

NOTES.

1. *The Roman bath-house at Bewcastle.* By J. P. GILLAM.

In June 1954 further excavation was undertaken within the Roman fort at Bewcastle, on the site of the bath-house first discovered in 1949.¹ Sufficient of the plan was recovered to show that the building is of the same type as those at Netherby, Chesters and Carrawburgh, and that it is a mirror-image of that at Benwell. The bath-house lies in an enclosure immediately east of the churchyard, within the *praetentura* of the fort, some 25 yards inside the line of its presumed SE. rampart; it is 38 ft. wide at its narrowest part and probably some 100 ft. long. Its long axis lies almost due north and south (21° magnetic), the main entrance being almost certainly at the north end. The SE. angle and the eastern and western limits of the narrowest part of the building were established (fig. 1); the external walls and internal partitions alike are 3 ft. thick and faced with ashlar of good quality; the E. external wall, supported by buttresses from the first, was subsequently increased in thickness to more than 6 ft., incorporating the buttresses. In places the walls stand to a height of twelve courses, but the degree of preservation varies considerably as the result of some blindly vigorous stone-robbing in the 14th century.

Parts of four rooms with pillared hypocausts were uncovered. Some of the pillars, which are all about 4 ft. high, are monolithic (fig. 2), while others are formed by piles of flat sandstone slabs or of tiles; the floors of the heated rooms, which nowhere survive intact, were formed by a thick layer of concrete and broken tile laid on thin sandstone flags. The four rooms are so grouped that their dividing walls form a cross. The relative intensity of the heat in each room can be estimated from the degree of reddening on the walls and pillars, and inversely from the amount of soot which had collected between the pillars. The SW. room was the hottest and then, in descending order, the SE., NE. and NW.; the four rooms were evidently fed in succession, in an anti-clockwise direction, from a single stoke-hole—which probably lies to the south of the SW. room but still awaits investigation. A flue connects the two southern rooms below floor-level; the presence of similar flues connecting the other rooms may be inferred but remains to be confirmed. In the relatively cool NW. room, soot had collected to a depth

¹ CW2 xlix 216 ff.

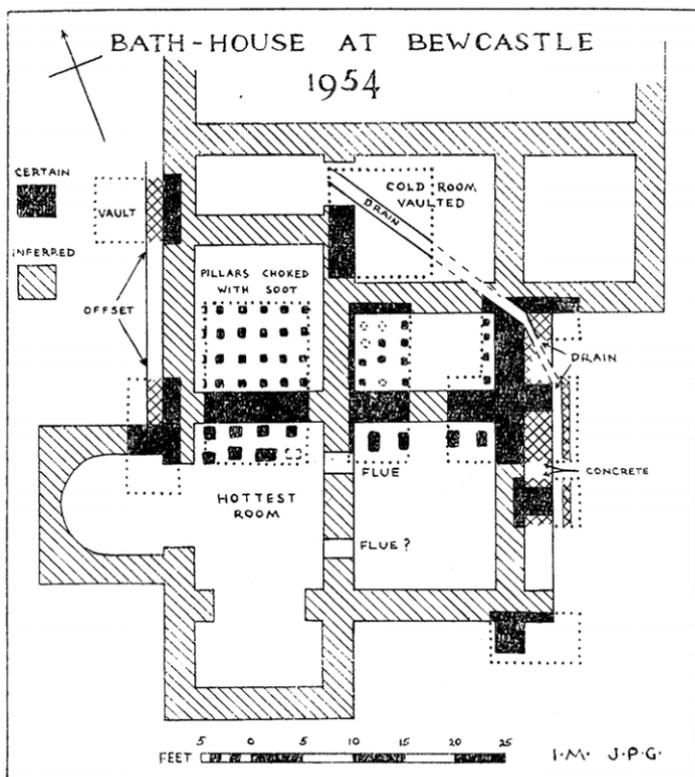


FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.—Bewcastle bath-house: the hypocaust pillars.

Photo: Brian Blake.

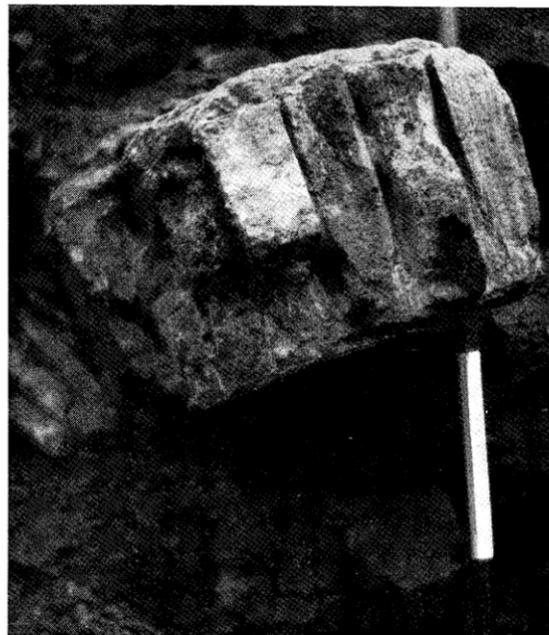


FIG. 3.—Bewcastle bath-house: fallen vaulting.

Photo: J. P. Gillam.

of 2 ft. around the lower part of the pillars, in a manner that must have greatly reduced the efficiency of the hypocaust system.

There is a wide and well-drained cold bathroom on the east side, immediately north of the heated rooms. Part of its vaulted ceiling had fallen in one piece; it is composed of narrow tufa voussoirs, packed tightly without intermediate air-spaces, held together and rendered on the underside with mortar (fig. 3). Similar groups of voussoirs were found in profusion in a room which projects westwards from the narrow vestibule on the north side of the NW. warm room. The wide entrance to a further westward projection from the SW. hot room was partly uncovered; its position corresponds with that of the apsidal hot bath at Chesters. Signs of minor structural modifications were noticed both here and in the adjoining room.

The building had functioned as a bath-house, without modification to its system, throughout its useful existence; as yet, nothing is known of any structure (bath-house or not) which may underlie it. A coin of Constantine the Great was found, together with a gold ear-ornament, on the floor of the cold bath; such pottery as was recovered from undisturbed deposits was consistently of early to mid-fourth century types. From this it follows that the bath-house was still in use in the fourth century, and probably until the close of the fort's occupation in the third quarter of that century. It had never required the kind of drastic rebuilding that would follow violent destruction, while the quantity of deposited soot, and the minor repairs, are no more than could be accounted for if it was first built at the beginning of the fourth century. On the other hand, the closely similar buildings at Chesters and Netherby are certainly of an earlier date than that, and the possibility cannot be excluded that all five bath-houses of the same type were built simultaneously.

The work was done mainly by a team of volunteers from the South Shields Archæological Society, its cost being covered by grants from the Durham University Excavation Committee and from this Society.

2. *Some Roman inscriptions from Cumberland and Westmorland.* By R. P. WRIGHT.

The following items, included in my contribution to "Roman Britain in 1953" (JRS xlv, 1954, 103-111), deserve a notice in these *Transactions*:

(a) *Milecastle 49 (Harrow's Scar)*. Altar of buff sandstone, 9 by 12 in., with tenon projecting for 1½ in. below the base for

insertion into a larger base-stone; the top is lost, the sides are plain. Found in 1953, unstratified. The reading is as follows: ———] *L AN* | [*F*] *lavius Marcel* | *linus dec(urio)* | *v. s. l. m.*—“(To some deity or other) Flavius Marcellinus, troop-commander, gladly and deservedly fulfilled his vow.” Here *decurio* is the officer commanding a *turma* of cavalry or mounted infantry.

(b) *Maryport*. The altar (CIL VII 370 with p. 308) dedicated by the tribune G. Cornelius Peregrinus, from Mauretania Caesariensis, ends with lines 11-12 as follows: *domo Sald[?]s* | *d[e]c., v. s. l. [L.] m.*—“whose home is Saldæ, decurion, gladly, willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow”. This reading shows that Peregrinus came from *Saldæ* (the modern Bougie), in the eastern part of Caesariensis, and that there he had served as a town-councillor (the other meaning of *decurio*).

(c) *Kirkby Thore*. One of the altars built into the north-east end of Crackenthorpe Hall (cf. *RCHM Westmorland*, pl. 3 and p. 72) has lost its first two lines by weathering, but the last line reads: *v. s. l. m.* The altar was built into the house probably by Hugh Machell and his brother Thomas, the antiquary, in 1685; it presumably came from the fort at Kirkby Thore, where Thomas Machell as rector had occasion to discover many Roman antiquities.

(d) *Carlisle*. Part of a flanged tile found in 1953 in the river Eden at Stanwix by Master Adrian Allen, of Stanwix, in whose possession it remains; Mr Robert Hogg kindly submitted it for examination. It reads: [*I*] *eg. XX[V. V.]*—“Twentieth Legion, Valeria Victrix”. This seems to be part of a stamp not previously recorded.

3. *A Christian monogram from Roman Maryport*. By M. G. JARRETT.

William Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland* (1794) is notoriously a compilation to which Hutchinson's own contributions were far from exhaustive. In dealing with the Roman fort at Maryport he contented himself, as often, with putting together materials extracted from earlier writers (Horsley in particular), and there is nothing in his text to indicate that he himself had ever visited either the Roman site or the collection of antiquities from it preserved in the Senhouse collection at Netherhall. But he commissioned drawings of those antiquities, which occupy six plates facing p. 284 of his second volume; the artist was James Lowes² (to whom had been entrusted the

² Cf. Hutchinson ii 666: “James Lowes, a self-taught draughts-man and engraver, whose first attempts as an artist, are coeval with the commencement of this history, and his improvement is to be traced in the work: we can always vouch for the accuracy, if not the elegance, of all his works”. E.B.

drawing of objects found at Old Carlisle also), and comparison of his drawings with the many monuments which are still extant reveals that Lowes is an accurate and reliable source.

Among the stones drawn by him was a small fragment, 12 in. high by 6 in. wide, included in Hutchinson's plate V as no. 39; Hutchinson himself no where refers to it—or indeed to any of the other objects illustrated in his plates, except in so far as he reproduces the descriptions of earlier writers, absolving himself from the effort by a general comment: "In the plates, we have given all the remains which have been lately discovered at this place; and which Mr Senhouse graciously permitted our artist to inspect and draw: few of them require any other description than the draught.—" (*op. cit.*, ii 284);³ and perhaps because there is no reference to the stone in his text, and it is tucked away with many more obviously interesting stones on the last but one of his plates, it has never hitherto attracted any notice. But Lowes's drawing, reproduced here

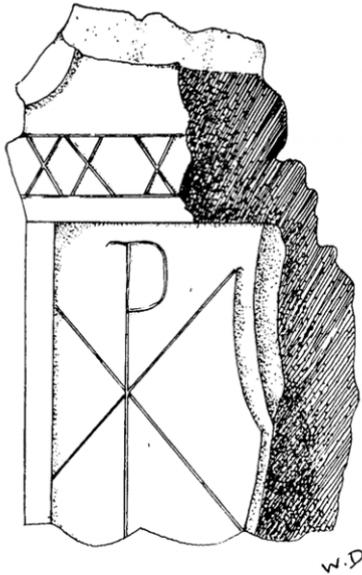


FIG. 4.—(after James Lowes). Height 12 in., width 6 in.

³ This might be taken to imply that the fragment had been found shortly before 1794, but that does not necessarily follow, as an analysis of the whole series (too elaborate for reproduction here) shows.

as fig. 4, specially re-drawn to a larger scale by Mr Wilfred Dodds, surely deserves more attention than any of the other stones, for it portrays an undoubted *chi-rho* monogram, in the top left-hand corner of a panel, the upper border of which shows three of what was no doubt a larger series of simple crosses (which are probably nothing more than ornaments, of purely decorative significance).

I am indebted to Mr Roger Senhouse for permission to search for the stone at Netherhall, but I have been unable to find it, and it must presumably have been given away or lost: it is not mentioned in the late J. B. Bailey's careful catalogue of the Netherhall collection (CW2 xv 135-172), so that it must have gone missing before his day. But it deserves to be noted in these *Transactions*, for it constitutes the only record of its kind on stone in the northern part of Roman Britain, and the first indication of the presence of Christians at Roman Maryport.

4. *A Roman mortar from Maryport.* By M. G. JARRETT.

Shallow mortars of stone, with sharply up-curved sides, are not infrequent on Roman sites in Britain. Mr P. H. Leigh, of Penrith, recently found a mortar apparently of this type, in the grounds of Netherhall, where foundations were being dug for a new secondary school, at a point close to the line taken by the Roman road from Maryport towards Old Carlisle; he submitted a portion of it to Mr Eric Birley for an opinion, and Mr Birley asked me to examine it, in the course of my general study of Roman Maryport and its remains.

Geological examination, for which I am indebted to Mr R. Phillips, Lecturer in Mineralogy in the Durham Colleges, reveals that the mortar is not of stone at all, but of a coarse white earthenware, made of clay into which a little sand has been mixed; it clearly belongs, however, to the normal stone type, as will be seen from the accompanying drawing by Mr Wilfred Dodds (fig. 5).⁴ When complete it was about 5 in. in diameter externally (rather smaller than the average stone specimen); its side wall is 1 in. thick and its base, which tapers slightly towards the centre, has a minimum thickness of $\frac{7}{10}$ in.; the wall now stands $\frac{3}{4}$ in. high from the internal base and $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. overall, but it has probably been somewhat higher originally. A small hole, $\frac{7}{10}$ in. in diameter, has been punched in the base before firing. Two pairs of lugs, on opposite sides of the

⁴ The drawing was made from one piece of the mortar and a sketch of the object when complete, kindly furnished by Mr Leigh; he has subsequently been good enough to present the other pieces of it to the Department of Archaeology in Durham, for inclusion in its teaching and reference collection.

mortar, would be used to hold it over a hole in a table or the like; the central hole would allow the contents, when ground, to trickle through into a bowl underneath.

A mortar such as this would probably be used for grinding either food or else chemicals of some sort (perhaps for use in making paints or the like); the fact that it has been made of pottery, and not of stone, may suggest that it was in any case used for grinding a comparatively soft substance.⁵

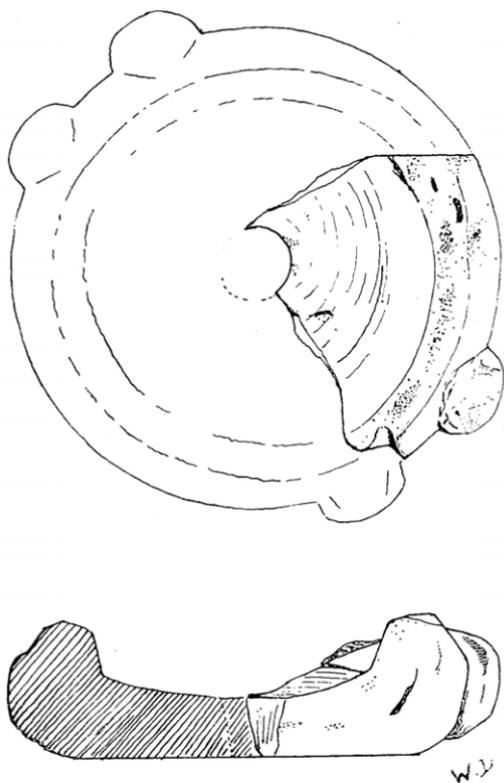


FIG. 5. (½)

⁵ The portion first submitted by Mr Leigh was exhibited to the Society at its meeting in Durham on 16 July 1953; cf. CW2 liii 233 (where it is referred to as "a portion of a stone mixing-trough").

5. *The dating of Carlisle's first charter.* By KENNETH SMITH.

The first royal charter of Carlisle was granted by Henry II; 1054 marked the eight hundredth anniversary of that king's accession to the throne, and the civic authorities, wishing to make special reference to the octocentenary of the city, took steps to fix as exact a date as possible to the charter in question: in the following note, the results of the investigation are set forth.

It has long been accepted that Henry seized Carlisle from the Scots shortly after his accession; but he did not come to the throne until October 1154, and he was not able to cross from France for his coronation until December, so that it is scarcely possible for the charter to have been granted in that year. Moreover, Carlisle is recorded as being in the hands of the Scots in 1157 when, despite the earlier promises which he had made when Henry of Anjou, the English king seized Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland from Malcolm, king of Scotland, his cousin. Eyton gives his opinion that it was probably in July 1157 that Carlisle was surrendered to Henry. The latter certainly visited Carlisle in 1158, holding a conference in the city with Malcolm: the two kings separated "mutually displeased". Eyton considers this meeting to have taken place probably in January, and refers to a possible second visit in June; Stubbs gives 24 June as the date of Henry's visit. Henry visited Carlisle at least once more, in 1186, before his death in 1189; and it is possible that he came there in 1163 also.

Charters of Henry II do not normally bear any date of either month or year, and they can be dated only on internal evidence—e.g., the names of the witnesses or the place at which the charter was granted. Carlisle's first charter, however, was destroyed by fire some time before 1251,⁶ when Henry III granted a new one, so that we can obtain no such evidence from it. A reference in the Pipe Roll of 1159 to "the borough (*burgus*) of Carlisle", and headed "New Pleas and New Agreements", allows the assumption that the charter had been granted before that date and after Henry's acquisition of the city in 1157. It seems safe, therefore, to accept 1158 as the date of the charter, but there are no specific grounds for linking its promulgation with the king's visit to Carlisle. Nevertheless, that possibility must be borne in mind; in any case, it might be expected that Henry would have granted a charter as soon as possible after the city's surrender by Malcolm, in order to strengthen its attachment to the English crown. It is therefore

⁶ It was the charter of 1251 that was destroyed in the fire of 1292.

concluded, with some confidence, that the first charter was in fact granted in the first half of 1158, though the evidence at present available does not allow a more precise dating.⁷

6. *Spilmanholme*. By C. M. L. BOUCH.

In his Article on Burgh-by-Sands (p. 119 ff. above) Dr R. L. Storey notes the occurrence, in an Inquisition of 1486, of a place called "Spilmanholme". In the *Place-Names of Cumberland*, ed. A. M. Armstrong and others, part i, p. 129, the derivation suggested is from *spiel*, "play"; but in 1860 Whellan's *Cumberland & Westmorland* recorded the form "Spillblood Holme" as the name of a neighbouring enclosure to "Hangman-tree" (Whellan, p. 153).⁸ A clue to the correct derivation of the name may perhaps be found in a similar form at Greystoke, "The Spillers" (field); this is derived in the same part of the *Place-Names* volume, p. 198, from the well-recorded compound *spell-hōh*, "speech-hill" or "mound", because of the forms *spelloe* and *speller* which occur in 18th century documents. But it is worth noting that the parish registers of Greystoke contain entries of the burial of a man "weh spylt himselfe" in 1560, 1561 and 1583; this suggests that the word "spiller" may have been applied locally to one who spilt his own blood—committed suicide: and the form recorded for Burgh in 1860 may well represent a similar use there. Perhaps therefore these were the places where suicides were buried.

7. *The sources of Clarke's Survey of the Lakes*. By ERIC BIRLEY.

Earlier in this volume Mr Bellhouse has had occasion to quote a passage from James Clarke's *Survey of the Lakes* (1787), in which reference is made to Horsley and Camden for a place-name which neither author in fact mentions. It seems desirable to include here a brief note on the authorship of Clarke's text and a general caution against accepting its citations of previous writers without question; I hope that before long Mr Iain MacIvor will be able to lay before the Society a detailed analysis of these citations, and a fresh assessment of the value of the text as a whole, and I therefore confine myself here to a note on its authorship.

⁷ References: The Public Record Office; The Scottish Record Office; *VCH Cumberland* i 339 and ii 239, 244 f.; Ballard and Tait, *British Borough Charters 1216-1307* (1923); Eyton, *Itinerary of Henry II* (1878); Stubbs's appendix to *Benedict of Peterborough* (Rolls Series 49, 1867).

⁸ For the positions of these two fields cf. Mr Robert Hogg's map, p. 106 above.

On reading the *Survey of the Lakes* one might be pardoned for supposing that James Clarke was its author: his name appears alone on the title-page, introduction and text alike make frequent use of the first person singular, and there is no reference to any collaborator in the work. But Jonathan Boucher⁹ knew the truth, and placed it on record within ten years of the book's publication. Boucher contributed to Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland* (1794) not only the accounts of the parishes of Bromfield, Caldbeck and Sebergham (which stand out from the rest of that work as the products of a mature and observant mind), but also the series of memoirs of Cumbrian worthies to which the signature BIOGRAPHIA CUMB. is attached; his authorship is acknowledged *totidem verbis* on almost the last page of the work, sent to press on 10 July 1797 (Hutchinson ii 686). He is particularly well informed in his accounts of Cumbrians of his own day, and especially such of them as had received their early education under Mr Blain. Now Boucher affirms that it was Isaac Ritson (born at Eamont Bridge in 1761, died at Islington in 1789) who wrote the preface to the book:

"He wrote with uncommon facility; and his prose was vigorous and animated. Of this the public is already in possession of a fair specimen, in the Preface to *Clarke's Survey of the Lakes*; which was written by Ritson."¹⁰

Special significance, therefore, attaches to some of Boucher's remarks about Ritson in a memoir which combines sympathy and understanding with a clear indication that the subject of it had his limitations (Hutchinson i 334-338). Ritson had a lively fancy, was eccentric, and sometimes imprudent; only one of his works (and that, one which Boucher feared to be "irrecoverably lost") had he ever taken much pains about. And after referring to Ritson's authorship of Clarke's Introduction, Boucher continues as follows:

"It seems to be the happy privilege of genius to know every thing, even matters of fact, as it were intuitively. Like the milk-woman of Bristol, Ritson knew, understood, and wrote well of, various matters, of which there is no evidence that he had ever heard. All that he could know of the antiquities of this county, he must have picked up from miscellaneous reading; and from conversation with those who probably were less informed than he himself was".

Examination of the Introduction, and also of the main text of Clarke's book, has left me in no doubt that both come from the same pen, and that Boucher's verdict must be sustained. The citations of Horsley and of Camden, already mentioned, do

⁹ For him cf. the important paper by the Rev. C. M. L. Bouch, CW2 xxvii 117-151.

¹⁰ Hutchinson i 335. Cf. also *ibidem*, 266: "Mr Ritson, that extraordinary genius, of whom we have given some account, in its proper place, who wrote the Introduction to Clarke's *Survey of the Lakes*" (a passage attributable to Hutchinson or his coadjutor F. Jollie, and not to Boucher).

not stand alone; and at present I do not need to do more than stress that all such references must be noted with the greatest caution. Yet there is an engaging candour about a writer who can disarm criticism by the admissions with which the Introduction and the main text close:

p. xlii: "As to myself, it is necessary further to acknowledge, that being obliged, in this part of the work, to quote principally from memory, I may possibly have fallen into some inaccuracies . . ."

and p. 193: "I have thus given my reader the best account I can of every thing remarkable within the line of my subject. Let me once more intreat his indulgence for the many errors which will ever creep into a work compiled as this was, amidst numerous interruptions. Truth only has been my aim, and if I have added one mite to the literary treasury, I have obtained my utmost desire".

As for James Clarke, he describes himself on the title-page as a land-surveyor, and it is as such that he must be judged—and accorded a deservedly high rating for the excellence and accuracy of his large-scale plans, which will stand the test of comparison with the best that the Ordnance Survey was able to produce more than half a century later. But his contribution to the text of the book was probably confined to its title-page and the elaborate dedication to His Royal Highness Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland and Strathern, and other high officers and the generality of brethren of the Most Ancient and Honourable Society of Free and Accepted Masons.

8. *John Hodgson's Westmorland*. By ERIC BIRLEY.

A year ago I contributed a note to these *Transactions* (CW2 liii 217-219), in which I showed reason to suppose that John Hodgson's *Westmorland* in the Beauties of England and Wales series was published in 1814 (as was the volume in that series of which it formed a part); though I pointed out that in one place Hodgson's text refers indirectly to an event in April 1813, and that otherwise the latest item traceable in it is of December 1812. Mr F. P. White, Librarian of St. John's College, Cambridge, now informs me that his Library possesses a copy of the *Westmorland* section which consists of the sheets of the Beauties volume, 245 pp. + Index, B—S2, with *Vol. XV* at the foot of the first page of each sheet, but with a new title-page, as follows: *A | topographical and historical | Description | of the | County of Westmerland; | By Rev. J. Hodgson | Illustrated with six engravings | London: Printed for Sherwood, Neely, and Jones, Paternoster Row; and George Cowie and Co. successors to Vernor, Hood, and Sharpe, 31 Poultry | Sold by all Booksellers in the County. | 1813*. The date, a year earlier than that of the complete volume, would best fit a set of overprints supplied to the author; and the spelling *Westmerland*

(which Hodgson himself always used) suggests that this title-page was in fact produced to the author's own specification. We may take it, therefore, that the copy of his work which Hodgson presented to Mr Bowstead, his old headmaster, will have had the same title-page and date.

Mr White adds that the St. John's College copy, which was presented to the college in 1938 by Sir Humphrey Rolleston, sometime Fellow, is extra-illustrated with 18 plates, in addition to the six which occur in the other known issues of the work.¹¹

9. *Miss Armitt's Grasmere Church.* By C. ROY HUDLESTON.

Whatever other sins may be laid at the door of Sir Daniel Fleming, fifth baronet, there is one at least (*pace* Miss M. L. Armitt) which he did not commit. In her book, *The Church of Grasmere* (1912), 173, she refers to the death in 1822 of the Rev. Thomas Jackson, rector of Grasmere, and adds: "the right of nomination had, unfortunately, passed into the hands of Sir Daniel Fleming. No protest to the bishop, as regards his choice, was of avail, and the nominee, Sir Richard le Fleming, took office." But the facts are these: (a) The Rev. Thomas Jackson died on 13 December 1821 (not 1822, as Miss Armitt has it), aged 65; see his monument at Grasmere. (b) At that date, Sir Daniel Fleming had been in his grave for more than a year, for he died at Hill Top, Crosthwaite, near Kendal, on 18 October 1820; his death was reported in the *Cumberland Packet* of 23 October, and in addition I have come across an unpublished letter in the Hutton John archives, written by Mrs Elizabeth Hudleston, née Fleming, to her son Andrew Fleming Hudleston on 19 October, mentioning that "poor Sir Daniel departed this life the 18 instant, very suddenly and unexpectedly": 1820 is securely established as the year of his death, therefore, and a correction should be made to G. E. C., *Complete Baronetage*, iv 193 (where 1821 is given).

10. *Lists of subscribers.* By ERIC BIRLEY.

One of the less obvious sources for the cultural history of our Society's area may be discovered in the lists of subscribers which are often to be found in books published in the 18th century and later. The late R. C. Bosanquet demonstrated the value of this source with characteristically unobtrusive skill in his paper on "John Horsley and his times" (AA4 x, 1933, 58-81), using the list in Burnet's *History of His Own Time* (1724) as an

¹¹ For details, cf. CW2 liii 219. The opportunity may be taken here of correcting a misprint in the second line of that page: for *original* read *original*.

indication that Reynold Hall was perhaps the first of his line to form a library, noting too that the *Thesaurus* (1705) of Hicckes and Wanley was purchased by the vicar of Newcastle and the rectors of Rothbury and Morpeth, and that a large sale in the north of England for John Warburton's *Vallum Romanum* (1753) might properly be inferred from its list, a York bookseller taking two dozen copies and two in Newcastle seven apiece. Reference to Warburton's list shows that only five copies went to Cumberland, where his subscribers were William Blamire of Carlisle, Andrew Huddleston (*sic*) of Hutton-John, William Parke of Whitbeck and of Whitehaven, Christopher Ricardson of Randall-Holme-hall, and Richard Waller, surveyor of the military road in Cumberland; in view of Mr Roy Hudleston's Article, earlier in this volume (pp. 200-211), it may be noted that another subscriber was "*Lieu. Gen. James Oglethorpe, member of parliament for Haslemere in Surrey, F.R.S.*"

When the time comes to write the history of our Society's foundation (and its centenary year, 1966, is drawing near apace), significance will undoubtedly be found in two contrasting lists, to which a brief reference now seems justifiable. In 1849, a few months after the original Pilgrimage, there appeared *The Picts or Romano-British Wall*; no author's name appears on its title-page, but study of the list of pilgrims at p. 13 and of the list of subscribers at the end would be enough to show that it was written by Richard Abbatt of Stoke Newington, even if we did not possess Bruce's unequivocal testimony to that fact. Abbatt's personal opinion was that the Wall was only built after Roman garrisons had finally left its forts; it may be significant, therefore, that no Northumberland antiquary appears among his 91 subscribers. But the book is dedicated to the Earl of Carlisle, and copies of it were ordered by Henry Grainger of Ireby, Joseph Hayton of Wigton, George Head of Rickaby House, Carlisle and J. Pocklington Senhouse of Netherhall. We need not credit these gentlemen with sharing Abbatt's views of the Wall's date; one of his footnotes, on p. 64, shows that he had a long-standing connection with Cumberland. Another footnote, on p. 57, deserves honourable mention for its plea that an Antiquarian Society might be founded in Carlisle; it may well be that we should remember Richard Abbatt as one of the writers whose influence led to the establishment of our Society in 1866.

But a far more important influence was that of John Collingwood Bruce (1805-1892). I have written elsewhere of the part which he played in the planning and execution of the first

Pilgrimage,¹² and I do not need to say more about the value of that event as a stimulus to local interest, except to note that the only Cumbrian pilgrim was G. W. Mounsey of Castleton, near Carlisle. But the first edition of Bruce's *Roman Wall*, which appeared in 1851, included 29 Cumbrians among its 314 subscribers (though none from Westmorland or Lancashire North-of-the-Sands), and the list contains some significant names: Thomas Barnes, M.D., of Bunker's-hill, Carlisle, Robert Bell of Irthington, Robert Ferguson of Shadwell Lodge, Carlisle, T. H. Graham of Edmond Castle, and Charles Thurnam of Carlisle, amongst others.

It is to be hoped that some of our members may be tempted to study similar lists, whether for their light on the literary tastes of individual worthies, or for their bearing on a study (to match that which Bosanquet sketched so delightfully for the Northumberland of Horsley's day) which still remains to be written—of Cumberland and Westmorland in the 18th century.

11. *The graffito from Tower 16b: a postscript.* By R. P. WRIGHT.

Mr J. C. Mann has made the acute suggestion that the word *ESVRI* in line 1 of the graffito on the amphora from Tower 16b (p. 51, above) is the town-name *Esuris* in Lusitania, near the mouth of the river *Anas* (now the *Guardiana*, in SE. Portugal); Huebner (*CIL* II, p. 786) preferred the form *Aesuris*, but the Antonine Itinerary calls it *Esuri* in the ablative twice: this form, as a locative describing the place of manufacture, gives a far more satisfactory explanation than *esurio* (as proposed for this line on the graffito, above).

¹² *The Centenary Pilgrimage of Hadrian's Wall*, 1949, 5 ff.