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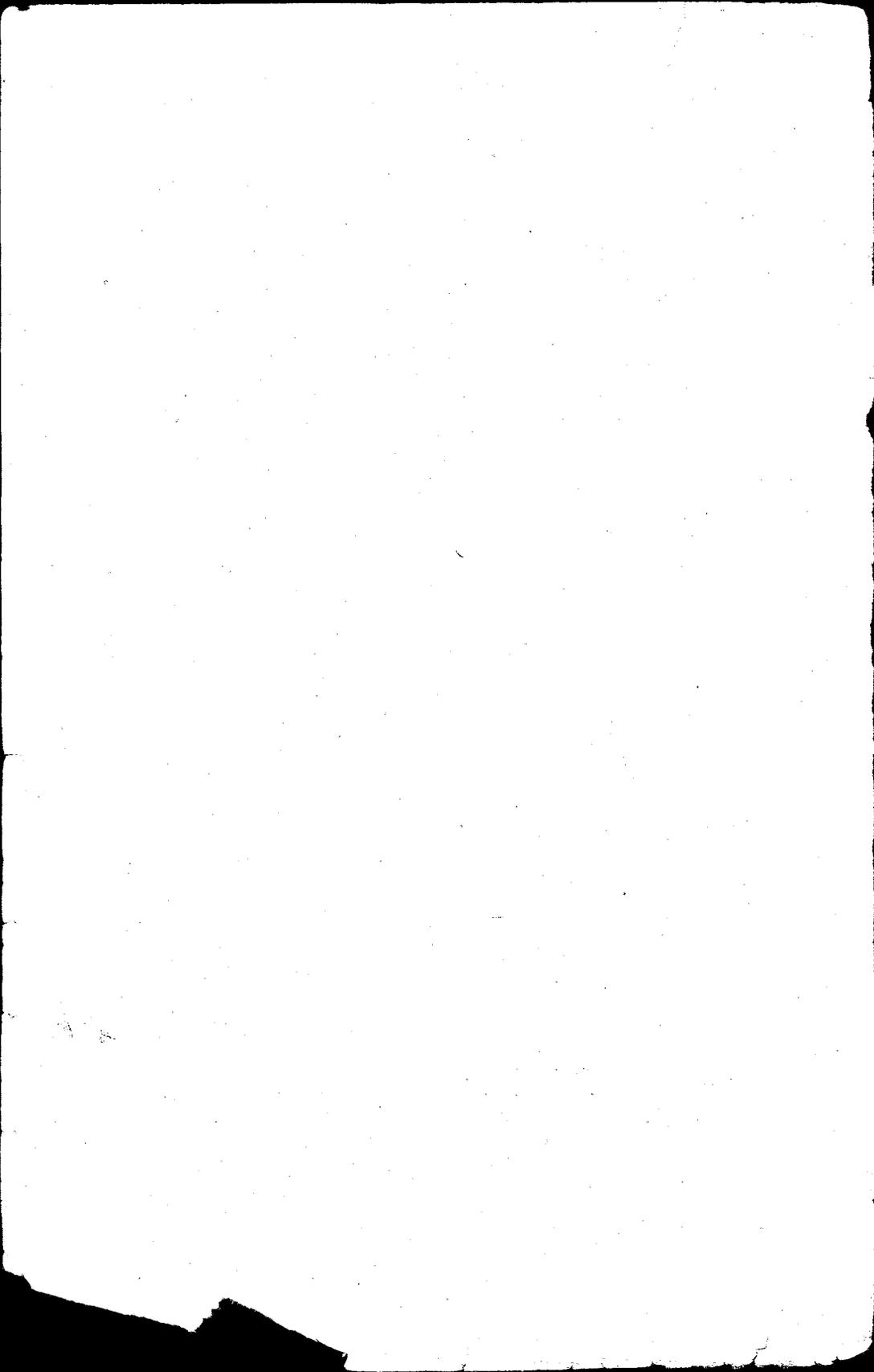
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Monday, 16 November 1903.

A. C. HADDON, Sc.D., F.R.S., President, in the Chair.

Mr E. H. MINNS exhibited a collection of Russian holy pictures, crosses, etc., and gave a slight sketch of the history of religious painting in Russia. He also displayed some examples of Russian peasant costume, which by the kindness of Miss B. Wherry and Miss G. Thornely were shewn in actual wear. Various other objects of Russian domestic art were also exhibited.

Monday, 30 November 1903.

A. C. HADDON, Sc.D., F.R.S., in the Chair.

The Rev. A. C. YORKE made the following communication upon

ITER V AND ITER IX OF ANTONINE AS SEEN FROM  
FOWLMERE.

The East Anglian Itineraries: being An Attempt to elucidate *Itinera V et IX* of Antoninus, from London to Lincoln and to *Venta Icinarum*.

This is an amplification of some notes read to the Society in November 1903. It is hoped the delay in publication will be excused by the need of dealing fully with so intricate a subject.

Two acknowledgements I feel bound to make.

1. My own unfitness for the task, which I should never have undertaken but for my conviction that, in studying quite another matter, I had lit upon the identification of *Icini*. If I have at all justified that conviction to the reader, I trust he will overlook my many shortcomings, and temerity, in the attempt to follow the roads from that point.

2. The great kindness and consideration I have met from many of my acquaintance, and from one who is personally unknown to me. When I say that the latter is Dr Raven, and that among the former are

Professor McKenny Hughes, who has always been ready with suggestions, and Mr Jenkinson, who has allowed me to use the University Library for reference and information, it will be readily understood that I am under deep obligations to many who are better fitted to address the Society upon the mysteries of the *Itinera* than ever I can hope to be.

I ought also to mention my indebtedness to the excellent reduced Ordnance Survey maps at the disposal of every cyclist: and above these to the admirable *Contour road-book* of Messrs Gall & Inglis, without which I do not think it would have been possible to verify the distances with any accuracy.

A. C. Y.

FOWLMERE. May 1904.

### INTRODUCTION.

The British *Itinera* of Antoninus have, for something like 400 years, been the despair of antiquaries: and of them all, none perhaps afford an enigma so perplexing as the Fifth and the Ninth, which are, as it were, the double acrostic of East Anglia. Yet there can be no doubt that it is the very difficulty of their solution which lends attraction to the problem.

Many, as well great and illustrious as audacious and speculative, have set their hands to the unravelment of the tangle. Each has had his theory, his whims and caprices. All have failed. "The case," says Dr Bennet, the learned Bishop of Cloyne (1794-1820)<sup>1</sup>, "is without a parallel, for we find actual roads and decided marks of Roman Stations, at the usual distances of these roads, but the distances themselves cannot possibly be reconciled to any of the numbers assigned in the Itineraries. The idea of Horsley, who carries travellers back for several miles on the road they came; and that of Mr Reynolds, who leads them into a part of the country where he is forced to create both roads and towns for their use, appear to me to labour under insuperable difficulties: and the more ingenious and more plausible idea of Mr Leman that an *x* has been

<sup>1</sup> Lysons' *Magna Britannia*, vol. ii. Cambridgeshire.

added to the three successive stations *Iciani*, *Camboritum*, and *Durolipons*, and a *v* added to those of *Durobrivis* and *Causennæ*, in the same manner as we know<sup>1</sup> that an *x* has been added to that of *Villa Faustini* immediately preceding them—though this emendation would undoubtedly make them fall exactly where every one would wish to place them—seems to give a degree of regularity and system to the blunders of a transcriber, which the very nature of the case can hardly admit.”

In these latter days a school of investigators has grown up, who allow themselves no liberties of addition or subtraction. As the various libraries of Europe have yielded copies of the *Itinera*, collation has led to a revision and verification of the text. To that *textus receptus* of the routes this younger school attaches itself, and only allows of such allocation of sites as may tally with the written enumeration. This is as it should be: for without this definition of distances there can be no finality.

Into this fateful Labyrinth, wherein Antoninus sits like some Minotaur to feast on the reputations of learned antiquaries, my tyro steps have stumbled through a mere accident. In looking for far humbler knowledge I have blundered into what appears the exit from this Labyrinth. Before I display the possibilities of my discovery, for so I must ask permission to call it, let me say something as to the causes of the wretched entanglement whose clue I am inviting the reader to follow.

The real difficulty of these two East Anglian *Itinera* lies in the curious elongation of the routes, especially of *Iter v*. This elongation has nothing to do with the difference between the Roman and the English mile. That is a mere matter of calculation. But this elongation can only be accounted for by assuming that the journey undertaken was of the nature of a tour, deviating, as occasion might arise, from the direct route to outlying stations, whose locality lies buried under the dust of 1700 years.

<sup>1</sup> Know? How do “we know”?

Here, for instance, is part of the *Iter v*<sup>1</sup>.

<i>a Londinio Luguvallio ad Vallum.</i>	m.pm. ccccxliii.	
<i>Cæsaromago.</i>	m.pm. xxviii.	} To Lindum m.pm. cclvi.
<i>Colonia.</i>	" " xxiv.	
<i>Villa Faustini.</i>	" " xxxv.	
<i>Icinos.</i>	" " xviii.	
<i>Camborico.</i>	" " xxxv.	
<i>Duroliponte.</i>	" " xxv.	
<i>Durobrivas.</i>	" " xxxv.	
<i>Causennis.</i>	" " xxx.	
<i>Lindo.</i>	" " xxvi.	

At *Lindum*, which is assuredly Lincoln, we stop, as beyond it we pass outside our East Anglian pale. *Luguv. ad Vall.* is Carlisle.

And here is the *Iter ix*.

<i>a Venta Icinorum Londinium.</i>	m.pm. cxxviii.
<i>Sitomago.</i>	m.pm. xxxii.
<i>Combretonio.</i>	" " xxii.
<i>Ad Ansam.</i>	" " xv.
<i>Camoloduno.</i>	" " vi.
<i>Canonio.</i>	" " ix.
<i>Cæsaromago.</i>	" " xii.
<i>Durolito.</i>	" " xvi.
<i>Londinio.</i>	" " xv.

Thus we have two routes which interlock at *Cæsaromagus*: yet the one places that station at xxviii Roman miles from London; while the other, introducing an intermediate station, sets it at xxxi Roman miles from London. That is one difficulty which has much perplexed some, and is a good example of similar difficulties throughout.

Then Lincoln is only 132<sup>2</sup> miles (English) from London by the Old North Road, or Ermine Street. As this was a Roman road the perplexity arises, how can we account for the *cclvi* Roman miles of the Itinerary? Granted that, as generally received, the route of *Iter v* takes us through Essex, through

<sup>1</sup> Parthey and Pinder suppose that *mpm* is writ short for *millia plus minus*, i.e. for miles without fractions more or less.

<sup>2</sup> Via Peterboro' 132 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; via Grantham 137 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

or towards Colchester, and that the exigencies of the third century conditions scarcely encourage us to look for a way across the Fens<sup>1</sup>, how are *cc* miles to be made up even from Colchester?

And again: except *Londinium* (London) and *Lindum* (Lincoln) there is as yet no certainty as to the identification of any site on the intermediate road. Experts have named now one locality, now another, just as their fancy or prejudices led them. Unless we can with tolerable certainty fix one or more intermediate stations, our choice is likely to wobble about even more than the Itinerary itself. There is thus a very grievous difficulty presented to us; for we want, not merely probability, but some positive measure of certainty. And although *Iter ix* has not the erratic course of *Iter v*, yet we are so much in the dark that we do not as yet know where to locate the *Venta Icinorum*, whence the route starts; for even those, who are most positive that it is to be found in Caistor by Norwich, fail to satisfy all the requirements of the equation<sup>2</sup>.

Before we face the actual problems which demand solution, we may be well occupied in doing a little pioneer work, and set ourselves somewhat to clear the ground.

Probably the enquirer's readiest question is, Why these wide deviations? Why start for Lincoln and Carlisle through Essex? and why, having so started, make such frequent zig-zags as the mileage suggests? These questions cannot perhaps be answered completely; but at least some general answer can be given sufficient to satisfy a doubtful curiosity.

It is evident from the ubiquitous compilation of the whole *Itinera*, embracing the chief thoroughfares throughout the whole Roman Empire, that these are official records of the Imperial Intelligence department. They may have been for military, judicial, or fiscal purposes: but evidently they pre-

<sup>1</sup> Though there was a road from Denver to Castor on Nene, vid. Codrington, *Roman Roads*: and I gladly on a later page avail myself of the fact.

<sup>2</sup> A table of allocations for the two *Itinera* will be found at the end of this Introduction.

suppose some circuits of inspection under the government of Rome. They do not necessarily, as I have already suggested, furnish the stages of a point to point journey, but the perambulatory of an official passing circuitously upon a tour of inspection, yet always progressing towards his ultimate objective.

If we assume this, we may likewise be willing to accept another and kindred postulate. The stations named are almost certainly not the only stations on the route chosen. There would be, in some cases we know there were, stations, as well on the route specified as to its right or left, which were likely to demand attention. But the places named probably represent those convenient for the day's ride, showing where the official would spend the night, not so much agreeably to himself as with suitability to a rapid circuit; or where, even for a longer period, he might put up, with a view to the inspection of stations in the neighbourhood. Such related inspection is suggested by extensions between localities, generally accepted, with shorter intervals of direct road. And they would not be named, coming as they did 'all in a day's work.' It would be quite sufficient to specify the limits without particularising the operations.

The three stages of xxxv miles, and one of xxx, in this *Iter v* are very remarkable. Together they give a distance of cxxxv miles, about the full distance by direct route from London to Lincoln. It has been objected thereto that the distances are impossible for military advance; that no army, with roads as they then were, could cover so great a distance; and therefore, it is argued, the records must be in error. But it is well to remember that not unseldom, to facilitate mobilisation, the Romans paved their military ways, as in the case of the very Ermine Street by which they had access to Lincoln. And further, if our postulate of official inspection rather than military movement be tolerable, the great man would be well horsed, and could get a change of steed at every camp which he visited. In a summer day, as the Romans were early risers, it would need but little hard riding to cover cxxxv miles, even with one horse, and inspect two or three outposts by the way.

Such rides, whether in peace or war, are of common occurrence to-day. We need not doubt their accomplishment then.

These remarks sufficiently indicate the inherent difficulties of the *Itinera*. Commentators have unfortunately added thereto not a few artificial difficulties. The extract from Bishop Bennet's paper, as given above, clearly shows some of these. The objection noticed in the last paragraph is an instance of another. No doubt 100 years ago, and even less, the difficulties were aggravated by the want of systematic survey, and the employment of "long" and "short" miles. A glance at Morden's maps in Bishop Gibson's edition of Camden's *Britannia* will testify to the happy circumstances of our present-day chorography, and will accentuate for us the difficulties of the "old masters." But the kind of difficulty which I specially mark as artificial is of somewhat different type, as of wholly different origin. It is begotten of excessive and laborious attention to minute details out of a desire to compel conviction by an appearance of painful accuracy. I hope I shall not be accused of harshness or impertinence if I say that the effect upon the enquirer is that of fussiness. Thus patient and well-meaning antiquaries are continually saying that here we must be on the track of *Iter v* because on such and such a siding was recently found a handful of Roman coins: there yonder must have been one station or the other because a few years ago some workmen unearthed a nest of cinerary urns: a third place must be some other Antonine station because a skeleton, or a breastplate, or a bit of pottery, was whilom found there. Now no one will dispute that such details are of interest in local archæology, nor that such finds evidence human habitation, whether British, or Roman, or Saxon. But they are positively without proof that such a spot was one or another Antonine station. In seeking the particular they ignore the general. The Roman domination of Britain was established well within the first century of our era: by A.D. 80, or at any rate by the time Tacitus wrote his *Annals* and his *Agricola*, the yoke was firmly riveted on the neck of *Britannia Capta*. These Antonine *Itinera*

date probably from a hundred years later, or more<sup>1</sup>. Roman burials had been practised, Roman coinage had been current, all those years. It is no wonder that English hill-sides are saturated with *denarii* and other relics of Roman occupation. Considering the bloody nature of British subjugation, the constant ferment of the restless Celts, the beggary and misery that haunted the forests, the fierce outlawry that stalked over the wastes and heaths to waylay the lonely wayfarer, it is no wonder that skeletons are in plenty beside our roads: and we may well be sceptical that a few bones here or there denote a Roman *colonia*, or *castrum*, or *municipium*. Even the discovery of a whole *ustrinum* or *crematorium* is no evidence that the spot is one of those enumerated by Antonine, unless there be abundant corroboration. With the spread of Roman settlement we know there was a growing disposition of the British to affect Roman manners (for does not Tacitus twit the conquered tribes with their ready imitation?), and we need clear evidence that the discoveries of spade and plough are the remnants of a Roman rather than of a British habitation.

The converse to this makes another, and all too common, artificial difficulty. The mileage and situation of some place may be all that can be desired for its identification with a station in the *Itinera*: but it is rejected upon the ground that no Roman remains are known to exist in that immediate neighbourhood. Now, for one thing, there may be ample remains under the surface as yet untouched by plough or spade. That they are not "known" should never be urged as equivalent to the fact that they do not exist. And, for another thing, the argument ignores the fact that the *Itineries* were compiled after some 150 years of Roman occupation. The future antiquaries of the thirty-seventh century might as well argue that, because their spades had not turned up traces of English fortification in some village of the Punjâb, it would

<sup>1</sup> Parthey and Pinder date them from the first Antonine (A.D. 180) though they suppose the correction under Caracalla (A.D. 211) who took the name of Antonine. It seems certain they date from a time prior to Constantine (A.D. 306), for Constantinople is not the centre of convergence. See Margan's *Romano-British Mosaic Pavements*, Appendix.

be impossible to suppose that an English officer, or Inspector, or tax-collector, had used that village as a halting place on his annual circuit. By A.D. 200 or 250 Britain was sufficiently in the thrall of Rome to render British travellers safe in British villages without forts or other military occupation. The *Pax Romana* was then a fact. And the Britons were sufficiently advanced in Roman culture—that *humanitas* with which Tacitus had already in the first century barbed his satire—to make it possible for a Roman gentleman to accept their chief's hospitality: Their *cuisine* may not have been such as would appeal to Apicius; yet the guests of Nasidienus might well have been able to stomach their stews. Or if even a Roman soldier felt his gorge rise too high at the *olla podrida* of the Celtic cook, it is more than probable that there was hardly a British village of any size wherein would be found no Roman magistrate or merchant in whose villa could be provided accommodation of sufficient quality for the great man. I submit, therefore, that it is a needless difficulty to urge the absence of Roman remains as an argument against the caravanserais of a second or third century Antonine.

It is probably the prejudice which underlies the above objection that has blinded the commentators to a patent fact. British townships jostle Roman stations in the *Itinera*. We find *Icini* and *Camboricum* elbowing the *Villa Faustini* and *Ad Ansam*: and we have British and Roman nomenclature cheek by jowl in the same name, as in *Cesaromagus* and *Durolipons*. Indeed, as we look at the two *Itinera* of East Anglia, we find that in *Iter v* the only distinctly Roman names are *Colonia* and *Villa Faustini*; and in *Iter ix* there is but one, *Ad Ansam*. This in itself should make us a trifle wary of too much insistence on the discovery of Roman remains, or traces of Roman occupation. And it should, I think, certainly make us careful lest we attribute to places, with names wholly Roman, the importance, possibly fictitious, of notable British *oppida*.

Such attributed dignity is not only against the evidence of the *Itinera*. It is a downright defiance of history. The British *oppidum* was not what we should call a town; a thing

of houses, and streets, and markets, and shops. Cæsar<sup>1</sup> finds it necessary to warn his readers that nothing to which they were accustomed in their *oppida*, theatres or temples, or *fora*, were to be found even in the great town of Cassivellaun himself.

“Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, cum silvas impeditas vallo atque fossâ munierunt<sup>2</sup>, quo incursionis hostium vitandæ causâ convenire conserunt.”

If such be the case with the town of Cassivellaun, it would not be otherwise with that of Cymbeline. *Camulodunum*, before it was embellished by Roman architecture, must have been but a large stockaded park<sup>3</sup>.

It was in the neighbourhood of Cymbeline's *Camulodunum* that the Romans established that *Colonia*, “subsidiū adversus rebelles et imbuendis sociis ad officia legum<sup>4</sup>.” So determinedly was this undertaken with the view of pacification that the veterans who had turned their swords into ploughshares had settled down in their *Colonia* “nullis munimentis septa.....neque fossam aut vallum prædixerunt.” Yet in the face of this clear historic testimony, we are told by antiquaries that *Camulodunum* can only be looked for where was a Roman town, and that *Colonia* must be sought where some fort with foss and bank suggests the possible occupation of veterans from the Roman legions. To accept such a dogma is to turn history inside out.

I am not aware that any commentator has drawn attention to the *cases* of place-names in the Antonine lists. The distinction of ablative from accusative was probably for some purpose of information.

Thus *Cæsaromago*, *Colonia*, *Villa Faustini*, *Camborico*, *Duro-liponte*, *Causennis*, *Lindo*, *Sitomago*, *Combretonio*, *Camuloduno*, *Canonio*, *Durolito*, *Londinio*, seem to suggest a different thought

<sup>1</sup> *de B. G. Comm.* v. ch. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Are we to take *vallo atque fossâ* with *impeditas* or *munierunt*? My impression is—but I speak under correction—that the *quo* &c. signifies the fortification of such special place as to compel us to take the phrase with *munierunt*.

<sup>3</sup> Jenkins finds such a place at Lexden.

<sup>4</sup> *Tac. Ann.* xiv. 31, 32.

from *Icinis* and *Durobrivas*. The ablative gives an idea of passage by way of certain stations, without any hint of delay, more than that for the night's rest. The accusative seems to connote some delay at the station, as if there were other places in the neighbourhood which demanded attention. In this way perhaps the strategic importance of the different places may be suggested: and we may expect to find *Icini* and *Durobriva* to be military or commercial posts of considerable value; at any rate of greater moment than the others; even than London, which Tacitus tells us was, after consideration, abandoned at a critical moment by Suetonius Paullinus, at first "ambiguous an illam sedem bello delegeret<sup>1</sup>."

It only remains, before essaying the major problem, to set out a list of some allocations by well accredited commentators. In so doing I trust that sufficient apology for my own intrusion will be found in the small result, or I should say small finality, which has been achieved by so much learning and industry. All that I can promise is an earnest attempt to proceed by careful and logical deductions; holding it a prime necessity of the determination of sites to accommodate the mileage, and, so far as possible, to keep to well-known roads.

<sup>1</sup> Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 33.

## ITER V.

	Casaronago	Colonia	Villa Faustini	Icini	Camboricum	Durolipons	Durobrivæ	Causennæ
Camden	Brentwood	Colchester	Bury St Ed- munds	Ickborough	Cambridge	Godmanchester	Dornford	Casterton
Harrison	Chelmsford		Halstead	Exning	Comberton			Kesteven
Talbot	Chelmsford			Ickborough	Cambridge	Huntingdon	Peterborough	Kesteven
Burton	Brentwood	Colchester	Bury St Ed- munds	Exning	Cambridge	Godmanchester	Dornford	Casterton
Fulk			Halstead	Ickborough	Comberton			
Gale	Writtle	Walden	Bury St Ed- munds	Exning	Cambridge			
Reynolds	Widford	Colchester	Wulpit	Thetford	Cambridge	Godmanchester	Casterton	Nottingham
Horsley	Chelmsford	Colchester	Dunmow	Chesterford	Cambridge	Ramsey	West Lynn	Boston
Stukeley	Chelmsford	Colchester		Ickingham		Cambridge	Castor	Ancaster
Taylor	Chelmsford or Writtle	Colchester		Chesterford		Godmanchester	Chesterton by Castor	Stanfield near Bourn
Margan	Chelmsford	Colchester	near Dunmow	Ixworth	Chesterford	Irchester	Castor on Nene	Ancaster
Salmon	Braughing	Colchester		Chesterford	Godmanchester		Castor on Nene	
Jenkins	Danbury Camp	Haverhill to Castle Camps town lands of Lexden	Maldon	Colchester	Cambridge	Godmanchester		
Raven	Billericay	Colchester	Stoke Ash	Ixworth	Chesterford	Godmanchester		
					near Cam- bridge; prob. Grantchester	Godmanchester		

## ITER IX.

	Durolitum	Canonium	Camulodunum	Ad Ansam	Combretonium	Sitomagus	Venta Icnorum
Camden	Leyton	Chelmsford	Maldon	Coggeshall	Brettenham	Thetford	Caistor by Norwich
Burton	Leyton	Chelmsford	Maldon	Coggeshall	Brettenham	Thetford	Caistor by Norwich
Talbot	Leyton	Kelvedon		Catwade	Ipswich		Caistor by Norwich
Gale	Leyton	Canfield	Walden	Barlow	Brettenham	Wulpit	Caistor by Norwich
Reynolds	Romford	Canewden	Maldon	Toleshunt	Stratford St Mary	Stowmarket	Caistor by Norwich
Horsley	Leyton	Fambridge	Maldon	Witham	Stratford St Mary	Wulpit	Caistor by Norwich
Stakeley	Romford	Kelvedon	Colchester	Stratford St Mary	Brettenham	Thetford	Caistor by Norwich
Taylor	Romford	Kelvedon	Colchester			Icklingham	
Woodward	Romford	Witham	Colchester	Stratford St Mary	Woodbridge	Dunwich	Caistor by Norwich
Salmon	Cheshunt	Littlebury	Castle Camps	Wrating	Icklingham	Wyndham	Caistor by Yarmouth
Jenkins	Barking	Haynes Green	Lexden	= ad Wensaw, an old fort	Brettenham	Thetford	Caistor by Norwich
Raven	3 miles E.N.E. of Romford	Witham	Colchester	Stratford St Mary	Burgh	Dunwich	Norwich
Drake	Leyton	Coggeshall	Colchester		Chippenharn		
Beaumont	Cheshunt	Royston	Cheshford	Worsted Lodge	Ipswich	Ickborough	Ringstead
Margan	Romford	Witham	Colchester			Southwold	Norwich

HITCHIN AS *Icini*.

I propose starting on the Antonine route from Hitchin, for the identification of which place with *Icini*<sup>1</sup> I will give my reasons.

We may, I think, take it for granted that there is some connection between the place *Icini* and the tribe whose name is usually spelt *Iceni*, though, as the *Venta* of *Iter-ia* shows, the better reading for the tribe is similar to that of the station. We shall by and by see the strong probability of the territory of that tribe advancing beyond strict East Anglian limits to this Hertfordshire frontier. But at present the question is one of pronunciation. How to pronounce that *c*?

Camden and his followers pronounced it as the Saxon *k*; and he derives the name from some Celtic *Iken*, a wedge, resembling which is that prong of land from Newmarket to Hitchin. It is this pronunciation which, until Professor Skeat pulverised the theory<sup>2</sup>, led antiquaries to connect the tribal name with the place names Ickleton, Exning, Ixworth, Icklingham, and the like. Burton, who indeed once spells the name with an *s*, and his followers, give the *c* the sibilation of the French, and would call the name *I-see-ni*. The cause is obvious for both these pronunciations. The name occurs in Latin documents, and the pronunciation of Latin has with us insular folk degenerated into that of the Englishry, with its mixed pronunciations of original Saxon and imported Norman. We must try to get behind these to the Latin pronunciation; a debased pronunciation perhaps, but still to that pronunciation which prevailed in about the second century, or whenever the *Itinera* were compiled.

Let us then enquire about the probable Latin pronunciation of *c* before *e* and *i*, at that period. It will assist our enquiry if we at the same time can learn anything of the Latin pronunciation of *ch* before the same vowels; for both in English

<sup>1</sup> Spelt *Iciani* by Camden and others. *Icini* is vouched by experts as the correct ms. reading.

<sup>2</sup> *Place names of Cambridgeshire*, s.v. Ickleton.

and French there is a resemblance, though, not an identity, in the force of *ch* so placed; cf. F. *chien* and E. *chin*: F. *chemin* and E. *cheese*. The English is sharper, more dental, as *tch*, than the French, which more nearly approaches the English *sh*. Probably our English *ch* comes from the French, and not from the Latin.

*Icini* is found in Latin documents only. But there is one Latin document of English history, where French, Norman, and Latin meet, in which we have *Iceine* as the equivalent of our modern *Itchen* in Hants. That document is the Domesday Book. In case the similarity of spelling between *Icini* and *Iceine* be not sufficient warranty for at once accepting a similarity of pronunciation, let us investigate a little further.

Domesday Book was compiled under Norman auspices. It was ordered by the Norman Conqueror; the Inquisitors were Norman officers; the Jurators were half *angli*, half *franci* (French); the clerks were possibly mostly if not wholly Norman schoolmen. But we must not suffer this obvious truism to lead us into the specious and plausible conclusion that therefore the place-names afford us a Norman-French phoneticisation of Anglo-Saxon nomenclature. The document is not a French document, any more than it is English. It is a Latin document: and just as nowadays, if we were to write a Latin treatise on land-tenure, we should present the place-names not in English guise but in Latin, it is more than a fair inference, it is in evidence, that so it was then. The suffixed *a* is distinctly a latinisation; and, subject to correction, I would submit that the softening of the English *ng*, the change of *lk* into *c* or *k*, the change of *k* into *g* (cf. *Caius* and *Gaius*), and other peculiarities of spelling, are due, not to Norman, but to Latin idiosyncrasies.

There would be in 1086 an even greater disposition to such latinisation than to-day, for Latin was then not so "dead" a speech as now. Practically now it survives only as the ecclesiastical language of the Roman communion, with a pronunciation, by the way, wholly Italian. But in the 11th century, and for 500 years later, it was the *lingua franca* of Europe, and the

language of permanent record in arts, science, philosophy, and law. At the chair of St Peter, churchmen and statesmen, from the North Cape to the Carpathians, wrangled and flattered in Latin. If I may use the term with limitation and without prejudice, Latin, until the Reformation, was the "catholic" tongue; and as such needed a "catholic" pronunciation. To clerks and to princes, trained in the monastic schools, the reading, writing, and speaking of Latin, according to that universal diction, would be as easy as to render his native speech. To the Normans, with the leaven of "Romance" from the neighbouring France, the disposition to write English names in a Latin document with a Latin phoneticisation would come with greater ease than to an Englishman, though he too were educated at some monastic seminary. It would be to him pure barbarism<sup>1</sup> first to frenchify his English, and then latinise the product. In Domesday Book then I would urge that we must chiefly regard the Latin, to the disadvantage of the French element.

Nor do I think that Domesday Book leaves us in any doubt as to the "catholic" pronunciation of the Latin tongue. At the end of this section I give from 10 counties a list of names which present us with the use of *c* or *ch* before *e* and *i*. The evidence of these is overwhelmingly in support of the pronunciation which still prevails in every Mass and Lesson of the Roman obedience. Such names as *Icene* for Itchen, and *Chingestone* for Kingston, must be sounded *more Italico*. If "they wrote *ce* for Eng. *che*" it seems contrary to evidence to say that in Domesday Book Latin they "pronounced it as *tse*."<sup>2</sup> The pronunciation surely hails from the land which gives us the *Cinque cento* in art, and which looks upon the sea from *Civita Vecchia*.

It would be strange indeed if Domesday Book should give us a marked frenchifying of English placenames. Domesday

<sup>1</sup> This is a different matter from that of the "barbaric" Latin of which Madox writes, and Spelman gives a glossary.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Skeat, *Place Names of Hunts*. But of course, as an amateur, I speak under correction of experts such as the Professor of Anglo-Saxon.

Book was the finished work, corrected to afford a standard of reference for English tenures. In its redaction every care would be taken to avoid dispute. No novel or unauthenticated spellings, likely to cause doubt and difficulty, would willingly be tolerated. There might be a tendency to use French phonetics in writing from dictation. There could be none in compilation from exchequer rolls. Were such tendency very marked in the original notes, taken on Inquisition, we could detect it in *Inquisitio Com. Cantab.*, if not in *Inquisitio Eliensis*. In the former we have distinct evidence of dictation, which by collation is amended in Domesday Book. It will be sufficient to point to the *Fulemere* of I. C. C. and the *Fuglemcere* of Domesday Book. In I. E. we have distinct evidence of English influence—which perhaps in monastic records was only to be expected—going indeed so far as to give us twice the English “wen” p for w. But I. C. C. of Norman clerkship has fewer variants of place-name spellings than I. E. of the English monastery. These variants are easily accounted for by the fact that the press had not been invented, which stereotypes our spelling in its gazetteers and directories. Indeed almost every deed and court-roll for centuries gives two or more variants of the same names within its own compass. The difficulty which really faced the final redactors of Domesday Book was, not how to frenchify the English names, but which spelling, of the many recorded, officially to adopt. Every *jurator* could have stuffed his pockets with parchments relating to his manor. The exchequer clerks could have heaped the table with rolls from their archives. If witness for this be wanted, the number of variants in I. E., whose transcriber had the monastic records at his elbow, appears to give ample testimony. Domesday Book gives us, so far as I am aware, nothing which had not already appeared in public records as the recognised place-name spelling. But what it gives it records for the most part in Latin form, not in English; with Italian consonants and not French. This is practically what Professor Skeat says when he says “the vowel *e* or *i* would have palatalised the A. S. initial *C*.”

<sup>1</sup> *Place Names of Cambs.* Kirtling.

This is just what we might expect if experts be correct in telling us that the script of Domesday Book bears traces of Italian penmanship. But there can be no reasonable doubt that in the eleventh century any one, Italian, French, or English, in writing a Latin treatise would latinise the place-name spelling so far as he was able.

Domesday Book occupies an interesting place in the development of our tongue. Such Latin elements as survive in English, which of course is a Teutonic and not a Romance tongue, are styled as of the first, second, and third periods: respectively assigned, the first from the Roman conquest to St Augustine's mission; the second from St Augustine's mission to the Norman conquest; the third from the Norman conquest onwards. Domesday Book then floats as a sort of buoy to mark the embouchement of "Romantic" Latin into the English stream. The Latin which the Norman schoolmen brought was the Latin which in the second period had trickled into English speech such words as *arcepiſcopus*, archbishop, *circe* or *cerce*, church. This spelling<sup>1</sup> be it noted is in Roman, or Latin, character. The Saxon character was the Runic; and if they did not learn the Roman character under Roman domination over the *Litus Saxonicum*, or over their native *Germania*, they must have acquired it through the literary developments of the Augustinian mission. What the value of *c* in the Latin of the late Empire may have been can be found by reasoning from the Saxon use of it. The Saxons used it before *e* and *i* as the sound-symbol of *tch*. Thus we get *cilde* = child, or the Byronic "childe": *ceorl* = churl: *ciese* = cheese; and the like<sup>1</sup>.

Here then is an interesting link in the investigation. The "second period" gives us a value for *c* which we have seen in the early document of the third period. And as the mission of Augustine was sent by Gregory, the saintly Bishop of Rome, from Rome itself, and brought with it to heathen Saxondom the faith and orders of the Church, such a word as *arcepiſcopus* joins the traditional force of *c*, which we find in the third

<sup>1</sup> It is singular that Professor Skeat gives *Cestreton* as an example of the Norman *tse* force of *c* before *e* and *i*. See *Place Names of Hunts*.

and the second periods, right on the first period: less than 200 years from the evacuation of Britannia by the Roman garrison.

The Latin of the first period to which we have retreated gives but few words to our speech; and of these but one, I think, which affects our enquiry. *Chester* is that word, and the spelling in which we get it is that of the second period, *ceastre* or *cestre*. It must be left therefore to the Church and not to the camp to give us definite information as to the value of *c* in the MSS. of this first period Latin. But there is a negative evidence. The depravation of Latin speech had set in, it is believed, by A.D. 120<sup>1</sup>. That depravation was in Italy undoubtedly towards the Tuscan or Italian. It is only a question whether it had sufficiently advanced by the second century to give that force to *c* which apparently prevailed before A.D. 596<sup>2</sup>. If we dare to answer in the affirmative, then the Antonine *Icini* is pronounced, vowels being changed, as is *Icene* in Domesday Book.

Domesday Book does not however give *Icini* for Hitchin. It records it as *Hiz*, pronounced to-day as the possessive *his*, with the flat *z* as in *fizz*. Saxon or English charters give it as *Hicce*. The name Hitchin, with the Hitch wood overlooking the town, suggests that this pronunciation, which clings to the stream in the valley, was not always thus flat: and *z* is just one of those letters which bear a doubtful and accommodating potentiality in old MSS.

The name seems to be Celtic and to have survived right through the Roman and Saxon invasions. It is so quoted by Mr Seebohm as an instance of the "Continuity of Village Sites<sup>3</sup>." In two notes he draws attention to the "change of Hisseburn" (here we have the *his* sound) "or Icenanburn" (here we have apparently the sharp palatalisation of *c*) "into Itchin River" (Hants) and of "æt Iceburn into Ticeburn and Titchbourne" (here we have distinctly *c* as = *tch*). These facts coincide admirably with the contention that Domesday Book *Icene* gives us the clue to pronouncing Antonine's *Icini*.

<sup>1</sup> Roby, *Latin Grammar*.

<sup>2</sup> Chichester (*Cicestria*) is said to be named after *Cissa*, who flourished about 460 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> In his very delightful *English Village Communities*.

But our immediate purpose is to get the Domesday Book value of *z*. In our county we get final *z* in *Cietriz*; where Professor Skeat surmises that it represents the Latin termination *cus*<sup>1</sup>. If so it is an illustration of the latinisation of place-names. But he cites the Ramsey Chartulary as giving the form *Ceatrice*, where we again get the *c* before *e* with its sharp palatalisation. Elsewhere Domesday Book gives us *Wanetinz* for Wantage, and *Grenwiz* for Greenwich. I. E. affords us an *Iepeswiz* for Ipswich, and Madox<sup>2</sup> cites a charter of 1130 with *Gyppeswiz* for the same place. The same author also cites a Norman chronicle of 1085 which yields *Norwyz* for Norwich. In 1086 the final *z* probably had the same force, and *Hiz* should be pronounced as Hitch.

My argument may be, I hope it is not, erroneous. It was my duty to advance it. For what they may be worth these are the reasons which induce me to decide upon taking *Icini* as Hitchin, and thence starting on our Antonine tour.

I now set out the lists which show us *c* and *ch* before *e* and *i*, in the Italian mode of pronunciation.

GRENTEBR<sup>Y</sup>SCIRE.*C* before *e* and *i*.

Cestreforde	= Chesterford.	Hildericesham	= Hildersham.
Cestretona	Chesterton.	Bece	Beach.
Cietriz	Chatteris.	Scelgai	Shingay.
Cildeford	Chilford.	Escelforde	Shelford.
Cildrelai	Childerley.	Esepride	Shepreth.
Flamingdice	Fleamditch.	Wicheam	Witcham.
Stivecesworde	Stetchworth.	Wiceforde	Witchford.

*Ch* before *e* and *i*.

Chenepewelle	= Knapwell.	Hauochestun	= Hauxton.
Chenet	Kennet.	Crochestona	Croxton.
Chertelinge	Kirtling.	Hochintona	Hockington.
Chingestone	Kingston.	Hichelintona	} Ickleton.
Bochesworde	Boxworth.	Inchelintona	
Dochesworde	Duxford.	Wicheham	Wickham.

<sup>1</sup> The Professor says the name has been suggested to him as a river name. Mr Seebohm says *Hiz* means *waters* or *streams*.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the Exchequer*.

## HUNTEDUNSCIRE.

Chenebelton	= Kimbolton.	Cestretone	= Chesterton.
Bochesworde	Buckworth.		
Folchesworde	Folksworth.		
Lacheslei	Yaxlei.		
Winewiche	Winwick.		

## BEDEFORDSCIRE.

Bicheleswade	= Biggleswade.	Celgraue	= Chalgrave.
Chenotinga	Knotting.	Melceburne	Melchbourn.
Chernetone	Carlton.		
Pechesdon	Paxton.		
Pollocheselle	Pulloxhill.		
Rochestone	Rockston.		

But

Chichesane = Chicksands.

Indefinite

Blecheshou = Bletsoe.

Cochepol Cople.

## BEEROCHESCIRE = Berkshire.

Estoche	= Stoke.	Cerleton	= Charlton.
Cocheham	Cookham.	Civelei	Chieveley.
Bercheham	Barkham.	Merceham	Marsham.
Borcheleberie	Bucklebury.	Cilletone	Chilton.
Chenetberie	Kennetbury.	Cernei	Charney.
Chocheswelle	Coxwell.	Cedeleforde	Chaddleworth.
Hacheborne	Hagborn.	Celrea	Childrey.
Bochosome	Buxford.		
Chingestune	Kingston.		

## SUDSEX.

Falcheham	= Fawkham.	Cicestre	= Chichester.
Hauochesberie	Hawkesbury.	Cerlstone	Charlton.
Bercheleia	Beckley.	Dicelinges	Ditchling.
Cochinges	Cocking.	Flescinge	Fletching.
Rachetone	Racton.	Lince	Linch.
Wiche	Wick.	Cilletone	Chilton.
Stoches	Stoke.	Piceham	Patcham.
Helnache	Halnaker.	Burbece	Burbeach.
Chemere	Keymer.		
Chingestune	Kingston.		



## HANTESCIRE.

Menestoche	= Meanstoke.	Portceestre	= Portchester.
Rocheborne	Rockbourne.	Ticefelle	Titchfield.
Besingestoches	Basingstoke.	Ciltecumbe	Chilcomb.
Lacherne	Lackford.	Witcerce	Whitchurch.
Wenechetone	Winkton.	Miceldevrè	Micheldever.
Drocheneforde	Droxford.	Cerdeforde	Chardford.
Laurochestoche	Laverstoke.	Celtone	Chalton.
Bailocheslei	Baldoxlee.	Cerewartone	Chawton.
Wicheham	Wickham.	Celeord	Chilworth.
Chenol	Knoll.	Cilboldetune	Chilbolton.
Locherlega	Lockerley.	Merceode	Marchwood.
Berchelai	Barkley.	Frescewater	Freshwater.
		Cela	Chale.
		Icene	Itchen.

## SUDRIE.

Wochinges	= Woking.	Feceham	= Fetcham.
Chingestune	Kingston.	Ceiham	Cheam.
Dorchinges	Dorking.	Celeorde	Chiworth.
Sudwerche	Southwark.	Certesyg	Chertsey.
Bocheham	Bookham.	Cebeham	Chobham.
Blacheatfeld	Blackheathfield.	Celesham	Chelsham.
Chenintune	Kennington.	Cisendone	Chessington.
		Becesworde	Betchworth.

## But

Blachingelei	= Bletchingley.
Hacheham	Hatcham.
Micheham	Mitcham.

Though perhaps, as in Wilts examples, the *h* may belong to the 2nd syllable. In which case these exceptions should be transferred to the right-hand column.

## ITER V.

The difficulties that await us, the solutions many and various that have been given, and pitfalls to avoid, have already been set out at sufficient length. The principle to which I shall adhere in these excursions will be that of following known Roman or British roads, and making the necessary stages at

distances as closely as possible in accordance with those of Antonine's record. To do this we must reduce the Antonine mileage to that of the statutory English mile.

The Roman mile is said to be 150 yards shorter than the English<sup>1</sup>. Call the difference 200 yards, and the Roman mile may be roughly termed  $\frac{4}{5}$  of the English. This however is against the English by 50 yards to the mile. Rectification of the error will be requisite by the subtraction

from every	$8\frac{3}{4}$	English miles,	of	$\frac{1}{4}$	mile.
"	$17\frac{1}{2}$	"	"	$\frac{1}{2}$	"
"	$26\frac{1}{4}$	"	"	$\frac{3}{4}$	"
"	35	"	"	1	"

But it will be no great hardship to work the matter out in decimals. A Roman mile being 1610 yards, and an English 1760, every Roman mile is equal to  $\cdot9148$  of the English. It is by this proportion that we shall work our way:

We therefore tabulate *Iter V* in the equivalent mileages as follows:

From <i>Londinium</i> to	
Caesaromago	xxviii = 25·6144.
Colonia	xxiv = 21·9552.
Villa Faustini	xxxv = 32·018.
Icinos	xviii = 16·4664.
Camborico	xxxv = 32·018.
Duroliponte	xxv = 22·87.
Durobrivas	xxxv = 32·018.
Causennis	xxx = 27·444.
Lindo	xxvi = 23·8848.

I propose that, starting from Hitchin, the *Icini* of our hypothesis, we first work our way to London. We must choose the spot whence we start our mileage: and we must decide on the route we take.

As to the exact spot whence we start there can be but one choice. It would not be from the British town, nor from the British camp which, known as Ravensburgh Castle, crowns the hill behind the town, but from the Roman camp on Wilbury Hill, a mile from the town, and commanding the Icknield Way.

<sup>1</sup> H. Godwin: *English Archaeologist's Handbook*. Codrington: *Roman Roads in Britain*.

As to the route, the mileage makes the direct road to London impossible, even if then it existed. And the weight of opinion and evidence is so wholly in favour of a road through Essex<sup>1</sup>, that we decide upon that direction. The existence to this day of the *Via Militaris* through Bishop Stortford, Dunmow, Braintree, and Coggeshall, quite decides our venture. Evidently to get to Bishop Stortford we must go through Braughing, where, upon Lark's Hill, is a well-known Roman outpost<sup>2</sup>, close beside the Roman, Ermine Street.

From Wilbury Hill Camp to Hitchin town	1 mile.
„ Willian	3 „
„ Braughing <sup>3</sup>	12½ „
	16½ „

This, as we are working backwards, gives us our first stage—16·4664 miles—and suggests that Braughing is the *Villa Faustini* of the Itinerary<sup>4</sup>.

*Villa Faustini* has been sought at Bury St Edmunds, and Diss, far away to the West. Will the other mileages of our route justify the idea that we have lit upon it here at Braughing?

The next stage is a long one: xxxv, 32·018 miles to Colonia. We drop down the hills of Hertfordshire to the lower ground on the Stort.

From Braughing (Lark's Hill) to Bishop Stortford is	7 miles <sup>5</sup> .
„ Bishop Stortford to Broad Green is	25½ „
	32½ „

<sup>1</sup> See the *Tabula Peutingeriana*.

<sup>2</sup> It is now almost levelled, and obscured by plantation.

<sup>3</sup> There seem to be remnants of a fairly direct road between Great Munden and Braughing.

<sup>4</sup> Why so called we cannot say, unless, as Dr Raven suggests, it was in humorous application of Martial's epigram: "a lodge in the vast wilderness."

<sup>5</sup> The distances on all the main roads are those given in that clever little book, Inglis' *Contour Road Book*, S.E. division. The maps issued for cyclists by Bacon and W. H. Smith, and a book such as this, place the student at a huge advantage over the wisest of the Antiquaries in past time. Cf. Codrington, *Roman Roads*, p. 37.

Here then for the present we place *Colonia*. Now *Colonia*, be it remembered, was not a town, or a fort: but an unfortified and open farming district. The veterans originally settled there had seized on the lands of the unfortunate British, and were living there in the reign of Claudius, as domineering and insolent conquerors. This entry in the *Iter* before us is the only record as to the resuscitation of the Colony after the great massacre by the *Icini* and the *Trinobantes*. The good brown tilth of this plateau is just suitable for that display of Italian farming which made the land of Camelot the subject of the Celtic fairy-tale. Probably there was some inn, or official residence here, at which his Majesty's inspectors were wont to stay<sup>1</sup>. Although this location of *Colonia* is novel, and against the received theory which would have it at, or nearer to, Colchester, the mileage recommends us to put the stopping-place here, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile to the East of Broad Green.

We now have to find *Cæsaromagus*, distant xxiv = 21·9552 miles.

From Broad Green to London Road at Mark's Tey	2½ miles.
„ the Junction to N. E. end of Margaretting Street	19½ „
	22 „

Here then we place the British township of *Cæsaromagus*.

We now require xxviii = 25·6144 miles to *Londinium* (London).

From the point we have chosen the measured distance to London (G. P. O.) is 27 miles<sup>2</sup>. A point about half-way between Mile End and Whitechapel, in the *Contour Road-Book*, will give us the distance required. We shall have a future opportunity to test this site; but inasmuch as the Roman Aldgate, at the point where Houndsditch and the Minories cross the Whitechapel Road, is by map just  $1\frac{3}{8}$  miles from

<sup>1</sup> Salmon, though working on another line of road, likewise would take *Colonia* as an extended area: and Jenkins suggests that it represents the "town lands" of *Camulodunum*.

<sup>2</sup> By the *Road Book*.



to do with the tribal name *Icini*, and whether either or both are in philological connection with the place *Icini*: but there is no doubt that this tongue of heath-land, between the Rhee swamps and the Chiltern spur which lies just within the borders of Essex, was in possession of the *Icini*, and was their avenue, their only avenue, round the morasses<sup>1</sup> of the fens, to the Westward clans of Britain. They fenced the open heathland with their dykes, and gained approach to their *Icini* frontier-fortress and the Westward world by a road, which crept from village to village, not through their dykes, but round the fen-dipped ends of them. And this very Wilbury Hill Camp seems to support the statement. It was not required to dominate the Roman expeditionary road along the unpeopled heath, but the British road through the turbulent villages of the restless British.

And as we turn to descend this road what a glimpse of military power is spread before our eyes! At every few miles along the way the Roman Eagles flash in the sun from a dozen Roman *castra* or *castella*. Here at Wilbury we stand within a fortress almost of the first class<sup>2</sup>. At Harborough Banks, near Ashwell, is another considerable camp. At Limloe Hill, near Litlington, is another. At Melbourn, where the road sends off a branch to Walden<sup>3</sup> and the Trinobantian *oppida*, is a camp (now almost levelled by the plough) once outlined with a rampart some 200 yards square, which may date from the time of Ostorius Scapula's operations. To the left we catch the glint of spears and breastplates at Orwell. Further on at Grantchester the Roman trumpets bray out a summons to parade; and an answering reveille sounds from Shelford<sup>4</sup>. And away yonder, where the Gog-magog Hills screen the horizon, the white escarpments of Vandlebury twinkle with flashing spear and casque. Save in the wild and indomitable north

<sup>1</sup> Mr Seebohm regards it as meaning *the way of the waters*.

<sup>2</sup> It is a little doubtful whether at Royston there was a Roman station.

<sup>3</sup> It is undoubtedly this forgotten road, which passed through Fowlmere parish, and formed the Cambs-Essex boundary, that has been confused with the Icknield Way over the heath nigh unto Ickleton. See below.

<sup>4</sup> The Chesterford camp and settlement is said to be of later date.

there is hardly a spot in Britain so gripped in the "mailed fist" of Rome as this "wedge" of land claimed by the great *Icini*. There could be but one object in so much concentration of Roman troops: to cut off the *Icini* from any interference in the Roman subjugation of greater Britain. On their Northern flank they were shut in by the fens. On their Southern the Romans were strongly guarding the passes of the Stour. Here, on the one dry link with the outer world, the *Icini* must be kept back by force of arms.

We touch our horse with the spur and descend the hill behind the Imperial Inspector, with a good xxxv (32·018 miles) ahead of us. And it seems as if we must inspect many camps on the way.

From Wilbury Hill Camp to Ashwell	7 miles.
" " " " Litlington	4. "
" " " " Melbourn	8 "
	<hr/>
	19 "

At Melbourn there is a branch road to Walden. It used to pierce the Bran ditch about half-a-mile from the head of the Great Moor, bend round the head of Mark moor, and then, sloping across Triplow heath, make for Ickleton and Hinxton; also by Strethall to Walden. It is known on Fowlmere Enclosure map (1848) as "Old Walden Way"; and it formed, as its line still forms, the boundary between Heydon-Chrishall parishes and Fowlmere parish; to put it more forcibly, between Essex and Cambridgeshire. That it pierced Bran ditch is, I think, sufficient evidence that the Way was Roman, an important adit to the Trinobantian territory, connecting the Roman outposts there with the Ermine Street, yet avoiding the passage of the Stour. It is undoubtedly this way which has so puzzled antiquaries as to the route of Icknield Way past Ickleton. Icknield Way passed straight along the downs through Duxford. Old Walden Way, crossing it near Chrishall Grange, skirted Ickleton. I do not think our Inspector turns off along this road. He has quite enough to do to make his way to *Lindum* without bending back towards *Londinium*; and I have ascertained that the mileage is unsuitable.

We have ridden to Melbourn	19 miles.
Thence „ Orwell	4 <sup>1</sup> „
„ „ Shelford	6 „
„ „ Vandlebury	3 „
	32 „

*Camboricum*, from its name, is evidently a British site, whether now occupied by them, or ceded to the superior forces of Rome. Vandlebury is stated to be a British camp subsequently garrisoned by Roman troops. It is in a strong and commanding position, of immense strategic value<sup>2</sup>. And if *Ricknield* Way is accepted as the Way by "the ridge," in central England, may not the *ric* in this name have a like significance: *Camboricum* signifying some such physical geography as "the bend of the ridge"? Antiquaries have always had a disposition to place it, at or near Cambridge. The attempt on Cambridge itself is forbidden philologically by Professor Skeat<sup>3</sup>. The mileage, if we have chosen our way aright, suggests to us to place it here. Much however depends on the Inspector's further route. We must make xxv (22·87) miles to *Durolipons*, which by almost universal consent is Godmanchester.

From Vandlebury to Cambridge is 4 miles.

Here there must have been a Roman station<sup>4</sup> to guard the ford; the only side door to the country of the *Catleuchani*, or *Catwellauni*, and *Coritani*. The very name of Chesterton, on the further side, implies that there was such a camp, if not at Chesterton village, yet in Chesterton parish. It may have been Arbury; and no doubt the Romans did occupy that camp. But their military genius would never leave the ford of the

<sup>1</sup> The road which leads from Orwell eastwards must at one time have had an eastward objective. I assume this to have been Shelford, perhaps through Grantchester. It seems to have formed the boundary between Harlton and Barrington parishes.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Beaumont, *East Anglian*, July 1894, would have Vandlebury as the site of *Camolodunum*.

<sup>3</sup> *Place Names of Cambridgeshire*.

<sup>4</sup> Professor Hughes tells me that what is generally supposed to be the Roman town at Cambridge is really the Norman town.

Cam, where it seems they built a bridge, without closer watch. At any rate we must cross the ford; and, by the direct road from Vandlebury, still said to be traceable in a dry summer, we reach that ford over the Cam in about 4 miles.

	4 miles.
Thence to Arbury	1 "
„ Belsar's Hill	6 "
„ Godmanchester	11 $\frac{1}{4}$ "
	22 $\frac{1}{4}$ "

The postulate of inspection disposed us to this route. The necessity of mileage forced us to it: for the direct road, by the newly-named *Via Devana*, is some 4 miles too short, besides affording no intermediate camps<sup>1</sup>.

The next stage is one of those long (xxxv, 32·018 miles) rides for which *Iter V* is remarkable. At its end we want to reach *Durobrivæ*, and if the conjecture I have already hazarded is right, the case (acc.) requires a place where a day or two may be spent in local business connected with the tour.

As we are now on the Ermine Street, and have but small extra mileage to make up, we expect our official to lead us far along it.

From Godmanchester to Huntingdon	1 mile.
Thence „ Stilton	12 „
„ „ Nene River	6 „
	19 „

Here on the hither bank was the little ruined city, as Camden calls it, of Dormceaster or Dornford, which he thinks to be *Durobrivæ*. The mileage however is obstinately against him. Castor, on the further side of the Nene, was apparently the centre of a pottery trade.

At Castor is a road<sup>2</sup>, called King Street, making due north; but this we pass and keep to Ermine Street, which runs straight for Burleigh Park, and then swerves slightly westward

<sup>1</sup> See Camb. Ant. Soc. *Proceedings*, Vol. x. p. 239, for remains now hidden in a wood by the road-side near Boxworth.

<sup>2</sup> For this section Codrington's *Roman Roads*, pp. 142 seq., is most helpful. I have condensed his statements in the text.

to cross the Welland half-a-mile above Stamford; whence it is two miles to Great Casterton on the Wash. At Casterton are the remains of a Roman camp, which from its situation on the Wash or Guash, Camden thought to be *Causennæ*. If we are on the right track it must be *Durobrivæ*.

Our mileage to the Nene is	19 miles.
„ Castor is	$\frac{1}{2}$ „
„ Ermine Street is	2 „
„ Burleigh Park is	6 „
„ Welland Crossing is	$2\frac{1}{2}$ „
„ Casterton is	2 „
	<hr/>
	32 „

This is almost the exact distance required. We therefore write down Casterton as *Durobrivæ*. It is possible that its situation at, or near, the “*finēs*” of the *Catleuchani* and *Coritani* rendered it a station of some importance.

From *Durobrivæ* to *Causennæ*, the latter apparently also a town or station of British origin, we have a stage of xxx (27·444) miles. *Lindum* lies xxvi (23·8848) miles beyond; i.e. we want a route which shall traverse a little more than 51 miles to Lincoln.

Just south of Colsterworth the modern North Road diverges to the west from Ermine Street<sup>1</sup>, which keeps directly on, almost in a straight line for Lincoln. So far therefore as we make our northing that old line must be the norm of our course. This direct route will, however, be too short for the Antonine mileage. It only gives us some  $41\frac{1}{4}$  miles. We want 10 miles more, which can only be obtained by deviation. But whither?

Camden, as we have seen, was disposed to place *Causennæ* at Casterton, where we have found the mileage justifies the location of *Durobrivæ*. Later antiquaries have leaned towards Ancaster<sup>2</sup>, under the impression that the syllable *An* preserves

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Codrington, *ut supra*.

<sup>2</sup> Where Camden would place the Croccocalana of *Iter vi*. If I am not mistaken the Gaelic *an* means river. There is at Ancaster a small tributary of the Witham.

the *en* of *Causennæ*. Whether this is a warrantable statement may be left to etymologists. We are concerned with mileage, and also with such facts as that *Causennæ*, being a British name, need not necessarily require Roman fortifications. They may coincide, as apparently at *Durolipons* and *Durobrivæ*: and at Ancaster, as Mr Codrington tells us, "Erming Street passed through a Roman camp." The question then is, does the mileage correspond with that for *Causennæ*, either directly or by reasonable deviation?

By the direct road from Casterton to the parting of the ways is 10 miles. Thence to Ancaster is 14 miles, by the old and direct road. This gives a total of 24 miles as against the 27·444 required.

From Lincoln to Ancaster is  $16\frac{1}{4}$  miles<sup>1</sup> as against 23·8848 required.

Therefore on both sides there is a deficiency. Either Ancaster is not *Causennæ*, or we must find some reasonable deviations upon either side; for we can hardly suppose that the mileage, hitherto so helpful, is suddenly going to fail us.

Now from Ancaster to Grantham is  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles; which, added to the  $16\frac{1}{4}$  between Ancaster and Lincoln, just make the required distance from *Causennæ* to *Lindum*,  $23\frac{3}{4}$  miles, or, as we have estimated the Roman xxvi, 23·8848. No reasonable objection can, I think, be advanced against this site. It is not a known Roman, or British, settlement; but the name does not, as has been said, tie us to a Roman site; while the passage of the Witham, which must always have been there<sup>2</sup>, suggests a likely British settlement and a probable Roman control of the crossing. From a strategic point of view it appears as if it must always have presented claims superior to those of Ancaster. But, if we are disposed to adopt Grantham as *Causennæ*, we are still without a route to satisfy our mileage 27·444 thither from *Durobrivæ* (Casterton). It is quite evident that we cannot go by the direct road, which is only 20 miles.

<sup>1</sup> This is Mr Codrington's distance; presumably by survey. See his *Roman Roads*, pp. 146-7.

<sup>2</sup> If *an* = river, then the Witham explains the *en* of the Celtic name.

There is an ancient road, now in partial use, running northwards from Casterton, to the east of Ermine Street, through Pickworth and Swayfield to Corby, where it falls into the road from Grantham to Bourn. Corby is reached in 12 miles, from whence to Grantham is  $10\frac{5}{8}$ : a total of  $22\frac{5}{8}$ , which is 5 miles short of our requirements.

There is another ancient road from Casterton, leading out on the west side of Ermine Street in the direction of Denton, where Roman pavements have been found; and Belvoir Castle, not far beyond, stands on an artificial mound, and has yielded several Roman remains. If we take this road to Belvoir, which from its situation suggests a Roman outpost, and thence to Grantham, our requirements of mileage are exactly satisfied: though I can only claim a strong probability for a *détour* in this direction. It establishes the possibility of a like deviation other whither.

I am inclined at any rate to fix *Causennæ* at Grantham, and to apportion the mileage as follows:

From Casterton to Belvoir (or elsewhere)	22 miles.
Thence to Grantham	$5\frac{1}{2}$ "
	<hr/>
	$27\frac{1}{2}$ "
From Grantham to Ancaster	$7\frac{1}{2}$ "
Thence to Lincoln	$16\frac{1}{4}$ "
	<hr/>
	$23\frac{3}{4}$ "

This finishes our tour, as we decided to go no further than to Lincoln. Whether we be right or wrong, we can I think lay claim to have been true to the Antonine distances; and without any undue strain upon the credulity of those who read these pages, evidence has been brought, if not to establish the site of each station, yet sufficient to justify the working hypothesis that *Icini* is Hitchin.

A considerable amount of corroborative testimony will be adduced in later pages. At present, that we may have due appreciation for what has already been done, I close this section with a table of comparative distances.

## COMPARATIVE TABLE OF DISTANCES.

From London (at Aldgate).

Cæsaromagus xxviii = 25·6144.	Margaretting	25½*
Colonia xxiv = 21·9552.	Broad Green	22*
Villa Faustini xxxv = 32·018.	Braughing	32½†
Icini xviii = 16·4664.	Hitchin	16½**
Camboricum xxxv = 32·018.	Vandlebury	32††
Durolipons xxv = 22·87.	Godmanchester	22¼††
Durobrivæ xxxv = 32·018.	Casterton	32†
Causennæ xxx = 27·444.	Grantham	27½**
Lindum xxvi = 23·8848.	Lincoln	23¼**
celvi = 234·2888.		234¼.

\* Distances as in Inglis' *Contour Road Book*.

† Distances by reduced Ordnance Survey maps, and Road Book, combined.

†† Distances by map and local knowledge, combined.

\*\* Distances by map, with help of published statements.

The wet summer, autumn, and winter of 1903 have prevented me from bicycling over the roads to verify distances, and acquire information from personal observation. I did make one ride from Bishop Stortford to Colchester; but the days were too short for further observation than a possible site for *Colonia*. But of this it is best to say nothing until better observations are obtained.

## ITER IX.

*Iter a Venta Icinorum Londinio*. mpm. cxxviii.

<i>Sitomago</i>	xxxii = 29·2736 miles.
<i>Combretonio</i>	xxii = 20·1256 „
<i>Ad Ansam</i>	xv = 13·722 „
<i>Camuloduno</i>	vi = 5·4888 „
<i>Canonio</i>	ix = 8·2332 „
<i>Cæsaromago</i>	xii = 10·9776 „
<i>Durolito</i>	xvi = 14·6368 „
<i>Londinio</i>	xv = 13·722 „
	cxxvii = 116·1796 „

The route we have just followed started from London. This goes to London. But, inasmuch as all the stations but one are

new to us, I propose to start from that station, *Cæsaromagus*, to London, and then work back from London to find the other stations.

The station *Cæsaromagus* makes it certain that for part of the way we shall have to travel by the Essex road along which we have lately passed: but the number of new stations will give plenty of zest to the already familiar way. It will be pretty to note whether our site for that station *Cæsaromagus* helps us. For if it does, the fact will go far to establish the correctness of our initial hypothesis that *Icini* is Hitchin.

There is something prettier still to engage our attention. We have the famous *Camulodunum* to identify. As I have said before, some, relying upon Tacitus' phrase *Colonia Camulodunum*<sup>1</sup>, would identify the site of *Colonia* with that of *Camulodunum*. Others, as Salmon and Jenkins, would differentiate and yet attach them; considering *Colonia* to be the farm settlement that stretched over the country which surrounded the town. It will give much credit to our hypothesis if we find that the sites we have already determined enable us to reach a conclusion which, while in accord with one or other of these alternatives, than which there is no other, may reasonably solve the great difficulty which has puzzled every one who has attempted hitherto its solution. The puzzle lies in this. *Iter v* gives, between *Colonia* and London, two stages of *xxviii* and *xxiv* miles, making *lii* in all. *Iter ix* gives, between *Camulodunum* and London, four stages of *ix*, *xvi*, *xvi*, and *xv* miles, making likewise a total of *lii* miles in all. Therefore those who would identify *Colonia* with *Camulodunum* urge the *lii* miles from London as a conclusive proof that they are right. And further, those who would identify the two names with Colchester urge the same premiss; for Colchester is 52 miles from London. But we must not be led away by this plausible argument, for Antonine's surveyor is reckoning in Roman miles, and our English road books in

<sup>1</sup> If Tacitus meant that the town had the rights of a *Colonia*, would not the order of the words be reversed? The order he uses seems to imply that he is using the town name as a "distinguishing adjective" to the *Colonia*.

English miles. Here then we have a very interesting matter to engage us.

There will be pleasure too in finding a suitable resting-place for *Ad Ansam*, which Gough calls "the most undetermined station in the country." A glance at the table of allocations on an earlier page will show that he had reason so to speak.

Lastly, I think we shall find a special relish in placing *Venta Icinorum*, which, though bearing a name conspicuously and notoriously British, has been dropped down by most commentators into the heart of a Roman *Castrum*. In this connection it is worth noting that, with the exception of *Ad Ansam*, all the names on this route are British. Even *Cæsaromagus* is a half-breed. This seems to imply that the way is through a population of Celts, sufficiently under the *pax Romana* to require no special demonstration of "the mailed fist." And now, to horse. Our starting-place is *Cæsaromagus*, which we have placed at the N.E. end of Margaretting Street.

The first stage is to *Durobitum*, xvi = 14·6368 miles towards Aldgate in London Wall. In  $14\frac{1}{2}$  miles we shall be on the right bank of the Rom: a position which we are prepared for by the prefix *Duro*.

Thence to London (Aldgate) is by direct road  $11\frac{1}{2}$  miles. We have to follow the Itinerary, which gives xv = 13·722 miles: so that we have to find some reasonable deviation which will give us something more than 2 miles of additional riding. This is not hard to find. In 5 miles we are at Ilford, about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile to the east of which place is a Roman camp. To visit this and return will therefore account for only  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles. If, however, we pass through this camp we reach Barking in about 2 miles from Ilford, and from Barking to Aldgate the distance is  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles. This gives us the distance required.

Romford to Ilford	5	miles.
Ilford to Barking	2	"
Barking to Aldgate	$6\frac{1}{2}$	"
	<hr/>	
	$13\frac{1}{2}$	"

Before we turn rein we may just notice that Aldgate has proved a satisfactory spot for our mileage both in *Iter v* and *Iter ix*. For the north-east routes to and from London it appears to be the right place for our measurements. Mr Codrington, whom I have often quoted, says, "The earlier Roman road to Colchester was probably a continuation of the road along the line of Oxford Street and Old Street, crossing Erming Street near Shoreditch Church, and on by the Old Ford Road to the River Lea.....At Aldgate the road from the East gate of the earlier city was crossed by the wall of the enlarged *Londinium*."

Retracing our way to *Cæsaromagus*, we find no special difficulty in arriving at the end of the first stage, *Canonium*, xii = 10·9776 miles to the N.E., for we reach Witham in  $10\frac{3}{4}$  miles.

The next stage is *Camulodunum*, ix = 8·2332 miles further on. This brings us almost to the junction of Stane Street at Mark's Tey. Remembering that the British *oppidum* was defined by Cæsar as a stockade "quo incursionis hostium vitandæ causâ convenire consuerunt," the situation appears more agreeable than Lexden or Colchester<sup>1</sup>. These two places, especially the latter, are too near the frontier for such a refuge: and, though the former site has large embankments and the command of two roads to recommend it, the situation is certainly discounted by the fact that (1) it is measured quite arbitrarily from Caistor by Norwich; and (2) that the branch road does not traverse the major axis of the Trinobantian territory. At Mark's Tey we have a site which does afford the widest range through that territory, and which certainly tallies with the mileage from the well assured position, not of a problematic *Venta*, but of *Londinium*. The probability that here was *Camulodunum* is enhanced by the discovery that this site does solve the puzzle of *lvi* Roman miles alike from *Camulodunum* and *Colonia* to London. Those *lvi* are made

<sup>1</sup> See *Archæologia*, vol. xxix. 243 seq. (Rev. H. Jenkins, *The Site of Camulodunum*).

by the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles of *Durolitum* extension which we have just followed in this *Iter ix*. That extension at the London end does not exist in *Iter v*. But we found reason for placing *Colonia* at Broad Green, just  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles to the west of Mark's Tey on Stane Street. This accommodation of the distance, obviously made without collusion, is so very remarkable that it cannot fail to influence the argument. I feel, therefore, no small confidence in determining the allocation of *Camulodunum* to the junction of roads at Mark's Tey. If any remains of the Claudian temple and statuary exist, only the spade will discover them and definitely determine the site. So far as reason can go, we must allow that it is here that it bids us to dig.

If there be virtue in the site just chosen, it should help us to catch that will-o'-the-wisp of stations *Ad Ansam*. It is to be looked for but  $vi = 5.4888$  miles beyond *Camulodunum*. Still following the main road from London, we find ourselves in  $5\frac{1}{2}$  miles knocking at the Balkern gate of Colchester<sup>1</sup>. Colchester then must be *Ad Ansam*. And why not? Of English towns it is one of the most conspicuously Roman; as conspicuously Roman, indeed, as is its name on the Itinerary. It stands too just where the Roman colossus could lay a grip<sup>2</sup> on the throat of Trinobantian and Icinian alike. If we be told that Colchester "must be" *Camulodunum*, our mileages declare that it "must be" *Ad Ansam*. The evidence of our mileage is cumulative; and, except that Colchester is 52 English miles from the G. P. O., London, and *Camulodunum* is *lii* Roman miles from Aldgate, there is no real evidence to be urged against my determination of *Ad Ansam* at Colchester.

I must anticipate the next section of my paper so far as to say that the *Tabula Peutingeriana* shows us: (i) that the road from London ended at *Ad Ansam*; (ii) that this end was at its intersection with a road running N. W. to *Combretonium*, our next station,  $xv = 13.722$  miles beyond *Ad Ansam*. So that

<sup>1</sup> T. Codrington, *Roman Roads in Britain*, p. 217.

<sup>2</sup> For the meaning of *Ad Ansam* see Dr Raven and Mr Codrington. But see later on *Ad Taum*, note.

our enquiry as to which of any possible roads from Colchester is to be taken is limited to such roads as give on to a N. W. course. We must therefore either retrace our steps to Lexden and take the Haverhill road, on which Halstead stands at about the required distance, or we must leave by the North Gate and take such road as bears a trifle westerly. The *Tabula* and *Itinerary* both suggest "vestigia nulla retrorsum"; so that we pass out of the North Gate and take the road to the Stour, which we cross at Stratford St Mary in 7 miles, passing by the ford into the country of the *Icini*. Here we are forbidden the east road by Ipswich, whence we might reach Caistor by Norwich, and avail ourselves of the left-hand road, which promises some future westing. This road, if not a Roman road, was presumably a British track: and in some  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles we are at Hadleigh on the river Brett<sup>1</sup>. Here then I would place *Combretonium*, which Camden, Burton, and others had long ago decided to be on this river, but at Brettenham near its source<sup>2</sup>.

The finger-post points so firmly to the N.-W. that we must not be lured to Wulpit and Stowmarket. We must look for *Sitomagus*, *xxii* = 20·1256 miles away, along the road which leads through Lavenham. May I for the moment beguile the monotony of the way by making—shall I say a conjecture, or an enquiry? There are three Swaffhams known to us: two in Cambs., one in Norfolk. It is generally allowed that these places denote an early settlement of the *Suevi*<sup>3</sup> within the *litus Saxonicum*. Tacitus<sup>4</sup>, who with Cæsar mentions the *Suevi*, among the many clans which composed that tribe records the *Suiones*, whose speech was *linguâ Britannicæ propior*, and whose territory was touched by a country where "*Sitonum gentes con-*

<sup>1</sup> Codrington says, "a Roman road is supposed to have gone north to Hadleigh," *op. cit.* p. 220.

<sup>2</sup> Hadleigh was the capital of the kingdom of Guthrun the Dane, who is buried, it is said, under the Church floor. It is likely to have had some earlier importance.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Skeat, *Place Names of Cambridgeshire*, p. 54, under *Swavesey* and *Swaffham*.

<sup>4</sup> *Germania*, 45.

*tinuantur.*" If *magus*, as has been supposed, signifies a people or a settlement, may not *Sitomagus* indicate a settlement of this clan among the *Icini*, whose country had been chosen by the kindred *Suevi*? But here we are at the gate of Bury St Edmunds, having come some  $20\frac{3}{4}$  miles.

Now we have to find the *Venta Icinorum*, xxxii = 29·2736 miles away. Is it Caistor by Norwich? The adjacent Wensam is supposed to perpetuate the *Venta*, and the Roman camp to decide the objective of the Roman Itinerary. It is claimed that Caistor fairly accommodates its distance to the *Camulodunum* at Colchester and Lexden; though I find it indeed to be but 58 English miles as against *lxxiv* Roman, = 67·6952. The deficiency may indeed easily be made up by deviation; but our course has been inexorably directed N.-W. Are we now to swing to the East? The *Tabula* is here no help, as *Venta* does not appear upon it. But if we have been right in our course, there is no road to take us to Caistor in 29·2736 miles. Mr Margan<sup>1</sup>, whose map certainly displays the *Iter ix* as passing through Ipswich to Caistor, declares that "from the camp and colony of Colchester a military way went round by Thetford to Cambridge"; and in his map he takes it through Stowmarket to Thetford, and thence to Cambridge through Soham. I take it that his course would be as follows:

Hadleigh	13½	miles.
Stowmarket	12½	"
Ixworth	10	"
Thetford	9	"
Mildenhall	12	"
Soham	9	"
Cambridge	15	"
	81	"

as against 67·6952 = *lxxiv* of the Itinerary. This is manifestly too long. Also from Thetford to Cambridge through Soham is 36 miles, as against the 29·2736 from *Sitomagus*, which is our requirement. If Bury be *Sitomagus*, and the mileage favours it, there is only one course open to us for any feasible *Venta*:

<sup>1</sup> Appendix to Thomas Margan's *Romano-British Mosaic Pavements*. Mr Codrington gives no place to this Thetford-Soham road.

and our exit from the position must be by a Roman or pre-Roman road. Mr Codrington, whose speciality is Roman roads, shall give me passport.

From Bury to Newmarket	13 $\frac{7}{8}$ miles <sup>1</sup> .
Thence to Worstead Lodge	10 "
"    by Wool Street to Cambridge	6 "
	<hr/>
	29 $\frac{7}{8}$ "

At Cambridge then, on the right bank of the Cam, I would place the British, as distinguished from the Roman, settlement of *Venta Icinorum*.

Such an allocation of *Venta* tallies with the old legends of Caer Guent, and Caer Graunt, and King Gurgunt<sup>2</sup>. It tallies with the identification of *Venta Cenomum*, to be more fully noticed by and by. It tallies with the importance of the town which gave its name to the Saxon *Scyra*. It tallies with a peculiarity in the construction of the *Itinera*, to which I have not yet seen attention directed.

The fifteen *Itinera* of the British section lie practically in two sections; the one embracing the country to the east of a line from Chichester to Carlisle; the other the country to the west of that line. The first nine of these *Itinera*, and we are dealing with the last of these, give the routes of the eastward section. The chief towns of these routes are London, the centre of the system, Lincoln, York, and Carlisle. So far as concerns these last three towns, we have in

<i>Iter v.</i>	Lincoln taken en route.
<i>Iter vi.</i>	"    "    as the objective terminus.
<i>Iter i</i> }	York taken en route.
<i>Iter v</i> }	
<i>Iter v.</i>	Carlisle taken as the objective terminus.

We have also return journeys to London from these three towns:

<i>Iter ii.</i>	Carlisle taken en route.
<i>Iter viii.</i>	York taken as the terminus <i>a quo</i> .
<i>Iter viii.</i>	Lincoln taken en route.

<sup>1</sup> The name Newmarket does not affect the antiquity of the road.

<sup>2</sup> The Gurgunt legend is also associated with Norwich.

Thus *Itinera* i, ii, v, vi, viii, five out of the total nine, are mutually related in their going and returning through a northern circuit.

Of the other four we have in *iii* and *iv* no circuits, only a bifurcation of roads. No special deviations are necessary; the routes are short and direct; in marked contrast to the four just named. The same may be said of *Iter vii*.

*Iter ix* stands with *Iter vii* in starting from a country town not otherwise mentioned. But the *Regnum* of *Iter vii*, like the *Lemannis* of *iv*, the *Dubris* of *iii*, and the *Ritupis* of *ii*, is a seaport—for such then was Chichester—and thus stands in a different connection from *Venta*, whether we take that as Cambridge or Caistor.

I am inclined therefore to regard *Venta Icinorum* as a station which has been already passed, though not named, on some other route, from which this *Iter ix* gives the alternative return journey. The only route which enters, or even approaches, the *Icini* territory is *Iter v*. This we have good reason for accepting as a route which enters the outlying "wedge" of that tribe's territory, and which passes through that "wedge" to its exit northwards at Cambridge. I submit therefore that there is strong probability of *Venta Icinorum* being found, as I have said, in the British town on the south bank of the Cam, where now stands Cambridge.

It is not a little remarkable that those antiquaries, who have treated the "Richard of Cirencester" forgery as an authoritative text, are inclined to view his *Venta Cenom.*, which form he gets from the Ravennas Lists, as a site distinct from *Venta Icinorum*, and have placed it at Cambridge<sup>1</sup>. If there ever were a genuine reading of *Cenom.*, it is evident that such would not require an amplification into *Cenomanorum*; but would be a very likely misreading; or contraction, for *Cenorum*. Of "Richard" I shall say more anon: but I will say now that it seems to me that a large proportion of the difficulties in the past explanation of *Iter ix* are due to the

<sup>1</sup> See Arthur Taylor, *Papers relating to the Antient Topography of the Eastern Counties*. 1869.

prejudice which starts from the supposition that *Venta Icinorum* must be Caister by Norwich.

The identifications to which the mileage has led me are:

<i>A Venta Icinorum</i> = Cambridge		
<i>Sitomago</i> xxxii = 29·2736 miles.	Bury St Edmunds	29 $\frac{3}{8}$
<i>Combertonio</i> xxii = 20·1256 "	Hadleigh	20 $\frac{7}{8}$
<i>Ad Ansam</i> xv = 13·722 "	Colchester	13 $\frac{1}{8}$
<i>Camuloduno</i> vi = 5·4888 "	Mark's Tey	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Canonio</i> ix = 8·2332 "	Witham	8 $\frac{1}{4}$
<i>Cesaromago</i> xii = 10·9776 "	Margaretting Street	11
<i>Durolito</i> xvi = 14·6368 "	Romford	14 $\frac{1}{2}$
<i>Londinio</i> xv = 13·722 "	Aldgate	14

[The distances are either from *Contour Road Book*, or measured on reduced Ordnance Survey maps.]

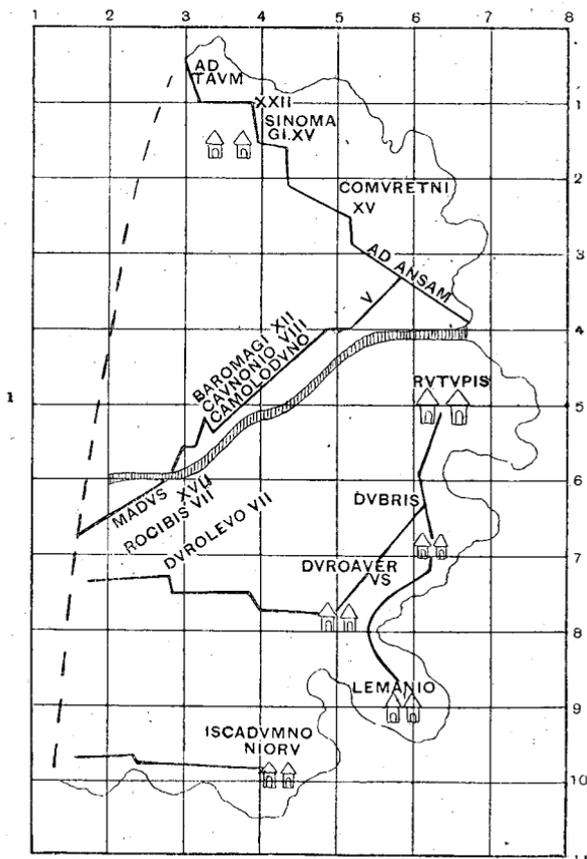
#### TABULA PEUTINGERIANA.

The map on page 46 is a copy, enlarged on scale with some care, of that remnant of Albion, or Britannia, which now forms the westernmost bound of the famous *Tabula Peutingeriana*<sup>1</sup>. It is said to be a thirteenth century copy of a third or second century original, which is considered to be not later than the time of Alexander Severus (222) and which may be as early as the *Itinera*.

The map is of special and particular interest to us, as it gives us just that part of our island which is traversed by *Iter ix*, with the very stations through which we have pursued our zig-zag way. It does not, however, give us *Venta*, which it would have done, no doubt, had that town been situated on the road delineated. Either that place lay off the road to the East, or it was on that first sheet—*segmentum i*, which *temporum iniquitate perivit*. There is nothing in the map to contradict the

<sup>1</sup> In the sixteenth century the property of the scholar Conrad Peutinger: but now in the Imperial Library of Vienna.

conclusion to which the mileage has already led us, that *Venta* is Cambridge, and its site therefore lost with that first sheet. Nor need we doubt that the variant spelling of the stations



marked, *Sinomagus*, *Comvretni*, *Caunonio*, *Baromagi*, really connote the now familiar *Sitomagus*, *Combretonium*, *Canonio*, *Cesaromagus*, through which our journey has so often led us. A thirteenth century copyist might well misread the faded ink

<sup>1</sup> Several years ago, long before I thought of making independent enquiry, I copied this map for its antiquarian interest. I have lost the reference, but I think it is from the *Antiquary*. May I hope that by this sketch of it in this connection I am doing no violence to copyright: or that I may be excused, if I am infringing?

of a second century Castorius; or on the cramped and crabbed scale of the original, but  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches long, by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad, might easily mistake a character here and there. And if this be thought unlikely in such cases as that of *Baromagi*, it need only be observed that, with the sole exception of *Ad Ansam*, all the names are British; wherefrom we may conclude that *Baromagi* represents the Celtic original, which some Roman legionary from the continent could not resist altering to that of *Cæsaromagus* (Beauvais), where possibly once he had been quartered<sup>1</sup>.

It is a singular feature of the map that *Londinium* does not appear on its surface. We cannot indeed doubt that the road from *Ad Ansam* through *Camulodunum* to the Thames, is the road we have followed to and from London. Nor can we doubt that the quaint little excrescence on the north bank of the river marks some circuit either through, or outside, that town. But the place is not named; and it evidently was not then, as now, a *terminus a quo* the distances were measured: or at least was not an objective of the map. Indeed a careful study of the map shows us that the road Thamesward is measured from *Ad Ansam*. It is in fact, with small discrepancies of distance, which we may attribute to travellers' reckonings prior to survey, the road of *Iter ix*:

*Camuludono* vi. mp. from *Ad Ansam*.

*Canonio* ix. „<sup>2</sup>

*Cæsaromago* xii. „

This, I am of opinion, gives us an important hint, strengthened almost to certainty by the fact that no mileage is attached to *Ad Ansam*; namely that the map does not give us through routes, but patrol distances from centres of command. This suggestion I shall refer to hereafter. But it may explain the absence of *Londinium*. Possibly, at the time the materials for the original were compiled, London may not have been a military, or important military, station. We know how Tacitus,

<sup>1</sup> Burton declares the BAR to be a misreading for a contracted cs.

<sup>2</sup> In copying a map 1100 years old, nothing would be more likely than for the figure i to drop out. Indeed when we find *viii* for *ix* we ourselves are inclined to read *viii*.

towards the end of the first century, describes it: a well-known business centre, which Suetonius Paulinus did not see his way to hold in the crisis of the great rebellion<sup>1</sup>. Such it may still have been when the original map was projected. And it seems by no means unlikely that the peculiar circumvention of the road line at this place marks the difficulty of crossing the Fleet and Lea rivers, and Walbrook; the marshes of the Lea, which are still a feature of the locality, ultimately forcing the road down to the firmer ground from Barking to Chelmsford<sup>2</sup>.

It may be said that this is a niceness and particularity with which we can scarcely credit an old-world chartographer. Yet the map seems especially, in spite of defects, to aim at such particularity. The bend of the road before *Ad Ansam* is reached is just such as still exists on its course to reach and depart from Chelmsford. The course of the road bears, as it does to-day from London to Colchester, studiously to the north-east. At *Ad Ansam*, as at Colchester to-day, that road has its terminus, and is crossed by a road from the sea-side, which makes distinctly for the north-west; and that, not in direct line, as the road from London, but by a road sketched with intentional bends, always trending north-westwards. At certain points, both north and south of the Thames, are sketched little huts, as if to note some British township with its round beehive shielings: and the notation of mileage appears always carefully placed to correspond with some feature of the road, exactly aline thereto. It does not seem to me, when I note these things, that I allow play to a too exuberant fancy, if I read in the curious bends near London a suggestion of the almost forgotten streams that there trickled into the Thames. And when, with this evidence of particularity before me, I find that *Ad Tavam* is drawn on deep water, I feel justified in believing that the draughtsman intended to represent it on some navigable approach: and when he gives the name, as at *Ad Ansam*, without mileage thereto attached, I feel sure that he meant thereby to convey the like information; that it was a centre for some circuit of patrol,

<sup>1</sup> Tac. *An.* xiv. 33.

<sup>2</sup> There is no hint of Watling or Ermine Streets. *Isca Dumnoniorum* is brought too far to the East.

one portion at least of which is lost with that first leaf *iniquitate temporis*.

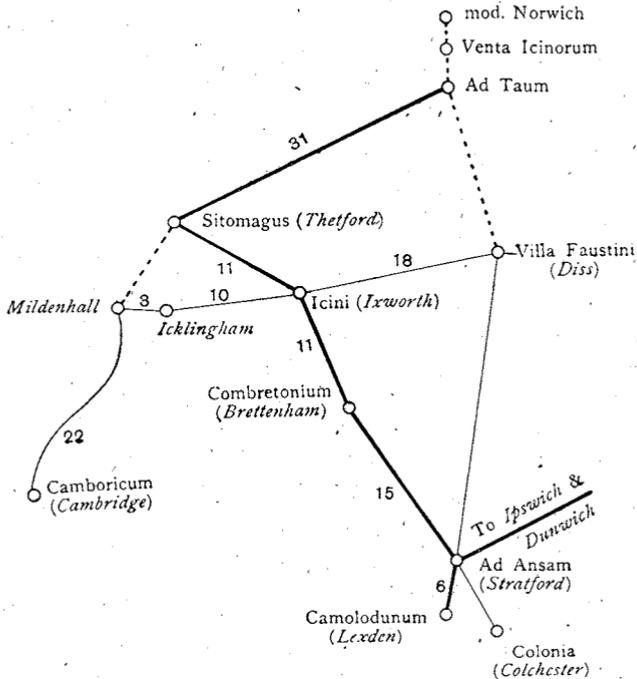
These things seem so patent to an attentive observer that it is a little disconcerting (if it be not too unadvised a word, I would say irritating) to find commentators asserting that *Sinomagus* is on the coast, and must be Dunwich or Southwold: that the course of the road is north-east, and that *Ad Taurum* can only be Tasburgh, on the Tase, above that Caistor which is the cynosure that attracts them: that the mileage is wrong, and needs additions *ad lib.* to accommodate it to—Caistor: and that *Ad Ansam*, which seems written so evidently to mark the intersection of roads, is some place on the swampy coast, such for instance as Mersea; though Mr Codrington, the latest of these, does handsomely aver that "it must be acknowledged that placing *Ad Ansam* here does not help to explain the *Iter ix*." It is really asking too much to invite us to accept as the probable explanation of the *Tabula*, such a map as that on p. 50, in which direction, mileage, situation, and every evidence of the old cartographer, are chopped and changed in order to locate *Venta* at Caistor St Edmund's.

The mileage of the *Tabula* does however seem to present a difficulty. The minor defects on the London side I have just mentioned, and they are but small and easily accommodated. The xv at *Sinomagus*, and the xxii beyond it, are the two stumbling-blocks: for by *Iter ix* the xxii ought to belong to *Sino-* or *Sito-magus*, and the xv only to *Combretonium*. But the three locative cases solve the problem. *Baromagi* is a terminus: so is *Comvretni*; so is *Sinomagi*. The two former seem patrol limits from *Ad Ansam*, and tally with the distances of *Iter ix*. The last introduces a new element, a patrol distance from *Ad Taurum*, of two stages, xxii and xv respectively; giving a total of xxxvii miles from *Ad Taurum* to *Sinomagus*.

With the exception of *Ad Taurum* all the stations have been suitably allocated by the *Icini* hypothesis. If in xxxvii = 33·8476 miles we can find on deep water a suitable site for *Ad Taurum*, that *Icini* hypothesis will gain no small justification. At any rate a better site than Tasburgh is sorely needed for *Ad Taurum*; and to its discovery we may address ourselves.

Our first stage is one of xv (13·722) miles, to some unnamed post, possibly some ferry, or simple outpost. Apparently, if the map is correct in detail, the road goes in a straight line almost

The Rev<sup>d</sup> BRYAN WALKER'S  
Arrangement of TABVLA PEVTINGERI-  
ANA and ITINERA V & IX.  
The TABVLA Route in thick line.



due north. There is from Bury an old road with this direction to Brandon, the famous British flint arsenal, which it reaches in something less than 14½ miles. This I take to be the first stage towards *Ad Taum*. To that station we need a road, with one

bend, in length xxii (20·1256) miles. There seems to be an old road from Brandon to Brandon Creek Bridge, which is reached in about  $12\frac{3}{4}$  miles; and at this point we strike an old Roman road from Cambridge and Ely, which takes us to Denver in 8 miles. Here then at Denver I would place *Ad Taum*: or if not at Denver, then at Downham Market, one mile further on.

<sup>1</sup>Unusual as this allocation of *Ad Taum* is, there is no little evidence in its support. The direction, angle, and mileage of the *Tabula* have brought us there. There was a Roman road thither from Cambridge, viâ Ely, Littleport, and Southery. There was also a Roman road thence, across the fens, "through March, Plantwater, and Eldernell, to Peterborough," which was noted by Dugdale (1772), and cut into and identified in 1853, still traceable, as Mr Codrington tells us, north of March and Westrey. It was, he adds, "the shortest course from Downham Market, jutting like a promontory into the fens," and "was skilfully chosen." Had the first section of the map been preserved, it seems likely that in it we should have found patrol stations marked, similar to those in Norfolk.

That there was at Denver or Downham some sort of station, or fort (*castellum*), we can hardly doubt. There is in the *Agricola* of Tacitus<sup>2</sup> a reading much disputed (no doubt, because *Ad Taum* has hitherto been unidentified), which, if it be correct, is explained, and by that explanation supports, this situation for the place. *Agricola*, he tells us,

"tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit, vastatis usque *ad Taum* (æstuario nomen est) nationibus: quâ formidine territi hostes quamquam conflictatum sævis tempestatibus exercitum, lacessere non ausi: ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit."

The usual reading here given is *ad Tanaum*, and *Ad Taum* is daffed aside as "a marginal gloss<sup>3</sup>." But it is a canon of textual

<sup>1</sup> The matter of this section is condensed from Codrington's *Roman Roads*, pp. 235-237.

<sup>2</sup> *Agric.* xxii.

<sup>3</sup> The notes in Furneaux, and in Church and Brodrigg's editions, should be consulted. Also Smith's *Dic. of Geogr.*, *Tava* and *Taum*. The edition of *Agricola* from which I quote is Carson's, 1843—*Editionibus antiquioribus, Codicumque MSS auctoritate posthabitis.*

criticism that "a difficult reading is *prima facie* preferable to an easier one—the probability being in favour of the copyist having altered the text because he failed to understand it." And the reading is difficult, for if Tacitus did not use it, the *Tabula* is the only place in the literature of old time where the name occurs<sup>1</sup>.

The editors seem agreed that, whichever reading be right, the *Tay* is certainly not meant; and though Church and Brodribb are of opinion that Agricola had pushed into Caledonia and was operating south of the Firth of Forth, yet Furneaux is doubtful whether his expeditions had yet extended so far to the north. If the conclusion to which the *Tabula* has brought us be accepted, the great Roman would be engaged in subduing the fenmen, and pressing in upon the north-western limits of the fiery *Icini*.

It is to be noted that the reading *Tanaum* is justified by appeal to "the fact that 'Tan' is a Keltic name for running water." This, we are told, "confirms the reading *Tanaus*." But of the reading of our *Tabula* there can be no doubt. Here it is *Taum*, even if Tacitus wrote *Tanaum*. Now *tam* is said to be Celtic for "smooth"<sup>2</sup> and "sluggish" water, just such as oozes through the fens. And of those fens, to-day the granary of England, we need but remind ourselves how their dull and darkling waters covered the flats, in Roman days, as far inland as Littleport and even farther, to understand how appropriate the name, and how likely the situation, for that *Ad Taum* whence starts this road from the north-west of Norfolk to *Ad Ansam*<sup>3</sup> on the coast of Essex. It is also remarkable, as a glance at the map of the next section will show, that Ptolemy's *Metaris æstuarium*, which is the Wash, comes close up to the point where by measurement we should place *Ad Taum*.

<sup>1</sup> See Smith's *Dic. Anc. Geogr.*

<sup>2</sup> Godwin's *Archæologist's Handbook*.

<sup>3</sup> If *Ad Taum* be the "sluggish" water, it supports the suggestion of many, e.g. Dr Raven and Mr Codrington, that *Ad Ansam* may mean the "shallow" water.

## PTOLEMY'S 'ALBION.'

The estimated dates of the Itineraries and of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* make them almost co-temporary, at the end of the second or beginning of the third century. It is to the same period, about A.D. 150, that is assigned the famous geography of Ptolemy, the mathematician, astronomer, and geographer. As he gives geographical details of 'Albion,' by which name he calls the Roman Britannia, and among those details includes the mention of *Lindum*, *Venta*, and *Camulodunum*, we are bound to enquire what support or refutation of the conclusions I have above proposed is to be found in the statements of his geography.

Let us state at the outset that, immensely valuable as his work is, it is known to be full of defects. He lived at Alexandria, upon the quays and in the public buildings of which city he met many an old salt, many an official, and perhaps some of the few globe-trotters of that age. From them, and no doubt from such published official statements as the Antonine *Itinera*, he obtained the major part of the information upon which he based his positions of the great world that lay outside the Mediterranean area. He had only four positions fixed by scientific observation; those of Syene, Alexandria, Rhodes, and Marseilles. For all the rest of the world he depended on the rule of thumb calculations of travellers, officials, and sailors. These at the best could only give him approximate mileage and direction; for not every road was surveyed, and they that went down to the sea in ships knew nothing of "observations" or of "the log." How greatly this lack of scientific detail hampered his calculations may be seen from the fact that when we reduce his words to diagram, and from his statements map out this our East Albion, his positions for many points on the coast overlie those of his inland towns. From which interference we may conclude that Ptolemy himself made but small attempt to plot out his positions on a map.

<sup>1</sup>Besides this want of accurate, because scientific, information,

<sup>1</sup> The criticism of Ptolemy's latitude and longitude is condensed from Sir E. Bunbury's article in *Encyc. Britan.*, Ed. ix.

Ptolemy's work was likewise vitiated by the absence of means for determining longitudes, by which he was led to place his prime meridian at the outermost of the Fortunate (Canary) Islands, very much too far to the West; the fact being that Ptolemy calculated all his meridians from Alexandria, and then adapted them to that which he had chosen as his "prime." The error seems to have amounted to no less than 7 degrees. Similarly his equator, from which of course all latitudes were reckoned, seems to have been placed about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  degrees too far north.

But the greatest of all his errors was that he was misled into using a measurement for a degree (measured at the equator) which gave but 50, instead of 60, geographical miles for that interval. Thus, reckoning 500 *stadia* as equal to 50 geographical miles ( $1^\circ$  of Ptolemy) 'if he had arrived at the conclusion from itineraries that two places were 5000 *stadia* from one another, he would place them at a distance of  $10^\circ$  apart, and thus in fact separate them by an interval of 6000 *stadia*.' And this error, which is constant for the parallels of latitude, necessarily becomes in longitude further complicated by the convergence of the meridians.

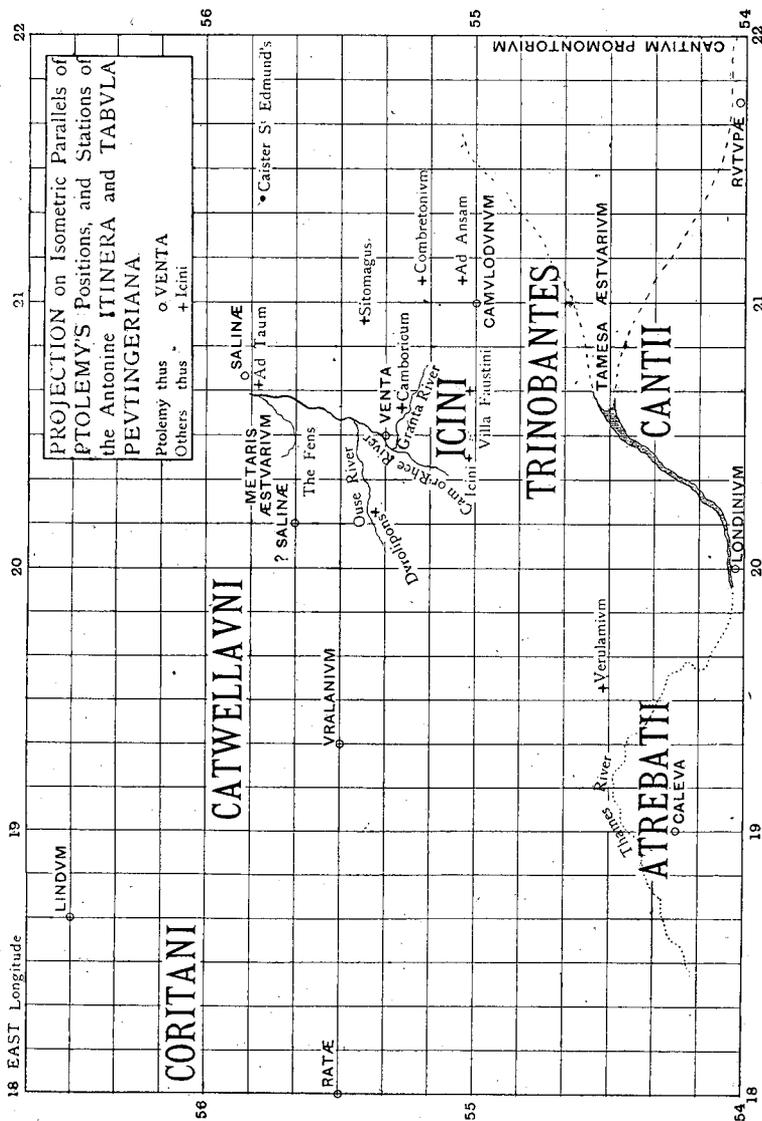
It is necessary to understand these points if we are in any way to do justice to such *data* as Ptolemy affords.

In presenting Ptolemy's statements, it is well to say that the Greek, and its Latin translation, are from the text of Karl Müller (Paris, 1883), which is said to be the best edition of the geography. I am myself answerable for such "Englishing" of the phrases as I may feel necessary for my argument.

Ptolemy begins his geography of Albion in the north, working in the earlier division southwards and eastwards. He states the names of the tribes and their relative position, each to that immediately preceding; and gives to each tribe the name; latitude, and longitude, of one or more of their towns: the latitude and longitude being of course subject to the errors which I have just indicated. His coastal reckonings are given in a distinct section of his work.

The limit I have proposed for our investigation being

*Lindum*, we need not concern ourselves with any Ptolemaic



details north of the Humber, or west of the Severn: and as we

start from London in the *Itinera* it will be unnecessary to go south of the Thames.

The *Brigantes*, usually assigned to Yorkshire, and the *Parisii* to Lancashire, are succeeded by the following:—

Ἰπὸ δὲ τούτους καὶ τοὺς Βρίγαντας  
οἰκοῦσι δυσικώτατοι μὲν Ὀρδοῦνικες  
ἐν οἷς πόλεις

Μεδιολάνιον	15° 12' δ".	15° 7' γ".
Βραννογένιον	15° 12' δ".	15° 8' δ".

Infra hos et Brigantes longissime occidentem  
versus habitant Ordovices,  
in quibus oppida

Mediolanium	16° 45'.	56° 40'.
Brannogenium	16° 45'.	56° 15'.

As the *Ordovices* inhabited North Wales, and yet are here placed "underneath," i.e. south of Lancashire and Yorkshire, the country of the *Parisii* and *Brigantes*, it is evident that these two states are wrongly extended by Ptolemy too far to the East.

Τούτων δ' ἀνατολικώτεροι Κορναοῦιοι  
ἐν οἷς πόλεις αἶδε

Δηοῦα, λεγίων κ' Νικηφόρος,	15° 12'.	15° 12' δ".
Ἰουρικόνιον	15° 12' δ".	15° 12' δ".

Ab his vero ad ortum Cornavii  
in quibus hæc sunt oppida

Deva, Legio xx Victrix	17° 30'.	56° 45'.
Viroconium	16° 45'.	55° 45'.

The *Cornavii* being 'more easterly' than the *Ordovices* occupy Cheshire, and possibly Derby, with the towns Chester and Wroxeter.

Μεθ' οἷς Κοριτανοὶ  
ἐν οἷς πόλεις

Λίνδον	17° 7' γ".	15° 12'.
Ράται	17°.	15° 12'.

Post quos Coritani  
in quibus oppida

Lindum	18° 40'.	56° 30'.
Ratæ	18°.	55° 30'.

'After whom' implies that the *Coritani* come more easterly than the *Cornavii*. This places them in Lincolnshire, Notts., Rutland, and Leicestershire. Their towns are Lincoln and Leicester. Be it noted that Lincolnshire is, on the east, bounded by the North Sea; but the Wash cuts in on its southern border, and in Roman days, with the submerged fens, extended nearly up to Rutland, and to Cambridge.

Εἶτα Κατοκελλαννοὶ

ἐν οἷς πόλεις

Σαλίνας

᾽Ουρολάσιον

κ' 12 δ'. νε' 12 γ''.

ιθ' γ''. νε' 12

Inde Catwellauni

in quibus oppida

Salinæ<sup>1</sup>

Uro(Vero)lanium

20° 45' 55° 50'.

19° 20' 55° 30'.

'Then.' implies a still easterly extension. This must be Northants., Hunts., and possibly Beds. and Herts. If *Urolanium* be *Verulamium*, i.e. St Albans, the territory must include the three latter counties. But it is an interesting question whether Ptolemy has wrongly placed *Verulamium*, or whether critics err in thinking that town to be signified by his *Urolanium*. Müller's note is "*Verulamium* a Londinio secundum Itineraria 21 m.p. distat. Apud Ptol. falsissime positum 55° 30', propius a vero abesset 54° 30'." I shall refer to this again: but if *Verulamium* be meant, the *Catwellauni* must overlap the station  *Icini* (Hitchin), and must be identified with the tribe whose chieftain Cæsar styles Cassivellaunus. But the more usual name for this Hertfordshire tribe is *Cattyeuchlani*. How far they and the *Catwellauni* are to be identified, whether one is a clan of the other, or whether both are variant names for one tribe, is still matter of antiquarian debate. The fact remains that *Urolanium* is placed by Ptolemy something like 60 miles to the north of the well-known *Verulamium*.

*Salinæ*, the other town of the *Catwellauni*, has been variously

<sup>1</sup> One reading gives the site as 20° 10', 55° 40'; which reckoning retains it, as more probable, on the West side of the Wash. In the map I have shown the two positions of *Salinæ*.

placed between Sandy (Beds.) and Boston (Lincs.). Actually when laid off on a map, such as will be found in this section, its latitude and longitude, as given by Müller, place it on the Norfolk side of the Wash. As the Wash flowed inland, with a width from Peterborough to Downham, and a length which reached nearly to Cambridge, it is evident that this location is an impossibility. There is an evident disposition to look for its site at some mineral spring. But Ptolemy is not giving us Roman names, but the native Celtic names of British oppida. Its site is at any rate unknown.

We now come to the sites which are immediately concerned with the Antonine *Itinera*.

Μεθ' οὗς Ἴκενοι	
παρ' οὗς πόλις	
Οὐέντρα	κ' 12. νέ' γ'.
Post quos Icenī	
apud quos oppidum	
Venta	20° 30'. 55° 20'.

"After whom," i.e. evidently still moving eastwards. Across the fens is Norfolk, acknowledged *Icini* territory: and if the *Catwellauni* did stretch so far south as to embrace *Verulamium* (St Albans) then, when on a parallel south of Cambridge and the fenny Rhee Valley, their borders would march with those of the *Icini*, who are to the east. This exactly suits the Hitchin position of *Icini*, the frontier hill fortress which we have hypothecated to the *Icini* tribe.

To this tribe is assigned but one town, evidently the one at which the peninsular *Icini* are brought most into touch with Roman commerce and travel. I do not think it will be disputed that this is the reason why, out of all that great territory, wherein we know were *Combretonium* and *Sitomagus*, and many seaports, one and only one town should be mentioned. To that town is given the name of *Venta*; which leaves no manner of doubt as to its identity with the *Venta Icinorum* of the *Itineries*.

What the latitude and longitude tell us, we must leave until we have opportunity of comparison with some other

known, or probable, site. But we may notice this; that Ptolemy uses a wholly unique expression as regards the territorial position of *Venta*. He does not say *ἐν οἷς*, in whom, as he does of almost every place and tribe. He does say *παρ' οἷς*, which Müller somewhat inadequately renders '*apud quos*, by, or at, whom. Now Ptolemy of Alexandria wrote of course that unclassical form of Greek known as Alexandrine, the Greek of the Septuagint and New Testament. In the matter of this preposition *παρά* the Alexandrine use does not, I believe, differ from the classical: but it gives me the opportunity of pointing my argument with the opinion and words of the great scholar Winer<sup>1</sup>. It means with the dative case "properly *by, by the side of*, in a local sense.....sometimes denotes the external *by, beside*, or in some one's vicinity, circle, or care." Thus Ptolemy says *Venta* is "by the side of" the *Icini*; as we should express it, "on their border." It is impossible that this phrase could be used of Caistor by Norwich, which stands well within (*ἐν*) their borders. It might be used to-day of such a modern situation as that of Newmarket, or of Yarmouth, or a few years ago of Royston, all of which bestride, or bestrode, the border between two counties. But of the *Icini*, and apparently of all Albion, there was only one place to which could be applied the geographical *ἡπαρὰ λεγόμενον παρ' οἷς*. That place stood on a fenny stream which evidently was the border between the *Icini* and the northern envelopment of the *Catwellanni*, at the one spot in that fenny valley where dry land faced dry land across the running water. In one word, that place was Cambridge: not Chesterton, but Cambridge. Thus Ptolemy's phrase bears out the conclusion to which Antonine's *Iter ix* had brought us: that *Venta Icinorum* is not Caistor but Cambridge.

Ptolémy then proceeds:—

Καὶ ἀνατολικώτεροι παρὰ τὴν  
 Ταμῆσα εἰσχυσιν Τρινοοῦαντες  
 ἐν οἷς πόλις  
 Καμουλόδουον

κα'. νε'.

<sup>1</sup> *Grammar of N. T. Greek*, 3rd Ed., p. 492.

Atque magis ad ortum prope  
 Tamesæ æstuarium Trinovantes  
 in quibus oppidum  
 Camulodunum

21° 55°.

'More easterly, right up to the Thames estuary,' for such is the force of *παρά* with the accusative, 'the Trinovantes.' Inasmuch as the *Icini* were bounded on the east by the North Sea, "more easterly" can only refer to the relative position of the *Trinovantes* to *Venta*, or to such an excrescence of territory as that which we have had reason to believe the *Icini* owned up the Rhee Valley to the place which the Itineraries style as *Icini*. It is impossible that the *Trinovantes* in Essex can be described as more easterly than Caistor, though they might be described as more easterly than Cambridge. But it is not Ptolemy's use to describe the position of any tribe with reference to any town of the tribe preceding. 'He always relates territory to territory. We must therefore conclude that this "more easterly" position has relation to that excrescence of Icinian territory which alone is to the west of the Trinobantian Essex. Thence the *Trinovantes* held sway right down to Thames mouth.

Thus we find that by the very words he uses Ptolemy supports both my working hypothesis, and one of my conclusions. We must now pay some attention to his latitudes and longitudes of the towns.

I am now going to ask you to look at the relative positions of the three towns which chiefly concern the argument.

<i>Lindum</i>	E. long. 18° 40'.	N. lat. 56° 30'.
<i>Venta</i>	20° 30'.	55° 20'.
<i>Camulodunum</i>	21°.	55°.

*Lindum* is furthest to the north-west: *Camulodunum* to the south-east. *Venta* is placed between the two, but nearer to the latter. As the map shows, on isometric parallels the three are in almost direct line. *Venta* is certainly placed to the N.W., on a line subtending lines of 30' and 20' only. This would be an impossible position for that town if Caistor were meant, for

then it should be one degree to the north-east. The position does suit that of Cambridge.

If we notice that Ptolemy's position for *Venta* is only  $27\frac{1}{2}$  English miles by direct measurement<sup>1</sup>, instead of some 38 as on our maps, from *Camulodunum*—whether that be Colchester or Mark's Tey—the explanation is obvious. There was then no direct road to Cambridge: or, if we leave the identification undetermined, to *Venta*. The only known road thither, from *Camulodunum*, was the roundabout way of *Iter ix*. It would thus be difficult to place the two sites in exact relative positions. But it would be quite easy to adjust their positions aright if by *Venta* Ptolemy had meant Caistor some 67 miles to the N.E. In a word the site I have given to *Venta* at Cambridge is more agreeable to Ptolemy's positions than the site at Caistor.

Further, reducing Ptolemy's direct distance between *Venta* and *Lindum* to English miles, after due allowance for his errors and the convergence of meridians, we find he has placed them at almost 99 miles interval. Now the *Iter v*, if *Venta* be four miles from *Camboricum*, makes them cxi = 101·5 miles apart; the route being N.W. throughout. This close approximation of distance seems to indicate that Ptolemy was working from just such *data* as the Antonine or other *Itinera* would afford, and marks an attempt to be accurate according to the information at his disposal. But these 99 miles do not accord with the situation of *Venta* at Caistor. They only suit a position at Cambridge.

But let us see if we can gain any supplementary aid by reckoning from Ptolemy's transpontine position for *Londinium*; which he places, presumably, as a British town, somewhere about Lambeth. We want to gain some idea of his reliability for his positions of *Lindum* and *Camulodunum*, which he probably arranged by reference to the roads from London. At

<sup>1</sup> The correct distances, allowing for Ptolemy's errors and for the convergence of meridians, have been worked out for me by Mr H. S. Russell, late chief surveyor in British New Guinea.

the outset let us remember that, although Ptolemy has not left us a map, it is manifestly impossible that he could have assigned positions for his towns without some plotting upon paper with reference to received positions and distances therefrom.

Towards *Lindum* then he must have started along the Watling Street. Mr Codrington tells us that the "original Watling Street" crossed the Thames by a ford to Thorney or Westminster, thence passing up the present Edgware Road to *Venonæ* and the N.W. That is to say, Watling Street is a direct exit from a Lambeth position of *Londinium*.

We are early met by a difficulty. If he were working, as I have supposed, from an Itinerary, he would know that *Verulamium* was but  $xxi = 19$  miles from London. Yet the only station, or town, which he gives us on or near this route, is *Urolanium*, which he places some 70 miles from London. Either then he is in grievous error, or else *Urolanium* is not to be confused with *Verulamium*. For the present we must leave that difficulty, to which I shall by-and-by return; and we will address ourselves to his position for *Lindum*.

The Antonine *Itinera vi* and *viii* give us a road mileage thither from London of *clvi* = 143 English miles. But the *Itinera* take the road through *Ratæ*, necessitating a big angle, which Ptolemy would eliminate in reckoning his latitude and longitude. This apparently he does, placing *Lindum* at a position, by measurement, about 130 from *Londinium*. This very remarkable approximation to the present road distance (132 miles) seems clearly to indicate a desire on the part of Ptolemy to lay off his positions in accordance with the *data* of official routes.

As regards the distance of his *Londinium* from *Camulodunum* Ptolemy has to consider (1) his position at Lambeth, (2) such devious roads over the north bank streams as are shown in the *Tabula*. Perhaps we may allow of an increase of five miles by these deviations between Aldgate and Lambeth; which will give us a total length from *Camulodunum* of  $52\frac{1}{2}$  miles. Ptolemy's positions separate them by nearly 60 miles in direct

line: a discrepancy which is hardly large enough to annihilate my contention that he conscientiously endeavours to work his distances from such records as the *Itinera*.

If we are willing to accept this as strongly probable, and as fairly supported by the evidence, we shall be prepared to allow that, when he placed *Urolanium* 70 miles from *Londinium* and 63 from *Lindum*, he had no intention of representing by it that *Verulamium* which we know as St Albans. The credibility of Ptolemy may indeed be put to a further test. There are no recorded cross-country roads from *Verulamium* to *Venta* or to *Camulodunum*: but the existence of Camelot way on the east of Watling Street at St Albans yields unmistakable evidence of an ancient Camelot or *Camulodunum* way from that place. It was apparently connected with that Stane Street, or *Via militaris*, which we have already followed from Bishop Stortford to Mark's Tey; and from that site for *Camulodunum* would lead to *Verulamium* in about 40 miles; and the road does not pass through or near to *Venta*.

Similarly, by Ashwell Street, Cambridge is distant from St Albans by about the same distance. This is just about the distance which Ptolemy interposes between *Venta* and *Urolanium* (44 miles).

But between *Camulodunum* and *Urolanium* the line does pass through or near to *Venta*, with the addition of  $27\frac{1}{2}$  miles making nearly 72 miles; an arrangement which is only possible if *Venta* be Cambridge, and *Urolanium* some unknown site towards the northern boundary of the *Catwellanni*.

When at length we seek a point where lines, 63 miles long from *Lindum*, 44 from *Venta*, and 72 from *Camulodunum*, may converge, we find it in the neighbourhood of Northampton, in just such a locality as that where he has placed his *Urolanium*. Whether the first syllable of that station survives in the first syllable of Irchester I leave experts to say: but this we must allow, that there is no reason to believe that *Urolanium* is *Verulamium* save some similarity of names. This need not count for much when the *Itinera* abound in examples of even

closer resemblance, and in this very *Catwellawhi* country give us both *Durocobriva* and *Durobriva*.

The credibility of Ptolemy may be taken, I think, as established. The contrary opinion deprives his positions of any use or interest whatever. And if that be allowed, then we can only say that his position for *Venta* can never be intended for Caistor. It can only be meant to represent the place which we know as Cambridge. That site, and that alone, puts *Venta* in the position which Ptolemy assigns it in relation to *Lindum*, *Urolanium*, and *Camulodunum*. And as he puts it down as the town "on the borders" of the *Icini*, we have no hesitation in accepting it as the *Venta Iconorum* of *Iter ix*, which by an independent line of argument we have seen reason to assign already to the British town on the Granta or Cam at Cambridge.

#### THE RAVENNAS LISTS.

The lists of the *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia* are a tantalising schedule. They profess so much; they perform so little. Full of mis-spellings, inflated with minor and unidentified stations, antiquaries as a rule abandon them in despair, contenting themselves with assertions of the compiler's indiscriminating misplacement even of stations which are more or less sufficiently identified. But an eighth century editor of second and third century *Itinera* must be forgiven much: though I doubt if he is as bad as they would make out.

The section of these lists<sup>1</sup> which concerns our enquiry is as follows:

*Ratæ Corion* (*Ratæ Κοριων*).

Then 4 stations unidentified.

*Virolanium* (*Verolanium*).

*Londinium Augusti*.

*Cæsaromago*.

<sup>1</sup> From Parthey and Pinder's edition of 1860. The names in brackets are the suggestions of these editors.

*Manuloduno Colonia* (Colonia Camulodunum).  
*Durcinate* (Bedæ forsan *Dorcinia*).  
*Durobrisin* (Durobrivas).  
*Venta Cenomum*.  
*Lindum Colonia*.

It seems certain from the readings *Ratæ Corion, Londinium Augusti, Lindum Colonia*, as well as from the insertion of *Durcinate, Durobrisin*, and *Venta Cenomum*, that the compiler is not transcribing from the Antonine routes. It also goes without saying that, if he is transcribing at all, and not writing *memoriter*, he must be following some regular and definite itinerary. Whatever may be the four unidentified stations, it appears as if the route from *Ratæ* (Leicester) through *Virolamium* (St Albans) to London was laid off along the Watling Street. The two names which follow *Londinium* suggest that the objective at *Lindum* is being sought by a road, though not by the Road-book, which we have already traversed. That road may be the actual route of Antonine's *Iter ix*. The information we have already gained admirably assists us.

We need not hesitate to accept *Manuloduno Colonia* as an error for *Camuloduno*: and if so, then the order of the words, the reverse of Tacitus' phrase, probably indicates the township rather than the farm settlement<sup>1</sup>. Possibly on the obliteration of the latter the settlement centred in the township. Be that as it may, the juxtaposition of the two was so close that the name, as given in Ravennas lists, may be associated with the fifth or ninth *Iter*; though the township has been found the more closely associated with the ninth.

The next station is *Durcinate*. The editors suggest that it may be possibly Bede's *Dorcinia*; i.e. Dorchester in Oxfordshire, on the Thames<sup>2</sup>. This appears to me an admirable example of an artificial difficulty. Is it likely that any compiler who attempted to transcribe any itinerary would so jumble together his pages as to leap from Essex to Oxford-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Lindum colonia* in this list.

<sup>2</sup> Bp Moberly reads *Dorcic*, iii. 7: and *Dorcicææstra*, iv. 23.

shire, from the Colne Valley to that of the Thames? Misspellings may occur from ignorance, or from misreading of faded manuscripts. But dislocation can only proceed from sheer incompetency and wilful confusion. I cannot think that any explanation is open to us save that this name represents the next station in regular progression along a traversed route. If that route be such as *Iter v*, the station may be our *Icini*; and we have the syllable *cin* in both. *Icini* is on the little river *Hiz*, and the syllable *Dur* connotes a stream. Or, if the route be *Iter ix*, then *Durcinate* will probably represent the native British name for the Roman *Ad Ansam* on the Colne, or the British village at Stratford on the Stour. The compiler gives us no distances of certification<sup>1</sup>.

The next station is *Durobrisin*, which the editors identify with *Durobrivas* of *Iter v*. If it be so, then follows an immense and unnecessary deviation eastward, across or around the fens, whether we accept *Venta Cenomum* as Cambridge, or Caistor: and if *Venta* be Cambridge, then by *Iter v* we have already passed through *Venta* to reach *Durobrivæ* beyond the Nene. These things considered, I would suggest that *Durobrisin* (and note the peculiar termination) is *Durobritin*, the *Combretonium* of *Iter ix* on the river (Duro) Brett. Hadleigh, which we have identified with *Combretonium*, is the one place where the road touches on that stream.

Thus *Venta Cenomum* falls in its right place as a station after *Durobrisin*: if indeed *Venta Cenomum* be *V. Icinorum*. Some would have it otherwise. They distinguish it from that, as they distinguish Cæsar's *Cenimagni* (or *männi*, as they prefer to read: *magi*, as I have suggested) from the Antonine *Icini*. I do not think that it requires labour to show that the strong probability is that the compiler misread *VENTAICINORVM* as *VENTACENOMVM*. If we swallow the camel of *MANVLODVNO* for *CAMVLODVNO*, I do not see that we can reasonably strain at the gnat of *CENOMVM* for *ICINORVM*. To argue that *Venta Cenomum* is unidentified, but that *Venta Icinorum* is certainly Caistor by Norwich, seems to me to be only different from

<sup>1</sup> He says he could if he chose.

thimble-rigging, in that by it the rigger is deceiving himself as well as his audience. The great weight of probability surely is on the side of the identification of the one with the other; and the assumption does not seem to tax unduly our credulity.

Thus I think too the evidence, presumptive if you like, suggests to us that the Ravennas stations take us along the route *Iter ix*, and not along that of *Iter v*. It has also brought us to that *Venta* which I have already shown reason to identify with Cambridge. At any rate this list places *Venta Cenomum* on the route to *Lindum*; thus affording an additional step in the argument. Caistor by Norwich could never have been on that route. Cambridge at the head of the fen might be; and, if my unravelment of *Iter v* be correct, was on that route.

It is remarkable that the allocations made in former sections should be of such assistance in explaining this list. The Ravennas list is said to be a confused jumble. Previous expositors have decided contrary to the conclusions which I have here set down. It is beyond all possibility that two such errors, the one of order, the other of deduction, should coincide, and be mutually explicatory. I submit that the only means of bringing two such statements into accord is by regarding the one as an orderly statement of fact, and the other as a right deduction of reason. It is evident that there can be no collusion; and that, as we have followed rigidly the *Itinera* of Antonine, there can have been no prejudice to bring the conclusions from his *Itinera* into accord with the distinct and dissimilar difficulties of the anonymous gazetteer of Ravenna.

In Mr Arthur Taylor's *Papers* referred to on an earlier page will be found an explanation of the list from another point of view. These Papers are most interesting and clever: but they seem to afford a conspicuous instance of the tantalizing fate that dogs the steps of him who persists in starting from the *Venta*-Caistor theory.

‘Richard of Cirencester.’

The story of the unmasking<sup>1</sup> of the spurious Richard of Cirencester is so well known that it is unnecessary to enter into details. No one, ‘not even all the King’s horses and all the King’s men, can ever set Humpty Dumpty up again.’ Yet there are, I believe, certain considerations too often overlooked which will justify me in asking your attention to that forged treatise, *de Situ Britannicæ*.

In dealing with literary forgery we are apt to be unduly prejudiced by the odium of financial forgery. Not that literary forgery is honest, but that it stands altogether on a different moral plane. The literary forger does not enrich himself at the expense of the man whose name he assumes. Generally he does not enrich himself financially even at the expense of his readers. His advantage is that he gains an unmerited attention to the work of his pen. He himself is content to remain *incognito* so long as he may see his literary offspring in the vogue. Further, and possibly in corollary from this, the contents of a literary forgery are not wholly invalidated as are those of a financial forgery. Exposure does not depreciate the mental powers of Chatterton and Macpherson as it does the financial powers of the Old Bailey criminal. On the grave of Chatterton we still let fall the ready tear, on that of Macpherson we lay an ungrudged laurel; and these, in spite of the forgery, as a tribute to genius and mental power. There are also to be considered the literary and moral atmosphere of the age. In the last half of the 18th century, outside philosophy, the mental activities of the cultured were largely directed to the antique. Walpole’s vulgarisms at Strawberry Hill were but the extremest affectation of polite thought. It goes without saying that, as in the London curiosity shops and art repositories to-day, the demand

<sup>1</sup> By Professor Mayor in his preface to *Ricardi de Cirencestria Speculum Historiale*. It is more than an “unmasking.” It is a positive scalping.

created a trade in spurious antiques, to which none so readily fell victims as those who wished to find in a chaos of rubbish some priceless treasure of an earlier age, or some hint for the irradiation of the dark ages. It is only the other day that the British Association, meeting at Bristol, twice sat at the feet of an impudent impostor, who humoured the learned Society's desire to investigate the methods of aboriginal speech. It is just that "infirmity of noble mind" which Dickens has caricatured for us in Mr Pickwick's discovery of "Bill Stumps his mark." In an age so ready as the 18th century, when even the sturdy Gough was deceived by George Steevens' forgery of a Hardicanute inscription, it is small wonder that Bertram offered to the antiquary a spurious work *de Situ Britannicæ*. He found in Stukeley<sup>1</sup>, whose eye, dazzled by a brilliant imagination, was too often impotent for discrimination, a ready victim. That which was at the first perhaps little more than a *jeu d'esprit* developed, at Stukeley's cry for more, into a deliberate assault upon the credulity of the learned, and from a slight correspondence was enlarged into a regular treatise<sup>2</sup>. What was the character of the bait that hooked the ponderous Stukeley may be seen by these two extracts which are concerned with the *Itinera* we have already traversed.

Iter iii.

A Londinio Lindum coloniam usque sic:

*Durosito* xii.

*Cæsaro Mago* xvi.

*Canonio* xv.

*Camaloduno Colonia* viii.

ibi erat templum Claudii, arx triumphalis, et Imago Victoriæ  
Deæ.

*Ad Sturium amnem* vi.

et finibus Trinobantum Cenimannos advenis.

*Cambretonio* xv.

<sup>1</sup> Gough also fell a victim.

<sup>2</sup> The Ireland forgeries grew out of the father's demand for Shakespeare documents.

*Sito Mago* xxii.

*Venta Cenom* xxiii. [Thus far we have *Iter ix* of Antonine reversed.]

*Camborico Colonia* xx.

*Duroliponte* xx.

*Durnomago* xx. [Prof. Mayor says this "is borrowed from Antonine 254, who places it near Cologne." But surely it is Camden's "ancient ruined city" Dornford, opposite Castor on the Nene.]

*Isinnis* xx.

*Lindo* xx. [The last 5 stations are on Antonine's *Iter v*.]

*Iter xvii.*

*Ab. Anderida* [*Eboracum*] *usque, sic*:

*Sylvā Anderida.*

*Noviomago.*

*Londinio* xv.

*Ad Fines.*

*Durolisponte.*

*Durnomago* xxx.

*Corisannis* xxx<sup>1</sup>.

*Lindo* xxx.

[From *Londinium* he apparently takes us direct to *Durolipons* (Godmanchester); and thence by Antonine's *Iter v* as before.]

Now we will grant without reserve that this is an *olla podrida* of Antonine, the Ravennas compiler, and Camden. We will allow ourselves in our superior Latinity to chuckle under the vault of that *arx triumphalis*, and to guffaw in the very face of *pauper Ricardus*, as poor Richard writes himself. We will, if you like, snap our fingers under his impudent nose, and call him fraud and forger. But at any rate as soon as we have worked off our irritation, and pause to think, we shall allow that after all there is something worthy of a moment's attention. The list is at least, whether he be right or wrong, Bertram's attempt to accommodate the two East Anglian routes of Antonine. Whether he were, sober antiquary turned "forger," or only an ass pranked in a lion's skin, the man's attempt to

<sup>1</sup> Does not this for *Causennis* look as if Bertram were writing from dictation?

accommodate the two lists of puzzling clues deserves as fair, if not as respectful, an attention as any like effort of yours or mine. Let us for a moment then give "poor Richard" his due.

"Richard."		Antonine.	
	From London.	<i>Iter ix.</i>	<i>Iter v.</i>
<i>Durosito</i> xii.		<i>Durolito</i> xv.	
<i>Cæsarø Mago</i> xvi.		<i>Cæsaromagø</i> xvi.	xxviii.

He does not identify sites. Probably he did not intend to. It would have at once betrayed the forgery had he done so. But he boldly, though making for Antonine's *Iter ix*, accommodates the total of his first two stages to the distance of *Iter v*, by dropping the additional three miles between *Durolitum* and London. Thus he practically—even if unintentionally—places *Durolitum* at Romford, and *Cæsaromagus* at Margaretting Street.

<i>Canonio</i> xv.	<i>Canonio</i> xii.	
<i>Camaloduno. Colonia</i> viii.	<i>Camuloduno.</i>	
	<i>Colonia</i> ix.	xxiv.

The three miles he has dropped he now adds to the *Canonium*, for he cannot drop them from the sum total, as we shall see. Thus he pushes that station on to Kelyvedon. We cannot therefore doubt that he wished to place *Durolitum* and *Canonium* as Stukeley has placed them. Nor can we doubt, when he gives us *Cam. Col.* in viii miles, that he intends to identify that station, as does Stukeley, with Colchester. It is probable that Stukeley fixed his distances from "Richard," to whom he surrendered almost unconditionally. But the dressing of the hook is obvious. By either of the Antonine routes, to *Colonia* or *Camulodunum*, the distance is lii miles (li by "Richard," who was shrewd enough not to be too exact); and the distance from Colchester to London in English statute miles is 52½. This is indeed the hook that has caught better antiquaries than Bertram, and clearer heads than Stukeley's. Even patient investigators to-day fall a prey to the same bait. Thereby they put themselves in the same boat with discredited "Richard." This error, and the identification of *Colonia* with

*Camulodunum*, alike become possible by the iii miles deviation from *Durokitum* in *Iter ix*, and the ii or iii miles from Mark's Tey in *Iter v* along Stane Street. Yet even so the error would be partially rectified by the reduction of Roman mileage to that of the English statute. It is wholly avoided by the hypothesis that *Icini* is Hitchin, and the route along two roads at right angles to each other.

*Ad Sturium amnem* vi.

*Ad Ansam* vi.

Having brought us to Colchester, he is bound to carry us beyond it by *vi* miles for the next stage: and by an ingenious gloss he for *Ad Ansam* reads *Ad amnem*, and that must be of course the Stour (*Sturium*), which was undoubtedly the boundary between the *Trinobantes* and the *Icini* (or *Cenimanni*?). Stukeley follows, and plumps the site down at Stratford St Mary. So for

*Cambretonio* xv.

*Combretonio* xv.

we are driven higher up the Brett than Hadleigh to Brettenham, where Stukeley unhesitatingly places us: and where he and his "Richard" part company; the learned Doctor going off by Thetford to Caistor by Norwich, while "Richard" has evident leanings towards a westerly route by which to bring us round the fens to Lincoln.

At this parting of the ways "Richard" does a remarkable thing. Instead of stopping, as he would have been fully justified, at *Venta*, the terminus *a quo* of that *Iter ix* which he has been following, he deliberately sets himself to connect that *Iter ix* with *Iter v*. Why he does so he does not tell us. Professor Mayor says "Bertram seems to have identified *Icinos* with *Venta Icinorum*." Perhaps: but all we know is that he effects the junction thus

*Sito Mago* xxii.

*Sitomago* xxii.

*Venta Cenom* xxiii.

*Venta Icinorum* xxxii.

*Camborico Colonia* xx.

*Duroliponte* xx.

Wherever Bertram may have thought *Venta* to be, he evidently did not consider it to be at, though he places it only xx miles from, *Camboricum*, to which he attaches a *Colonia*, as flattering to Cambridge as *Vespasiana* to Scotland<sup>1</sup>. For there can be no doubt that he wished to identify *Camboricum* with the University town. The remarkable thing is that he should have discovered any connection between *Venta* of *Iter ix* and *Camboricum* of *Iter v*<sup>2</sup>.

I hold no brief for Bertram, and it really does not touch my argument whether he be right or wrong. But his *de Situ* down to 40 years ago was a factor to be reckoned with; and his blend of *Itinera v* and *ix* gave a fresh twist to the tangle of interpretations. However Bertram came by the idea of making some connection between *Venta* and *Camboricum*, those earlier interpreters might have lightened their labours, had they not started with certain prejudices in their minds, of which perhaps none was more mischievous than the placing of *Venta* at Caistor.

I shall now briefly summarise the progress we have made.

By starting from Hitchin, as the survival of *Icini*, we have been able

(1) to find probable sites along known roads within a mile, and less, of every recorded distance of the two *Itinera*:

(2) we have been able to place *Colonia* and *Camulodunum* in such situations as to maintain their severalty and their conjunction:

(3) at the same time the situations we have assigned to them give the only reasonable disentanglement of the knotted and interwoven mileage:

(4) the site chosen for *Camulodunum* affords a worthy allocation for *Ad Ansam*:

<sup>1</sup> See Professor Mayor's Preface.

<sup>2</sup> One feels it was a mere fluke. Had he any reasons, he would have added to his reputation by proffering them as his interpretation.

(5) the assignment of *Ad Ansam* to Colchester explains the *Tabula Peutingeriana* with its curious *Ad Taurm* and peculiar mileage notation:

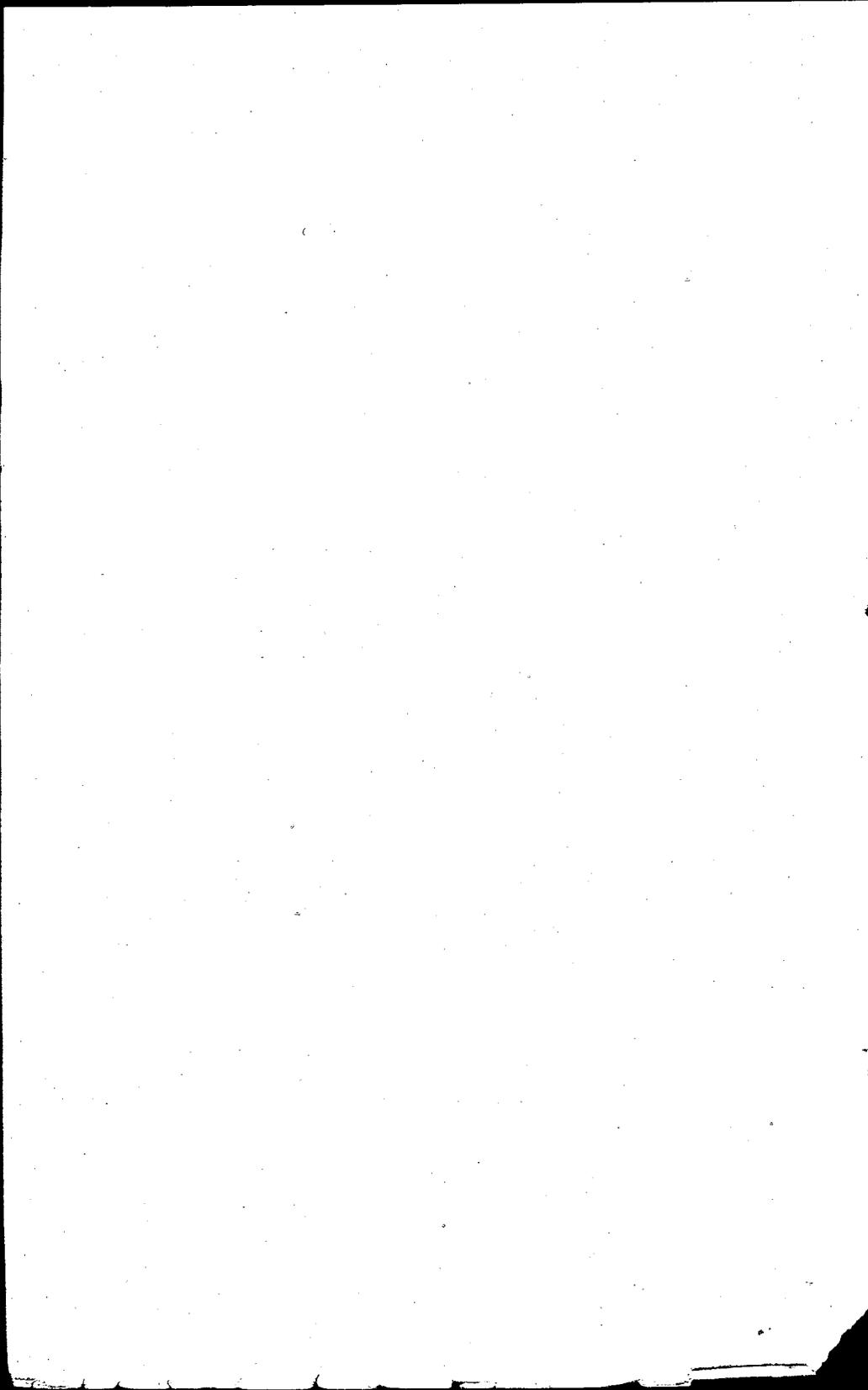
(6) it likewise enables us to find a suitable home for *Venta Icinorum*.

We have also found that these steps of real advance are supported by Ptolemy's positions, and the Ravennas lists: or to put the matter another way, our gains in the *Itinera* interpret both Ptolemy and Ravennas: and something at least of the confusion in "Richard of Cirencester" falls away before the information we have acquired.

With so many points in its favour, I think it will be allowed that the *Icini* hypothesis has justified its formulation. If it has, that must be my one excuse for venturing into an investigation which for centuries has amused and disappointed the giants of antiquarian research.

Observations upon the paper were afterwards made by Dr E. C. Clark, Professor T. McKenny Hughes, and the Rev. A. Walker.

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