

V.—DR. JOHN LINGARD'S NOTES ON THE ROMAN WALL.

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Among the books and papers presented to the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries by the executors of the late Robert Blair are two small manuscript-books containing notes by Dr. John Lingard dated 1800 and 1807. They have often been quoted, but not, I think, described.

The original owner of the books was John Lingard, D.D. (1771-1851), the Roman Catholic historian. He was vice-president of Crook Hall college, in the parish of Lanchester, from 1795 to 1811 (*Dict. Nat. Biog.*). This, "the first Catholic college established in England after the Reformation," was opened by bishop William Gibson in 1794 after the breaking up through the French revolution of the colleges of Douai and St. Omer. Gibson had been president of Douai from 1781 to 1790; Lingard had studied there from 1782 to 1793, and was well qualified to revive its traditions in the new establishment, the forerunner of the college, also founded by bishop Gibson, which still flourishes at Ushaw near Durham.¹

¹ Lingard's *Life and Letters*, by Martin Haile and Edwin Bonney (1911). One of the authors, the Rev. Edwin Bonney, librarian at Ushaw, has been most kind in furnishing information. I have also to thank Mr. Anderton and the staff of the Newcastle Public Library, Mr. John Oxberry, and Mr. R. G. Collingwood.

They were then owned successively by George Gibson, who accompanied Lingard on one or both journeys, John Clayton, J. C. Bruce and Robert Blair. John Hodgson, the historian, made use of them and has initialled or queried a detail here and there. Bruce refers to them in the third edition of his *Roman Wall*, in the *Lapidarium*, and in his *Handbook*.

The first notebook shows us Lingard compiling information about the remains of the Wall from Wallis's *Northumberland*, Brand's *Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, and Gough's edition of *Camden*. He does not seem to have had access to Gordon, but he used Horsley. He visited the only important collection then to be found in Newcastle, that of Brand, and also took pains to see and copy other stones. His reference to Durham library implies that he knew the inscriptions there; if his notes on them are preserved they should be of interest. His enthusiasm and industry rank him among modern and scientific workers, and if he had been able to continue his epigraphic studies he would have done good service. This was not to be. During 1807 and 1808 he was engaged in a pamphlet controversy with the bishop of Durham and other Anglican writers.² In July, 1808, the new college at Ushaw was opened and the young vice-president found little time for literary work. For a year he was acting president. But the plan for a comprehensive history of England was always in his mind, and in 1811 he gladly retired from academic life to the quiet village of Hornby near Lancaster, where the light parochial duties gave him leisure for historical research.

What was Lingard's object in compiling these notes, and making the detailed measurements which we find in the record of his tour (p. 140 ff.)? He made scant use of them when he wrote his *History of England*. There he follows Bede in giving the height of the Wall as twelve feet, but relies on his own measurements when he says

² One of them, Mr. Hollingsworth of Hartlepool, devised a title worthy of the seventeenth century: *Three More Pebbles from the Brook: or The Romish Goliath Slain with his own Weapon*.

"its breadth at the foundation varied from two to three yards." His brief description ends on a note of enthusiasm: "by the traveller of the present day its remains are viewed with feelings of astonishment and delight." Possibly he had in mind the writing of a book on Roman Britain, which would have borne the same relation to the longer history as his *Antiquities of the Saxon Church*, first published in 1806.

I.—THE FIRST NOTEBOOK³

(CONTAINING ENQUIRIES, AND COPIES OF INSCRIPTIONS
PRESERVED AT NEWCASTLE.)

Pink notebook, 4 by 6½ inches, interleaved with blotting-paper, water-mark R R & T & T 1805, 24 leaves, of which many are blank. On the cover is written in a bold hand: "A few remarks by Dr. Lingard on a tour to the Roman Wall with me in 1800. Sepr. 4th. Geo. Gibson."

The book begins with memoranda headed "Enquiries—Sep. 4, 1800," evidently points for investigation. Then come jottings of names and things unconnected with the journey. Four pages at the other end contain extracts from Wallis, relating to the Wall. There are many rough copies of inscriptions, both in pen and pencil, on the earlier pages of both ends of the book.

³ I have not thought it necessary to give the complete text of inscriptions copied by Lingard, except when the stone is lost. For inscriptions now in the Newcastle, Chesters or Carlisle museums I have given references within square brackets to the latest edition of the museum catalogue. In the case of the Black Gate museum, where most of the stones seen by Lingard are now preserved, this is Mr. R. G. Collingwood's, in vol. ii. of the present series of *Archæologia Aeliana*, pp. 52-124. Then come references to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. vii, cited as C; to the supplementary lists of British inscriptions contained in various volumes of the *Ephemeris Epigraphica*, cited as *Eph. Epig.*; and to the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, cited as L.S.

Enquiries—Sep. 4, 1800.

Look at Gent. Mag : Sup : 1784.^a

Enquire after the statues of Bacchus.^a

Mr. Buddle. Is his house parallel to the rampart, and near the S.E. angle.

What was the depth of the well?

The foundations were 6 yds. south of the engine. What engine?^b

Is there inscription in the end of the stable at Stotes house?

A Castellum to the west of Stotes house?^c

Where is Walker?

Mr. Buddle what cavity or covered way.^d

A castellum at Ouseburn?

Mr. Yelloley's garden?^e

An inscription in a wall at Ouseburn raised to support the gravel.

Wall from Redbarns to back of Keelman's hospital, and thence to Sallyport.

[Sketch-plan intended to illustrate Brand's account of the Fort at Newcastle, *Hist. Newcastle upon Tyne* i. 141.]

Vallum at half moon battery?

Mr. Dickenson's house at W.G.^f stands on the wall?

^a *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1784, Supplement, p. 974, contains a letter about an altar lately found at Ebchester, which had come into the possession of Henry Swinburne. The writer, evidently Swinburne himself, for the letter was dated from his home at Hamsterley, propounded a reading, **DEO VERNO STONO COCID** etc., which defies interpretation. An altar was found, for Hutchinson confirms Swinburne (*Hist. Durham* ii. 433), and MacLauchlan heard particulars on the spot, the north bank of the Derwent (*Memoir on Watling Street*, p. 17). On the other hand there is reason to think the inscription was tampered with; see Hodgson, *H.N.* II. iii. 178, note q, Hübner, *C.I.L.* vii. 1*, No. 9*, and Haverfield, *Eph. Epig.* ix. 681. It is now at Ushaw. The present entry shows that Lingard's inquiries extended to Roman inscriptions other than those belonging to the Wall, with which, as it happens, these notebooks are almost wholly concerned.

Mrs. Wheatley's. 2 mill stones. 1.4.6. in Horsley.^g
 Mr. Dicksons.^h
 Mr. Wilson.ⁱ
 Rectors of Gateshead.^j

^a The group of mother goddesses, found at Housesteads and now at Minsteracres, was described in 1708 as "three Statues all cut out of one stone. . . . The bodies, thighs, and legs which remain'd, were very bulky, so as they might be so many Statues of *Bacchus* by their size" (Gibson's *Camden*, 2nd ed., ii. 1053). Horsley dismisses the suggestion and rightly calls them *deae matres* (p. 221).

^b These questions refer to Brand's statements, *Hist. Newcastle* i. 604, note *h*; "the house built for the viewer of the colliery stands parallel to the west rampart of the station and near the south-west angle." Lingard's S.E. is a slip. "The present fire-engine stands about six yards to the north of the wall."

^c Brand i. 605, "the tenant shewed me . . . a stone, with a mutilated inscription, built up at the end of his stable. I could make out **IMP.** and **CO.** but no other letters. . . . A little to the west of Bees-Houses or Stotes-Houses, there has been a castellum."

^d Answered in the account of Wallsend, *Tour.*, p. 140.

^e Pencil note at end of book 2, "Mr. Yellowly's garden near Sowerby's foundry." See *Tour.*, p. 141 below.

^f That is, Westgate. "Mr. Anderson informed me that his deeds for the ground on which Mr. Dickenson's house stands, just without the West-gate, call the site of it *Pics-Wall* or *Hole*" (Brand i. 142, note *t*).

^g The house of Brand's aunt, Mrs. Wheatley, in Hanover Square. The stones which Lingard expected to see are mentioned thus by Brand i. 604, note *h*: "I have in my possession two Roman hand mill-stones . . . which came from this station," Wallsend; and note *g*, "I have in my possession the original stones found here, and marked No. 1, 4 and 6 in Horsley's *Britannia Romana, Northumberland*." 1 and 4 are now in the Black Gate (Catalogue 104, 105; C 488, 490; LS 5, 6) but 6 seems to be lost.

^h George Armstrong Dickson was an ardent collector of Roman and other antiquities. For his gifts, which from 1813 onwards laid the foundation of our society's museum, see *Arch. Ael.*, 3rd series, x. 13 and 124, and the list of donations appended to the first volume of the first series. Pencil note in book 2, "Dickson, No. 13, N'land Street." Three inscriptions that were in his possession are copied on pp. 1 and 48 of the notebook.

ⁱ Probably John Rawling Wilson (c. 1759-1837), "for many years landing surveyor of the Customs at Newcastle, and a well-known local antiquary. . . . From his long residence and exten-

sive knowledge of the town and neighbourhood, he was generally referred to in matters connected with its history and inhabitants.' (Sykes, *Local Records* iii. 83, cf. *Borderer's Tablebook* iv. 388.) He left a collection of coins and engravings (*Newc. Journ.*, 9th December, 1837). In 1794 he read a paper to the Literary and Philosophical Society on two inscribed stones found near Walbottle and presented to the society by a Mr. C. Nixon (*Transactions of Lit. & Phil. Soc.*, published in 1831). Copies of these inscriptions appear on the first page of Lingard's notebook, along with stones that he saw at Mrs. Wheatley's and Mr. Dickson's. The originals are now in our museum, numbered 113 (C 534, LS 51) and 114 (C 533*b*, LS 49). In the first catalogue the former is entered as given by the Lit. & Phil. Society, the latter by Mr. Wilson (Nos. 56 and 87). Lingard's note is "At Heddon," which must mean found there.

‡ An altar from Rudchester stood for a long time in the garden wall of Gateshead rectory. Now in Black Gate (Catalogue 204; C 544*a*, LS 61). It is noted by Brand i. 608.

[Memoranda of a personal character follow, *Carrier, Letterpaper*, then a dozen names of authors and book-titles ranging from *Wallis* and *Ridpath* to *Mónuments de Nysmes* and *Spanish Bible*. Among them is *House of Mr. Henderson*.]

Pp. 3, 5, 7 and 9 are occupied by extracts from Wallis's *Northumberland*, relating to the Roman Wall from Carvoran to Rudchester.

P. 1, pencil copies of two small altars which L. probably saw in Dickson's house. The third stone in Dickson's collection is copied on p. 48. Carvon (for Carvoran) is written above it. Later a circle in ink was drawn round this entry and a note added, "brought away by Dickson."

The upper part of p. 48 was already occupied by ink transcripts of five inscriptions formerly in Brand's possession. The object was no doubt to verify them in the presence of the stones. Lingard has corrected one of them in pencil and made an improved copy of another (*Newc.* 117) at the foot of the page. He also made pencil copies of a Saxon inscription from Jarrow (Brand ii. 64) and of a centurial stone (Brand i. 604*n*), *Newc.* 104, C 488, LS 5.

Squeezed in on the same page are copies in ink of two

centurial stones "at Heddon," ringed round with ink to distinguish them from the Brand series. They had been given to the Lit. & Phil. in 1794, and Mr. J. R. Wilson had read a paper on them in that year.

P. 44 has pencil copies of four stones in Brand's collection.

1.	Newc.	107	C 527b	LS 43	from Benwell
2.	"	116	C 562a	" 93	" Brunton
4.	"	136	C 781	" 338	" Carvoran
3.	"	39	C 510	" 22	" Benwell

Of this last only the first two words are given,⁵ but space is left for the remaining lines.

Pp. 33-35, pencil copies of three more stones in Brand's collection.

Newc.	178	C 693	LS 197	from Housesteads
"	71	C 514	" 16 bis	" Benwell
"	32	C 506	" 16	" Benwell

With them is one, also from Benwell, which had disappeared in London in the eighteenth century (C 513). The copy may come from Gough's *Camden*.

On p. 6 is another copy in ink of this last inscription; it is headed *At Benwell*. Beside it is the text of C 538, another Benwell stone, evidently copied from Horsley or Gough. Lingard, after seeing it in Brand's collection, has written *At Brand's* above it and drawn an ink loop round it. Now in the Black Gate, No. 163, LS 30. At the foot of this page is a memorandum of the Greek dedication to Astarte found at Corbridge, and at that time preserved at Netherby.⁶ The version given (from Gough?) is more correct than that on p. 7 extracted from Wallis.

P. 37 bears a pencil text of a different kind, headed *Gough Camd.*, p. 28. It is an extract, nine incomplete

⁵ **MATRIRBUS**, as in Brand's illustration, for *Matribus tribus*, the ligatures being overlooked.

⁶ Now at Carlisle, *Tullie House Catalogue* 22, C 97, LS 637.

lines, from the Rivington Diploma, giving the names of regiments serving in Britain.

It was also, I think, from Gough (plate xxix, figs. 4 and 9, and p. 503 which faces it) that L. copied the following on p. 2: C 789 from Carvoran (text without reference); C 702, "*At Durham library look at altar. It came from Chester in the wood on the road from Carvorran to Newbrugh*"; and C 732, the granary inscription from Great Chesters. Of this last he copied only the crucial last lines, containing letters which Wallis saw about 1765, before the mutilation of the stone. In the second notebook (p. 43) we find him making use of this copy to complete the text which he copied from the original. See p. 156.

The *Enquiries* dated 1800 show that Lingard had studied Brand with a view to visiting Wallsend and Newcastle. He had ascertained the whereabouts of Brand's inscriptions and got the names of two Newcastle antiquaries. There is reason to think that he had not yet visited that part of the Wall. He asks "Where is Walker?"; he is not familiar with Newcastle, and expresses Brand's account of the fort at Newcastle by a diagram which misrepresents his meaning and is topographically impossible. Assuming that 1805 in the watermark dates the notebook, it was in that or a following year that Lingard transferred to it the *Enquiries* of 1800 and proceeded to act upon them. I infer that George Gibson's memory was at fault when he copied the date of the *Enquiries* on the cover and added "on a Tour to the Roman Wall with me." Someone, perhaps John Hodgson, has underlined the last figure in 1800 and written 7? over it. It is not impossible that Lingard visited Housesteads with Gibson in 1800 and prepared himself by making the tracings of monuments seen there by Horsley (§3 below). In any case this earlier notebook contains only inscriptions extracted from books, and copies of inscriptions which were at that time in Newcastle.

The majority of these had been collected by that zealous antiquary, the Rev. John Brand, during his residence in

Newcastle up to the year 1784. At a time when interest in such historical records was at a low ebb, he was diligent in securing every inscribed stone that came his way. In particular he became the owner, whether by purchase or as a gift we do not know, of the stones belonging to the Shaftoe family at Benwell Tower.⁷ The Benwell estate was broken up in 1781 and the following years. Brand was in touch with Miss Camilla Shaftoe, heiress of the last of a succession of Robert Shaftoes whose names live in a popular song. From her he obtained the plans of Condercum drawn by her grandfather in 1751, and it was presumably through her good-will that the stones passed into his safe keeping.

Brand had been adopted and brought up by his mother's sister, Mrs. Wheatley. In 1784, soon after his removal to London, he rented a house for her in Hanover Square, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Writing to his friend Ralph Beilby, through whom the matter was arranged, he stipulated that the house should have "either a courtyard or little garden or cellar to hold my Roman monuments." A few months later he wrote, "I am glad to hear . . . that my Roman inscriptions have been carefully removed."⁸ After his death on September 11, 1806, the collection remained in the possession of his aunt, who was his executor and residuary legatee. The considerate affection with which Brand had watched over Mrs. Wheatley was repaid, after his untimely death, in the care with which she and her executors preserved the Roman monuments in which he took so much pride.

A word may be added about the later history of this collection, since neither Mr. Welford nor Mr. J. C. Hodgson touch on it in their biographies of John Brand. Mrs. Wheatley died on February 28, 1809, having bequeathed her real and personal estate to Matthew

⁷ Benwell Tower came into the hands of the notorious Stoney Bowes and became a ruin and a byword.

⁸ See J. C. Hodgson's paper on John Brand and his Foster-parents in *Arch. Ael.*, 3rd series, xiv. 107 ff.

Wheatley, a kinsman of her husband, and Mary Sharp, her servant, who had been Brand's servant in London and one of the witnesses to his will made in 1790.⁹ Mary Sharp and a sister, who had also been in Mrs. Wheatley's service, were still living in Hanover Square about 1811, when John Hodgson the historian purchased Miss Sharp's rights in the collection of Roman inscriptions for £10. Matthew Wheatley made him a present of his share. "A day or two after I agreed to give this sum for them," says Hodgson, "I was dining with Mr. Thorp and mentioned the price of them; and he, expressing a wish to have them, requested me to transfer the purchase, which I readily assented to."¹⁰ Mr. (afterwards Archdeacon) Charles Thorp removed the collection to his rectory at Ryton, where it remained until his death on October 10, 1863. Six months later his executors sold it to the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries for the sum of £15.¹¹ It included "the celebrated altar to *Jupiter Dolichenus*, and the tablet to the *Matres Campestres* found at Benwell, four inscribed stones found at Jarrow, and several perfect inscribed tablets and centurial stones, besides imperfect inscriptions, votive altars, Cologne-stone querns, etc., to the number of thirty-five pieces."¹²

II.—THE SECOND NOTEBOOK

(DESCRIBING A JOURNEY FROM WALLSEND TO GILSLAND.)

Blue and white marbled notebook, 4 by 6½ inches, 24 leaves, water-mark Golding 1806. George Gibson has written his name on the cover outside and in. Otherwise the writing seems to be Lingard's. On p. 1 is a title

⁹ *Arch. Ael.*, 3rd series, xiv. 116-119.

¹⁰ Raine, *Memoir of the Rev. John Hodgson* i. 379.

¹¹ *Arch. Ael.*, 2nd series, vi. 214, meeting of April 6, 1864.

¹² Letter from Hodgson to John Adamson, Raine, *loc. cit.*

"Mural Tourification,"¹³ Aug. 24th, 1807." The narrative is written in ink; and for the most part on the right-hand page only. I have put in brackets certain additions written by Lingard on the blank left-hand pages. From p. 40 onwards as he neared the end of the book Lingard wrote on both sides of the page. He seems to have made rough pencil notes *en route*, and generally rubbed them out after writing the fair copy in ink. Fragments of descriptive notes, containing phrases that recur in the fair copy, can be made out on pp. 1 and 46-48 and on the end-paper. On p. 44 are pencil copies of four inscriptions, all repeated on pp. 42-43, while on p. 45 of four inscriptions originally entered in pencil two have been inked in, two re-copied on other pages.

Mural Tourification—Aug. 24th, 1807.

SEGEDUNUM.

Walked to Wall's end. Mr. Buddle not at home.¹⁴ Mrs. Buddle informed us that in trenching their garden to the east of the house many human bones were found: and in digging a cellar under the dining-room a well, feet deep, at the bottom of which were the bones and skulls of different animals, and the horn of a buffalo or rein-deer. By a Mr. Swan, aged between 70 and 80, we were informed that the wall ran almost parallel to the river,

¹³ At that time a new word. A book entitled *The Tourifications of Malachi Meldrum, Esq.*, by R. Couper, was published in 1802, and Miss Mitford wrote of "a tourification along the banks of the Seine" in 1819 (*New English Dictionary*).

¹⁴ John Buddle the younger (1773-1843) became manager of the Wallsend colliery on his father's death in 1806. An original member of our society and a friend of John Hodgson the historian; for their joint work which led to the invention of Sir Humphrey Davy's safety-lamp see *Hist. Northd.* II. iii. 171. "From him," says Dr. Bruce, "I first learned the fact that the eastern rampart of the station of SEGEDUNUM, Wallsend, was continued down the bank into the River Tyne to the lowest point of the tide. Bathing in the river when a boy, he had often noticed this" (*Arch. Ael.*, 2nd series, xi. 175).

through what is at present a stack yard, where it turned perpendicularly towards the river. A little to the west of the Station was opened 25 years ago an arched cavity, (arch of brick), in which were found many broken urns, (a dial and a cross—this is doubtful).

The ditch on the east side is very perceptible, though the wall is removed. It appears to have been about 130 yards in length. From what seems to have been the southern wall of the station to the river is a gradual descent of 115 yards. No remains of the wall are to be seen; but we are told it went under the coal engine in a strait line to Carville: and the ditch, which was on the north side of the wall, is still very plain. From Carville it runs in a strait line on the left hand of the road very perceptible the whole way to Byker windmil. From thence it may be easily traced down the rock on the eastern bank of the Ouse burn. By the remains of it in a garden it appears to have crossed the river a little to the south of the present bridge. (Here I was informed that in Mr. Yellowley's garden¹⁵ is an inscription from the neighbourhood, and near the bourn in a wall raised to support the gravel is an inscription according to Mr. Bewick.¹⁶) It then rises up the opposite bank to Redbarns, from whence it may be traced, but with difficulty to the carpenter's tower in the town wall. (Enquire for the Sally port.) It is difficult to discover any vestiges of it in Newcastle. But we are assured that it ran from the tower to Pandon gate, thence through the yard of the Bush & ,¹⁷ along the low bridge, crossed Dean street, mounted the place called St. Nicholas's stairs; a part of it was lately to be seen in the North porch of the church.

A little out of Westgate on the left in the inclosure

¹⁵ At Heaton Flint Mill. The stone was afterwards at Heaton Hall and is now in the Black Gate, No. 143 (C 502; LS 14). See Hodgson, *Hist. Northd.* II. iii. 280; *Arch. Ael.*, 2nd series, xii. 9, No. 16, with wood-cut on p. 10.

¹⁶ Bewick the engraver, says Hodgson:

¹⁷ The Bird in Bush Inn in Pilgrim Street.

appears Adrians vallum. It is cut through by a quarry. The surface of the ancient soil may be traced by a line. The summit of the vallum about 5 or 6 feet above that line. Severus's wall a little to the north : not easily traced. The vallum is about 40 yards south of Elswick mill.

The ditch to the North of the wall soon appears, and the road is mostly formed on it. The vallum runs nearly parallel generally about 40 yards distant, sometimes only 20, at others almost a mile.

CONDERCUM, OR BENWELL.

3rd Station : few remains of it. **VIA 7** is an inscription in the wall of a house at Benwell hill.¹⁸

At Denton Burn, on the south side of the road is a fragment of the wall 8 yards from the road and 35 from the burn. It is 8 feet 9 inches thick and 36 feet in length. 3 courses on one side, 4 on the other.

A little from Chapel house the vallum etc. are very plain for some miles. Four and a quarter miles from Newcastle is a castle stead $\frac{1}{4}$ mile west of Chapel house.

Walbottle, Walbottle dean, Throcklow, a little east where the French emigrants lived.¹⁹ A large dial with this inscription

Quam signare piis gaudes gens hospita donis,
Prospera sit semper quaelibet hora tibi.

¹⁸ Not otherwise recorded.

¹⁹ From 1796 to 1802 some forty of the expelled priests who took refuge in England were housed and befriended by a Newcastle committee in cottages at Throckley, still called Frenchman's Row. They expressed their gratitude by setting up on the face of the building a sun-dial with the inscription that Lingard quotes. It was restored in 1907 as a memorial of Cadwallader Bates, by some of his friends. See Richard Welford's paper in our *Proceedings*, 3rd series, vi. (1914) 247.

A little east of Heddon on the wall²⁰ is seen some of the wall.

Many coins and an urn found 30 years ago at the castle stead east of Rutchester, and claimed by Mr. Archdeacon the proprietor of the place: but he was compelled to yield them to the D(uke) of Northumberland in the court of Ovingham. A castle stead $1\frac{1}{4}$ west of Rutchester.

4th Station. Vindobala or Rutchester. Immense heaps of stones. The station is²¹

Many coins found here. To the south is a trough cut in the rock, called the giants' grave, 12.6 feet long, 4.7 broad and 2 deep.

Gothic chapel.²²

$1\frac{1}{4}$ mile out of Rutchester is a castle stead. Near Mr. Bewick's grounds. Ditch remarkable ascending the hill to Harlow.

An inscription to be found on the South side of the farm house (High Seats)²³ near the 9th mile stone.

²⁰ Heddon on the wall. On a blank half-page (p. 37), between the descriptions of Housesteads and Great Chesters, is a pencil note, probably made on the return journey: "Heddon on the wall on the left of the coach-house

LEG XX

V.V.

COH IV

CIVL above the door."

RUF

Both stones seem to be lost. Hodgson copied them from Lingard. I distrust the woodcuts in *Borderer's Tablebook* iii. 106 and the statement made there that the stones were found in 1810. C 523 and 530a, LS 40 and 54.

²¹ Here L. intended to insert the dimensions of the fort. He gives them, 160 by 120 yards, further on.

²² "Part of the tower of the Rutchester family still remains here; and their domestic chapel, being made use of as a cow-house, was pulled down about forty-four years since, by its owner, to prevent the possibility of its future desecration." *Picture of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, second edition (1812), rewritten by the Rev. John Hodgson, p. 185. The owner referred to must be William Archdeacon, who sold Rutchester in 1770. He was a Roman Catholic like his Rutherford and Rogers predecessors (*Northd. County Hist.* xii. 206).

²³ Inscription at High Seats. He afterwards saw the stone, probably on his homeward journey. At the end of the book is

South of the road. At the same place Adrian's almost joins the wall: at Harlow hill, they are at a great distance.

From Harlow hill a paved way covered with small stones nine feet wide, about 40 yards from the wall on the south the length of a mile. Its distance varied from 30 to 80 yards.

About Harlow Hill: there are four castle steads in four miles, which makes almost a distance of $1\frac{1}{4}$ between each.

Another at Harlow hill where the road goes to Ovingham.

At Harlow the wall runs through the stables, 9 feet 4 inches thick.

About $1\frac{1}{4}$ from Harlow is a castle stead. All these are on the south of the wall: something more than 20 yards square.

N.B.—The castle stead is situated on a rising hill a little to the west of Welton burn; $\frac{1}{4}$ mile N. of Welton tower, the property of the once celebrated Sir J. Fenwick. At Welton tower are some inscriptions.

Wall very visible on the road at Wallhouses. 10 feet. 13 miles. Vindobala 160 by 120 yds.

At Rutchester a coin Rom: Rem. Altar found there at Newcastle or London.²⁴

(The wall passes Sir William Blacket's gateway.)

At Carr hill, the wall is very visible, the foundation on the rock. In other places it is on the soil.

A little to the west it runs over a steep hill, called Down

an isolated entry, "9th Mile stone in the gable end of a cottage called High seats a stone with this inscription **DEVMAH**" (p. 47). A pencil sketch (p. 45) shows it in an ansate panel. Not otherwise recorded. C 555, LS 78.

²⁴ Rom: Rem, i.e. with figures of Romulus and Remus. The she-wolf and twins appear on the reverse of coins from Vespasian onwards. For the altar see p. 135, note j, the Rutchester altar formerly at Gateshead Rectory. A statue of Hercules, said to have gone to London, was at this time in Newcastle. See *N.C.H.* xii. 34; *Newc.* 256; LS 82.

hill. The vallum takes a circuit round it. The lines are very bold, in this manner. (Fig. 1.)



Fig. 1.

A castle stead was on the east of the Down hills. At Halton chesters or Hunnum the station is in this form and the dimensions are (fig. 2)

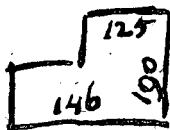


Fig. 2.

Farther on was found a species of aqueduct of large stones in which was hollowed a conduit 12 inches broad and 8 deep which discharged the water from a wet piece of ground, now belonging to H. Errington, through the wall into the ditch belonging to J. Errington.²⁵

Rising the hill to Portgate is a castle stead like the former. West of Portgate all the works are almost perfect except the wall in this (fig. 3)



Fig. 3.

²⁵ Henry Errington, of Sandhoe, died in 1819 aged 81. His elder brother, John Errington of Errington and Beaufront, died in 1827 aged 89; to the account of him in *N.C.H.* iv. 187-9, add Lockhart, *Life of Sir W. Scott* i. 192, "He used to call himself the Noble Errington, but of late has assumed the title of Duke of Hexham" (1792). For the aqueduct see Bruce, *Roman Wall*, 3rd ed., 134.

Another castle stead they are in this shape (fig. 4)



Fig. 4.

square with a mound round them.

A paved way on the north of the vallum 9 feet wide. The wall 10 feet wide in the road: distance between the wall and brink of the ditch 16 feet. The ditch is cut through the rock. Its north side slants: the south is perpendicular.

The vallum is also cut through the rock.

N.B.—All this between the 17 and 18 mile stones.

Opposite the plantation are the foundations of the wall in great perfection forming part of the road for 130 yards from it, the wall appears to have been of unequal width (fig. 5).

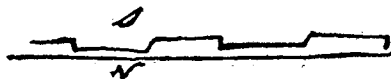


Fig. 5.

Sometimes 6 sometimes 10 feet wide.

Castle steads visible at 18 and 19th milestones. At St. Oswalds the road crosses the wall and enters the vallum. In St. Oswalds church yard stands a large Roman altar much ornamented, the top of which has been hollowed to admit a large stone cross, part of which stands by it.²⁶ St. Oswald is Heaven felth. At St. Oswalds the vallum and wall are within 25 yards of each other.

²⁶ According to Canon Greenwell, writing in *N.C.H.* iv. 179, this altar originally stood *outside* the churchyard in the middle of the field that separates it from the road. "Traditionally it was said to have marked the position of Oswald's extemporized cross on the battlefield. When the land was brought under tillage the altar was removed to the grounds of Brunton House, where it now stands, and its site was ploughed over." Lingard's statement that it was for a time in the churchyard is confirmed by Mackenzie, *Northumberland* (1822) ii. 301, and Bruce, *Roman Wall*, 2nd ed., 141, 3rd ed., 143, with lithograph showing the altar.

A little lower the wall is on the south of the ditch [road?]. It passes through the grounds of H. Tulip Esqr.²⁷ Here 35 yards of wall remain: 6 ft. 4 in. wide. Three courses of facing stone. The other side is made up lately of Roman stones. The distance to the brink of the ditch 16 feet, width of ditch 39.

Below Brunton house is another piece of wall about 24 yards in length, 7 courses of stones, 5 feet high. Distance to the ditch 12 ft. depth of do. 14. covered with thorns and a gooseberry bush in great perfection.

Wall crosses the Alemouth turnpike road²⁸ to the river. Rises on the opposite side. The foundation stones are some of them still visible. They are large flags, 3 ft. by 18 inch, with holes morticed in them. Mr. Clayton²⁹ says these holes were for a luis to raise them; an old gentleman in the neighbourhood says they were joined together by iron bars: some of which he himself broke when a boy and carried off as presents to the schoolmaster.³⁰


Mounting the bank we come to Walwick chesters: the station is 130 (yards) broad and 190 long. The vallum forms the N.E. side of the station, the wall crosses it. In this station among the stones have been discovered large

²⁷ Henry Tulip (1758-1829 or later?) of Fallowfield and Brunton (*N.C.H.* iv. 159, pedigree, 162, 175). Hutton in 1801 found Tulip's men demolishing a length of the Roman Wall and protested, thereby saving the fine fragment which Lingard goes on to describe. Henry Tulip, like his neighbour Nathaniel Clayton, married a daughter of Mrs. Bridget Atkinson of Temple Sowerby, the gifted lady who was elected an honorary member of the Newcastle Society of Antiquaries at its first meeting.

²⁸ The turnpike road from Hexham to the port of Alnmouth, made in 1753-4.

²⁹ Nathaniel Clayton (1754-1832); town clerk of Newcastle, purchased the Chesters estate in 1796. John Clayton (1792-1890), was his third son.

³⁰ For the remains of the bridge see John Clayton's paper, read in 1861; *Arch. Ael.*, 2nd series, vi. 80. In the discussion that followed (p. 85) Bruce mentioned Lingard's account. A fuller description and restored drawings by Sheriton Holmes, 2nd series, xvi. 238.

flags, bones of animals, broken urns, nails etc. a horn, with the marks of a knife on it. Bricks about 9 inches square, $1\frac{1}{2}$ thick and also tiles of this shape  ³¹

We also found several broken stones in the walls with inscriptions³² (fig. 6).



Fig. 6.

In a dry wall we found a wonderful fellow, a *flamen Dialis*, in a tunic, the drapery very beautiful, bound with a girdle, standing on a fourfooted animal; without a head, the figure and animal 5 feet high—breadth over the arms 20 inches.³³

³¹ The sketch may be meant for a shouldered tubular tile such as Hodgson saw at Chesters; "several pipes of red earthenware, which have been formed on a potter's lathe, are three inches in diameter and nine inches long, and have a neck and shoulder of two inches to fit into each other, for the conveyance of water" (*H.N.* II. iii. 183). Bottle-shaped tiles were also used for vaulting.

³² These fragments are not otherwise recorded.

³³ *Flamen Dialis*, high-priest of Jupiter, a guess founded on the richly bordered robe. The early antiquaries looked for traces of temples and priests such as classical authors described; at Housesteads we hear of "a Statue drawn in the portraiture of a Priest, with a Sash or Girdle about him . . . probably it might be one of their Priests or Flamins" (Gibson's *Camden*, ed. 1722, ii. 1053). Hodgson in 1812 described our figures as Europa and the Bull (*Picture of Newc.* 188). In his *History* he came nearer the truth, connecting them with the worship of the Mother of the Gods (III. ii. 181). An oriental goddess is certainly represented, perhaps the consort of the Syrian war-god, Jupiter Dolichenus, who received honours at many frontier forts. The remarkable base exhibited with the statue at Chesters, showing four cloven hoofs trampling on a snake, seems not to belong to it since the hoofs do not correspond in position with the remains of the animal under the goddess; it must be the base of a

In the station near the N.E. side, is a subterraneous chamber: which we entered by a hole in the roof. It is $9\frac{1}{2}$ long, 9 broad, 6 ft. 2 in. high. Each end projects inwards: the roof consists of two circular arches, the stones 21 inches in length, 6 in. in breadth. Between each arch the space is 2 feet, built up with projecting stones and covered at the centre with a flag; in another part two or three flags. At one end a doorway, $5\frac{1}{2}$ high, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ wide.³⁴

In Mr. Clayton's possession is a large broken stone with a long inscription:³⁵ and two other with smaller: also in shrubbery near Walwick bank foot is a piece of the wall four foot high and 7 or 8 yds. long.

As you ascend the hill the wall is visible in the road.

Having mounted the hill you arrive at Tower tay, a house built out of the stones taken from the wall. A little farther, having passed a plantation is a castle stead.

On Black Carts the wall is 300 yards long, in some places near seven feet high: but its appearance much impeded by brambles etc. A little further are seen stones of an immense size, cut out of the vallum, and also out of the ditch of Severus. The whole mountain is covered with them. They are whinstone and therefore not proper for building. It is a most astonishing sight. Farther on you come to Carawbrugh, a station on the wall, 140 long,

companion figure, perhaps representing Dolichenus standing on a bull. The goddess usually has a female supporter—cow, hind or lioness. Her native name is not known; the inscriptions call her Juno or Juno Regina. Chesters 124, old catalogue 14, and illustration facing p. 921, LS 149.

³⁴ This, the strong-room connected with the Chapel of the Standards, must have been discovered shortly before Lingard's visit. Hodgson gives further particulars (*H.N.* III. ii. 180). The headquarters building of which it formed part was excavated in 1870 and the following years; plan in *Archæologia* xlv, Pl. I, p. 1 ff.

³⁵ Chesters 75, old catalogue 13, C 585, LS 121. It is a building record, dated A.D. 221. The other two inscriptions would be C 581, a small altar *Deo sancto Vitir(i)*, and a fragment, *Eph. Epig.* ix, p. 586, No. 1172. These three stones were seen at Mr. Clayton's by the Rev. John Skinner in 1801.

112 broad: great part of the walls is standing. On the east³⁶ of the hill the ascent is by 6 terraces thus (fig. 7).



Fig. 7.

Lower down is a well, 7 ft. 3 in. by 5 ft. 10 in.—the foundations of polished stone are still remaining entire.³⁷ By it a large stone, that has been fixed 2 feet in the ground, above polished square with moulding.

100 yds. east of the station is a castle stead. The burying place is between it and the station. Bones etc. found in it.

Near the 25 mile stone is Scots folly, a turreted farm house erected on Simond burn common, and allotted to the parish church.³⁸

Mr. Hutton says that the foundation of the wall is seen on the hill rising to Carraw.³⁹ He is mistaken. He has taken the foundation of a fence for that of the wall.

Before Carraw is a castle stead. 26½ is a castle stead. 27 the wall turns to the right to cross over the crags; while the vallum creeps in the vale below at different distances.

27½ castle stead in Shewen Shields. We mount a rock

³⁶ East is a slip for west.

³⁷ Coventina's Well, described also by Horsley, p. 145, and by Wallis i. 23. For the wonderful discoveries of October, 1876, see papers by John Clayton and Roach Smith in *Arch. Ael.*, 2nd series, viii. 1-49.

³⁸ Probably named after Dr. Scott, rector of Simonburn, 1771-1814.

³⁹ William Hutton (1723-1815), bookseller at Birmingham and author of topographical works, walked along the Wall from end to end and back again in 1801 at the age of seventy-eight, and wrote a *History of the Roman Wall* (1802) to describe his experiences.

with wall 150 feet high.⁴⁰ Opposite it is King *Arthur's* castle, to defend the pass.⁴¹ The wall then mounts a tremendous rock: the north is perpendicular, terminating in large pillars. The wall is 5 feet high and 5 broad. On the top is a castle stead.

On Shewen Shields crags west end,⁴² you have a pleasant view of Bromley on the west, Nor. West Greenly Nor. East Little Cow lough, S. Grindon lough,⁴³ N.E. Simonside and Cheviot hills, S. West Cross fell in Cumberland and Skiddaw. Saddle back in Westmoreland. N.W. hills in Scotland, query Eildon hills near Melross. Allan river L. bank to the south, and seat of Mrs. Lowes of Ridley hall. You catch two views of the river Tyne as it glides between the hills. South E. the river Tyne and Hexham bridge and St. Oswalds: full south the vallum $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in the hollow. On the north the tops of the whins. East of the Allen and south of us is Langley Castle, belonging to the Earl of Derwentwater and Langley smelt mills.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Sewing Shields. Lingard was one of the last travellers to see this strip of wall. It was pulled down in 1811 "to build certain farm-offices at Sewing Shields." Hodgson, *Picture of Newc.* 192.

⁴¹ *Arthur* is underlined, perhaps because Hutton had been given the name as King *Ethel* by the tenant. Compare King Eveling, about whom Camden heard tales at Ravenglass, discussed by Mr. W. G. Collingwood in *C. and W. Trans.*, N.S., xxiv, 256.

⁴² It was while "standing on Sewingshields Crags, and over-looking nearly the whole of this chapelry," that Hodgson had his prophetic vision of the restoration of Langley Castle, which was in fact achieved half a century later by another historian, Cadwallader Bates. "Langley Castle, while I gaze on it, even at a great distance, seems to bid a stern defiance to the attacks of time, as if determined once again to resume its roof, and hang out over its battlements its blue flag and pillared canopy of morning smoke, as emblems that joy and high-minded hospitality have returned to reside in it" (*H.N.* III. ii. 386).

⁴³ For an account of these Loughs see Hodgson, *loc. cit.*, 327.

⁴⁴ A rough pencil-plan at the end of the book gives the relative positions of *Bridge*, *Langley*, *Smelt* (mills), and *Allen*, with *Minsteracres* on the horizon. Lingard was interested in Minsteracres, the house of his Douai contemporary and life-long friend, George Silvertop.

Hence we descend into a vale. The ditch there appears again. Then rises another crag called Kennell; on the summit is a castle stead. Below is the famous Busy Gap.

29 miles. Housesteads is a most wonderful station. It abounds with remains. A large column 2' 2" diameter, 4' 1" in height. 3 deae matres in a wall. 3 deae matres in chairs. 3' 2" without head. Also three others without heads with cups in their hands, all in one chair.⁴⁵

Inscription in a ditch 4' by 2' 8".⁴⁶ (The temple of victory was of the Doric order by a capital lying on the hill.⁴⁷)

$\frac{1}{4}$ mile from Housesteads is a castle. Entered the Ravisher⁴⁸ Gap. Mounted Bradley hill, saw the Crag Lough. A road 10 or 12 feet wide runs at a greater or smaller distance from the wall. At top is

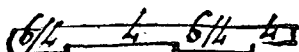


Fig. 8. [Out-sets and in-sets on south face of Wall.]

⁴⁵ This is the group that in 1708 had been compared to "Statues of Bacchus" (p. 134 above). Lingard's statement shows that it, and probably also the three altars now with it at Minsteracres, were not taken there in the eighteenth century, as has been supposed. George Silvertop (1774-1849) was a cousin of George Gibson, and had been his school-fellow at Douai, though four years younger. He did much to embellish Minsteracres, and may have secured these stones to adorn his garden about 1813 when the other Housesteads monuments were removed to Stagshaw Close-house. For the altars see Haverfield's paper in *Arch. Journ.* lxxviii. 144.

⁴⁶ This was the slab set up by the garrison in honour of "the gods and goddesses in accordance with the oracle of Apollo of Claros." It had not been recorded previously, so Lingard made a careful copy on p. 45 of this notebook. It is not mentioned in the rough catalogue based on Horsley (p. 157 below). *Newc.* 10, C 633, LS 187.

⁴⁷ This sentence, an addition, is derived from Wallis, *H.N.* ii. 37. But he was paraphrasing Stukely's account of a "capital" seen beside the old farm-house, which stood within the fort, and what Stukely saw was almost certainly a base with two torus-mouldings from the headquarters-building. Cf. *Arch. Ael.*, 1st series, i. 273; 2nd series, xxv. 212 note.

⁴⁸ Hodgson writes *Ravisher*, Ordnance Survey *Rapishaw*. The former noticed "the very various thicknesses" shown in Fig. 8.

A small road seems to run close to the wall.

A castle stead as you descend the hill. It is called Hot bank. Then the wall bends inward to avoid the lake.

The vallum still continues in the valley below, but makes several angles to avoid the mosses.

At Great chesters we saw a subterraneous chamber, exactly square $6\frac{1}{2}$ [feet], high $5\frac{1}{2}$. We descended by steps. At the opposite [end] was a dresser of mason work $2\frac{1}{2}$ wide the same height. The roof supported by five arches of stone, similar and contiguous, 15 inches each. The floor is flagged—on stone pillars. One flag being raised, a spring of water was discovered, which now supplies the farmer's family. The person who opened it found in it a great quantity of ashes. At the opposite end of the vault was a kind of shelf raised on mason work. It was covered by a long flat slab. We opened it but found nothing under.⁴⁹

The station is 114 yds. from N. to S. and 135 from W. to E. In this station lay the top of an altar with this inscription **DISCP**⁵⁰ and another full size, but much defaced.⁵¹ (Fig. 9.)

⁴⁹ This vaulted chamber was the strong-room attached to the sanctuary of the standards. In *Arch. Ael.*, 2nd series, xxiv. 20, the late Mr. J. P. Gibson refers to Lingard's examination of the chamber as "systematic excavation"—a misunderstanding, I think. Following Hodgson II. iii. 203, he gives the date as 1800. See plan and description in *Arch. Ael.*, 2nd series, xvii, p. xxvi and plate 02.

⁵⁰ Presumably **DISCIP**, with **I** and **P** in ligature. Altars dedicated to the Discipline of the Emperor (or Emperors) have been found in the headquarters building at Birrens and in one of somewhat similar type at Corbridge. Another is known from Castlesteads. Haverfield discussed them in *Arch. Ael.*, 3rd series, ix. 263. The present inscription was copied from Lingard by Hodgson III. ii. 203, but was overlooked by the editors of *Corpus* and *Lapidarium*. The industrious Watkin rediscovered it in Hodgson (*Arch. Journ.* xxxii. 64), but he made the mistake of assigning it to Vindolana and misled Hübner, who printed it with that attribution in *Eph. Epig.* iv. 202, No. 683.

⁵¹ This altar, like the preceding, was wrongly published as from Chesterholm (Vindolana) by Watkin and Hübner, *loc. cit.*, No. 684.

To the south of the station was the burying place. At a gate, a stone nearly square taken from the same place.

D M
AEL. MERCV
RIALI CORNICVL.
VAGIA SOROR
FECIT

[Lost. C 739, L 282]

At Walltown mill a little to the south east of the

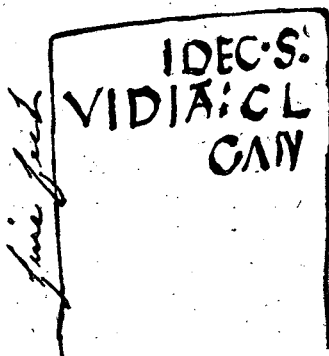


Fig. 9.

station lying on the ground from the burying place. [Base dedicated to Victory by the Seventh Cohort of Nervii. *Newc.* 54, C 726, L 275.]



Fig. 10.

Lying on a stone wall. (Fig. 10.) [Torso of draped female figure, lost.]

The water from the station was brought by a winding aqueduct still visible from the head of Haltwhistle burn. It winds 5 miles.⁵²

GLENWHELT.

Near the bridge over the Irthing, a sugarloaf hill 200 yds. from the wall called Rose hill: platform on top—12 yds. diameter: ditch round it: figure of flying victory.⁵³

East of Foultown castle stead. Thirl: [Thirlwall] on the right bank of Tippal 100 yds. from wall. Irthing runs west 1 mile distant.

Brow of Carvoran a castle stead. The view towards the N.W. is beautiful. The Irthing [? Tippal] at your feet, Thirlwall castle peeping above a grove of fir trees. Gilsland a little farther.

Carvoran is situated south of the wall and even of the vallum to avoid the swampy ground. A new crag arises, and on its declivity which is very gentle the station stands 148 yds. from N. to S. and 108 from E. to W. Many broken columns, pedestals etc. are to be seen at the farm house.

At this station in the garden wall was this inscription. [Centurial stone. Chesters 37, C 788, LS 346.]

In the gable end of a barn. [Building-stone, *Coh. I Batavorum f. Newc.* 150, C 777, LS 331.]

[Centurial stone *Newc.* 135, C 789, LS 340.]

On Walltown crag on the way to Walltown, the wall is in one place 10 courses high (and) on the outside 11.

⁵² The aqueduct was surveyed in 1850 by Mr. I. J. W. Bell, who gives its length as six miles: Bruce, *Roman Wall*, 2nd ed., 225-8, with map.

⁵³ LS 422; Hodgson II. iii. 295, note 2, has *Ross-hill*.

8 feet high, 8 or more wide. At Walltown an image of a dead person with this inscription

DIS M
PERVICAE FILIA P

COH V
J.VAL.
MAXIMI

[*Newc.* 172, C 743, L 281.]

At the same place this lo(o)se stone. [In ansate panel. Lost. C 778, LS 334.]⁵⁴

Also a large broken stone 4 feet wide the remaining part broken in this manner with an elegant moulding [Sketch.] The inscription as follows [Text of the inscription recording the restoration of a granary at Aesica by the Second Cohort of Asturians, A.D. 225. *Newc.* 95, C 732, LS 285.]⁵⁵

This stone was taken from a well called King Arthur's well near the wall to the north of the house. (N.B. According to Wallis, p. 9, it was found in digging the foundations of a building in the upper part of the station in 1767.)

Between this place and Great chesters are two castle steads not far from each other on a hill called Olalee.

p. 45 [without note of locality, *Newc.* 10, C 633, LS 187, from Housesteads].⁵⁶ At Glenwhelt on a gatepost near the road. [Altar *Deabus Nymphis* etc. Carlisle 23, C 757, LS 307.]

⁵⁴ This centurial stone was seen by Lingard at Walltown, but is wrongly assigned to Carvoran by Hodgson III. ii. 141, and the editors of *Corpus* and *Lapidarium*. Hodgson was misled by the order of Lingard's entries; after Glenwhelt he turns eastward again first to Carvoran, then to Walltown Crag and Walltown. The stone appears again among Walltown inscriptions in rough copies on p. 44. The stone at Carvoran mentioned by Hodgson as having been given to Mr. Gibson may have been his No. 5, now *Newc.* 135, the reading of which puzzled Lingard, for he made two rough copies of it (p. 44).

⁵⁵ P. 44 rough pencil copy, p. 43 fair copy, as mentioned above, p. 137. Lingard has supplemented his copy with letters recorded by Wallis and since broken away.

⁵⁶ Mentioned p. 152 above, note 46. His measurements, repeated here, suggest that he saw the slab with its lower edge complete. It was four feet high—now five inches less.

p. 47. 9th Mile stone in the gable end of a cottage called High seats a stone with this inscription **DEVMAI**. The ditch in great preservation descending the hill to it.

p. 48. Inside of the monument of Brugh Marsh the stones were taken from the Roman wall and had inscriptions on them.⁵⁷

III.—MONUMENTS AT HOUSESTEADS:

A SCULPTURED GROUP OF MARS AND HIS GOOSE.

With Lingard's notebooks were two foolscap sheets bearing rough copies of Horsley's engravings of altars and sculptures at Housesteads, and some brief memoranda about them. The hand-writing resembles that of the notebooks, and the water-mark on the paper is similar. The sheets had been kept folded in one of the duodecimo notebooks, and the edges had worn so that each sheet was in seven or eight pieces. When pieced together they showed that Lingard or someone on his behalf made rough tracings, first pencilled and then inked in, of Horsley's engravings so far as they relate to Housesteads. He added Horsley's readings of the inscriptions, and sometimes a few words from his account of the sculptures. This was probably done in preparation for the visit to

⁵⁷ "The monument of Brugh Marsh" commemorates the death of Edward I in 1307 at his camp one mile north of Burgh-by-Sands. In 1685 Henry, Duke of Norfolk, caused "a very fair square pillar, nine yards and a half in height," to be built in place of the cairn that had marked the spot. The inscriptions on it, given in Gibson's *Camden* (1722) ii. 1018, show that the work was directed by John Aglionby (1642-1717), King's Counsel and Recorder of Carlisle, at that time owner of Drumburgh, previously mentioned by Gibson as having collected Roman monuments at Drumburgh Castle and as "a curious preserver of all such valuable remains of antiquity." Such a man would not have been a party to the vandalism that Lingard mentions. Possibly his story, true or not, refers to the restoration of the pillar at the cost of the Earl of Lonsdale in 1803. But, as there is nothing to show that he travelled west of Gilsland, it may be that he misunderstood something told to him about the Latin inscriptions on the monument.

Housesteads recorded in the second notebook. Further pencil notes, made on the spot, have mostly been inked in with darker ink.

The first sheet is headed "7th Station Borcovicus which was kept by the Cohors prima Tungorum" (*sic*). This is taken from Horsley, p. 106, "The next or seventh station in the *Notitia* is *Borcovicus*, which was kept by the Cohors prima Tungorum"; it is in fact the *eighth*—it is rare that Horsley nods. We have a further proof that the extracts were derived from Horsley in a memorandum on the back of this sheet: "Horsley says that the only altar of any note yet found in Great Britain, with a Greek inscription, is in the churchyard at Corbridge." The reference is to his *Britannia*, p. 246.

Then follow sketches of the sixteen monuments at Housesteads that are illustrated in Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, there numbered xxxvi to li, here 1 to 16. The lettering is only given in part, and not accurately copied, but the expanded text as given by Horsley is transcribed beneath each. The only matter of interest is the mention of the whereabouts of certain stones. Thus beside No. 1, Horsley's xxxvi, there is a note, "supports chimney-piece in the House." This is an altar which Horsley (p. 219) saw on the Chapel Hill. Brand (*Hist. of Newcastle-upon-Tyne*, i. 610), whose notes on the Wall were made for the most part in 1783, though his book was not published until 1789, says "The altar, No. 36 in Horsley's *Britannia Romana*, is at present built up in the chimney-piece of the farmer's house there." Hutton saw it there in 1801: "in the farm house down in the valley, the jamb which supports the mantle-tree is one solid stone, four feet high, two broad, and one thick, complete as in the day the workman left it." He reproduces Horsley's drawing, without acknowledgment, citing only Warburton, plate III, p. 60, a smaller and different drawing, and Gough's *Camden* (1789), vol. iii, plate xvii, p. 245. *Newc.* 30, C 640, LS 172.

No. 2 has the note "Chap: Hill," showing that it still

lay where Christopher Hunter first copied it in 1702 (*Philosophical Transactions*, xxiii, p. 1131). Now at Minsteracres. Haverfield, *Eph. Epig.* ix, p. 588; *Arch. Journ.*, 2nd series, xviii, p. 145; C 638, LS 173.

No. 3. "Chap: Hill," and in pencil "East of Chap: Hill." This is the altar without legible inscription which Horsley saw "between this ruinous hill and the Roman town, not far from the hill"—his No. xxxviii.

No. 4. "South of the Wall Runing East." The inscription is rightly summarized "Same as second," for it seems to have been dedicated by the same officer as No. 2. *Newc.* 31. LS 176, C 639.

For Nos. 5-12, no indication of locality is given. We know from the other descriptions that they were piled together "to make up the wall of the close" (Stukely, *Itinerarium Curiosum*, p. 60 f. and plate LXXVI), "at the foot of the field, where the Roman town stood" (Horsley, p. 220.)

No. 13 is the group of three *Deae Matres* now at Minsteracres. Above is written "By an old Dike running E. & W." and "five altars with inscriptions." Underneath in pencil "In the Bog." LS 230.

Under No. 14, representing three separate Mother Goddesses, "Single at the East Corner of the Wall" and "Another of the same kind; quite at the east corner." LS 231-233.

No. 15, the relief of three standing nymphs which Horsley saw "in the station itself" has no note of locality; for the word "Island" beside it is a memorandum of Horsley's remark "the sea-goat and two fishes above most probably have some reference to Britain's being an island," *Newc.* 278, LS 234.

The interest of the manuscript is this. It shows that Lingard provided George Gibson with a rough catalogue of the inscriptions and sculptures at Housesteads, and that they were at pains to check the list and note the precise positions of some of the stones. It may well be that Lingard's influence had something to do with George

Gibson's public-spirited decision to make over the main collection of Housesteads monuments to our Society, as he did in December, 1821, in return for the modest sum of £25. In the following autumn he generously presented an important group of monuments from the Cave of Mithras.⁵⁸

On the back of fol. 2 is a pencil note, not inked in and barely legible:

" an Altar in the Dyke adjd that (on y^e) east
part of a pillar abt. 40 yds. from Do.
a seated figr. at 30 Do.
anothr. in a circulr. heap of stones
viz "

Then two sketches of the same subject: on an oblong plinth two human feet, and beside them the webbed feet of a bird (fig. 11). The position of the feet on the plinth

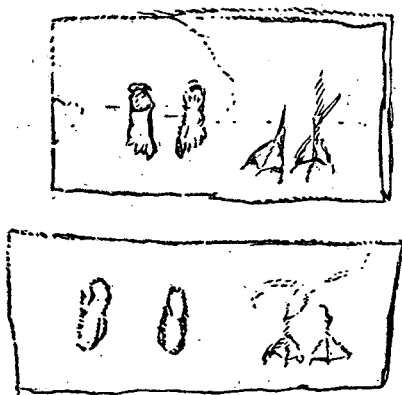


Fig. 11.

suggests a standing figure in the round, probably Mars attended by a goose, which is often represented as his

⁵⁸ *Newcastle Chronicle*, October 26th, 1822, quoted in *Chesters Catalogue*, p. 181. The same communication, evidently by John Hodgson, was printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for that year, part ii, 545-6.

companion on sculptured monuments of the northern frontier. We have two other examples from Housesteads. The first is the well-known archstone found on the Chapel Hill;⁵⁹ the second is a relief now in the Black Gate.⁶⁰ Four or five instances are recorded from Roman Germany. At Holzhausen, a fort near the western end of the Limes, there was found before the Praetorian gate a relief of Mars with dedicatory inscription; the goose stands in the same affectionate pose as on the Housesteads arch, turning its head towards the god.⁶¹ Another instance is the bronze shield-boss from Kirkham, Lancashire—Mars enthroned with a goose beside him.⁶² It symbolized the military virtue of watchfulness; geese gave the alarm and saved the Capitol when Rome was besieged by the Gauls. The association of Mars and the goose was popular in Germany, where then as now the goose played a great part in rural economy. To this day many Germans sleep under a coverlet of down or feathers, not under woollen blankets.

We know that votive figures of Mars were dedicated on or near the Chapel Hill at Housesteads, for the anonymous author of *Observations upon the Picts-wall* (1708) mentions among a great number of statues collected in the valley "the pedestal of one that had been erected to Mars; but there was nothing left but part of the feet, and on one of the sides of the pedestal it was inscribed *Marti*; this pedestal might be two feet long and eighteen inches broad."⁶³ Lingard's sketch shows a stone of different proportions and he says nothing of an inscription; possibly

⁵⁹ *Arch. Ael.*, 2nd series, x, p. 148, plate i.

⁶⁰ Catalogue No. 259 in *Arch. Ael.*, 4th series, ii (1926), p. 109. Mr. Collingwood calls the bird an eagle; a wood-cut in the old catalogue, 3rd series, xvii (1920), p. 6, shows it fairly well; it is omitted in Horsley's sketch, *Northumberland* xlvii, cf. p. 222, and in Hodgson's description, *History* III. ii, p. 194, No. lxiii.

⁶¹ *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* v. (1886), p. 321, plate xiii, and xvii, p. 37. *Obergermanische-Raetische Limes* xxii, Pl. VIII, 7.

⁶² Watkin, *Roman Lancashire*, p. 207; *Brit. Museum Guide to Antiq. of Roman Britain*, p. 79.

⁶³ Not in *Lapidarium* or *Corpus*. It was one of Watkin's gleanings, *Arch. Journ.* xxxii, p. 65; thence *Eph. Epig.* iv., p. 201.

it was a different base that he saw. In any case the stone reported in 1708 was still there in 1751, as appears from a note in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1752, p. 108, "At the House Steeds, near the chief row of sculptures and inscriptions, there lies a thin flat stone of an oblong figure. Thinking it might have something upon it, I raised it up and examined it; and found upon one of its longest edges the letters **MARII** plainly cut, besides the obscure appearances of several others. I am apt to think it of the centurial kind, and that it has been a part of the wall of the station. It seems not to have been taken notice of before."⁶⁴

⁶⁴ The article deals mainly with stones at Birdoswald and Carvoran, and is introduced by a letter signed Francis Swinhow.