to Dr R. Brownsword.

13. Further comments on a Medieval grave-slab
By COLIN RICHARDSON

In an earlier note (CW2, lxxviii, 212-14) recording the sandstone grave-slab in the garden at Museum House, Distington, I was unaware that Mary Fair had previously described and illustrated the stone (CW2, li, 94-5, Fig. 2). Despite the damaged top corner, it would appear that there are eight annulets and not seven enclosed within the circle. The “satchet-shaped” object between the sword and cross, is probably a scrip or pilgrim’s wallet rather than a gauntlet, and would tend to confirm the link with Adam de Yrton and his visit to the Holy Land.

The stone is now on display in Whitehaven Museum (Acc. No. WHHMG 1980-312).

14. Scottish coin from Carlisle
By IAN CARUANA

In the early 1970s a medieval Scottish penny was found in the grounds of Newman School on Lismore Place, Carlisle. Although the coin has disappeared it is important to record what information there is about this find.

The coin was found by children digging a garden (now under grass) at NY40755616. All information about the coin comes from Miss P. Dicks who saw it at the time. She tells me that the coin was fairly worn although the obverse was clear. It was not identifiable by reference to catalogues of English coins but closely matched a coin of Alexander III (c. 1280) illustrated in the Encyclopaedia Brittanica (1967 Ed. _Numismatics_ Plate IV No. 19). The boy who found the coin was told to take it to Carlisle Museum and he reported that they confirmed the identification. The Museum has no records of casual identifications made at this period. The coin has subsequently been lost to view. It is known to have been the object of at least one barter transaction.

Precise identification of the coin is not now, of course, possible. However, its close similarity to the penny of Alexander III provides a start. The sterling penny was introduced into Scotland about 1280 (Stewart 1955, 20). It is not clear if the obverse legend was actually read so it would be hazardous to pin it down precisely to the reign of Alexander III i.e. 1280-1286. Similar pennies continued to be issued until the reign of David II or Robert II and it would, therefore, seem safer to bracket the range of chronological possibilities to 1280-1390 (Stewart 1955, Pl. III). However, given the very large numbers of pennies issued by Alexander III, the probability of it being from his reign is fairly strong.

The find spot is at first sight rather odd since the school is on low-lying land prone to flooding and not an obvious area for ancient settlement. There is, however, a history of soil dumping in

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the area which gives a more plausible explanation for the deposition of the coin where it was found. In the years immediately following the Great War much pottery was collected from Lismore Place and Lismore Street. It was known to have come from spoil dumped during the Crown & Mitre reconstruction about 1902 (CW2, xxi, 271). It would be to presume too much to claim that this Scottish penny was from the same source but the possibility is there and attribution to the area of the medieval city is strong.

Acknowledgements
I am particularly grateful to Miss Dicks for the information relating to the find, to Marion Archibald of the British Museum for advice in preparing this note and to Colin Richardson of Carlisle Museum.

Reference

15. *Penny of Edward II from Botcherby*
By IAN CARUANA

During the autumn of 1984 a sterling penny was found in the garden of a new house at 8 Goodwin Close, Carlisle (NY40385458). The coin was found in topsoil which had been imported to the site from Wood Street, Botcherby (presumably the development by the same construction firm centred on NY42345573). This should, therefore, be regarded as the true find spot. This area seems to be very close to the heart of the ancient centre of Botcherby. The garden was subsequently scanned with a metal detector but no further coins or any other medieval material was found.

Obverse: +EDWA R ANGL DNS HYB
Reverse: CIVITAS CANT[OR]
Dia. 18 mm. Wt. 1.2 g


I am grateful to the finder Simon Jacyna for allowing me to publish this note on the coin, to Mr J. Allan of Allan-Lloyd Builders of Scotby for providing information on the provenance of the top soil, to Marion Archibald for reading a draft of this note and supplying additional information and to Alan James for the metal detector scan. The coin remains in the possession of the finder. Photographs of the coin have been deposited in Carlisle Museum. (Acc. 1985)

16. *Excavations at Crookdake Hall near Wigton*
By I. D. CARUANA, D. R. PERRIAM, E. R. T. ALLNUTT and A. JAMES

Introduction
The work described here was undertaken in October 1985 to clarify some of the outstanding difficulties concerning the structural history of Crookdake Hall (NY197445). Full discussion of the structural and historical evidence concerning the hall and of the implications of our findings will appear elsewhere. Only the results of the excavations are reported here. The aim of the work
Fig. 1 – Crookdake Hall: plan of the house and the excavations.
was limited to establishing the presence of certain walls and determining their relationships to each other and to the walls of the farmhouse. Digging was, therefore, concentrated on exposing the tops of the walls. No attempt was made to locate floors or to find archaeological evidence to date the structures.

The Problems

In its present state, Crookdake Hall (Fig. 1) is an occupied farmhouse with a complex structural history and a fabric which includes some medieval features such as a tower-like south wall with the remains of a newel staircase. The excellent state of repair of the external rendering obscures almost all the points where evidence might exist to establish the structural history of the fabric. South of the south wall of the house is a ruined wall about 3 metres high of good quality red sandstone. Architectural features on its north face indicate that this is the inside of whatever building it was part of. However, at neither end are returns visible in the surviving masonry. The first objective was to establish the northern and southern limits of this structure and to determine how it related to the south wall of the Hall.

South of the free-standing wall is now an open area used as an orchard. It is largely grassed over but is very stoney with little soil cover. A platform, presumably of demolition rubble, can be made out and the lines of possible walls are apparent. A second objective was to find out something of the nature of these building remains and their relationship to the upstanding walls.

The Excavations (Fig. 1)

Five small trenches were dug down to the tops of walls. Trenches A-C were sited to fix the limits of the structure of which the detached wall was once part. It was hoped that Trench B might also establish a relationship with the rubble covered building under the orchard but this did not materialise. Trenches D and E showed the character of the walls under the orchard and gave a relationship to the free-standing wall.

![Diagram of Trenches A, C, D](tcwaas_003_1986_vol86_0021)

Fig. 2. – Crookdake Hall: sections (a) Trench A; (b) Trench C; (c) Trench D.

Only topsoil and rubble (Fig. 2) were removed. With the possible exception of Trench C all the rubble (layers A3, B2, C2, D2, E2) was mixed with soil and was part of a continuous spread of debris containing nineteenth and twentieth century material. The walls became visible below this spread, generally without evidence of any robbing trenches.

*Trench A*

Work here was hampered a little by the existence of a flower bed against the house wall. The
inside corner of two walls was found at a depth of 0.15-0.30 m below the present lawn. The north wall disappeared under the shelf-like buttress of the south wall of the Hall. The buttress could be seen to rest on the early wall but projected up to 0.15 m beyond its inner face and was clearly not part of the early wall. At the east end of the trench met a sewer pipe leading to a live septic tank and a field drain taking water away from a down pipe on the front of the house. Nonetheless it proved possible to fix the width of the east wall at 0.83 m. The corner was clearly of one build and the mortar was of the same character as in the detached wall (beige with grit, charcoal and patches of white lime). A gap in the east wall of the house suggests that the newly discovered north wall was 0.93 m wide and abutted along the length of the thick wall with the newel stair in the Hall. (Fig. 2a).

Trench B

Excavation showed that the east end of the upstanding wall has been broken off at its inside corner. The outside corner was established beyond doubt. Unfortunately at the north side of the trench the line of the east wall was interrupted by a disturbance, possibly a pit for the insertion of a telegraph pole, which was not excavated. The width, however, could be established as 0.86 m. At the east end of the trench, disturbance caused by the construction of the septic tank was encountered but this did not obscure the presence of a surface of large river cobbles butting against the east wall.

Trench C

This trench was awkwardly situated at a point where the ground falls away to the south-west. Mortared rubble from the core of the west wall was encountered at a depth of 0.30 m but the west face of the wall had been robbed to a depth of 0.75 m. The fill of rubble and mortar (C3) above the facing stone and up to the level of the surviving wall core consisted of loose stone and mortar with air pockets and no soil. It is possible that this fill, which was quite distinct from the overlying soil and rubble, represented the fill of a wall robbing trench (Fig. 2b).

Trench D

A short length of wall of red sandstone blocks 0.80-0.83 m wide running north-south was encountered just below the turf (Fig. 2c).

Trench E

Examination of the west (outer) face of the detached wall showed traces of plaster or limewash ending in a vertical line at a point where the wall found in Trench D would meet the wall if projected north. A small trench established the east face of the wall butting up to the upstanding wall at the expected point. A large piece of grey-blue slate was lodged under one of the wall stones. At point F the apparent southern limit of this north-south wall was established by probing with an iron bar.

Conclusions

The surviving detached wall was originally part of a freestanding structure estimated to be 11.45 m (east-west) by 6.63 m (north-south). Its north wall butted laterally on to the south wall of what is now the farmhouse. The projecting features against the south wall of the farmhouse are on the
line of, but are not survivals of, the north wall of this largely demolished room/building. The running buttress may have been added to the farmhouse at the time when the north wall was demolished.

No dating can be offered for the structure of which the detached wall and the excavated walls were a part. However, it seems likely, on the basis of the structural relationships, that it post-dates the south wall of the farmhouse.

The wall in the orchard was clearly later than the upstanding detached wall as it made use of it to form one side of the new structure. It seems likely that this wall and the other remains under the orchard were part of demolished farm buildings of post-medieval date.

**Finds**

All but one of the pot sherds found was post-medieval and none of the pottery was usefully stratified. The pottery is not, therefore, reported here but is available in Carlisle Museum for study. The medieval sherd (from A1) is of dark grey reduced ware with a green glaze (c. 1450-c. 1600).

**Acknowledgements**

We are particularly grateful to Mr and Mrs John Raven of Crookdake Hall for permission to do the excavation and also to John Robinson who commissioned the work and discussed the implications of the discoveries, and for the plan of the Hall in Figure 1.

17. _An unrecorded half-bushel measure from Kirkoswald_


In the Kirkoswald Manor Court Roll (C.R.O. Carlisle, D/Musgrave papers) for 24th April 1667, appears the following entry:

"Wee The Jurors of Kirkoswold with the approbation of the Steward in open Court doe Order and putt in paine: That the Measure of Barley, Bigg, Oates and Malt in the Markett of Kirkeoswold hereafter shalbe Twenty Gallons Winchester Measure And all other Sorts of graine Sixteen Gallons to the Bushell of the same Measure: And that all those that Keepe pecks to buy or sell withall within the Markett Towne of Kirkeoswold shall come to the Bayliffe and to two of the foremen of the Jury of Kirkeoswold to gitt their pecks sealed according to the said Measure and brass standard Remaining in the Bayliffs Custody before the 15th day of May 1667. And If any person or persons shall keepe any bushell peck or other measure whatsoever to buy or sell withall after the said 15th day of May 1667 not Agreeing with the Standard That such person or persons soe offending shalbe Amercyed and Forfeit to the Lord of the Manner for every offence vj s viijd"

In about 1965 on a business visit to A. Isher, a specialist dealer in antique metalwork in Cheltenham, I was shown the half-bushel bronze measure illustrated at Figure 1; the measure, cast in relief with the armorial of Lord Dacre, the Lord of the Manor, and KIRKOSWOLD 1662, was in the firm's private collection and not for sale. Some years later, in 1976, on the death of Mr Isher, a large part of this collection was accepted as a bequest by Cheltenham Museum; the remainder was dispersed by Messrs Bruton Knowles of Gloucester by auction, and I was able to purchase the Kirkoswald measure at this sale. I subsequently purchased, in Carlisle, a bell-
metal weight, originally of 7 lbs avoirdupois, lacking its handle, engraved with the Dacre arms KIRKOSWOLD 1662, (Fig. 2). Both articles were sold in 1980 and are now in a private collection.

The half-bushel measure roughly conforms to the Winchester half-bushel standard. From its internal measurements, 14½ ins. diameter×6½ ins. high, its capacity would be 1096.9 cu. ins. By statute of Henry VII (1491) the Winchester half-bushel was of 1072.4 cu. ins., that of William III (1695) being 1090.21 cu. ins. With four gallons Winchester to the half-bushel, a bushel of Barley, Bigg or Malt at Kirkoswald would require five measures of the Kirkoswald half-bushel and a bushel of other grain, four of the same.
In his interesting article "Wealth and the Standard of Living in Ravenstonedale, 1691-1840" (in CW2, lxxv, 219-27), Mr A. H. Duxbury raises the important question of how far, and for what purpose, one uses the details of moneys out on loan from testators, and moneys owed by those testators, with a view to the illumination of the economic history of a neighbourhood. Since, in the course of his article, Mr Duxbury draws attention to an article of mine published in the Economic History Review (vol. XXXIII, No. 4) for November 1980, discussing "Agrarian Wealth and Social Structure in Pre-Industrial Cumbria", I must be grateful for the advertisement; some, at least, of our members will not have seen this study. But, as will be clear, it is better that students examine this article for themselves. Likewise, there is a very considerable literature dealing with probate inventories, and Dr Mark Overton of the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne has isolated and identified several hundred articles in this field. Some reference should have been made to other papers besides my own.

Economic historians interest themselves in the "credits", not the debts, of testators for a very specific reason; they are interested in the market for credit, in the form of moneys invested in bonds, specialties and mortgages available to lenders at a given period. Probate inventories are far from perfectly reliable as sources, but they do help to throw light on this subject. And here it is necessary to state what they are not; they do not represent a balanced statement of accounts, and they are not a series of such statements. Many inventories omit the decedent's debts, because their compilers, the apprizers, were under no legal obligation to list such debts. A famous Cumbrian, Dr Richard Burn, deals with this topic in his Ecclesiastical Law (3rd. ed., London, 1775), Vol. IV, pp. 235-442, and especially on pp. 239-40; and more recently, a fellow-historian of credit sources, Dr B. A. Holderness, has written in Midland History (Vol. III, 1975, p. 95) that "the great majority of surviving inventories were concerned only with the valuation of a man's personal effects, not with his liabilities . . . In the few inventories in which the accounts were balanced, all the testators were both creditors and debtors, and the network of borrowing and lending was not infrequently quite complex". Dr Holderness, who analysed some 1,320 inventories for 50 parishes in Lindsey, Lincolnshire (1660-1800), accordingly concentrated upon credit, thereby avoiding, inter alia, the danger of double-counting within particular districts, for every lender was likely to be matched by a borrower, and to estimate the volume of economic activity by counting both loans and debts is a dangerous proceeding. On the other hand, Mr Duxbury's type of study can be rendered even more valuable if it seeks to demonstrate the identity of the borrowers and lenders. Difficult as this operation might turn out to be, its difficulty is compounded over a large area, and accordingly researchers like Holderness and the present writer have concentrated upon credits. They have assumed that the monetary assets of testators are an index to a growth of wealth, and to the extent of the credit market, within a given period.

Notwithstanding this, the writer worked out the mean values of testators' debts in Cumbria for three periods between 1661 and 1750, examining 1,550 inventories in the course of this research; and it is mildly amusing to be accused of ignoring such entries in Mr Duxbury's article (p. 227). The values are given, by districts, in Table 1 of my own article. Mr Duxbury, in the same section of text, is at liberty to doubt how far my own calculations are representative. It is exceedingly doubtful whether the Ravenstonedale findings are representative of anything outside their own locality; they cover a much longer time-span than is commonly encountered in that particular form of inventory document. They suggest a lower standard of wealth, and their very peculiarity in having been the products of examination in a manorial court suggests that in comparing them with my own much wider Cumbrian sample, one is not comparing like with like. It may be true that we do not know how far such inventories descended in the social scale, but unfortunately, we do not know, or are not told, how many people fell into the £40-100 or the over-£100 groups. In
insisting unnecessarily upon net values, my fellow-student makes real comparison impossible. The methodology here is unhelpful, and should not be followed by other researchers.

As a matter of interest, the Hawkshead figures (from my own paper) which Mr Duxbury uses, somewhat disingenuously, in his Table 3 are strikingly altered as regards trend, if one uses net values. About one-quarter of the Hawkshead apprizers did not enter debts, but as regards those decedents who did have such liabilities entered, then a marked tendency to net indebtedness in 1661-90 was followed by a recovery in 1691-1720, and a comfortable leaning into considerable net affluence in 1721-50. Columns (iv) and (v) in my Table 1, which distinguish credits and debts over a large area of Cumbria, show a similar tendency. But to use such data in support of an argument for growing wealth would have demonstrated statistical irresponsibility, and had I done as this exacting critic clearly wishes, I should have drawn fire from all those analysts who now study probate inventories internationally. Perhaps the opening up of a suspicion of 'ambiguity' (Duxbury, p. 221) is a small price to pay for the avoidance of such general criticism. It is better that local historians are alerted, meanwhile, to the pitfalls of such inventories; and they can be reasonably assured that the trends shown in my article are representative, and that the regional samples provide a useful guide. What is now needed is inter-regional comparison, and it is worth adding that Holderness's Lindsey farmers did not enjoy such a growth of affluence as did the Cumbrian yeomen.

There is also a serious mistake in the transcription of cattle values from my text into the Duxbury article (his page 225); the values moved from £2.18 in 1661-90 to £2.59 in 1721-50. These values were calculated from samples of around 100 animals in each period. The Duxbury samples in his Table 2 are too small to carry much conviction, and it is in any case better to use longer than short periods in tabulation.

19. The Finances of James Grahme — A Reply

By Julian Munby

The appearance of J. V. Beckett’s account of Colonel James Grahme of Levens¹ has provided a useful account of a somewhat neglected figure, and has given future workers on his papers at Levens a viewpoint somewhat different from that of Josceline Bagot’s Biographical Sketch of 1886.² As might be expected of a paper dealing not altogether sympathetically with Grahme’s financial difficulties, there is room for alternative opinions as to the interpretation that can be put upon the evidence, or as it may be the lack of it. It would take a long investigation to deal fully with all the matters raised by Beckett, but there are a number of points which are worth putting immediately into print, to save any misunderstanding that might arise from allowing these matters to stand without comment.

The principal issue concerns the evidence for Grahme’s financial transactions. This does survive in enormous quantity, though not in a form which is easy to use, or allow a full understanding of his affairs at any one time. Judging by what survives at Levens, few papers were destroyed by Grahme in his lifetime, but for the more politically dangerous correspondence, which is notable by its absence, with the exception of some coded letters, and two letters written by James II at the time of his departure from England. Apart from this, the general impression of the letter collection (Boxes B to E) is that they were kept regardless of importance, and carefully bundled up after Grahme’s death, possibly by Mr Martyr, Steward to Catherine Suffolk, the Colonel’s daughter and heir.³ Account books are indeed disappointingly few, but it is incorrect to say that any have been lost since the modern listing of the papers in 1956 for the National Register of Archives.⁴ The accounts then listed in New Box C are amongst a number of items which have been re-boxed, and are undoubtedly those now preserved in Box 18I and Box 18N.⁵ A detailed
list of these has been prepared, from which it can be seen that they form a rather miscellaneous series of accounts of various people, dealing with personal and estate business at Bagshot, Levens and London, with Grahme's own accounts surviving only between 1699 and 1709, for those who care to decipher his vile hand. The lack of formal accounts for much of Grahme's time is countered by the massive quantity of individual vouchers for payments that have survived, albeit without mention in any of the earlier listings of the archives. These were in a certain Box 18, marked 'worthless old vouchers', and were discovered by Mrs Bagot and rescued from decay through dampness, and have been reboxed in the series 18A-O (together with a number of items from elsewhere, as described above). These vouchers, usually in the form of accounts submitted by tradesmen, with receipts written on them, cover every conceivable sort of expenditure, in Bagshot, Levens and London: everything from dogfood to the purchase of hats, bonds, servants and labourers' wages, building work, collection of rents and tithes, down to a shopping list and a request to view the gardens. Two boxes out of a possible total of nine covering Grahme's time have been numbered and listed, and the twenty bundles so far dealt with contain 1,282 items. The distinct impression given by this quantity of material is that little was ever thrown away, and that it should be possible eventually to achieve a fairly complete understanding of Grahme's finances. There should be no great mystery about where the money went, but the answer cannot easily be found without a lengthy investigation.

In one area touched upon by Beckett, that of Grahme's building activities, something can immediately be said. By confusing the dates of the building at Levens, Beckett has accused Grahme of dissembling over the amounts spent on rebuilding after the fire of 1703. The fire was a minor one, in the kitchen wing, which did no doubt cost less than £100 to repair. The south wing, however, was not built then, having already been built, and was not affected by the fire. (The staircase was built later.) The building of the south wing is the principal subject of the letters from Hugh James to Grahme between 1692 and 1695, an edition of which is currently in preparation. It provides a good example of Grahme's investment in his recently purchased estate. The contract for the building was signed in September 1692, at a fee of £150 (£80 for the mason and £70 for the carpenter), not including materials or fittings. The joinery cost in addition over £100, leadwork some £44 and painting £30, to mention the most accessible figures, and it is likely that the total cost was not far from £500 if the costs of finding materials is included, spread over three years. The new wing was no doubt thought necessary to provide decent accommodation, but was hardly extravagant, or even very advanced architecturally. At the same time, a new farmhouse was being built at Barrowfield, the carpentry of which was bargained for in August 1693 at £8 10s. Somewhat earlier, in 1690, £103 had been spent in building work at Helsington Laithes, and no doubt this list could be continued. These works represent a not insubstantial investment in the estate, and help to explain where Grahme's income went.

The most important factor about the economy of the Levens estates at this period is that Grahme was usually only at Levens for a few months in the summer, and kept a house in Berkeley Street, London, as well as retaining the Lodge in Bagshot Park. The income from the estates was thus keeping three households supplied, and it is not hard to imagine that the annual income just in excess of £1,000 was easily used up in maintaining his family and three homes. Rather than seeking any sinister financial dealings on his part, one might rather imagine that he was simply living beyond his means, and that the purchase of Levens had left him with little capital in hand. The suggestion that he could not have used the disputed African and East Indian Stock for the purchase simply because of the difference between the date of purchase and the date of cashing in the stock is hardly conclusive, as a 'bridging' loan may easily have been arranged. The papers dealing with the finances of the purchase are not revealing on this point, as they are mainly concerned with the details of the Bellingham mortgages on the property.

These comments on Beckett's paper do not throw further light on several aspects he has dealt with, which may well stand the test of further research. But they are intended to show that there
is much more than can be said, and suggest that Grahme’s financial problems may have been very real, and not just a smokescreen to deter creditors.

References

2 Colonel James Grahme of Levens. A Biographical Sketch of Jacobite Times (Kendal, 1886).
3 The handwriting on the letter folders appears to be Martyr’s.
4 The H.M.C. listing of the 1890s (pace Beckett, n. 22) does not mention the accounts.
5 Although now classed with material from Box 18, these were not otherwise mentioned in 1956, and are such a number as would have fitted in New Box C, which any complete series from 1689-1730 could scarcely have done.
6 Copies of this, and other recent listings, are held in the Kendal Record Office. Grahme’s accounts are 18N/3 and 5.
7 Those listed are the Beaumont file, and Boxes 18L and 18D. The shopping list is 18D.5/30; the request to view the gardens Beaumont/37.
8 Box E. MSS 2/78.
9 Box 18L.2/10 and 11; 18D.6/156 and 18D.3/38.
10 Box 18D.6/64.
11 Box 18N/9.
12 Box E. MSS 2/79-81.

20. A coin hoard from Stainton near Kendal
By John Marsh

In September 1981 the Clare family of Steps End, Stainton, near Kendal discovered a hoard of coins whilst tidying some of their land adjacent to the stream. The site of the discovery was the foundation of a building (possibly a small mill (?)).

A total of 392 coins ranging from the reign of Henry VIII to Charles II were examined by Miss Elizabeth Pirie of the Leeds Museum prior to Coroner’s Inquest. All the coins, after examination at the British Museum following the Inquest, have been returned to the Clare family.


21. The Inghamite Chapel cottage, Kendal. An examination of an underground chamber
By Duncan Allen and Philip Bradby

During the conversion of the Inghamite Chapel and cottage to dwelling houses in the Autumn of 1984, an underground chamber was found beneath the floorboards in one of the rooms of a lean-to beside the cottage. We investigated the site with the help of our teacher, Mr R. David.

The Inghamites originally met in a barn which was on the same site as the present building (SD 512924). The barn was owned by William Wilson, and in 1756 it was converted into a Chapel, which, from 1821, was known as Pear Tree Chapel. In 1844 the converted barn was replaced by a purpose built Chapel which was opened on September 7th, 1845. The Chapel served a wide area, so a stable was provided along with a school room, tea room and cottage.

The sub-rectangular underground chamber was beneath the western room of the two roomed lean-to. The chamber was made from bricks which had a soft mortar covering them. The main access was through a hole in the roof which was totally covered by the floor boards of the lean-
to. This suggests that the chamber had been in use prior to the latest use of the lean-to. The roof was made from large irregular sized limestone blocks set on edge. A chute provided a second access to the chamber from the adjoining room. There was a tide mark running round the chamber and the chute at the same height as an overflow drain made from an inverted ridge tile. Judging by the tide mark it can be assumed that the chamber was used for holding a liquid, probably water. The chute had been subsequently blocked up with bricks, and because of the absence of the tideline across the blockage it is assumed that the chamber had a new, unknown secondary use.

The chamber must be contemporary with, or predate, the building of the complex in 1845. As the date of building and purpose of the chamber are unclear, the methods used to fill the reservoir or extract its contents are equally uncertain.

The chamber has now been filled in by the developer, Mr Philip Russell, whose help we acknowledge.
Fig 1. – A Plan of the Lean-to at the Inghamite Chapel showing the location of, and cross sections of, the underground chamber.