

REPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS.

---

REPORT

PRESENTED TO THE

Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

AT ITS FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

MAY 7, 1883,

WITH AN ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY,  
1882—1883.

---

ALSO

Communications

MADE TO THE SOCIETY.

No. XXV.

BEING No. 3 OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

---

Cambridge:

DEIGHTON, BELL & CO.; MACMILLAN & BOWES  
LONDON: G. BELL AND SONS,  
1884.

Price 7s. 6d.

# COUNCIL.

*May 26, 1884.*

## President.

JOHN WILLIS CLARK, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, *Superintendent of the Museum of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy.*

## Vice-Presidents.

Rev. HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, D.D., Trinity College, *University Registry.*

Rev. ROBERT BURN, M.A., Trinity College.

GEORGE MURRAY HUMPHRY, Esq., M.D., F.R.S., Downing College, *Professor of Surgery.*

## Treasurer.

WILLIAM MILNER FAWCETT, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Jesus College.

## Secretary.

Rev. SAMUEL SAVAGE LEWIS, M.A., F.S.A., Corpus Christi College.

## Ordinary Members of Council.

THOMAS M<sup>c</sup>KENNY HUGHES, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Clare College, *Woodwardian Professor of Geology.*

FRANCIS JOHN HENRY JENKINSON, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

Rev. BRYAN WALKER, M.A., LL.D., Corpus Christi College.

HENRY BRADSHAW, Esq., M.A., King's College, *University Librarian.*

FREDERICK CHARLES WACE, Esq., M.A., LL.M., St John's College, *Esquire Bedell.*

Rev. GEORGE FORREST BROWNE, B.D., St Catharine's College.

JOHN EBENEZER FOSTER, Esq., M.A., Trinity College.

ALFRED PAGET HUMPHRY, Esq., M.A., Trinity College, *Esquire Bedell.*

NORMAN CAPPER HARDCASTLE, Esq., M.A., LL.M., Downing College.

CHARLES CARDALE BABINGTON, Esq., M.A., F.R.S., St John's College, *Professor of Botany.*

Rev. WALTER WILLIAM SKEAT, M.A., Christ's College, *Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon.*

ALEXANDER MACALISTER, Esq., M.A., M.D., F.R.S., St John's College, *Professor of Anatomy.*

## Excursion Secretary.

NORMAN CAPPER HARDCASTLE, Esq., M.A., LL.M., Downing College.

## Auditors.

F. C. WACE, Esq., M.A.

SWANN HURRELL, Esq.

# REPORT

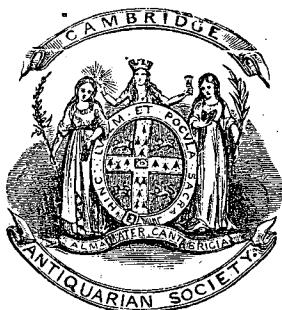
PRESENTED TO THE

## Cambridge Antiquarian Society,

AT ITS FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING,

MAY 7, 1883.

WITH APPENDIX.



Cambridge:

DEIGHTON, BELL & CO.; MACMILLAN & BOWES.

LONDON: G. BELL AND SONS.

1884.

Cambridge:  
PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A. & SON,  
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

## CONTENTS

### OF COMMUNICATIONS, No. XXV.

VOL. V, PART III.

	PAGE
XIII. On some bronze Etruscan mirrors with engraved reverses. Communicated by C. W. KING, M.A. . . . .	185
XIV. Notes from a Norfolk Squire's Note-book, with some particulars of school and college expenses in the 16th and 17th centuries. Communicated by the Rev. E. K. BENNET, D.C.L. . . . .	201
XV. On Roman coins found at Willingham. Communicated by F. J. H. JENKINSON, M.A. . . . .	225
XVI. On an onyx cameo of Marcia in the character of Omphale. Communicated by C. W. KING, M.A. . . . .	233
XVII. On the Tabula Peutingeriana. Communicated by the Rev. BRYAN WALKER, LL.D. . . . .	237
XVIII. On the Tomb of Lady Margaret. By J. W. CLARK . . . . .	265

XVII. ON THE TABULA PEUTINGERIANA. Communicated by the Rev. BRYAN WALKER, M.A., LL.D.

---

[April 23, 1883.]

*Part 1. To what date this map must be referred.*

THIS is with good reason believed to be the most ancient map in existence: and there seems ground for supposing that it was transcribed in the 13th century from an earlier map, perhaps originally dating from the time of Augustus, but corrected up to the end of the second century of the Christian era.

The monk who wrote the "Annals of Colmar" has an entry, "anno 1265 mappam mundi descripti in pelles duodecim pergameni"; and earnest search was frequently made for this "mappam mundi", but not till A.D. 1507 was any trace of it discovered. In that year we find the well-known scholar, Trithemius, negotiating for the purchase of an ancient map on sale at Worms. He failed to buy it, as 40 florins, the price demanded, deterred him; and Conrad Celtes became its owner, and at his death bequeathed it to Conrad Peutinger. Another story, however, is to be mentioned, that Celtes borrowed it from the monastery of Tegernsee in Bavaria, and wrongfully detained it: and this story is connected with an earlier legend, that Werinher, a monk of Tegernsee, copied it from the older document, whilst "Rupert was Abbot of the Monastery"; which we find to have been between A.D. 1155

and 1186. But certain manifest interpolations accord better with the date of A.D. 1265 for the transcription, as I shall shew in the sequel.

The map remained for a long time in the keeping of the Peutinger family; but, the descendants of Conrad not inheriting their ancestor's literary tastes, nothing was heard of it for another century and a half; when Welser, a relation of the family, unearthed it once more, and brought out the first printed edition, a very poor one, in 1682. Hornius next published the map in much better form in 1686: and the editions of Scheyb and Mannert followed, the latter appearing in A.D. 1824. The MS. itself was sold by Ignatius, the last of the Peutingers, to Kuhz, a bookseller, in A.D. 1714. From Kuhz Prince Eugène of Savoy bought it in A.D. 1720; and by his will it passed in A.D. 1738 to the Emperor, Charles VI, through whose gift it now rests in the Imperial Library of Vienna.

I will first suggest the reasons there are for supposing it was copied by some German monk in the 13th century; and then proceed to consider the indications of the date, and possible history, of what he transcribed.

The transcriber evidently was ignorant of the designations of places in Italy and Greece, and, in fact, had little knowledge of any country except that close to the Rhine. The blunders he makes in transcribing names shew not only that he had before him some faded and damaged document, but that he was profoundly ignorant of ancient history and geography. He writes Etrura, Brittius, Luccania; Epitaurus, Dyrratio, Bennebento, Regio; Phinippopolis: Igeum for Aegeum, Trhacia for Thracia, Isteria for Istria, Blaboriciaco for Lauriaco, Iepirus for Epirus, &c. &c. His errors, however, are not confined to any part of the map, though they are very rare in Germany. In Table I. Riger is written for Liger; Nenniso for Nemauso; Patavia for Batavia; Seifi for Sitifi, &c. So also in Table II. "Lugdune usque hic legas" for "Lugduno, usque

hic Leugas"; Vigena for Vienna; Burcturi for Bructeri, &c.: and so on<sup>1</sup>. There is clear internal evidence that the transcriber was a Rhinelander; for in the map no forests are marked, except the *Silva Vosagus*, and the *Silva Marciana* (the Black Forest) (II, III), but these are named, and noted by rough sketches of rows of trees, drawn on a scale quite out of proportion to the other symbols on the map. The only other instance of pictures of trees is near Antioch (x). And at Antioch, as at Rome and Constantinople, in place of the symbols usually employed in the map to denote a town of importance (to be hereafter described) we find elaborate medallions or pictures. These present us with human figures, mediæval in every detail of their dress and insignia, and having no resemblance to classical models. The emblem of Antioch (x), in particular, is a Virgin and Child, seated upon a bridge of many arches, clearly the famed Iron Bridge, with one side of the city or symbol surrounded by trees<sup>2</sup>. Antioch, to judge by the elaboration of its medallion, was in the transcriber's eyes a place of the utmost

<sup>1</sup> The editors, Hornius and Mannert, whose editions are the most accessible, have printed the surviving eleven sheets of the MS. (see p. 251) in twelve sections or tables; and these tables will be referred to in the present paper by Roman numerals within brackets, thus (II).

<sup>2</sup> In vol. 40, p. 38 of the *Arch. Journal* there is a note by Mr Bunnell Lewis to this effect: "Conrad Mannert, the editor of the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, pref. p. 19, speaking of the two figures on the site of Antioch, in segmentum x, makes the following remark: *Sanctam Mariam simul et Jesum Christum indicari vix est dubium.* On the contrary, we have here an allegorical representation of Antioch and the river Orontes, derived from coins, which were miniature representations of a celebrated group by the sculptor Eutychides. Below these figures in the *Tabula* several arches of a bridge are distinctly marked... Brit. Museum *Catalogue of Greek coins*, (Seleucid Kings of Syria) p. 103, and plate xxvii (Seleucidæ) 5, 6: Eckhel *Doct. Num. Vet. vol. III. pp. 247, 248.*"

The Seleucid coins referred to have scarcely any resemblance to the medallion in the *Tabula*. The river is represented in them, not as a child in the lap, but as a full-size figure swimming beneath the feet of Antioch. I think the one idea may possibly have suggested the other: but in any case the symbol in the *Tabula* is unmistakably Christian.

importance, and in some way intimately connected with Christianity: and we know that Antioch was in Christian hands, and the stronghold of the Crusaders till A.D. 1268, when it fell into the power of the Infidels. The curious effigy at Constantinople (VIII), again, does not represent a Greek emperor, and is without the crown, sceptre and orb, which are borne by the figure placed at Rome; but it would serve well to indicate the Count of Flanders or one of his Latin successors<sup>1</sup>.

That a Christian hand transcribed the map is also plain from several curious entries; as in Arabia (IX) "desertum ubi quadraginta annos erraverunt filii Israel ducente Moyse"; and over Mt. Sinai, "hic legem accéperunt in Monte Sina": and yet a proof that the copy was from an older original is furnished in the insertion of "ad Dianam" close to the holy mount; just as we have a reminiscence of earlier things in the "Byzantini" (VIII) placed close to "Constantinopolis." The interruption of the lines of road, passing near the three great cities, is another proof that the medallions are interpolations. We have further "Mons Oliveti" (IX), with an exaggerated indication of lofty hills, close to "antea dicta Hierusalem, nunc Helya Capitóлина"; of which six words the first four are presumably additions made by the 13th century transcriber.

And yet, in spite of these exceptional notices, the general character of the map is *not* Christian. There are, for instance, nearly six hundred references in it to heathen temples and worship<sup>2</sup>: and it appears to correspond best in its details with the state of affairs in the Roman Empire about the year 200 A.D., or a trifle earlier. It has been assigned to the reigns of Theodosius, Constantine and Alexander Severus; but my

<sup>1</sup> The Latin Princes at Constantinople were Baldwin, 1204; Henry, 1206; Peter de Courtenay, 1217; Robert de Courtenay, 1221; John de Brienne and Baldwin II, 1228; Baldwin II. alone, 1237—1261.

<sup>2</sup> For instance an *Iseum* or a *Serapeum* stands on almost every one of the islands into which the Delta of the Nile divides itself.

opinion is that it belongs to that of Marcus Aurelius or Commodus, and was a copy of an official or imperial map, painted on a wall or walls for public reference.

We are informed by Aethicus, who wrote in the fourth century, that a survey of the Roman territory was ordered by the Senate in the consulship of Julius Caesar and Marcus Antonius (B.C. 44), and that the measurements were taken by three *metatores*, Zenodoxus in the East, Theodosius in the North, Polyclitus in the South; to whom some add Didymus in the West<sup>1</sup>. This survey occupied altogether 32 years. Pliny further records<sup>2</sup> that M. Vipsanius Agrippa, who laid down new roads through Gallia and Hispania, and towards the Danube, also, with the sanction, doubtless, of Augustus, drew up a map of all the roads from his own knowledge<sup>3</sup> (which he also embodied in his Commentaries) and from the surveys of these Greeks: and that the map was painted in his portico for public inspection. This map, we also gather from Pliny, was corrected from time to time, when new roads were constructed, old roads diverted, or errors discovered. It is highly probable that this map, though at different times, was the model of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* in its original shape, and also the source from which the *Itinerarium Antonini* was compiled. For private map-making was apparently discouraged, Metianus Pomposianus being charged with a capital offence in the reign of Domitian "quod depictum Orbem Terrarum in membrana circumferret"<sup>4</sup>; whilst, on the other hand, inspection of the public maps was encouraged, if we may judge from the words of Propertius, "Cogor et e tabula pictos cognoscere mundos"; and from the advice of

<sup>1</sup> The name of Didymus occurs only in the Vatican MS.; which also puts Nicodomus instead of Zenodoxus. But this MS. is full of errors, and the agreement of the others is in favour of their reading.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Nat.* III. 2.

<sup>3</sup> See Strabo 4. 6. 11; 5. 3. 9; 5. 4. 6; 13. 1. 19; for the great engineering achievements of Agrippa.

<sup>4</sup> Sueton. *Domit.* 10.

<sup>5</sup> Propert. 4. 3. 36.

Eumenius Rhetor, that boys should study in the porticoes the "orbem depictum"<sup>1</sup>. The public maps would also be the only maps on another account; for we cannot suppose that any private person, even if the attempt were not treasonable, could afford the time and cost of a survey on his own account.

The Itinerary of Antonine shews clearly when it was compiled, being replete with indications of Constantine or the Tetrarchy, as Diocletianopolis, Maximianopolis, and the like, which are entirely absent from the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

The ascription of the latter to the reign of Theodosius seems based only on a rhythmical account of a transcription of a map of the world, written by a cotemporary, and preserved by a writer of the ninth century, Ducuil; "miserrimo scriptore," as Mannert pleases to add. This is as follows:

Hoc opus egregium; quo mundi summa tenetur,  
 Aequora quo montes, fluvii, portus, freta et urbes  
 Signantur.  
 Theodosius princeps venerando jussit ab ore  
 Confici, ter quinis aperit dum fascibus (*ad. fastibus*) annum.  
 Stuplices hoc famuli, dum scribit, pingit et altor,  
 Mensibus exiguis, vétérum monumenta securti,  
 In melius reparamus opus, culpamque priorem  
 Tollimus, ac totum breviter comprehendimus orbem.

This, if the reading be *fascibus*, must refer to Theodosius II, who was consul eighteen times, whilst the elder Theodosius only held the office thrice.

But Theodosius II, being Emperor of the East only, could hardly have thought of such a map, or had the power to institute a general survey; and in any case the mention of one official writing, whilst the other painted, and the fact of the work being completed in a few months, points rather to a mere recension of an old map than to a new survey. In fact there is really nothing to connect the *Tabula* with the work of

<sup>1</sup> In his *Oratio pro instaurandis scholis*, c. 20 and 21.

the scribes of Theodosius; but the passage from Ducuil is worth quoting, to shew that there was some earlier original; and it would appear that the *Tabula* was taken from it at a date prior to either Theodosius, and prior even to Constantine. The introduction of the name *Constantinopolis* I have already suggested to be an interpolation of the 13th century transcriber, who did not take the pains to alter the adjacent *Byzantini*. *Cirta* (III) in Africa, which, like *Byzantium*, had its name changed in honour of Constantine, remains *Cirta* in the *Tabula*; so also *Edessa* (VII), is still *Edessa*, though it became Diocletianopolis. *Ostudizus* (VIII) had not been yet renamed *Nicæa*, and, though its name is misspelled, it can be recognized in *Hostiho*. In Syria we have *Antaradus* (X) (*Andarado*) and not *Constantia*: in Thrace *Porsuli* (VIII) and not *Maximianopolis*. The map also contains a careful delineation of provinces lost long before Constantine; and we can hardly suppose that they were retained from an unwillingness to confess that their loss was final, but more probably because the map refers to a period before they were severed from the Empire.

The province of *Valeria*, between the two *Pannoniæ*, so named by Galerius in honour of his wife<sup>1</sup>, is not indicated. Neither is there any reference to Constantine's division of Gaul into 17 Provinces; but the older partition into *Belgica*, *Lugdunensis* and *Aquitania* is retained. This is, I think, enough to shew that the *Tabula* refers to a date earlier than Constantine: but we can approximate still more closely to the time, by noting that it contains no record of towns of later foundation than the reign of M. Aurelius (Constantinople excepted), though notice is taken of several connected with the names of Trajan, Hadrian and the Antonines; one *Hadrianopolis* in Thrace (VIII), another in the African Pentapolis (VIII), and a third in the southern part of Dalmatia (VI); also *Hadrianuteba* in Asia (IX), *Pons*

<sup>1</sup> *Sext. Aurel. Victor*, c. 40.

Adriani near Rome (v), Colonia Trajana on the Rhine (i), Vicus Aureli in Gætulia (iii), Forum Aureli in Tuscany (iv), via Aurelia leading out of Rome (v). We have also Marcianopolis in Moesia (vii), which we know was so designated by Trajan in honour of his sister; and Nicopolis (*Nicopolistro*) (vii), which he built and named to commemorate his Dacian victories. Trajan's province of Dacia, N. and E. of the Danube (vii), is fully mapped with roads and stations, and with Castra Trajana marked, and the three roads across the Danube. This, again, cannot be a mere reminiscence of former conquests: for if the map had been constructed after A.D. 270, when Aurelian removed the Dacians to a new Dacia (*Aureliana*), between the two provinces of Moesia (vi), we should not find those provinces contiguous, as they are in the map. M. Aurelius, we know, never abandoned Dacia, and died at Sirmium or Vindobona whilst carrying on war with success in its defence. The absence of Vicus Aurelii in the Agri Decumates is another corroboration of the proof; for this town was named after Caracalla, who assumed the name of Aurelius as well as of Antoninus<sup>1</sup>. Aris Flaviis (iii), marked in the same district, shews that the map is, at any rate, later than the commencement of the 120 miles of rampart, raised by Domitian, and afterwards prolonged 240 miles further. Aris Flaviis seems to have been at Wetzheim near Stuttgart, according to Hodgkin: Domitian's rampart ran from near Ratisbon to Wetzheim. As a further proof, we may notice that Perinthus (viii), called by that name in the map, was afterwards Heraclea; and that the *agri Byzantini*, also marked, were given by Sept. Severus to Perinthus, and soon after lost their ancient name.

But the clearest identification of the date of the map can

<sup>1</sup> Centum Cellae (*Civita Vecchia*) where Trajan made a harbour, and which in his life-time was called *Trajan's Portus*; is in the Tabula *Centum Cellis* again; shewing that the old name had again come into use, as we know from other sources that it did almost immediately.

be arrived at by noticing the names and relative positions of the barbarian neighbours of the Empire. We have *Francia* (I) entirely on the eastern bank of the Rhine, though the Franks in the reign of Valerian or Gallienus, between A.D. 253 and 268, overran Batavia and Gallia, and, in spite of the victories mendaciously attributed to Postumus, were never fairly dislodged; pressing forward continually, till before 360 A.D. they had founded their kingdom of Toxandria, overrun Spain, and crossed into Mauritania. The position, then, of *Francia* only proves the map to be earlier than the time of Gallienus; but there are other more definite indications of date. The map must have been drawn before the confederacy of the Franks was completed; for out of the eight nations which composed it, Catti, Chauci, Cherusei, Attuarii, Bructeri, Chamavi, Salii, Sigambri, two are set down as still distinct from the Franks, viz. the Chauci (*Chaci*) and Bructeri (*Burcturi*) (I, II), and the Chamavi (I) had only lately been absorbed, as is indicated by the note, "Chamavi qui et Franci." When the Frank confederacy commenced it is not easy to say<sup>1</sup>; but Tiberius and Drusus fought against the Bructeri, Cherusci, Sigambri and Chatti, and there is no mention of Franci in the records of their campaigns. The Alamanni and Suevi (II, III), again, in our map are not yet one united nation, though marked as neighbours; and the Alamanni are not known to Roman history prior to the time of the Antonines; being an association of Suevic volunteers, as the Franks seem to have been of warriors of the non-Suevic tribes. They emerged from obscurity, probably coalescing with the Suevi in general, in the time of Caracalla<sup>2</sup>; penetrated as far as Ravenna in the time of Valerian and Gallienus; and Aurelian, Constantius

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon makes the completion of the confederacy to date from 240 A.D. But probably it was formed gradually.

<sup>2</sup> They permanently occupied the Agri Decumates from about 260 A.D.; but the map appears to place them further north.

Chlorus and Julian had to meet their incursions at ever-varying points.

The Vandals in the map have already moved from the Baltic, and are living on the left of the Danube, almost opposite Ratisbon. If the map were of Constantine's time, they would have to be placed in Pannonia and Illyricum. Behind them we have the Marcomanni (III), against whom Tiberius fought, when they lived north of the Black Forest: but we know that they moved to the south and east, under Marobodus, at the end of the reign of Augustus: and so we seem to find them placed. The curious entry *QIUVAZDUGII* (IV) is evidently QUADI and JUZUGI intermixed, and the letters can be discriminated as of different colours. We have the first mention of the latter, as allies of the Quadi, in the campaigns of M. Aurelius: though the Quadi and Sarmatæ are said to have been chastised by Domitian, but more probably chastised him<sup>1</sup>. A fragment of a name *BUR* (IV) may intimate that the Burgundians were the next tribe to the east occupying a district opposite Ferrol and Buda<sup>2</sup>. Of Sarmatians the map makes frequent mention: the Juzugi or Jazyges, just mentioned, were a Sarmatian tribe; and we have notice of the Sarmate Vagi, Amaxobii Sarmate, Lupiones, Venati, and Roxolani (V, VI, VII) as neighbours of Trajan's Dacia; which accords with Pliny's account, that the Sarmatians pushed the Dacians over the Danube soon after the reign of Augustus, and established themselves between the Carpathians and the river. The mention of Venati Sarmatæ in this district, and of the Venedi at the mouth of the Danube (VIII), shews the presence of another Scavonic race, the Wends, or as they called themselves, Servi:

<sup>1</sup> Still earlier the Quadi are mentioned in conjunction with the Marcomanni. See Tacit. *Germ.* § 42. The "thundering legion" of M. Aurelius was in the field against the Quadi.

<sup>2</sup> The Burgundians about 350 A.D., in the time of Valentinian, had moved further north, and occupied both sides of the river Elbe.

a large portion of whom were incorporated with the Goths, when that nation swept into Moesia and Thrace in the reign of Decius<sup>1</sup>. In our map the Venedi and Sarmatæ are still distinct nations, as are also the Bastarnæ or Blastarni (vii), all three of which tribes the Goths incorporated with themselves before the reign of Valentinian. We find, in fact, no indication of the Goths in the map; but we have Getæ between the rivers Danubius and Agalingus (viii); the latter being either the Pruth or the Dniester: and this accords with what Spartianus tells us, that the Goths, on their appearance upon the borders of the Euxine, were called at first Getæ: "Gothos tunc Getas dictos esse<sup>2</sup>". We can scarcely accept the legend that the Goths were allies of Mithridates, and on his defeat moved from the shores of the Euxine to Scandinavia or Scania: but the Guttones mentioned by Pytheas seem to be the Goths. According to Pytheas they dwelt to the south of the great gulf, Mentonomon, as far as the Tanais, which is probably the Vistula: and we suppose that from Prussia and Pomerania a portion had passed into Scandinavia, and that another large body afterwards moved southwards; till in the reign of Alexander Severus they were almost in their old legendary quarters near the Crimea: and the Getæ in our map may represent the heads of their advancing column. The Alans are also placed (ix) near the Lacus Salinaris, in the neighbourhood apparently of the Caspian. This tribe is said to have appeared in Media and Armenia in the time of Vespasian; whilst in the time of Marcus they shewed themselves north of the Black Sea; which is fairly accordant with their position as here shewn. The Roxolani (*Roxulani Sarmatae*), with whom Hadrian had a successful struggle, ending in the frustration of their attempt to

<sup>1</sup> They attacked Marcianopolis, Nicopolis and Philippopolis; and defeated and killed Decius at Forum Teretronii, A.D. 251: but were driven out again by Aurelian in A.D. 253.

<sup>2</sup> Spart. *Caracall. 10.*

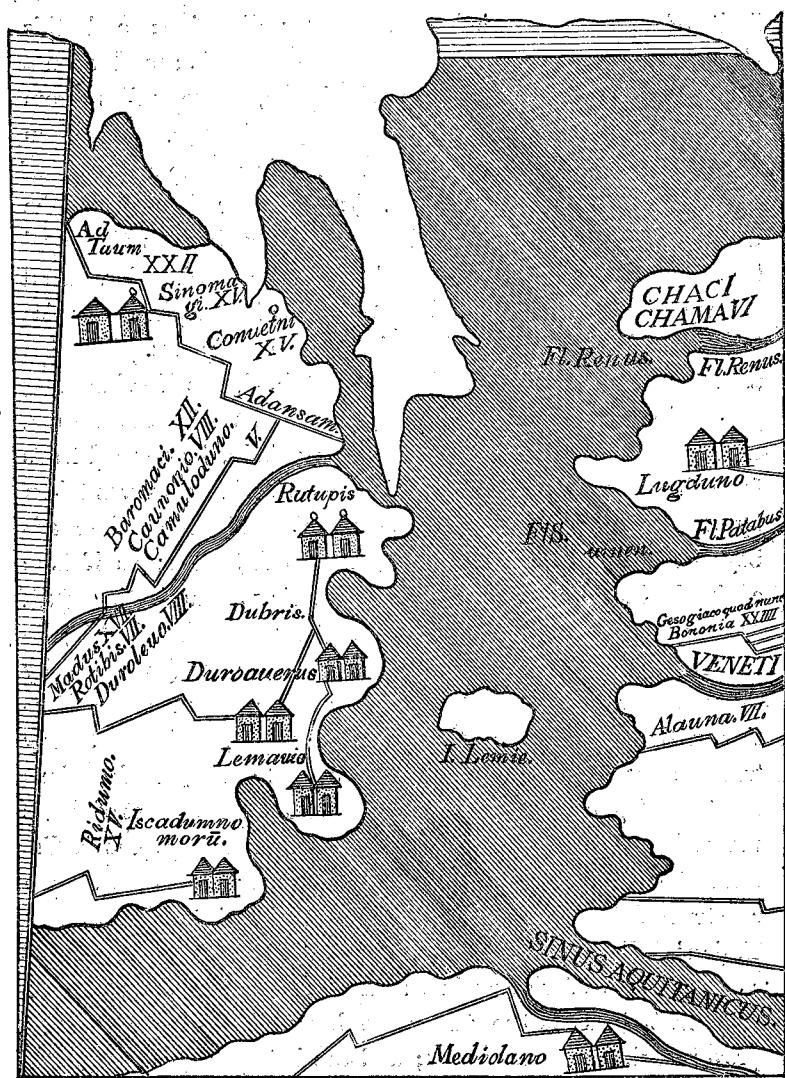
enter Mœsia, are also shewn (viii) in occupation of a district to the N.W. of the Euxine. Marcus is mentioned by Julius Capitolinus as giving a king to the Lazi, who lived beyond the Phasis, in which locality approximately this tribe, of which we have little further record, is to be seen (ix) in the *Tabula*. Thus the arrangement of the Barbarian Tribes accords in almost every detail with what we know of their distribution in the reign of M. Aurelius.

Let us now look at the representation of the Eastern frontier. Palmyra, destroyed in A.D. 273 by Aurelian, is represented (x) as a flourishing city, with several roads leading to it through the desert. From the careful delineation of the roads in Mesopotamia, and from the fact that Parthia (*Parria* in the map, xi) is included in a larger district, denoted Persida, some critics have been inclined to assign the map to the time of Alexander Severus, who is known to have had much warfare on the Eastern frontier, and made or repaired roads in Mesopotamia, and is said to have instructed Achelous to record his "actus et itinera." But "itinera" may just as well mean his "travels" as his "roads"; and M. Aurelius was quite as much concerned with the affairs of the East as Alexander Severus; in fact Gibbon casts great doubt on the reputed victories of Alexander<sup>1</sup>. Persida, in our map, appears to be a district partly within and partly without the Roman Empire, and therefore not an independent power. The Persians, we allow, did not wrest the supremacy from the Parthians till about A.D. 226; but the title Persida may long before have been a name applied to the region over which the Persians had ruled in earlier times. We know that the generals of Marcus fought battles with success at Europos (xii) and Sure (x), both of which are noted in the *Tabula*; and just beyond Sure is marked "fines exercitus Syriatice, et commertium barbarorum,"

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon's *Decline and Fall*, ch. 8.

the road ending abruptly at the same point. So also a road leading to Ctesiphon (*Cesiphun*) stops there, as if that was the limit of Roman knowledge in another direction: and this Ctesiphon is at a great distance from Seleucia; and cannot possibly correspond with the Ctesiphon, three miles from Seleucia, which Marcus utterly destroyed by fire. Ctesiphon seems to have been the name for the moving camp or capital of the Great King (see Gibbon ch. 8); and after the sack of the Ctesiphon near Seleucia, it is not improbable that the royal head-quarters would be moved further into the interior. And the map leads us to infer that this second Ctesiphon was also taken, and became the limit of the Roman conquests. Babylon also, we know, was taken, but not retained, the Persian king purchasing peace from Marcus by the cession of Mesopotamia; exactly as the map would lead us to conclude, for no road leads from the Roman territory to Babylon (xi). Artaxata was taken by one of Marcus' generals, A. Cassius; and here too the roads beyond, after a short circuit, return to Artaxata; as if here again the Romans came to an end of their communications (xi). It may, in fact, be noted that although roads are marked in the Eastern half of the 11th section of the map (as given by Mannert), and in the 12th, these roads are not in communication with the roads of the Roman Empire, and are clearly tracks only known by report, or discovered during the invasions of Marcus' generals. Again, although a road with stations is marked as running through Iberia and Albania (xi), it is disconnected from the Roman road-system, and may be a road constructed in these provinces during their brief annexation by Trajan<sup>1</sup>. Europos and Sure are places of no importance except as the scenes of victory in the time of M. Aurelius; Elegeia (*Elegarsina*) (x) is the fort whose destruction by the Parthians provoked the Romans to war; and the inference thus suggested

<sup>1</sup> Iberia and Albania were abandoned by Hadrian, and not recovered by M. Aurelius.



is confirmed in quite another part of the map, where we have the names of two towns, of no importance and denoted by no pictorial symbols, written in capital letters, a rare mode of lettering in the map. These are Lorium on the Via Aurelia (v), 12 miles from Rome, and Ugernum, close to Nemausus or Nismes (i) : and the fact may be explained by the circumstances that T. Antoninus was educated at Lorium, and died there; and that his family came originally from the neighbourhood of Nismes; Ugernum possibly being the exact place of their origin.

The evidence on the whole seems strongly to lead us to the inference that the *Tabula Peutingeriana* was derived from the map of Vipsanius Agrippa, as corrected and recast at the end of the reign of M. Aurelius; and, it may be, also renewed by the two scribes of Theodosius; and that it was once more transcribed, with many verbal errors, and with some very transparent interpolations, in the middle of the 13th century; then buried in the library of a monastery for 350 years, and brought to light again in 1507 A.D., from which time it is easily traceable.

*Part 2. The bearing of the Tabula on the topography of Britain about 200 A.D.*

The fragment of our island depicted in the Tabula is a very small one; not because, as Scheyb supposed, Britain was for a while lost to the Romans; but because one of the original twelve sheets of the Tabula has been destroyed. There is clearly a margin to the outer edge of the first of the sheets remaining, as if left for the purpose of glueing on another; and there is nothing corresponding at the extremity of the last sheet of the series. The printed map, in Mannert's edition, is now in 12 compartments; but this arrangement has been made for convenience by dividing the eleven original sheets into twelve. It will at once be noticed that only the East coast of Britain as far to the north as what is now Norfolk, is de-

picted; together with what appears at first sight to be only a portion of the South Coast. But we perceive from the mention of Exeter (Isca Damnoniorum, which the scribe converts into Isca Dumnonorum) that the outline is greatly compressed and distorted, and the sketch is really intended to comprehend England as far as the Land's End. This is a mode of drawing which may be observed throughout every sheet of the map; and therefore, before proceeding further, a few remarks must be offered as to the plan on which the ancient geographer worked. His object was merely, or, at any rate, principally, to point out the order of the stations along the various roads. He evidently cared little for *direction*; but he was careful to insert the principal rivers, and hardly ever appears to make the mistake of placing a town on the wrong bank of an important stream. As to tributaries he is not so particular; his object with them seems to be merely to shew crossing-places; and if a tributary is tortuous, or cannot be introduced into his distorted map without traversing some road, contrary to fact, or some other river, contrary to nature, he omits it, or replaces it by some other imaginary river, so as to indicate a crossing in its proper situation. So, again, as to inlets of the sea, we observe throughout a remarkable contraction in the measurements from north to south; as, for instance, in the case of the Mediterranean Sea and the Bay of Biscay, with a corresponding enlargement to east and west in many cases; for the Mediterranean Sea runs through nearly ten out of the twelve plates which contain the *Orbem Veteribus Notum*. If the map was, as supposed, originally painted on the walls of a portico, it seems obvious that, to make the whole easily visible, it had to be submitted to this kind of distortion; which, by the way, is scarcely so excessive as that in the modern maps of the world on the projection named Mercator's.

Hence, judging from the analogy of the Bay of Biscay, &c., we may conclude that the estuary marked in the sketch of

Britain is not intended merely to represent the Thames, but the whole of the wide opening in the coast line, from Orfordness to the North Foreland. In this opinion I am not singular. Sir G. Airy took the same view in his *Essay on the Invasion of Claudius*; and Prof. Pearson says, "Tacitus, whose father-in-law was governor of the island, apparently believed the estuary of the Thames to extend to Colchester<sup>1</sup>."

The map, in the portion of Britain represented, shews us six fortified camps or stations, Richborough, Dover, Hythe, Canterbury, Exeter and *Sinomagi*, which last by its position is evidently Sitomagus. These are represented as fortresses of a somewhat inferior kind, or of what may be styled the *fourth* class. For we find in the *Tabula* various forms of illustration employed to indicate places of greater or less importance. There are first a few cities represented by elaborate drawings of castellated buildings, viz. Apuleia, Raveuna, Ad Matricem in Dalmatia, Thessalonica, Nicomedia, Nicæa, and Ancyra, the capital of Galatia<sup>2</sup>. We have already noticed the still more elaborate diagrams representing Rome, Byzantium and Antioch, and classed them as 13th century introductions. Probably these three cities were in the original denoted by pictures of the same type as those first mentioned. With this class of pre-eminent cities we may also reckon those bearing the name of *Aquae*, and represented by a picture of a rectangular bath, surrounded by rooms. Beacons are also depicted to symbolize Alexandria and Chrysopolis; and the piers and warehouses at Ostia and Marseilles are drawn with some amount of detail, and warehouses at Centum Cellis and Livissa, the port of Nicomedia. These being called the first class of stations, the second, third and fourth classes are represented by

<sup>1</sup> *Athenæum*, No. 1683 (28 Jan. 1860). Pearson's *Historical Maps*, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> The unnamed figure in sheet 9 is evidently meant for Ancyra, though the transcriber has omitted its name. So also he omits the name of Alexandria, on the same sheet.

double, or sometimes treble towers; surrounded, if of the second class, with a battlemented wall; whilst an oval surrounding line takes the place of the battlements in a town of class III., and in class IV. the towers stand alone<sup>1</sup>. Of this last kind we have almost countless examples; and, as already said, six in the S.E. and S.W. of Britain. Minor stations are denoted merely by flexures in the lines of road, and where the transcriber found space, and when he was not careless (as he so often was), a name was inserted in each flexure, the lettering running parallel with the road. Where space failed him he wrote two or three names, one below the other; and these will be found almost always to correspond in number with the flexures unlettered.

Looking again at the British portion of the map, we see marked a road running along the Kentish coast, from Richborough, through Dover, to Hythe (for it is now settled that Hythe was the *Portus Lemannus*)<sup>2</sup>: another from Dover through *Duroverus*, i.e. *Durovernum* (Canterbury), to *Durolevum* (Milton or Faversham), *Rotibis* and *Madus*, to the West. *Rotibis*, by comparison with Antonine's Iter II.<sup>3</sup>, is either a misspelling, or very probably a local appellation for *Durobrivæ* (Rochester). As to the place intended by *Madus* there may

<sup>1</sup> In sheets 1—4, we have examples of this 2nd class at *Cosedia* (Coutances) in Gaul, afterwards called Constantia, after Constantius Chlorus: at *Mogontiacum* (Mainz): *Reginum* (Ratisbon): *Lucca* and *Tredentum* in Italy: *Tacape* in Africa.

So also there are examples of the third class at *Nemausus* (Nismes), written *Nenniso*: *Argentoratum* (Strasburg): and *Sarmategla* in Dacia Trajanæ.

<sup>2</sup> See papers by Messrs Lewin and W. H. Black in *Archæologia*, vol. 40, pp. 361 and 375.

<sup>3</sup> The part of Antonine's Iter II. south of the Thames is

<i>Londinium</i>	10 miles to	<i>Noviomagus</i> :
<i>Noviomagus</i>	18 "	<i>Vagniaceæ</i> :
<i>Vagniaceæ</i>	9 "	<i>Durobrivæ</i> :
<i>Durobrivæ</i>	12 "	<i>Durolevum</i> :
<i>Durolevum</i>	12 "	<i>Durovernum</i> :
<i>Durovernum</i>	12 "	<i>Portus Ritupis</i> .

be a little doubt: but probably for *Madus*, we should read *Magus*, and suppose *Noviomagus*, or Holwood Hill, to be indicated. There is a considerable resemblance between D and G in the lettering of the map, G being merely D with a long tail or flourish below, which flourish might be obliterated by time in the 3rd century MS., which the 13th century scribe had before him; and the prior syllable *Novio* may have been on the missing first sheet. The mileage is incorrectly marked; for instead of the VII miles noted in the *Tabula* between Canterbury and Milton, and the VII miles between Milton and Rochester, we should in each case read XII according to Antonine: but the exchange of x for v is one of the commonest mistakes in MSS. A station *Vagniacæ*, which Antonine inserts between *Durobrivæ* and *Noviomagus*, is not in the map; unless we take *Madus* to be this *Vagniacæ*, which has been suggested because Rochester is on the Medway or *Madus*: but, on the whole, it is better to suppose a mere omission of *Vagniacæ*, and *Madus* written for *Magus* or *Noviomagus*; for the *Tabula* sets down XVIII miles as the distance from *Madus* to the preceding station; which is exactly what Antonine gives as the distance from *Noviomagus* to *Vagniacæ*<sup>1</sup>. The figure after the name *Vagniacæ* (which should be IX according to Antonine) would, no doubt, be omitted with the name itself. However, be the station *Madus* what we please, one thing is clear, viz. that the road from Canterbury and Dover has no appearance of turning to the north or north-west, to cross the Thames at London; an important fact to which I shall shortly recur.

As to the road above this, we recognize it at once as Antonine's Iter IX, Venta Icenorum being beyond the line of severance of the sheets. The most Northern station indicated

<sup>1</sup> But 18 miles would also be about the distance from Rochester to Telegraph Hill, and so on to Holwood Hill, by the ancient British track, which Petrie shows between Keston Camp and Telegraph Hill, in his map of ancient Kent. *A. J.* vol. 35, p. 169.

is *ad Taum*, or Tasburgh, about 6 miles south of Venta<sup>1</sup>; which Antonine does not mention<sup>2</sup>, probably because it was so near to Venta, that troops marching to or from Venta would not make it a stopping place. The other stations marked are, with correction of the spelling, Sitomagus (*Sinomagi*), Combretonium (*Convetiū*), *ad Ansam*, *Camulodunum*, *Canonium*, Caesaramagus (*Baromasi* or *Baromagi*). Next, in Antonine's road, would come *Durolitium* and *Londinium*. If the name of *Durolitium* alone were missing, we might suppose it was owing to the carelessness of a foreign scribe, copying names in a country of which he had no local knowledge, and in which he felt little interest. But it is most remarkable that the crossing of the Thames is distinctly marked, without the least indication of the city of London. Dr Guest and others have, I think, proved beyond all doubt that, in the times with which we are dealing, there could have been no ford and no bridge lower than old London Bridge, if there was either so low<sup>3</sup>. London therefore is either situated where the crossing is marked, or nearer the sea: and yet the scribe has not indicated it at all, either by name or by picture; although elsewhere he appears to have carefully copied the pictures in his model, even when he failed to add the designation. The conclusion seems to be, that in the time of

<sup>1</sup> See Woodward's map of Roman Norfolk, *Archaeologia*, vol. 23, p. 358.

<sup>2</sup> Antonine's Iter ix stands thus:

Venta Icenorum	31	miles to	Sitomagus :
Sitomagus	22	" "	Combretonium :
Combretonium	15	" "	Ad Ansam :
Ad Ansam	6	" "	Camulodunum :
Camulodunum	9	" "	Canonium :
Canotium	12	" "	Caesaramagus :
Caesaramagus	16	" "	Durolitium :
Durolitium	15	" "	Londinium.

<sup>3</sup> Besides, till the marshes on the Southwark side of London were drained (and none but the Romans could have drained them), it is impossible that London could have been approached directly from the S. or S.E. See as to these marshes Knight's *London*, vol. 1, pp. 74 and 146.

M. Aurelius or Commodus A.D. 161—193, London, which, as we know, had been burned during the Boadicean revolt, had not sufficiently recovered to be marked, even as a fourth class station, in the military map of the Roman world.

On this supposition of the insignificance of London, I should suppose the road from Canterbury and the other road, above mentioned, to have had their junction either at Noviomagus (Holwood Hill), or even further to the west, if the crossing of the Thames in the map be not at London at all, but at Kingston, where Claudius is said to have built a bridge, or at Coway Stakes, which Dr Guest shews to be the lowest ford of the Thames, if we reject the notion of Claudius's bridge<sup>1</sup>. Supposing, however, the crossing to be at or near London, we may put the junction of the two roads at Holwood Hill, and consider this to be Noviomagus, which Antonine places 10 miles from London and 18 from *Vagniacæ* (Maidstone), distances which represent Holwood Hill very correctly. Reynolds, quoting Gibson<sup>2</sup>, describes a great camp in that neighbourhood (probably meaning Keston), nearly two miles in circuit, with triple rampart and deep ditches; and this may have been occupied by the Romans, though originally constructed by the Britons. The extensive remains of Roman buildings, discovered hard by, are described in the *Archæologia*<sup>3</sup>.

Near Streatham, on the modern road towards London, Gale and Bray<sup>4</sup> identified the meeting place of three Roman roads, one the Stane Street from Arundel, through Croydon and Dorking; another from the East, the road we are now tracing, called in later times the South Watling Street; a third

<sup>1</sup> See Guest on *The campaign of Aulus Plautius* in *Arch. J.* vol. 23, p. 159; and *Origines Celticae*, vol. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Reynolds's *Iter Britanniarum*, p. 228.

<sup>3</sup> A circular Roman temple of 30 feet diameter (with which compare that at Silchester), a large rectangular building, walls in the fields, called Upper and Lower Warfield, &c. *Archæologia*, vol. 22, p. 336.

<sup>4</sup> Bray in *Archæologia*, vol. 9, p. 96.

from Kingston, through Wimbledon. These roads are marked by Hughes in the map of Roman Britain in *Monumenta Britannica*<sup>1</sup>. The upper road, therefore, in the map denotes in all probability one of Roman construction from *Noviomagus*, shortening both the original British route by Coway Stakes (Halliford), and the first Roman road through Kingston, by crossing the Thames at Horseferry, which Hearne describes as "ad occidentem Westmonasterii". This accords with what Sir H. Ellis says<sup>2</sup>: "the road from Chichester to Dunwich did not pass through London, but ran along the Old Street, north of London, and went to Old Ford, cutting the Watling Street at Tyburn." It is admitted on all hands<sup>3</sup> that the Old Street was some distance from the London which existed prior to Constantine, and also clear of Constantine's London; and the traces of "Old London," i.e., London before Constantine, must be uncertain and indistinct (shewing Old London to be but an insignificant place), when we find such authorities as Black, Lewin, and C. Roach Smith<sup>3</sup> at variance on the important fact, whether it was to the east or west of the Wallbrook. Among the many thousands of Roman coins found between 1834 and 1841, in the dredging for the foundations of the new London Bridge, there were but few

<sup>1</sup> Gale's note (also quoted with approval by Tregallas in *Arch. J.* vol. 23, p. 265) is as follows: "A Londinio ubi decesseris ad Austrum, post CIC CIC pass. vel circiter, via publica dispescit (*sic*) se in tres semitas, quarum occidentalior per Wimbledune, (i.e. Windledune, *ad Vindilin fluvium*) et vallum Germanorum, qui hic sub A. Plautio meruere, pergit ad Kingstonium, vetus oppidum, (sed et sedem et nomen mutavit) haud dubie a primis Romanorum victoriis firmatum praesidiis, quemadmodum et Gatton, Bensbury, Wimbledune et Burrow super Bensteed Downs, aliaque circumiacentia ad Thamisin loca. Id situs et provinciae tutela postulabant. Hic Romani primo Thamisin per pontem trajiciebant, et forte Claudius ipse. Hic in dupnis proximis ad Combe CIC pass. ab hodierno Kingstonio multi Romanorum nummi sunt effossi." *Antonini Iter* (ed. 1709), p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. 27, p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> Black in *Archæologia*, vol. 40, p. 41: Lewin in *Archæologia*, vol. 40, p. 59: Roach Smith in *A. J.* vol. 1, p. 108.

of early reigns; and those most abundant were coins of Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, with another series of Carausius, Allectus, Constantine &c.<sup>1</sup> The medallions found were only three; one of M. Aurelius, one of Faustina, one of Commodus. Most probably the medallions indicate the exact date of the first bridge, being deposited under its foundations with some of the coins of the same date: whilst the others would be thrown in to propitiate the god of the stream; such appearing to be a custom of Roman travellers<sup>2</sup>. The second and later series will indicate, perhaps, a reconstruction of the bridge. There may have been a ferry at Dowgate, before the bridge, replacing the older ferry at Horseferry; and the construction of the bridge would account for commerce being drawn to London, and the city beginning to develope.

We may, therefore, explain why the Watling Street and Ermine Street are only conspicuous in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* by their absence. The Watling Street probably existed, but on reaching *Verulamium* turned to the south, and proceeded to Halliford, where the road from the Cattivelauni to the Atrebates crossed the Thames. The road would, no doubt, be diverted afterwards, first to Kingston, and next to London, as the bridges were built.

As to the Ermine Street, it has always been considered that this, the straightest of the Roman roads, was also the latest, and the most essentially Roman; not being a rectification of old tracks, as many others were. For when roads were constructed during the progress of conquest to connect forts, as they were

<sup>1</sup> Akerman's *Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. 4, p. 147.

<sup>2</sup> See Mr. Watkin's paper in *A. J.* vol. 34, p. 132. In the reservoir at Procolitia were found many thousands of coins: also 24 altars, 11 with inscriptions, mostly dedications to Corentina. At Vicarello, near Rome, 24,000 pounds weight of Roman and Etruscan coins. At Bourbone-les-Bains, at the source of the Seine, 4000 coins, with rings, statuettes, &c. So also at Abbot's Well near Chester, at Kirbythore, at Latton Ford near Cirencester, near the old bridge over the Tyne, &c. &c.

established, they must of necessity have been tortuous. But when the country was settled and peaceful, it is equally natural to suppose that more direct roads would be laid out to connect the principal centres of population, commerce and military defence. Dr Guest has shown conclusively<sup>1</sup> that the nature of the country immediately north of London, marsh and dense woodland, must have prevented the construction of a direct North road in early days; and he seems inclined to consider the Ermine Street a Saxon work. But it is much more likely, I think, that it was made late in the time of the Roman domination. Antonine has no Iter corresponding to the line of the Ermine Street south of Godmanchester (Durolipons); therefore Chesterford, though an ancient British town, was probably a late Roman station; and consequently not likely to be either the *Iciani* or the *Camboritum* of Antonine's Itinerary. The Saxons were not enthusiastic roadmakers, and what roads they are known to have made are especially crooked; whereas the Ermine Street is distinguished for its direct course.

With regard, once more, to the road running through the Eastern counties. The names, as already noticed, are in most cases easily identified; the chief difference being that Caesaramagus is replaced by Baromagi, but no one can suppose Caesaramagus to be other than a Roman alteration, and the Romans left the essentially Gaelic termination in *magh*. The distances from place to place accord well enough with Antonine's distances, except that *Sitomagus* is placed 15 miles from *Combretonium* instead of 22: but the 22 is found in the distance from *Sitomagus* to *Ad Taum*, which ought to be 25, deducting the 6 between *Ad Taum* and *Venta Icenorum* from Antonine's 31 from *Sitomagus* to *Venta*. The German scribe was quite capable of transposing xxv and xxii, and also of omitting an x from the xxv: and this I suppose he has done. Where he only differs by a

<sup>1</sup> Guest on *The Four Roman Ways* in *A. J.* vol. 14, p. 99: *Origines Celticae*, vol. 2.

single mile, as he does in two or three cases, I account for it by supposing that in the maps a fraction was always omitted, and sometimes the inferior unit set down, sometimes the superior; so in these cases he may have correctly copied his model, and Antonine have worked on the contrary principle as to the fractions. The map strengthens the theory of Jenkins<sup>1</sup>, that *Caesaromagus*, *Canonium* and *Camulodunum* may be placed, respectively, at Danebury Camp near Chelmsford, Hareburgh Camp and Lexden: *Colonia*, as distinguished from *Camulodunum*, being at Colchester, two or three miles from Lexden. The station of *Camulodunum* has no picture to designate it in the *Tabula*; and, doubtless, at the date assigned, it would be, like London, an insignificant place; the *Colonia* having been swept away by the Iceni under Boadicea, though they would probably spare the adjacent British town.

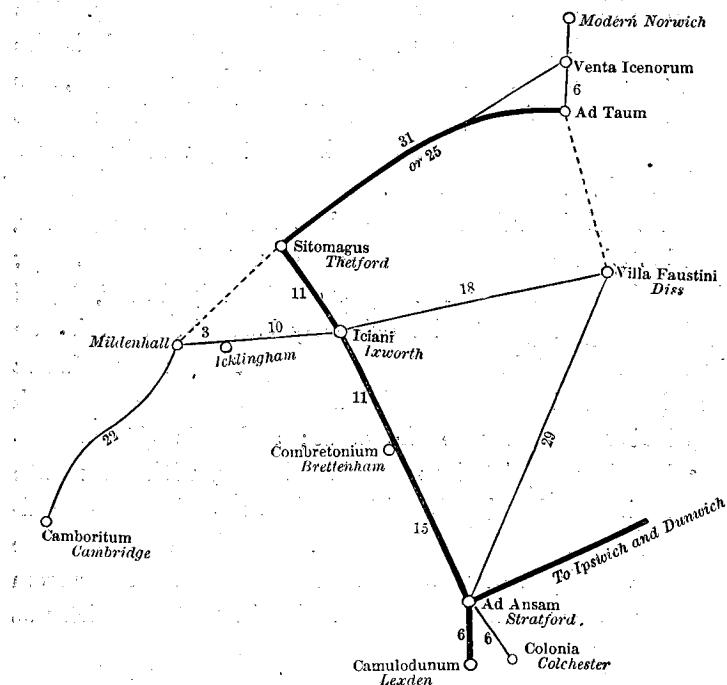
*Ad Ansam* is probably some place on the Stour; in fact, Richard of Cirencester (or Bertram) calls the station *Ad Sturium*; and though Bertram, as Prof. Mayor conclusively shows<sup>2</sup>, forged Richard's *Diaphragmata*, he evidently based his forgeries on some records which in parts were authentic<sup>3</sup>. From *Ad Ansam* the main road evidently turned inland, though a short branch is marked as tending to the coast; and this (if we consider the river depicted to be the Thames, with its mouth narrowed in the drawing, but intended to stretch from Orfordness to Kent) must lead to Dunwich. So that we may agree with those antiquaries who say that a Roman road ran from Colchester to Dunwich, though we maintain that Dunwich was

<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia*, vol. 29, p. 243.

<sup>2</sup> *Richard of Cirencester* in the series of "Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland."

<sup>3</sup> Roads, notably the Southern continuation of the Ryknild through Alchester to Silchester, have been found to be in accordance with the *Diaphragmata*, though Antonine says nothing about them. This fact is one which is hard to be got over by those who assert Bertram's document to be a baseless forgery.

not *Sitomagus*. The theory of Camden, Blomefield and Dyer appears to be correct, that *Combretonium* is the Roman camp near Brettenham in Suffolk; and *Sitomagus* at or near Thetford, which appears to be the *Iciani* of Iter v. of Antonine. Another road seems to have crossed the Peutinger road at Ixworth in Antonine's time, running from *Villa Faustini* (Diss) to Icklingham and Mildenhall; and the arrangement of Antonine's Itineraria v and ix seems to be as follows, the Peutinger road being shown by thick lines<sup>1</sup>:



<sup>1</sup> Iter v of Antonine stands thus:

Londinium	27 miles to	Caesaromagus :
Caesaromagus	24 " "	Colonia :
Colonia	35 " "	Villa Faustini :
Villa Faustini	18 " "	Iciani :
Iciani	35 " "	Camboricum :
Camboricum	25 " "	Durolipons.

Only one other road is delineated in the *Tabula*; viz. that on which we find marked *Ridumo* and *Isca Dumnoniorum*. There can be little doubt that *Ridumo* is the *Moridunum* of Antonine, and *Isca*, of course, is Exeter. The exact position of *Moridunum* is now almost certain, owing to the researches of Hoare and Warne, viz. at Honiton, or Hembury Fort near Honiton, and not at Seaton. Antonine, the *Tabula* and Richard agree in stating 15 miles as the distance from *Isca* to *Moridunum*, which agrees with the position of Hembury Fort. This road, then, must be the British trackway, afterwards converted into a Roman road, along the crest of the Downs, from *Durnovaria* (Dorchester), past Maiden Castle, Aggerdun and Lambard's Castle; along which, from the regular series of Roman camps, placed in opposition to British forts, we may suppose Vespasian to have advanced in his conquest of the south of Britain<sup>1</sup>. This road was called, as a Roman road, the Dorset Fossway, and fell into the great fosse at the Hembury Fort, just mentioned.

The map confirms the idea, generally held, that *Anderida*, *Regulbium*, *Othona*, *Portus Adurnus*, were not fortified ports till the reign of Carausius, when they were constructed to form with the older forts or stations, Dover, Hythe, Richborough, Burgh Castle (*Garionum*), and Brancaster (*Brancodunum*) the line of defence of the Saxon shore. It is impossible to say positively that the map indicates the non-existence of *Garionum* at its date, for where the map breaks off is uncertain; but probably, if *Garionum* had existed, it would have been in the existing fragment of Britain.

The conclusions, therefore, suggested by the *Tabula Peutingeriana* in relation to Britain, are :

I. That in the time of M. Aurelius London was a place of little importance, though it had previously been a resort of merchants, but not a fortress;

<sup>1</sup> See Warne in *Archæologia*, vol. 41, p. 387.

- II. That the Watling Street, as a British road, crossed the Thames considerably to the west of London;
- III. That the Ermine Street is a late Roman work;
- IV. That the Romans may have had a station at Dunwich; but that the road from Silchester, through Colchester to Norwich, did not pass through Dunwich, but went directly from Colchester to Ixworth and on to Thetford, and that Thetford is *Sitomagus*, and Ixworth *Iciani*;
- V. That the majority of the forts of the Saxon shore did not exist at the date mentioned.