

ART. XX.—*Cotton Iulius F. VI. Notes on Reginald Bainbrigg of Appleby, on William Camden and on some Roman Inscriptions.* By Professor F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., LL.D., D.Litt., V.P.S.A., etc.

COTTON IULIUS F. VI. is the press-mark of a manuscript volume in the British Museum, which—as its title implies—once belonged to Sir Robert Cotton, the friend of Camden and of many Elizabethan and Jacobean antiquaries. Its contents are a miscellaneous mass of historical and antiquarian papers, notes, and extracts, written in the later part of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Some of them are in Camden's hand ; many of them plainly belonged to him ; almost all seem earlier than his death in 1623 and, so far as I have noticed, only one, dated 1640, is later than Cotton's death in 1631. In the main, therefore, they are Camden's papers ; I imagine that they passed to Cotton with other such papers after Camden's death and under the provisions of his will. We need not be surprised if one or two alien items have since got bound up with them.

I propose here to deal with only one section of this manuscript, in which are recorded some sixty-three Roman inscriptions and various other antiquities and curiosities, chiefly from northern Britain and indeed especially from the counties of Westmorland and Cumberland.¹ A few of these records are notes and jottings in Camden's own hand ; others are communications sent to him by various identifiable friends, while a few, of which the writers are

(1) Fo. 292-353 and 426-428, *olim* 279-334 and 405-406. The MS. has been paginated three times. I cite the latest numbering and add—with the prefix *olim*—an older one, which was used by Huebner.

not at present identifiable, seem to be of precisely the same character. Here we have to do with Camden's collections and not, as Professor Huebner thought, with those of Cotton.

I.

These papers are valuable in two distinct ways. In the first place they enable us, far better than any other available evidence, to get behind Camden's printed page and to trace some of his sources and check his treatment of them. In a book like the *Britannia* it was naturally impossible for the author to state minutely whence he had derived each item and whether he had followed closely the account sent him or had interpreted it freely. These papers let us into the secret. They shew that, besides his printed sources and the results of his own researches and travels through England, Camden was helped by many local correspondents who from time to time sent him word of antiquities or even corrected statements in his published works. They shew also that he interpreted some of these communications very freely. When he was not satisfied with them, he emended conjecturally and then, without warning his readers, he printed his own conjectures. The method sounds unscrupulous. But Camden worked under peculiar conditions. His material was enormous alike in its amount and in the variety of its subjects. It came, too, from sources which varied enormously in value and much of it concerned districts remote from Camden's home in London. If an account of an inscription sounded wrong, Camden could not "run down" to Carlisle or Newcastle to see for himself; he could not even write to the north and get quick replies, and if a correspondent seemed in error, it was hard for him (it is not always easy to-day) to find someone else both willing and competent to verify the detail. He was almost compelled to substitute at-

tractive guesses for dubious-looking facts. No doubt he should have given warning of this. But his space was narrow; frequent doubts would have bewildered or wearied his readers, and perhaps he had a human belief in his own guesses. But if we can find excuses for his procedure, we have none the less to check his conjectures. This we can do with the aid of Cotton Iulius F. VI.—with the result, as will appear below, that we gain truer versions of certain Roman inscriptions than we have in Camden's printed pages or in any subsequent writer.

II.

A second and more local interest attaches to the section of manuscript with which I am dealing. Many of its items were sent to Camden by the earliest Westmorland antiquary whose name is known. Reginald Bainbrigg was born at Hilton, four miles east of Appleby, about 1545, that is, five or six years before Camden. The place is attested by his will—made 2nd May, 1606, and proved 17th September, 1613—in which he describes himself as “Hiltoniae natus,” while the date is given by an inscription which he set up in 1602 and in which he is said to be “AET. S. 57.”² It may be noted in passing that a Christopher Bainbrigg was born at Hilton about a century earlier, who was Provost of Queen's College, Oxford, in 1495 and subsequently a Cardinal at Rome and important enough to be poisoned there in 1514. Whether our Bainbrigg was in any way related to him, I must leave others to discover.

If we now pass on from birth to education, we find a

(2) I have had to discuss Bainbrigg's life rather fully as the current accounts (for example, in the *Dictionary of National Biography*) are bad, and though I have not solved all the puzzles, I hope I have left them easier for some one else. Besides other help acknowledged below, I have had much assistance from the Rev. A. J. Heelis of Brougham and Mr. G. H. Heelis of Appleby. The inscription mentioned in the text is still at Appleby in the Broadclose wall; a copy of it is printed in Gough's *Camden* (ed. 1806) iii. 140; see also MS. Gough gen. top. 36, fo. 139 in the Bodleian Library.

great difference of opinion among the few who have written on Bainbrigg. Cooper in his *Athenae Cantabrigienses* and the author of the article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* call him a sizar of Peterhouse, Cambridge. It appears that a student whose surname is consistently spelt Bambrick or Banbricke (or the like) and whose christian name is unknown, came up to Peterhouse in January 1572-3 as a sizar, matriculated in June, 1573, and took his B.A. degree in 1576.³ But we have no evidence to connect him with our Bainbrigg, and indeed a sizar would hardly have then matriculated as old as 27 or 28 years of age. I incline to identify our Bainbrigg with the Reginald Bainbrigg who (according to the Oxford University Registers) came up to Queen's College from Westmorland, matriculated in 1572 at the age of 24, was afterwards Taberdar—that is, Junior Foundationer—of the college, and took his B.A. in July, 1576, and his M.A. in July, 1579.⁴ It is true that the age does not exactly fit the age indicated by the inscription of 1602. But the close connexion of Queen's College with Cumberland and Westmorland, which began long before Bainbrigg's birth, supports the idea and it seems to be the current view of Westmorland antiquaries, though I have failed to discover their reasons for it.⁵

In any case, Bainbrigg came back to Appleby in 1580⁶

(3) The Master of Peterhouse, Mr. H. J. Edwards, Fellow of the College, and the Rev. Dr. Walker, Librarian, have verified these details for me.

(4) See Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses*, s.v. and Addenda, and Clarke's edition of the *Oxford Registers* (Oxford Hist. Soc., xi., 54, xii., 61). I had hoped to get more light from the Queen's College records, but the Provost (Dr. Magrath) assures me that they throw no light on the matter.

(5) Mr. Heelis tells me that in a list of Appleby headmasters, made about 1878 by an Appleby antiquary, the late Mr. C. B. Norcliffe (Robinson), Bainbrigg is assigned to Queen's College. This is probably the source of the statement to the same effect by the late Rev. J. Heelis in these *Transactions*, viii. (1886), p. 407. But whence Mr. Norcliffe got it, I cannot ascertain. Bainbrigg's books, now at Appleby, have been searched for me, but they contain no inscriptions indicating that Bainbrigg was at any university at all, nor do their bindings seem to bear the characteristic pattern of most Oxford bindings of that date.

(6) This date is given both by the inscription of 1602, and by a license to teach grammar granted to Bainbrigg in that year.

as headmaster of Appleby Grammar School, and probably as first headmaster of the reconstituted Elizabethan foundation. Here he worked till his death in 1606.⁷ Camden calls him an excellent headmaster, and we can see that he cared greatly for the school and left his mark on it for good. He enlarged its buildings, bequeathed it his books and houses and land in Appleby and, as we shall find below (fo. 336, etc.), he was eager to get it—and himself—named in the *Britannia*. The larger part of his books is still at the school and with them a rough list made in 1656 and containing some three hundred titles—mostly but by no means wholly editions of classical authors; several are medical works. I trust that it may prove possible some day to print a catalogue of these books, as a specimen of an Elizabethan scholar's library in a remote corner of England.

Bainbrigg was not wholly absorbed in his school. Obviously an energetic, enthusiastic, eager man, he found time for a keen interest in archaeology. It is likely, though direct proof is lacking, that this interest was first awakened by Camden's *Britannia*. That work does not occur in the list of his books nor is there any copy now in the collection at Appleby. But the notes printed below shew that he had read the editions of it issued in 1590 and 1594, while his archaeological enquiries were apparently pursued about 1599 and after. Of these enquiries his own words give an admirable account. I need here only point out the salient features. He was eager enough to make, in 1599 and 1601, two journeys along the line of the Roman Wall and even into Redesdale and North Tynedale—journeys not to be taken in those years without real risk

(7) Wood in his *Athenæ Oxonienses* (ed. Bliss, 1815, ii., 858) notes that on 25th March, 1606, Ric. Senhouse—afterwards Bishop of Carlisle—was admitted to the living of Bumsted Steeple in Essex (then in gift of the Crown), vacant by death of Reginald Baynbrigg. I suppose this is a mere coincidence, especially as our Bainbrigg was apparently a layman and died later in 1606 than March 25th. But it is curious to find two Cumbrian names thus side by side at this moment.

from brigands and thieves, such as deterred Camden in 1599 from visiting Housesteads.⁸ He also kept active watch for antiquities in his own neighbourhood. He even formed a collection of inscribed stones—in part originals but mostly copies—which he arranged in his house and garden at Appleby, and shewed with pride to visitors. After his death this collection was ill cared for. In 1722 an assistant-master at the school, one I. Hayton, catalogued twelve Roman stones, besides some others (such as the inscription of 1602 noticed above) which were neither original Roman stones nor copies of Roman stones but *jeux d'esprit* of Bainbrigg's own devising. Seven or eight years later, Horsley saw only eight. To-day there are (as Mr. Counsell, headmaster of the school tells me) six of Bainbrigg's *jeux d'esprit*, four Roman stones (originals or copies) and seven which are too illegible to read, preserved in the Broadclose and at the Schoolhouse. Much of the neglect which has befallen the stones seems due to the fact that they are mostly copies. Nevertheless they are interesting examples of the lively interest felt by the Elizabethans for English national antiquities. They are memorials of the mind of a great age.⁹

This activity brought Bainbrigg into touch with contemporary scholars. Some were neighbours, like the historian John Denton of Cardew, and the Rev. Oswald Dykes. Others were tourists, like two Germans, Crispin Gericke and Servaz Reichel, who visited north Britain about 1602-4, perhaps together, and copied not a few Roman inscriptions: I have said something below about these interesting wanderers (fo. 351). In particular, he became acquainted with Camden. Whether the two men ever met is not clear, but I think they did not. Certainly

(8) See below, fo. 330, 344. Whether Bainbrigg himself ever reached Housesteads is not clear: probably he did.

(9) For Hayton's list see Gough's papers in the Bodleian, MSS. gen. top. 36 and 128. Bainbrigg seems to speak at least twice (fo. 352, 358, below) of having actual Roman originals.

Bainbrigg tells us that he missed Camden and Cotton when they came north in 1599, and I cannot find evidence that Camden was ever in Cumberland before or after that visit.¹⁰ It is clear however that Bainbrigg was a devoted admirer of Camden, and clear too that he sent him much useful northern information, both epigraphic and other. He was not, indeed, an expert epigraphist, as some of his remarks printed below reveal. But he was a scholar with some knowledge of Roman history and literature and he wrote a respectable if not very racy Latin. He is an interesting figure out of a bygone age, when classical teachers in England did not ignore their national antiquities. In his humbler way, he is a fitting counterpart to his great contemporary, who issued the first four editions of the *Britannia* while successively usher and headmaster of Westminster.

III.

Despite its interest Cotton Iulius F. VI. has been generally ignored by students. It was known to Richard Gough, but he paid little heed to it. The first to examine it systematically was Professor Emil Huebner, editor of the British volume of the *Corpus Inscriptionum*, vol. vii., published in 1873.¹¹ He saw that it was important and printed extracts from it. But he did not wholly understand it, and he erred particularly in determining the authorship of its various notes. Thus, he ascribed certain items, amongst them pieces written in Camden's own hand, to the Scottish antiquary Sibbald, whose work fell just a hundred years after Camden. Such an error is not only serious in itself; it also blurs the whole value of the notes as contemporary evidence of Camden's methods.

(10) See fo. 345, and my note on fo. 339 for the date 1599, which is usually given as 1600. Camden was on his mother's side a Curwen of Workington, but he does not seem to have had other than archaeological relations with Cumberland. He was also headmaster of Westminster (1592-7), but this again does not seem to have influenced his relations with Bainbrigg.

(11) *Corpus*, vii., pp. 7, 73. Both passages contain errors.

How Huebner came to make it I cannot imagine, for Sibbald's handwriting bears no resemblance to Camden's. Since Huebner, hardly anyone has studied the manuscript, as far as I am aware. In fact, the only recent reference to it that I have noticed is in the last volume of these *Transactions*.¹²

There is plainly room for a fresh examination of the manuscript, and while it would be superfluous to print the notes in full, a partial publication may be useful. I have therefore, in the first place, printed Bainbrigg's own papers, some *verbatim* and some in abstract. They will, I think, form a contribution to the history of Cumbrian archaeology; they may also conduce to a better appreciation of Camden and his methods, and they supply a correcter version of certain Roman inscriptions than we had before. In doing this, I have taken account of another Bainbrigg paper in the British Museum, MS. Lansdowne 121, fo. 160-4. This is not—as Bainbrigg's biographer in the *Dictionary of National Biography* asserts—"an inscription on the Picts' Wall," but is identical with the account given in Cotton Iulius of Bainbrigg's tour in 1599 (below, fo. 339-346). Secondly, I have added in an appendix a list of all the other notes on Roman inscriptions in Cotton Iulius, F. VI., with such identifications of authorship as I could get, and here I have included a few not very important items in MS. Cotton Iulius, F. X., which seem to be waifs from the main body of Camden's epigraphic notes in F. VI. I should add that I have omitted throughout my extracts from F. VI. certain historical notes couched in Latin, which prove that Bainbrigg knew some Roman history but are otherwise as superfluous to us as they must have seemed to Camden.

I have to express my gratitude to Mr. Collingwood and to Chancellor Prescott for help in dealing with certain

(12) New Series, x., 504.

details, and to my friend Dr. Kenyon, now Chief Librarian and Director of the British Museum, for help given in time past in identifying items in the manuscript. I have also to thank Dr. W. K. Dickson, Keeper of the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, for a photograph of Sibbald's handwriting. The copying of the MS. Cotton Iulius has been done for me by Miss M. R. Manfield: I have revised the larger part of it myself.

I refer to the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. vii. and to Bruce's *Lapidarium Septentrionale* by the abbreviations C. and LS., followed by the number of the inscription in question. All other abbreviations will, I hope, explain themselves. Apart from the reference to the MS.—“fo. 305, *olim* 290” or whatever else it may in each case be—all the text that follows is Bainbrigg's own, unless it is between square brackets. Paragraphs between such brackets are either abridgments of Bainbrigg or comments of my own.

Fo. 305, *olim* 290. This inscription was in a stone found at Papcastle and now made a font stone at Bridekirk. It is curyouslie wrought with faire and gallant pictures. I send it you [*i.e.* Camden] for the barbarouse straingnes of the characters. I think them to be either the Arabians or the Syrians letters before Esdras. [A slightly incorrect facsimile of the runic follows. This, the earliest notice of the stone, is the source of the notice in Camden's *Britannia*, ed. 1607, p. 632, where Bainbrigg's facsimile is reproduced].

Fo. 306-316, *olim* 291-299. [Notes from correspondents other than Bainbrigg. See Appendix].

[TOUR OF 1601].

[Fo. 317-331, *olim* 300-313 seem to describe a tour commenced by Bainbrigg, 15th August, 1601; he followed the Roman Wall from Bowness to Birdoswald, visiting Netherby and Bewcastle on the way, passed on to Risingham and Rochester in Redesdale, and probably returned by the Tyne valley and Whitley Castle. This tour appears to be distinct from and subsequent to the similar tour recorded below in fo. 339 foll., which I think was undertaken in 1599].

Fo. 317, olim 300. At Bulnes

MARC·AVRELLIVS

IMPERA·TRIVMPH·

PERSA : .

I began my journey the xvth daie of August 1601 at the towne of Bulnes wher Mr. Lowther parson ther, a man of good learning, diggin to make a gardin, found two faire hewen stones, wrought with lawrell leaves, thone laid upon the other, in such sort, that the one inscription towched thother as tho they had embraced eche other. the underside of the uppermore stone had this inscription afore said, viz. Marcus Aurelius impera. Triumph. persa.

Upon the upperside of the lower stone was this faire inscription folowing, viz.

MARC·AVREL·

PHILO : .

[This inscription is omitted from the Lapidarium. Huebner includes it among the milestones (C. 1191) and assigns it partly to Caracalla and partly to Elagabalus. But it is plain that decoration such as laurel leaves has no place on a milestone. Probably we have here two fragments of one large imperial slab, very badly recorded by Bainbrigg. The alternative would be to suppose that some modern admirer of the philosopher-emperor Marcus Aurelius had two inscriptions cut for his own pleasure or for the adornment of his garden and that these were then lost and dug up again. But all that could hardly have happened by so early a date as 1601].

Fo. 318, olim 301. Bulnes. DIVA AVGVSTA FAVSTINA.

Under the lower stone he found certaine peaces of monie to the number of xv or more, as brode as an old Queene Maryes grote, but thicker then six grotes. On the one side a woman in Roabes, with a garland on hir head, written about as is above said, viz. diva Augusta faustina. Upon the other side was a mounting eagle with this inscription, CONSECRATIO.

A faire paiment.

He found a faire payment, as might be, plowing in a little close besides the parsonage. the like was found in ther towne feildes.

Beginning of the picts wall.

The fundacions of the picts wall may be sene, upon the west

skar at a lowe water, covered with sand, a mile and more within the sea, wher the people gett fishe. under Bulnes in the sea westward are to be sene the rotes of manie okes, wiche shewes that the sea, since the first building of the pict's wall, haith far altered hir course, as shalbe showne hereafter.

A freshe spring within the sea.

Dyverse yeares they could get no freshe water at Bulnes. Mr. Lowther serching found a freshe spring far within the flode mark, when the floud was out and the spring purged, the people did deale the freshe water by dishfulls.

Okes found at Bulnes.

Ther haith bene found within Bulnes parishe in the mosses, an hundred okes and mo, a fadome deape lying all on the claie under the mosse, some 60 and some 90 fote without twist or bowe, a fine wood, no worme or mothe will touche it. They find thes tres with a long iron thrust into the grond. And if they lye in the edg of the mosses, then they find them in a sonner morning by the dewe, for ther will be no dewe on the earthe, wher suche tres do lie.

Fo. 319, olim 302. Netherbie [L.S. 770=C. 961].

IMP·CÆ·TRA

HADRIANO :

AVG

LEG·HAAICFEC·

I fond this inscription at netherbie at Walter Grame's house in a fare square stone set in the wall of his howse, xvi. Aug. 1601. undoutedlie this Legio Augusta secunda have laid here to defend the frontires, here are sene mightie great ruynes of huge buyldings. In this Hadryan's tyme Anno domini 120 were these thre Legions in the north, Legio Secunda Augusta, at netherbie, Legio sexta victrix at Burdoswald, and Legio vicessima victrix at Crawdun-dale, as may more plainlie appeare by ther severall inscriptions in thes places [C. 307]. Nummus Hadriani habet in aversa parte exercitus Britannicus per tres milites representatus, denotare indicas tres legiones tunc in Britannia egisse, scilicet, Secundam Augustam, Sextam victricem, et vicessimam victricem. Hec Secunda Augusta, ut hos optimos imperatores in his barbaris locis immortales redderet, hanc fecit.

De portu ad Netherbie.¹⁸

Certo certius portum hic Aesicae extitisse, quia latera navium, anchora et annuli ferrei quibus naves alligari soleant inveniuntur, sed propter aggestas arenarum moles, quae e mari diiciuntur, per aliquot milliaria mare longius excluditur, et portus, qui naves admittere soleat, iam obstructus est. Antiqua urbecula cadaver iacet. multa sunt in Brytannia oppida qua mari incubuerunt, nunc multis milliariibus a mari disiunguntur.

Fo. 320, olim 303. Castlesteades [C. 894=L.S. 449].

IV
 M
 CVPA
 LEG·XX·G·PP·COH·II
 TVNC POSVIT.

[Marginal note by Camden *Cohors Tungrorum Borcovicho*].

I found this imperfect inscription at Castlesteades, wiche was digged upp this last yeare [*i.e.* 1600] by a country man, that buylded a square howse neare unto that place; he sunke deape into ruynes of this castle, wher he found faire and strong walls of hewen stone, among the wiche I saw the rarest worke that ever I saw in my liffe: it was included after the maner of a quadrangle within fower hewen walls, about some iiij ells brode, it stode upon manie little arches wiche was blacke with fire, upon thes arches stode a vault, and upon that a faire leavell plaice finelie plastered. I told the gentlemen that was ther present, that it was hypocaustum Romanum, I shewed your boke [Camden's *Britannia*] of the like at Hope castle in flintshire. And that this Leg xx had made them both. this stone with this inscription was found in this hypocausto. So then I conclude that this L E G · XX, called frome Wales into this countrie by some occasion, was the buylder of this hote howse as this inscription declares, in this country, as of that in Wales.

I found in an other broken stone in this hypocaustum an other imperfect inscription. the stone was curioslie wrought. [C. 910; not in L.S.].

IE
 TILIO . . .

⁽¹³⁾ Camden throughout identified Netherby with Aesica and Bainbrigg follows him.

Scalby castrum olim Tilliolorum, qui olim clari in hoc tractu fuerunt [quoted from Camden's *Britannia*, ed. 1594, p. 604, ed. 1600, p. 707].

Scalby castle is hardby and therefore I think this was some monument of these Tillioli. [If so, it would not be Roman].

Fo. 321, *olim*, 304. Bewcastle. I had this monument at Beawcastle; the stone lyes in the church. [The stone is C. 979=L.S., 737; it is not worth reprinting].

Crux quae est in caemiterio est viginti fere pedum, ex uno quadrato lapide graphice exciso cum hac inscriptione

DITIBOROX

Talem Edwardus primus in Alienorae coniugis memoriam posuit. Vel qualem Roisia mulier eo tempore celeberrima ad Roistone statuit. [In Bainbrigg's MS. D1 is written with the 1 inside the D and T1 with the 1 above the T.]

Fo. 322, 323, *olim* 305, 306, [are occupied by the notes of a German visitor to the north of England: see fo. 351 below, and Appendix].

Fo. 324, *olim* 307. At Burdoswald [C. 823=L.S. 353: see below, fo. 341].

I.O.M.

COH.I.AEL.DAC.

TETRICIANORO.

C.PP.LVTIC

VS.DESIDE

RATVS

TRIB.

And other at Burdoswald [C. 844=L.S. 392, not worth reprinting].

An other [C. 808=L.S. 354, also not worth reprinting].

Fo. 325, *olim* 308, Rochester in Rhedesdaile [The inscription which follows, C. 1037=L.S. 551, need not be printed here; Camden has added a marginal note *cuneus Armaturar Bremeturaco*, obviously suggested by the letters BREMEN in the third line. We now know that Rochester was Bremenium and that Bremetennacum with its *cuneus* was in Lancashire at Ribchester].

I found this inscription at Rochester in Rhedesdaile: it hath bene some strong fort against the enemie. it stands upon an hye mountaine, it is some fyve miles frome Rheadsquire and so manie myle frome Gamblespath eastward, this gamblespath was the Brytaines bound in the Romaines tyme, but now it is scottishe.

Hoc castrum certe exploratorum fuit, ita a Romanis dictum, quia eius situs est ad explorandum commodissimus, colle satis edito, unde circum vicina regio longe lateque circumspici possit.

I was eight daies in Tindale and Rhedesdaie. I found nothing in Tindale worth the noting save the discription of north Tyne.

Tyne. North Tyne springeth at Readmoss. it taketh the name of Tyne at Bellkirk, next on the south side, it receyveth Blacopbeck. on the north side it receyveth Parleborne, frome the parle fell. on the north side againe it taketh both the kyl-dares. id est wolf kildare and whit kildare. On the south it taketh neadborn and Lewsborne, and so it runeth to shouldborn hawght, then it receyveth by south Belling, Hawcopp, Falstone, Kyrden and dalliecastle, on the north it haith Tarsset castle, and Tarsset water. encreased by thes waters it runeth south by haseside to Bellingham, wher it receyveth Bellingham borne and so to Rheadmouth, wher it receyveth the Ryver of Rhead, so to Chippchess. To St. Osmonds, to Wall, it falleth into south Tyne at Hexam.

Rhead.

Rhead ryseth at Redsqire runneth by Burdoppcrag, Rochester trowg the (?) otterburne, eilsdon castle, monckrigg, and Resingham, and falls into north Tyne at Rheadsmouth a little frome Bellingham.

I went to the heads both of north Tyne and Rhead and did view all thes plaices afore rehearsed.

Fo. 326, olim 309. Risingham.

NVMIN . TB .
 AVGVSTOR . ✱
 COH .iiii GAL .
 ✱ EQ . ✱
 FEC . ✱

This inscription was worth the sight for fyne and cunning workmanship, Numinus [?] was engraven in stone in his cote armure with his sheild and target. an heron and libard head. [C. 1001 = L.S. 627. Camden has added a marginal note *cohors iiiii Gallorum Vindolanae*. The inscription really has in the first line NVMINIB: the error made by Bainbrigg shews that he was no great epigraphist].

Risingham [C. 1017 = L.S. 612; I need not reprint. There follows an addition in Camden's hand, to this effect:] Risingham lieth uppon Read fl.: ther are great ruines. The people ther say

that the Soldan of Risingham did defend the God Magon. Wherby they seeme to allude to the God mentioned in thies stones.

DEO
MOGONT.CAD
ET.N.DN.AVG
AA.G.SECNDNVS
BF COS HABITA.
ICI PRIMAS TA
PRO SE ET SVIS POSVIT

DEO
MOVNO CAD.
INVENITVS DO
V.S.

[These are C. 996, 997, L.S. 603, 604. Huebner wrongly calls this note of Camden's "anonymous." Camden no doubt saw the stones when he himself visited Redesdale in 1599. In the shorter inscription the second *N* in line 3 is scored through as if wrong].

Fo. 327, olim 310. Risingham [C. 1007=L.S. 630; I need not reprint. Camden has added in the margin *forte Tungrorum*, not a happy guess].

Risingham [C. 1008=L.S. 632; I need not reprint].

Fo. 328, olim 311. Risingham [C. 985=L.S. 599; I need not reprint].

Risingham ut ex istis inscriptionibus constat. fol. 613

DEAE
DIANÆ SA
CRV·AEL·
TIMO·P·
V·S·T·L·M·

[C. 981, omitted in L.S. The reference "fol. 613" seems to be to Camden's *Britannia*, ed. 1594, but it is not very appropriate. A comparison of this copy of the inscription by Bainbrigg with the alleged dedication *deae Tertianae*, ascribed to Risingham by Camden (C. 999, L.S. 608) will shew that this latter is clearly a conjectural version by Camden of the text here printed. Orelli was therefore right in doubting its genuineness].

Fo. 329, olim 311 [Scrap of paper with writing in an unidentified hand, not Cotton's: see Appendix].

Fo. 330, olim 312. Chesters or busiegapp

PRO SALVTE
DESIDIINIAE=
LIANI PRET .
ET SVA SVOR .
POSVIT . VOT .
SOLVIT LIBRE .

Hec inscriptio habetur ad Chester in the wall, quod satis magnum oppidum fuisse ex ruinis apparet, et firmum Romanorum militum contra Barbaros praesidium facile iudicari. vulgo vocatur Busie-gapp. Est is locus infestus excursionibus, et frequentioribus latrociniiis expositus ad praedandum. [The inscription is C. 769 = L.S. 295. There is some doubt as to the findspot. Horsley, not without great hesitation, ascribed it to Chesterholm. Hodgson, arguing from the language of Camden, put it down to Carvoran, and so Bruce, who states that Camden came to know of this altar "at the same time and place" as an altar to the Syrian Goddess (L.S. 303 = C. 758, fo. 345 below); Huebner has followed Bruce. In reality, neither attribution will do. Chesterholm, sometimes called "Chester in the wood," is pre-eminently a Chester which is not "in the wall." The arguments for Carvoran are equally bad. Bruce is wrong in stating that this stone and that of the Syrian Goddess came under the notice of Camden together, since Camden learnt of the Syrian Goddess in time to mention her altar in his fifth edition (1600, p. 719) while this stone first appears in his sixth edition (1607, p. 569). On the other hand, Camden's words (especially if read with Bainbrigg's, on which they are based) really suggest, as the findspot, Housesteads. In describing the Wall from Thirlwall eastwards, he first mentions Carvoran, which he had seen, but of which he says he did *not* know the Roman name, and notices the remains of Wall masonry on Thirlwall Nicks. Then he proceeds:—

Hinc obliquior progreditur murus per *Iuerton, Forsten, et Chester in the wall*, prope *Busy-gapp* praedationibus infamem, ubi castella fuisse accepimus (per praedones vero limitaneos perlustrare tuto non licuit), *Chester* autem illud valde magnum fuisse retulerunt, adeo ut stationem illam II Dalmatarum existimemus quae MAGNA in Notitia dicitur, ubi haec legitur inscriptio, PRO SALVTE etc. (ed. 1607, p. 659).

We clearly cannot think (despite the view of Hodgson) that Camden here meant to identify Carvoran with "Chester in the wall." Speed's and other early maps shew Iverton and Forsten south of the Wall, two or three miles west of Housesteads, and Busy Gap lies just east of it. "Chester in the wall" must therefore be another, perhaps older, term for Housesteads. We must however allow a margin of uncertainty in this conclusion. For about 1600 Housesteads lay still outside the civilized world. The English Border Watch, as detailed in the *Leges Marchiarum* (about 1552) guarded the Wall from Carrawburgh to Sewinshields, but there the line turned southwards, keeping to the hills nearer the South Tyne as far as Haltwhistle. Camden in 1599 did not risk

IMP. CES. IVL - - -

REC SADI

MAX ET DV ANTONI--

SARM·NÆ·DV·ATOL·NÆ·NÆ·RO

DIVI HADR. NE. DVC. TRIAN.

PARTH·ET DV·NERVE·ARNI·P·

MAVR·SILVR·NOMID·PO

LING. - - - - -

PROPIETATE AED·VO·SOLIE

COMMUNI CVRANTE

--- LEG AVG ---

COH. II. NERVIO =

RVM · G R · POS ·

shows in
service.
Aliens.

[illegible]

a visit to Housesteads. Whether Bainbrigg avoided it is less clear. In his other tour (fo. 344) he seems to have missed out the Wall from Carvoran to Sewinshields, but the natural meaning of his words here is that he went there, though perhaps it was a hurried visit. Bainbrigg's copy of this altar was sent by Cotton, who doubtless had it from Camden, to Gruter and appeared in Gruter's great work in 1603. But Cotton acquired the altar itself before long, and when Camden came to edit it in 1607, he thence obtained a fuller reading.]

Fo. 331, *olim* 313. Whitley Castle. [Inscription as on the collotype facsimile, C. 310=L.S. 741; the marginal note, *cohors iii Nerviorum Alione*, is in Camden's hand. Besides Bainbrigg's copy of this difficult inscription, of which the stone which once existed in Bainbrigg's Appleby museum (Hayton no. 8) and which Horsley saw, was merely a replica, we have a copy in a Bodleian manuscript (Smith 84, fo. 17), apparently in Camden's own hand. This may have been copied by Camden in his visit to the North in 1599 or 1600. It gives a better text than Bainbrigg, and adds a ninth line omitted by him. But it confirms the reading of COH·II· in the last line but one, instead of COH·III which Camden printed and later editors have accepted. This affects the garrison of Whitley Castle. The other references to a Third Cohort of Nervians at this fort are practically worthless, and in default of other evidence we must accept the Second Nervians as its garrison at least about A.D. 210. Why Camden altered the number, is clear from his marginal note, which is a quotation from the Notitia Dignitatum: he hoped to be able to locate Alione. In the fifth line from the end the true reading appears to have been the not uncommon formula *pro pietate ac devotione communi*].

I fond this faire and large inscription at Whitley castle in Alstenmore; it haith bene a mightie, stronge and large fortress, defenced with a double trench and walls, made by the Romaines. The maiden waie comes directlie to it frome Caervorran, and so it goeth to maiden kirk wiche is distant some half mile from Whitley castle, frome thence it passeth over the wild mountaines and then it falls into cumbreland at ladslack, goes by kirkland to Whealopp in kirbethore, and so to maiden castle upon Staine more. I folowed this mayden waie to all thes plaices. I noted this, that it is via militaris passing frome one great fortress to an other. Omnia huius Antiquae urbeculae vestigia tempus erasit, ut verum omnino sit, si usquam alibi, quod a poeta dicatur,

'est seges ubi Troia fuit.' vel 'omnia rodit edax, vel sint adaman-
tina tempus.

Mors etiam saxis, marmoribusque venit.'

numismata hic saepius effodiuntur. hoc puellarum templum
indigenae mihi ostenderunt sed una cum tempore, ut tu loqueris,
Ruinae etiam periere. [Here the tour of August, 1601 seems to
end].

Fo. 332, olim 314. Applebie. [C. 1176=L.S. 815; Camden, ed.
1607, p. 627].

.IMP.

D.C.VAL.

CONSTA=

NTINO.

PIENT.

AVG.

Hec inscriptio inventa fuit Brovonaci xvi die martii 1602. a
quodam Rustico lapis effoditur, quinque pedes infra cursum fl.
Loderi et Eimoti quem multis meis et amicorum precibus tandem
impetravi, Applebeiam transtuli, et in aedibus meis, quas inscrip-
tionum causa, (multae nam hic visuntur), non parvis impendiis,
modo in hortis construxi, nunc cernitur. poteris hunc locum, si
placeat, notare, ubi haec inscriptio nunc exstat; nihil mihi gratius
accidere potest. Huc saepe numero, non infimae sortis homines
commeant, ut istas antiquitates intueantur, inter hos communis
noster amicus d. Oswaldus Dikes, qui me, haec, quantum queam,
ut maturem admonuit. verisimile videtur, hunc Constantinum
Brovonacum condidisse, quia plurima castella et munitiones con-
tra Barbaros in his locis fundavit, sed Barbari, statim post obitum,
oppida et castella eius expugnaverint. fol. 57 [of Camden's *Brit-
annia*, ed. 1600].

Fo. 333, olim 315. Applebie. This stone was found in Whelley
castle in Kirbethore and now sett in my new howse at Applebie
[C. 294=L.S. 749. I need not reprint it. Bruce says that Cam-
den saw this altar at Kirkby Thore. But this is wrong; he got
it from Bainbrigg].

Fo. 334, olim 316. Crawdundaile. [C. 307=L.S. p. 387].

CN . OCT . COT : COSSV .

Sepius mihi in mentem venerat, me nonnullas alias Rom: in-
scriptiones posse querendo investigare, si profundas illas quidem

valles et altas, arboribus consitas, rupes, quae sunt ad Crawdundailewaith, diligentius perlustrarem. Res peroportune cecidit. nam ecce, proxima rupes, quae est ad austrum, hanc mihi inscriptionem literis grandiusculis, valde antiquis et fugientibus subministravit. Haec Rupes est vicina illi rupi, quae habet inscriptionem de Varronio, quam ad te iampridem misi. Possis hanc, si ita tibi visum fuerit, cum illa de Varronio, coniungere. Hac, tempus, quo haec acta sunt, notari arbitror. [For the inscription of Varronius see below, fo. 337, dated 1600].

Fo. 335, olim 317. fons salsus in medio Vedrae.

Sunt ad Burterbie, iuxta Dunelmum, quaedam salsa saxa latentia in imo alveo fl. Vedrae. quae semper fere, nisi aestatis siccate, aqua integuntur: idcirco hoc hieme minus apparet propter aquam Vedrae desuper fluentem. sed si quando flumen subsiderit ex quibusdam cavernulis per media ista saxa aquam salsam subrufam salientem videbis. quae calore solis, ut sal albescit, et induratur veramque salis imbibit qualitatem. Hunc indigenae salem colligunt et hoc cibum condiunt qui istius loci dominus est, voluit salinas constituisse et salem excoquere, ut ipse mihi retulit, sed illum ab incepto deterret ingens recentium aquarum impetus. Nos ambo hanc aquam per media saxa scaturientem quae erat salissima gustavimus. quae vidi, scribo. marinam aquam ex mari quod non longe abest per canales, et subterraneos meatus perfluentem arbitror, aut nos remitteremus ista naturae occultae, et fato.

fons fluens et refluens
in Westmorlandia

Ad Hardendaile in Westmorlandia non procul ab Hepp, vulgo shapp, oppidulo ubi quondam monasterium fuit, at nunc humi iacet, vocatur shapp abbey, fons est qui saepius in die, ut Euripus fluit ac refluit. Aqua subsidente, saxa, quae sunt in fonte, sicca et nuda relinquantur, non multo post surgente aqua, ista saxa alte aqua integuntur. Instabilitas et reciprocos motus idem hyeme, et aestate manet, aqua non crassa, non limosa, sed satis pura, et dulcis, pigra tamen et quieta. Causa latet; faelix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas. Talis fons est in Glamorgania ad Ogmor, quem descripsit J. Stradlin. Arbitror esse ductus aquarum alimodo deductarum in sublime salientium.

pyramides of stone.

Besides litle Salkeld, not far frome Crawdundailewaith, wher the Romaines have fought some great Battle, ther standes certaine monuments or pyramides of stone, placed ther in equal

distance one frome an other in modum coronae. They are commonlie called meg with hir daughters. They are huge great stones, long meg standes above the ground in sight, xv fote long and thre fathome about. they are in nuber (*sic*) lxxvii. Ther are within the compasse of thes stones two great heapes of small stones, under the wiche, they say, that the dead bodies were buryed ther. Ther is no suche stones in all the country, and therefore, I mervaile how they were set, and from whence they came, except they be suche as be at Stoneheng.

Fo. 336, olim 318. pro nostrae scholae fundatoribus.

Cum et mihi conscius essem, quanti te [*i.e.*, Camden] facerem, et tuam erga me benevolentiam expertus essem, non dubitavi a te petere, ut inter caeteros, etiam nostrae Appelbianae scholae fundatores ponere velis. in haec si placeat verba.

Robertus Langton, et Milo Spencer, utriusque legis doctores ludum literarum ad erudiendam iuventutem applebeiae fundarunt et fundis locupletarunt. [Inserted by Camden, more briefly, in his edition of 1607, p. 625].

Percurri omnia, ut vides, parum diligenter, accipe tamen hoc quaecunque munus, eo quo soles animo, benigno, clementique, perpetuum mea in te observantiae pignus futurum, perge ut cepisti, patriae decus, tibi gloriam, exteris omnibus summam admirationem adferre. Deum opt. max. precor ut quam diutissime vivas. vale.

Fo. 337, olim 319. I can not find wordes, to expresse my love towards you [*i.e.*, Camden] who take suche paines, that our countrie maie lyve for ever, det deus ut quam diutissime vivas, et hoc tuum opus, quod iam sub praelo est [the ed. of 1600] 'Laudetur, vigeat, placeat, relegatur, ametur.' Mr. John Wharton told me that you had wryten unto him concerning the inscription on a rock besides Crawedundaile, and that he had bene ther, but to small pürpose. for that the letters was strang and partlie burst, defaced, and consumed. desired me to go with him with dyverse others to reade them same. and so I did, and thus they stand.

....VARRONIVS
ESSUS·LEGXXVV·
AEL·LVCANVS·
R·LEG·TI·AVGC·

Thes are thus engraven in a hard rock bysides Crawedundaile-waithe, about the wiche place are yet to be sene fortresses, dytches, trenshes, Bulworks, and other things necessarie for wars at that

tyme. the former part of this inscription is eaten furth by continuance of tyme or els thurst out by the rote of a tre that grows in the rock. This varronius shold seame to have bene some famousse captaine of this xx legio Brytannica valeariana victrix as you write of west chester. I spake to Mr. John denton of Cardue for a most ancient boke of Recordes for you, who told me that he had spoken with you at carlile and that you should lack nothing that he had. if ther be anie antiquities here in this country I will send them. wryt one word back againe what you think of this inscription and so I bid you farewell. 27 March. 1600.

Yours Assuredlie,
Reginald Bainbrigg
Scholemaister of Applebie.

[The inscription is C. 305=L.S. 750. Camden in the *Britannia* ed. 1600, p. 688, cites it as sent him by "vir eruditus Reginaldus Bainbrig, Gymnasiarcha Applebeiae" and his sentences are obviously based on this note of Bainbrigg's. But, characteristically enough, he alters *ESSVS* in line 2 into *ECTVS*, because he wishes to complete it *praeffectus*, and probably for the same reason he alters *R* in line 4 to *P*—in each case without giving any warning of the change.]

Fo. 338 [Drawing of a sepulchral monument, perhaps mediæval, in an unidentified hand].

[TOUR OF 1599].

Fo. 339-346, *olim* 320-327. Notes for the Picts Wall. [These are notes of a tour made by Bainbrigg along the Roman Wall from Bowness to Carvoran and from Sewinshields to the North Tyne. The same notes, with very slight abbreviations and variations, but ending at the inscription at the top of Cotton MS. fo. 345, *olim* 326, are also preserved, in Bainbrigg's handwriting, in the British Museum MS., Lansdowne 121, fo. 160-164 (no. 20), with the title "Instructions for the pictes wall sent by Mr. Reginald Bainbrigg to Mr. William Camden, Clarentius King at arms, as foloweth. 1600 2 Sept." They appear to be rather a copy of our MS. than its original, and the date at the beginning, 2 Sept. 1600, is possibly the date of the copying or sending. The readings below are those of the Cotton MS., except where otherwise stated. The tour seems to have been made in 1599, though our evidence is conflicting. Bainbrigg himself says (fo. 345 dorso) that on his return to Cumberland he heard that Camden and Cotton had

lately visited Mr. Senhouse at Netherhall. Now Camden in the *Britannia* (ed. 1600, p. 694) mentions this visit as paid in 1599, and Bainbrigg's letter printed above (fo. 337) shews that Camden was in Cumberland in that year. On the other hand, Wood in his *Athenae Oxonienses* (ed. Bliss, ii., 342) puts the tour in the latter part of 1600 and Camden's biographers, Gibson and Gough, and the *Dictionary of National Biography*, follow him. Wood gives no reason for his date and, as there is no question of more than one visit, Camden's own statement is the stronger testimony. But these notes found no place—or practically none—in Camden's edition of 1600, though the letter of 27 March, 1600 (fo. 337) is used in it. If, then, the tour was made in 1599, Bainbrigg must have waited some time to send the notes to Camden.]

Fo. 339. Fforasmuche as you wrote unto me, that you would gladlie have had those inscriptions at Boulnes and Burdoswald, I thought good, for the furtherance of your immortall worke, to travaille thither. And ther to make, that diligent searche, for monuments left, that you shoulde not neade to trowble yourself anie more for the pict's wall. I began my iorney at Boulnes, wher I fond nothing but a few englishe words without sense in a vault at the personage. from thence I folowed directlie the pict's wall to Burg upon sands, and so on to Carlile wher I found this inscription in a stone fond in Stanwiggs feild nere unto the pict's wall, this stone was caryed thence by one Mr. Agliombie to Carelile. inscriptio sic se habet. [C. 920=L.S. 480. Camden has it ed. 1600, p. 706, but apparently from another source].

I fond also this inscription at Carlile in a stone brought frome the pict's wall by John Myddleton, and is set in his garden. [C. 916=L.S. 499, Camden, ed. 1600, p. 706 and 1607, p. 642].

Fo. 340, olim 321. The wall crosseth Eden at Carelile and goeth to Stanwiggs, wher ther stands a verie ancyent church, but ruinous as commonlie, all the churches on the bourders are : frome thence it goeth to Blaytarne not far frome Scalbie castle wher I found this inscription in faire letters, this stone was laitellie digged up and put in a howse newlie buylded, CIPRISC : [C. 902 ; not in Lapidarium].

from Blaytarne the wall streatcheth to Leaverdaile : to Newton, to Cambbeck hill. To castle steades, ubi cadaver antiquae urbis ostenditur. And so to the wall towne ; dyverse places on the wall, are called by this name. here I fond this imperfect inscription, the man had broken this stone and lay it in a paiment before his dore. Thus it was. [C. 909. Not in Lapidarium].

frome waltowne it bendeth within half a myle of lanercost,

wher all the monuments are utterlie gone and defaced save the tombe of L. humfrey Dacre. wiche died m.d. ^{xx}iiiij^v 30. maij [more correctly, 1485]. And Mabell Parr his wif. obiit 1509. 17. nov.

Ther is also painted this englishe ryme [for which compare these *Transactions*, O.S., xii., 312].

Rowland vaux that laitlie was, the Lord of Tridermaine
is dead, his bodie in lead, and low lyes under this stane.

This Tridermaine an old castle, having the vauces armes set in a stone very ancient on the gaitte howse, standeth a litle without the picts wall northward, on the water of King, wiche runneth into Irthing.

I forgot two things. the one is that Leaverdaile taketh his name of Leaver, a litle broke that begins at Christenburiecragg within Beawcastledaile and falls into Eske about two myles above Rocliff.

The other thing was, that I forgot that betwene castlesteads and walltowne stands Irthinton upon Irthing, ubi multa prisca castelli de multonis rudera cernuntur.

Fo. 341, olim 322. Frome Lanercost I folowed the wall all ruinated, till I came to Burdoswald, wiche doth seame to have bene some great towne by the great ruynes therof, the inhabitants did shew me the plaice wher the churche stode, the inscriptions thier are either worne out by tract of tyme, or by the clownishe and rude inhabitants defaced. I found this inscription in a stone at Thomas Tweddaile's house, at Burdoswald.

I · O · M ·

COH I AEL DAC ·

TETRICIANORO

- - CPPLVTIC

- - VSDESIG

N A T V S

T R I B ·

[C. 823=L.S. 353: see above fo. 324. It first appears in Camden's ed. of 1607, p. 647, obviously from this copy. Some one (perhaps Camden) has added \bar{v} (=um) over the last o of line 3 and altered CPP into CPR in line 4 in Bainbrigg's MS.].

I had also at Burdoswald in a faire square stone in goodlie faire letters this inscription [C. 844=L.S. 395.—Camden has it first in his 1607 ed., p. 647].

This inscription, and the other at Carelile, and that inscription that I sent before do testifie that bothe Legio sexta victrix and vicissima victrix in Severus tyme were in the north parts. Ther were more inscription at Burdoswald, but so defaced and broken, that no letters could be decerned.

The wall frome Burdoswald crosseth Irthing to Weloford, wiche stands upon the pict's wall. Wher I found thes inscriptions folowing, with dyverse others worn out, imperfect and to small purpose.

Fo. 342, olim 323. [C. 808=L.S. 354; Camden has it first in his 1607 ed., p. 647].

An other at Weloford in a colunbe or a great fower squared hewen stone. as commonlie all thes inscriptions are in fower squared stones of like quantitie and qualitie, wrought all alike to one forme, with flowers and battle axes. [C. 837=L.S. 368. Camden has it in 1600 and 1607 from another source].

Cotton Iulius.

PROSALVT.
DN MX MAG
OR - - -
- - - - -

Lansdowne.

PROSALVT
DNMXMAG
ORT..MCAES
- - - AEDIF

This stone was all wryten on the one side but all the letters but thes was fretted awaie, that none could not knowe anie forme of anie letter, altho I toke great paine therwith having both men, to turne it wher I wold and Iron instruments made for the purpose wherbie I might have discerned the letters, by folowing ther characters, but nothing wold serve. I had a great desire to knowe what it should be.

Fo. 343, olim 324. If you wold not laught, me thinks I could read this former inscription thus. 'pro salute domini nostri maximi magni orenius,' Your words are a reason why that I shoulde reade it thus. editione priori. fol. 667 [Camden's *Britannia*, ed. 1590].

I pray you wryt in one word what you think of this inscription wryten in a faire pillure at Weloford. [C. 813=L.S. 355; Camden ed. 1600, p. 708, 1607, p. 647].

I fond also this inscription folowing at thropp, in a stone gott at Burdoswald

I.O.M.
COHIAEL.
DAC.CORD.
ANAECPESI.

[C. 819=L.S. 352; Camden first in ed. 1607, p. 647. In the MS., someone, probably Camden, has altered Bainbrigg's *CORN* to *GORDI* in line 3, added *RE* between *P* and *E* in line 4, and converted the final *I* into *T*].

Fo. 344, *olim* 325. All thes inscriptions declare, Jovi optimo max. Cohors i Aelia Dacorum that this cohors have bene here at Burdoswald appointed by the Romaines to defend the marches, or frountiers against the ennemie.

Apud Camboglanam (inquis, folio 645 [ed. 1590]) ubi olim vigilias habuit Cohors prima Aelia Dacorum.¹⁴ istae igitur inscriptiones te verissime de hac cohorte in tractatu de muro pictico dixisse testantur, et assertioni tuae probationem prestant apertissimam.

frome Weloford I folowed the wall to Thyrlwale Castle. wiche stands a litle without the pict's wall towards Scotland upon the Ryver of Tippell wiche runneth by an ancient howse of the Blenkinsoppes, called Blenkinsoppes castle; then it falleth into south Tyne at Bellaster.

About half a mile frome Thyrlwale is Caervorran a huge ruynous buylding buylded fower square, conteyning frome one corner to an other some seavenscore pases. from thence goeth a streat called mayden way, wiche is paved with stones throught the mosses about some fortie myles in lenght, to mayden castle upon stainemore.

The pict's wall a litle above Caervorran upon very hie stonie rocks standes a xi fote hie, and about ix fote brode. I fond this inscription at Caervorran in a stone gotten ther. [C. 751. Not in Camden or L.S.].

DO.

ERCL.

from Caervorran I went to Carrawe, to Suensshales castle, to Collierford, to Waltowne.¹⁵ I was determyned to have gone to newcastle. but hearing of a stone at melkrigg a litle of Haltwistle, I came back againe for that inscription. which is thus as foloweth.

(14) Camden in his earlier editions used the form Camboglana: in 1600 he adopted the now usual spelling Amboglanna. It is not altogether certain that the former spelling, with initial C, is wrong.

(15) Bainbrigg seems to have deserted the wall from Carvoran to Sewinshields: for the reason see the note on fo. 330.

Fo. 345, olim 326.

MS. Cotton.

+ DEAE SVRL +

AE SVB CALP

VRNIOAC - - -

- - - - VALE - - -

- - - - - LIC - - -

*MS. Lansdowne.*¹⁶

DEAESVRI

AESVBCALP

VRNIOAG

[C. 758=L.S. 303; Camden ed. 1600, p. 719. He says that he copied it himself, presumably on his tour in 1599, at Melkrig, (that is, Melkridge, two miles east of Haltwhistle) and that it came from Chester in the wall (that is, Housesteads, see fo. 330), which he had not himself visited. This origin is not probable, as Housesteads is over four miles from Melkridge. A fuller text of the altar, preserved by Speed (1616), shews that it was dedicated by the commandant of a corps at one time posted at Carvoran. But Carvoran is even farther from Melkridge. Possibly the stone was set up away from the fort where the garrison was stationed].

haec inscriptio probat quod posuisti. folio 40. inquis. [ed. 1590] Britanni bellum ex bello serentes Res sub Antonino philosopho movere caeperunt, ad quas componendas missus est Calphurnius. And bycause I was on the waistes, I thought good to sett you downe the Ryvers that I saw ther, and first of Irthing.

Irthing ryseth in the waists at spiecragg runneth by Burd-oswald, wher it receyveth Potrosse, that devideth Gillesland and Northumberland, it passeth betwene nawarthe castle, and Lanercost Abbey, so it goeth by Walton, castlesteeds, wher it declyneth frome the pictis wall, to Irthington to newbie, runneth into Eden, at warrickbriggs. Liddall ryseth furthe of liddisdaile in Scotland, runneth by Mangerton, and so to Whitaught, two cheif howses of the armestrangs, goeth to Cressopp fote, wher it parteth england and Scotland, frome thence it passeth to mote score, wher it falleth into Esk.

Fo. 345. dorso.

Eske ryseth in esdaile in Scotland, and runneth by langholme a mansion house of L. Maxell, frome thence it goeth to mote

(16) Here MS. Lansdowne ends abruptly. It will be noted that its version of the inscription has the look of being an improvement on, and therefore later than, that of the Cotton MS. SVRL + is the text of a man who did not understand: SVRI, of one who had learnt (from Camden or otherwise) to read *Suriae*.

score in England, to the millees, to Kyrkanders, to Netherbie, the cheif howse of the Graimes, to medopp and so to the rosetres, then falleth into sea beneath Roccliff. This faire Ryver keapeth his name in both Realmes. Gelt out of geltdaile, it runneth into Irthing at Brampton park fote. When I had traveled the marches, the gillisland and thes Ryvers, enquiring of my frends for monuments and inscriptions, they told me that I should not faile to find good store at Whittley castle and lambeley nonnrye standing upon South Tyne. I went thither but I found nothing. the places were utterlie decayed. of south Tyne.

Tyne riseth at tyne boggs, sowthren men calls them quabbmyres, a quarter of a mile frome fawcragg. Within a litle it meateth with esgill, and so goeth on to garigill churche, to ayme-saught to alstenmoore, to Whitley castle decayed, to Knaresdaill, wher it receyveth knare, to Lambley a nonnry, it haith bene a great nonrye, the churche is yet standing, the water of tyne haith washed away the faire buyldings, the monuments layes in the water. In the queare I found thre pikes or pickerels with dyverse crosses, and by that I did iudg that Lucye was the founder. frome thence tyne runneth to featherstone haule an ancient howse of the featherstones. to Byllester castle, haltwesell, wilmoteswick, langley an old decayed castle. A litle above hexam both Tynes meets, frome hexam to newcastle, I think you have taken some notes therof, when you traveled that way the other yeare. Being at hexham, I could heare of no moe antiquities that waie. I returned back againe to carelile, and so to holme cultram, wher I was advertised that youe and Mr. Cotton had bene at Mr. Senos, [Senhouse of Netherhall] and moresbie, where within thes few daies since, is found an antiquitie in an altar stone now digged upp. I will go to it, and send it you, and all along the seaside. so then I thought my iorney was nedeles. from thence therefore I went to Mr. John denton of Cardew, with whome dyverse tymes I had bene verie earnest to further your work, being a man well reed in Antiquities in his owne contrie, as anie one man in the northe. I found that he had taken great paines.

Fo. 346, olim 327. To my comforth, and your credit, he haith wryt the antiquitie of Carelile holme cultram and of the most ancient townes in Cumberland, the petegre and armes of the ancnynt gentlemen of that countrie, you will find it a rare and wortheie peace of work, we could have wished that Cumberland had bene omitted in this last impression, till you had receyved thes his notes, he told me that he wold bring them to you this next terme, he dailie traveleth from plaice to place about this

busyness, till he have finished it with credit, he goes by no hearesaies, but by ancient records, you will think your self most bound unto him. ego vero, quod potui, feci, superis sunt caetera curae. plura brevi exspectato. Interim deum opt. max. precor, ut quam diutissime vivas. vale.

Tuus ex animo

Reginaldus Bainbrigg.

[Here the account of the tour, which began on fo. 339, seems to end].

Fo. 347, olim 328 [sheet bearing eight inscriptions and two carved stones, drawn by an unidentified hand].

Fo. 348-349, olim 329-330. [Here Bainbrigg gives some genealogical matter. (1) *nobilis et antiqua familia Wilporem* from *antiquus liber de holmecultrum*. This "ancient book," as Chancellor Prescott has very kindly verified, is the Holmecultram Chartulary, of which the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle has a fourteenth century MS. A transcript of this has been made for the Society, which is in Tullie House and will in due course be published. It is therefore needless to print Bainbrigg's copies here. (2) *antiquissima familia Cospatricii* taken *ex antiquis scriptis de Wirkinton* and *ex libro de Holmecultram*, followed by notes on the Curwen family. (3) *Barones de Kandala*. (4) *Familia de Bruis*. I gather from Chancellor Prescott and Mr. Collingwood that all this matter has been fully worked over (to a great extent in these *Transactions*) with reference to the original documents, and it is not worth while to reprint Bainbrigg's notes. They illustrate however Bainbrigg's activity in Camden's cause, and I will quote one extract bearing on this].

Post datas ad te Rom. inscriptiones, statim Candaliam profectus, ut aliquid de vetustate illius castri de kendale e densissimis tenebris, si potuissem, in lucem eruerem. omnia abrasit vetustas. ad Levens in vetustissima scripta et numismata de improviso incidi. [These Levens MSS. were reported on by the Hist. MSS. Commission, Appendix, part iv., p. 318].

Fo. 349 dorso. Whitley Castle.

This is one of the greatest Romaine fortes. that are in all our contry. I rather think it, by reason of the huge ruynes; and spacious roomes to have bene some warlike towne. it standes upon a montaine side neare unto South Tyne, that runneth northerlie east frome Whitley. Alne fals into Tyne on the south east side of Tyne. Alne is distant frome Whitley castle about some myle. Alne devides Cumberland and Northumberland. I

went to one Mr. Cuthbert Musgrave of Crokedake beside Wigton to learne the antiquitie, for he is Lord of this Whitley castle, but his evydenes shewes no more, but that Uepont was lord of Applebie, browham, and Whitley castle. The mayden waie comes to it frome Caervorran and goes frome it to mayden kirk and so to kirbethore.

For the fundation of our schole.

Our schole at Applebie was founded by Robert Langton, and Miles [=Milo] Spencer, docters, Anno Regni Elizabeth xiiij. xij die maij Anno Domini 1571.

Fo. 350, *olim* 331. [Copy by Bainbrigg, with small corrections by Camden—probably the first copy ever made by an antiquary—of the dedication slab of Ceolfrid's church at Jarrow, as to which see Canon (now Dean) Savage's article in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, xxiv., 34. Camden printed the inscription in his ed. of 1607, p. 1606. Bainbrigg, whose travels apparently reached to Jarrow, adds:] in pariete templi literis valde antiquis hec habetur inscriptio. huius antiquissimi monasterii maenia magno quotidie oceani aestu alluuntur. hec venerabilis Bedae patria fuit, eius fons peramaenus, qui vulgo vocatur St Bedes well, hic ab incolis hodie ostenditur.

Fo. 351, *olim* 332. Hac proficiscentes, me inviserunt quidem nobiles germani, qui galliam, scotiam et Brytanniam peragrantes, Romanas inscriptiones undique colligentes, inter quos unus erat Servatius Reichell, is sequentem inscriptionem quam in scotia invenerat, aureis literis obductam, mihi descripsit. in porticu fortissimi propugnaculi, quod pertinet ad illustrissimum dominum Comitem Mareschall, dunotyr dicte [*sic*] habetur haec elegantissima inscriptio. [C. 1143, now in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow: I need not reprint it here].

Legio xx val. vic. quae ad Crawdundaile in Westmorlandia [fo. 337], et ad castlesteades in Cumbria, aliquandiu permansit; hic etiam ad dunnotyr in scotia per millia passuum tria ad barbaras nationes repellendas, murum, ut videtur, duxit, quo tempore fortassis in has ultimas scotiae partes penetrasset Julius Agricola.

Multae Romanae inscriptiones, (sicuti ego accepi) hic ad dunotyr et ad Caronem fl. inveniuntur. de his, et de muro illo ad dunotyr ditche, vel d. Servatium, qui viderit, vel scotos, qui sunt apud te, harum rerum peritos consulas, et si placeat, rescribas.

[No little interest attaches to these "noble Germans" who visited Bainbrigg. Scholars travelled much at this time, and though both Scotland and England lay outside the usual circle

of their wanderings and foreign students came to British Universities less often about 1600 than they had done 200 years earlier, still they came. Joseph Scaliger himself, the greatest scholar of the age, visited Edinburgh and other places in Scotland and England in 1566,—and was not at all pleased with most of what he saw. Bainbrigg's German guests were lesser travellers. The one whom he mentions, Servaz Reichel, is also named by Camden as giving him two or three Roman inscriptions found in Scotland—the Dunottar Castle inscription which he also gave to Bainbrigg and in addition, C. 1126, and perhaps also 1100 and 1127. These appear in Camden's edition of 1607 and we may therefore put Reichel's visit between 1600 and 1606. He did not come alone, as Bainbrigg tells us, and chance has preserved to us the name of another German visitor to England about the same time, who may well have been Reichel's companion. This is Crispin Gericke, of Elbing in Westpreussen. His history has been worked out recently by a German scholar, Dr. Erich Ziebarth.¹⁷ He was born in 1568, travelled in France, England and Scotland, dated a letter from London in April, 1604, brought back to Scaliger three Roman inscriptions from Scotland (C. 1110, 1126, 1127) and finally returned to his home, married in 1609, became "reipublicae secretarius"—presumably Town Clerk—in 1611 and died in 1618. There is still preserved in Elbing a Latin alcaic ode written by the headmaster of the local Grammar School in honour of his marriage, which begins by celebrating his travels and adds that now his wings are clipped :—

Sic est, Cupido nam Paphius suis
arcte alligatum compedibus tenet
vinctumque servat denuo, ne
limine longum abeas paterno.

Gericke and Reichel may have travelled together. At any rate, both visited the same three lands, England, Scotland, and France; both were in our country about the same time; Reichel was not travelling alone, and Reichel gave to Camden nearly the same three or four inscriptions as Gericke gave to Scaliger. The question then arises whether we can attribute to either of them a scrap written over with inscriptions which is preserved in Cotton Iulius F. VI. (fo. 323, *olim* 305, above) and which is certainly

(17) *Festschrift des Wilhelm-Gymnasiums fuer die 48. Versammlung deutscher Philologen zu Hamburg*, 1905, p. 84. I am indebted to Professor Dessau and Mr. I. Bywater for access to the book, which appears not to have been published in the ordinary way.

some German visitor's work of this date. It refers to Camden's edition of 1600, so that it is later than that. Its inscriptions do not appear in Gruter's *Corpus*, issued in 1603, so that it is unlikely to be earlier than 1602-3. It agrees therefore in date with what we know of Reichel and Gericke. Huebner assigned it confidently to Gericke. But specimens of Gericke's handwriting survive to

Si Burdowate soffer Camdens nist getrefen

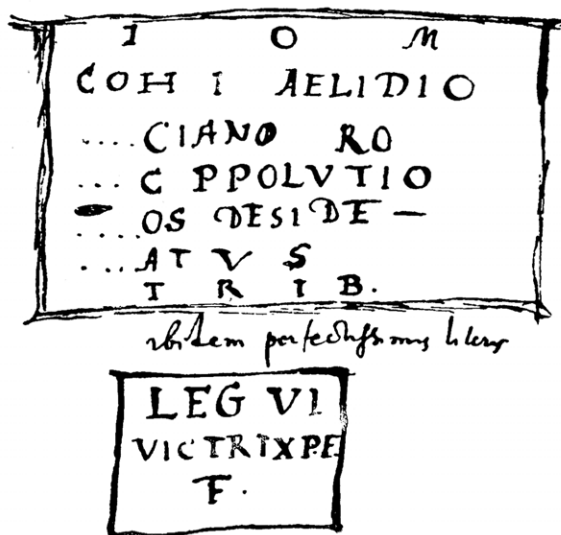


FIG. 1.—Specimen of handwriting of German traveller in England (fo. 323).

disprove this. Reichel is the natural alternative. But there may have been other German visitors and it is noteworthy that the scrap contains only one (C. 1143) of the inscriptions given by Gericke to Scaliger and by Reichel to Camden. See appendix and fig. 1].

Fo. 352, olim 333. Summo hac hyeme investigandi studio per-motus, montes, valles, vetusta templa in scotiae finibus peragravi, quo non adivi, non accessi ut aliquid reperirem. ecce de impro-viso in crucem admirandae altitudinis incidi, quae est in templo de Revall, pulchris imaginibus Christi historiam referentibus, vinetis, animalibus eleganter et splendide perpolitam, de duobus lateribus a basi ascendendo ad apicem et contra ab apice.

descendendo ad basim peregrinis literis, sed fugientibus incisam. Inscriptio talis. [A facsimile of the runes is appended. This is the earliest account of the Ruthwell Cross. Camden does not mention it].

Fo. 353, olim 334. Haec mutilata inscriptio habetur in aedibus magistri Lanceloti Carnabie apud halton ad murum picticum non procul ab hexam. cui adiungitur effigies hominis lecto decumbentis, sinistrae innixi, dextera dexterum genu tangente. [The inscription is C. 571=L.S. 87, now at Cambridge. I need not print Bainbrigg's reading. Camden's account, ed. 1607, p. 666, is plainly taken from Bainbrigg].

Haec altera inscriptio est etiam ad halton, in quadrato lapide, literis sane magnis, sed fugientibus. [C. 560=L.S. 86. Camden gives it immediately after the preceding item, but his text differs from that of Bainbrigg. As he appears to have got it from Bainbrigg, and as his additions (lines 4 foll.) are rather oddly phrased, I fear very much that we have here another instance of Camden's fondness for guessing.¹⁸

Bainbrigg.

MARI

- SVELLI

- - - LONG

- - VS - - -

Camden.

M. MARI

VS VELLI

A LONG

VSAQVI

S HANC

POSVIT

V. S. L. M

Fo. 354-7, olim 335-8. Sequuntur nummi antiqui, qui hic effodiuntur partim mea partim amicorum custodia, si tibi vel. d. Cottono, usui esse possint, libens lubensque communicabo. [There follows a list of thirty-two Roman coins with legends of obverse and reverse where legible, ranging from Vespasian to Valentinian. No provenances are given and it would be idle to print the list]. his plura adicerem, nisi te multo antiquiora habere viderem. de his igitur satis.

Fo. 358, olim 343. De vastis lapidibus qui sunt ad hepp, vulgo shapp in Westmorlandia.

Austrum versus, ad vi plus minus ab Applebeia est oppidum Rusticanum, quod vocatur hepp, vulgo shapp, in Westmorelandia, ubi sunt ingentia et rudia pyramidalis forma saxa, quorum non-

(18) I should add that Huebner has here slightly misquoted Camden in respect of both the provenance and Camden's text of the inscription.

nulla novem pedes altitudine, et ambitu: 14. genere et specie, illis, quae sunt ad litle Salkeld in Cumbria simillima. sed non in modum coronae, ut illa, eriguntur. Sed in longitudinem unius fere miliaris, pulchro ordine, recta linia, equali fere distantia procurrunt. non sunt certe naturalia, sed factitia, et sine omni controversia in alicuius Trophaei sempeternam memoriam erecta. spectatu digna. Hic humana ossa superiori anno effossa.

Inscriptio ad Ribblechester.

Est Romana Inscriptio ad Ribblechester, quam mihi descripsit, venerabilis vir magister Thornborowe, eius syngrapham ad te mitto.

de Ara, quae est Balingii.

Post discessum d. Cottoni, Balingium profectus, aram, in domo, unde habuisti inscriptionem de Virio Lupo parieti domus intra oblique infixam, erui. sed introrsum scissa, et deformata fuit. hanc mutilatam de frontino inscriptionem balingii inveni. quae iam extat in aedibus meis applebeiae. frontinus rebus bellicis clarissimus, ferocissimam Sylurum gentem domuit, eum hic Balingii inter Brigantes egisse testatur haec inscriptio, quae recte ut mihi videtur, collocari possit. pag. 46. lin. 36 [of Camden's *Britannia*, ed. 1600]. petilii sucessor Julius frontinus. Sed ecce illam. [It is not given, but is obviously C. 274, found at Bowes and brought by Bainbrigg to Appleby in 1605].

Fo. 359, olim 344. Paucis ante diebus antiquum librum manuscriptum, ex monasterio de fontibus ablatum nactus hunc, sed non sine mendis scribendum curavi. Scio te iampridem nonnulla ex his Britanniae tuae inseruisse. si reliqua tibi usui esse possent, gaudebo.

APPENDIX.

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF COTTON IULIUS, F. VI., fo. 291, olim 179, and foll.

[N.B. C.=*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. vii.]

FO.	CONTENTS.	WRITER.
291 (279)	Sepulchral inscriptions of one Agrilius, found at Rome and printed <i>Corpus</i> vi 11262; with an upper piece inscribed CLAUDIANA6 (sic) in a circle round a Chi-Rho, omitted in <i>Corpus</i> and probably a distinct inscription.	Unknown.
292 (279)	C. 209	Camden.
293 (280)	C. 1126	Camden.
294 (279)	C. 209 again	Oswald Dykes? (see Cotton Iulius C. iii., fo. 162).

FO.	CONTENTS.	WRITER.
295 (281)	C. 1143, 1127, 1110	Camden.
296 (281)	Letter dated June, 1602, referring to C. 108 ..	F. Godwin, bishop of Landaff.
297-8 (282-283)	Welsh Christian inscription of Pumpeius Carantorius (14 July, 1603)	The same.
299 (284)	C. 116, 113 (14 Jan., 1602/3)	The same.
299 dorso	Welsh Christian, Boduoc stone	The same.
300	Blank.	
301 (286)	C. 230	? Addressed on the back to John Wharton.
302 (287)	Letter referring to c. 230 (18 Jan., 1604) ..	Tho. Braithwaite (see fo. 310).
303 (288)	Boduoc stone again (7 August, 1604) ..	Fr. Tate.
304 (289)	C. 101	Camden?
305 (290)	Runic stone from Bewcastle	Bainbrigg.
306 (291)	Rough copies of coats of arms	Unknown.
307 (292)	C. 875—the version called <i>anon.</i> by Huebner	Camden, a rough draft with his conjectures.
308 (293)	C. 963, 303	Camden.
308 dorso	C. 831 (thrice, twice erased), 826 (<i>anon.</i> version, erased), 850 (<i>anon.</i> version, twice), 855, 839, all very rudely jotted. (19)	Unknown; apparently not Cotton (see specimen fig. 2, and compare fo. 329).
309 (294)	C. 826 (<i>anon.</i> version), 841 (twice, once erased), 807 (<i>anon.</i> version), 837 (<i>anon.</i> version).	Ditto.
309 dorso	C. 875 (version of "Sibbald"); lines 1 and 2 are repeated separately.	Ditto.
310 (294)	C. 225	Tho. Braithwaite
311 (295)	C. 1143 (with the note <i>Pagina</i> 256, shewing perhaps that it was jotted down from Gruter), and 425 (the versions called by Huebner Sibbald's and Cotton's).	Camden. The text of 425 called Cotton's by Huebner is labelled <i>Sir Robt. Cotton sic legit.</i>
312 (296)	Ten rhymed seven-foot couplets, describing the descent of the manor of Baddesley Clinton, Warwickshire (Dugdale, p. 709).	Henry Ferrers, 1549-1633; see Colville's <i>Worthies of Warwickshire</i> (1869), p. 283.
313 (297)	The Bewcastle runes	Unknown.
314 (298)	Letter on Ribchester antiquities (26 Feb., 1612)	Rog. Dodsworthe
315	The cover of Dodsworthe's letter.	
316 (299)	Letter referring briefly to C. 209 at Ilkley, and to a carved stone found near Ilkley Church.	Sir Hy. Savile.

(19) In copying C.n. 831 Huebner has printed N^{II} in line 4 instead of N^{IV} with a fracture after it; in copying n. 837 he has omitted the nearly illegible text about the "dish and ladle" on the side of the altar (fig. 1).

FO.	CONTENTS.	WRITER.
317-321	See above, pp. 352-355	Bainbrigg.
322-3	C. 1178, 823, 844, 813, 808, 326, 327, 916, 337, 920, 1110, 1143. Reference to Camden's <i>Britannia</i> , ed. 1600, pp. 699, 702, are given also, and (as it seems) in the same hand.	Notes by a German, called by Huebner Gericke but perhaps Reichel or some other, p. 372.
(325-306)		Specimen in fig. 1

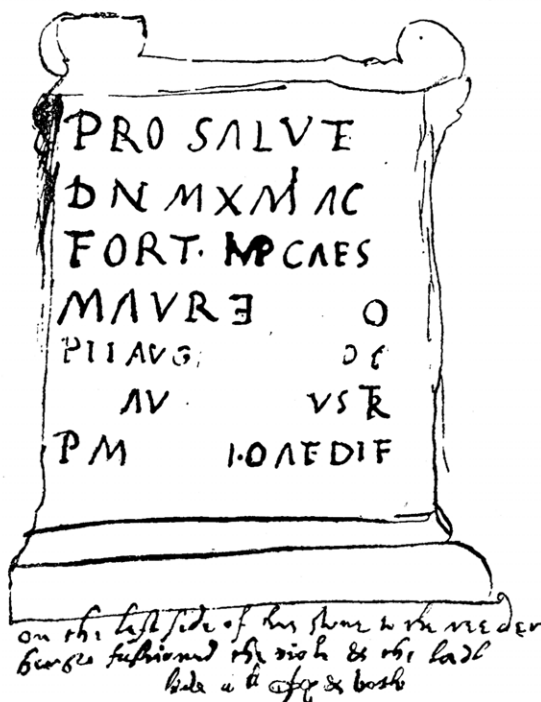


FIG. 2.—Specimen of handwriting (fo. 308-9), see p. 376.

324-8	See above, pp. 355-357.	Bainbrigg.
326 (309)	C. 996, 997	Jotting by Camden, on Bainbrigg's notes.
329 (311)	C. 930, 769, very rudely jotted	Same hand as fo. 308-9.
330-7	See above, pp. 357-363	Bainbrigg.
338 (319)	Sketch of a monument of a horse and fully armed rider, unknown to me; probably of Norman date.	Unknown.
339-46	See above, pp. 363-370	Bainbrigg.

Fo.	CONTENTS.	WRITER.
347 (328)	C. 844, 819, 864, 853, 979, 808, 813, 912 (part), and two sculptures. One item, <i>from the Holmes in Brampton</i> , seems broken off. C. 844 is dated 18 Sept., 1604.	Unknown (see specimen of handwriting in fig. 3).

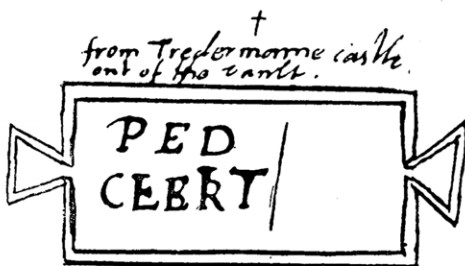
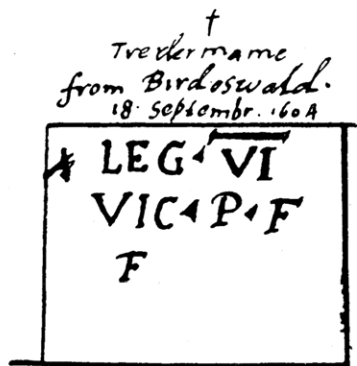


FIG. 3.—Specimen of handwriting (fo. 347).

348-59	See above, pp. 370-375	Bainbrigg.
360-425	Material unconnected with the subjects of this paper.	
426 (405)	C. 1171	Rog. Dodsworthe
427	Sketch of a funeral monument	Unknown.
428 (406)	C. 875. Addressed on dorso To the right noble Willm Howard sonne of the right honorable Wm Lord Howard Baron of Gillesland att Naworth. Dated 5 May, 1609.	Nicholas Cowp- land, but written over with con- jectures in Camden's hand.

NOTE.—The MS. Cotton Iulius, F. x., contains three pages, all in Camden's handwriting, which are similar in contents to the preceding, and are perhaps worth mentioning here. Fo. 120 dorso has C. 220, 223, 221, 218; fo. 124 (*olim* 138b) has C. 229.