

ART. X.—*An attempt at a Survey of Roman Cumberland, and Westmorland; with remarks on Agricola's line of March, and on the importance of the camp at Old Carlisle, and on the 10th Iter of Antoninus.* By R. S. FERGUSON, M.A., & LL.M. Read at Kendal, December 11, 1876.

THE Roman Rule in England lasted for about 350 years. If we reckon from Agricola in A.D. 78 to Honorius in A.D. 410, a period of time about three times as long as that during which we have born Empire in India.

Firm as was the Roman hold on Britain while it lasted, it has left behind it little but the ruins of its towns, and of its camps, the traces of its magnificent and well planned roads, and the debris of its luxuries, and of its wants. To the Romans we, in the north, probably owe the establishment of the three great cattle fairs of Stagshawbank, of Brough Hill, and of Rosley, but no vestige of the Roman tongue can be found in the English language, except what is known to come through other channels. The Roman Wall itself, (as has been said),

“Is a monument of ages which have utterly passed away: a monument which might almost be said to have been already an antiquity when the first Englishman gazed on it in wonder. Whatever part the great Wall played in history, in days when strife within this island was still a strife between Celt and Roman, it has played no part since English history began; it has not ever, like many meaner works, served as a political boundary. It might be hazardous to say that it has never at any time formed the boundary of shire, or kingdom; but it has certainly not served as such for any great time, or through any great part of its length. The wall is a monument of a past, which has utterly vanished, a monument of the fortunes of those who came before us, in the possession of the land which is now ours.” *Saturday Review. Oct. 16th, 1875.*

But if the Roman Wall was so early played out, and made a mere piece of antiquity for Englishmen to wonder at, it has been quite otherwise with that great network of roads

Modern. Roads.  
The Roman Wall & its Roads



Ordinary Roads. ———  
The Maiden Way. - - - - -  
The Carlisle or Stone. - · - · -  
The 10<sup>th</sup> St. etc. ———  
The 10<sup>th</sup> St. etc. ———

AN ATTEMPT AT A  
SKELETON MAP  
OF THE  
ROMAN ROADS OF CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND.

roads which the Romans made on this Island, for I believe that until the four-in-hand mail, and the yellow post chaise were superseded by the iron horse, the main arteries of traffic, followed by those mails and post chaises, were identical, or almost so, with those routes along which the Roman armies marched; take, for instance, the Watling Street, or the Ermyrn Street; or, to take a local instance, the old posting road from York to Carlisle, which is almost identical with the 2nd Iter of Antoninus. I believe more, that a great number of our cross country roads are laid on Roman bottoms and follow Roman lines; until 1750 the packhorse traffic between Carlisle and Newcastle followed the old Roman road, then known as the Carelgate, or Stonegate. The packhorse traffic from Kendal, north, went over High Street, an undoubted Roman road. Only the other day I was shown a road by which, from time immemorable up to the days of steam, Scotch cattle were driven across the Solway and then to Rosley Fair; it was an old Roman road. The very frequency of the use of these roads has obscured their origin, and we rarely dream that they go further back than parish vestries, or rating acts.

What I have to say to you to-day is rather many-headed, I have something to say to you

- (1) Of how Agricola conquered Britain;
- (2) Of what route he took on leaving Wales; [land;
- (3) Of the Roman roads in Cumberland & Westmor-
- (4) Of the stations on the Roman Wall;
- (5) Of a place called Old Carlisle; and
- (6) Of the much debated 10th Iter of Antoninus.

I shall not go into the details of the Roman Conquest of Britain. Prior to A.D. 78, the Romans had established themselves, more or less precariously, in the southern parts of the island.

The real conqueror of Britain was Agricola, who came from Rome to take the chief command in Britain, in A.D. 78, and held it until 84, during which time he reduced all  
I
Britain

Britain up to the Friths of Forth and Clyde to the condition of a Roman province. His first proceeding was to put to the sword the Ordovices or inhabitants of North Wales, who had been troublesome; he then reduced to entire submission the Isle of Mona, *i.e.* Anglesey: this he did by fording the strait, which separates the island from the mainland. The winter of 78-79 he spent in quarters among the Ordovices; in correcting many abuses connected with requisitions of corn and other supplies, which pressed hard upon the Britons, and seemed to have been learned by the Roman officials in the school of Verres. Thus having pacified and secured his rear, Agricola pushed his conquests northwards. When the warm weather of 79 came, he drew together his forces again, and started off from North Wales on a second campaign, and this time to the northwards. Where he went, the 20th chapter of his life by Tacitus tells us in the words "*æstuaria ac silvas ipse prætentare,*" words that can only apply to the estuaries of Lancashire and of Cumberland, to the estuaries of the Dee, of the Mersey, of the Ribble, to the sands of Cartmel and of Ulverstone, and of the Solway Frith; we know that the country bordering on these estuaries was well and thickly wooded even so late as the time of Charles II.\* The use of the word *æstuaria* shows that Agricola crossed the rivers just mentioned as near the sea as possible, and we† think that he proceeded north by the coast of Cumberland, and by a road and chain of forts which will be discussed in detail presently. This we fancy he did that he might be supported by his fleet, and might also avoid the trackless woods and wild mountains of the interior;‡ indeed the passes into Cumberland and Westmorland from the south are few and hard to force, defended, as they would be, by swarms of Britons,

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\* Sandford's MSS. of history Cumberland.

† Mr. Jackson agrees with me, *vide supra*, pp. 9-16.

‡ The Tebay gorge is put forward as Agricola's line of March: no military man would ever march an army up such a trap.

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who would have every advantage of shelter and knowledge of the country. At the end of this year's campaign, he encircled the territory by a chain of forts, "*multae civitates*  
\* \* *et praesidiis castellisque circumdatae.*" Tacitus, in his account of the third campaign, defines for us the limits of the second year's conquests. "*Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentes aperuit,*" showing that in the second year Agricola did not get beyond the Brigantes, whose communities inhabited Yorkshire, Lancashire, Cumberland, Westmorland, and Durham, and who were well known to the Romans, having been in Yorkshire defeated and subdued by Petilius Cerealis. Thus Agricola, in his second campaign, marched round the Cumberland coast, subduing the country up to the Solway and the Tyne, and establishing the chain of forts which stretched round the Cumbrian coast, and from the Solway to the Tyne, and whose ruins still excite curiosity and admiration.

In his third year, Agricola marched as far as the Frith of Tay, and in his fourth year (A.D. 81), he drew a line of forts from the Frith of Forth, to the Frith of Clyde, while in the following two years he made further use of his fleet, and campaigned north of his upper line of forts, north of which line, however, the Romans never made any permanent conquests.\* Thus much for what history records; let us now proceed to

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\* We have before stated, that in our opinion, Agricola, on his coast march round Cumberland, had a fleet on his flank. But a passage in Tacitus' life of Agricola, cap. 25, will be cited against this view. Speaking of his sixth campaign, Tacitus writes "*portus classe exploravit quae ab Agricola primum assumpta in partem virium.*" This passage however, does not seem to mean that he *then* first, *i.e.* in the sixth campaign, employed a fleet, and an army in a combined operation, but that he was the first general to do so. He certainly had no fleet in his first campaign, for he could not *have dragged* it overland when he marched against the Ordovices, but we fancy he was too good a general to start a coast march without a fleet accompanying him on his seaward flank. Does not the passage mean that Agricola *then*, (if the *then* is insisted on) first used his fleet as part of his forces, by disembarking the sailors, and using them as soldiers, instead of confining them to duty on shipboard. Was not Agricola the first general to employ a naval brigade on land? General Roy, in his *Military Antiquities* p. 16, writes, "A.D. 83, the fleet from the beginning had co-operated with the land forces, and on this occasion being accompanied with the army, the whole made a glorious appearance, the same camp often containing the horse, foot, and marines intermixed and rejoicing in common."

## A SURVEY OF ROMAN CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND.

We shall be best able to appreciate the grasp with which the Romans held the districts, now called Cumberland and Westmorland, by endeavouring to obtain a clear notion of the roads they made and the stations they occupied in that district. These roads and stations are, for the determination of their positions, so dependent upon one another that we must consider them both together, and for that purpose we must turn to the accustomed means of information, namely the Itinerary or roadbook of Antoninus, to that of Richard of Cirencester, whose authenticity is doubtful, and to the *Notitia Imperii*; the first of which is generally assigned to a date prior to A.D. 320, and the last to about A.D. 400.

From the first and second "*Itinera*" of Antoninus we learn that from Eboracum (York) a great road went north, which after passing through Isurium or Isubrigantium, (Aldborough) and Cataractorium (Catterick in Yorkshire) split into two roads, an eastern and a western one. With the eastern one we have nothing to do, except, for clearer comprehension, to say that it ran up to the Wall of Hadrian by Vinovia, (Binchester) whence a branch went to what is now South Shields, while the main portion continued on by Vindomora, (or Ebchester), and Corstopitum, (or Corbridge), crossed the Wall and passed on into Scotland. The western branch went through Cumberland, and after leaving Cataractorium the stations and distances, as given in the Itinerary of Antoninus are, (but put for our convenience in reverse order), as follows :

Stations.	Roman Miles.	Identified as.
Cataracto, or Cataractorium } Lavatræ...   ...   13   ... Verteræ ...   ...   14   ... Brononacæ   ...   13   ... Voreda ...   ...   13   ... Luguvallum   ...   14   ... Castra Exploratorum 12   ... Blatum Bulgium   12   ...		Catterick in Yorkshire Bowes Brough Kirkby Thore Old Penrith, or Plumpton Wall Carlisle Netherby Middleby near Birrenswark.

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The fifth Iter of Antoninus gives the same route, but makes only one stage between Verteræ and Luguwallum, instead of two, and that at Brocavium or Brougham. Camden was inclined to place *Castra Exploratorum* at Old Carlisle near Wigton, and *Blatum Bulgium* at Bowness, but though there is a main Roman road from Carlisle to Old Carlisle, none such appears to have existed from Old Carlisle to Bowness, which last place could be more directly reached from Carlisle by the Roman road along the Wall, and is only 12 miles English from Carlisle by that way, while to go round by Old Carlisle would just more than double that distance. Camden also considered Old Penrith or Plumpton Wall, to be *Petriana*, and Horsley considered it to be the *Bremetenracum* of the *Notitia*, but all antiquarians are, I think, now agreed on allocating the stations of the second Iter as just given, (vide Mr. Hodgson Hinde, in the *Archæological Journal*, September, 1859; Dr. Bruce, in his "Roman Wall," and in the "*Lapidarium Septentrionale*"; Mr. Wright, in "The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon.") Indeed no one doubts that *Eboracum* is York, and *Bœda* tells expressly that *Luguwallum* is Carlisle: given these two fixed points, the rest follow as matter of course, and this Iter follows the natural passage from the great plain of York, by the pass of Stanemoor, down the valley of the Eden into the Cumberland plain, and thence to Carlisle. This great road ran from York over Stainmoor by Bowes, Brough, Brougham, Old Penrith, Carlisle, and Netherby, coinciding in the main, with the present high road through those places. The command of all the garrisons in Cumberland, and on the Wall, was held at the time of the *Notitia Imperii* (circa 400 A.D.) by the *Dux Britanniarum*, who resided at York, at which place many of the Emperors held their court; it was in fact the capital of Northern Britain, and hence the road over Stanemoor through Cumberland must have been one of great strategic importance.

This

This great military road was crossed at Brovonacæ, or Kirkby Thore, by another which, branching from the Roman road between Manchester and Kendal, at Breintonacæ (Overborough, in Lancashire), passed through the Tebay gorge, where is a camp at Low Borrow Bridge, and over Crosby Ravensworth Fell to Kirkby Thore. North of this station it ran through the parish of Alston in Cumberland, through an angle of Northumberland, and running along the Wall for some way, re-entered Cumberland, and ran past the Roman station at Bewcastle into Scotland. Much of this road can be traced, particularly in the Tebay gorge, and in the parish of Crosby Ravensworth. After Kirkby Thore, it proceeded over Newbiggin Moor to Kirkland; and on the grouse ground and the sheep walks of Ousby Fell, Melmerby Fell, and Hartside, its causeway can be traced for miles, running to the Roman Wall at Magna, or Caervoram and thence along it to Amboglanna, or Birdoswald, and thence to Bewcastle. It is known as the Maiden Way, *i.e.* Mai-dun, the great ridge, having been raised two or three feet above the adjacent ground, (see the "Lapidarium Septentrionale," p. 391).

From strategic and historical reasons we should expect to find another great road through Cumberland, older than, and more or less superseded by those we have just mentioned.\* Agricola, in A.D. 79, advanced from the Isle of Anglesey into Scotland by the western coast, crossing the estuaries, and, Roman-like, securing his retreat by the formation of a good road, guarded at frequent intervals by fortified posts. During this advance he kept close to the sea, partly we suppose that he might be supported by his fleet, partly to avoid the trackless woods, and wild mountains of the interior. This Roman road starts from Lancaster, crosses the Lancaster branch of the Morecambe estuary to Pigeon Cote Lane, near Wyke in Cartmel; passes Flookburgh, where part of this Roman road still remains;

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\* See the early part of this paper.

thence

thence crosses the Ulverston estuary and goes by Mountbarrow and Lindal to Dalton, near to the second of which places its pavement was long ago discovered, (vide Stockdale's "Annales Caermoelenses" p. 241; also West's "Furness" p. 8; Hutchinson's "Cumberland," Vol. I., p. 533, for the Roman road, leading through Furness to Duddon Sands). Thence the road would cross the Duddon Sands and enter Cumberland somewhere near Millom. From Millom it would run by Bootle and Ravenglass to the great camp at Moresby. Thence to the great camp at Ellenborough, and thence by Allonby to Bowness, and along the wall to Luguwallum, the first place where Agricola could ford the Eden, for then the tide ran much higher up the Eden than it does at present. We have shown the traces yet remaining of this road before it entered Cumberland; we must now show some proof of it in Cumberland. We pick it up between Whitbeck and Bootle: it is known as the High Street, says Hutchinson, "as lying on an old Roman road," (vide Hutchinson's "Cumberland," Vol. I. p. 556). Denton further says of Bootle, "next to Whitbeck in the "comon high street towards the west is Butle"; the very names "high street" and "common street" (stratum a causeway) generally denote an old Roman road. In Selker's Bay near Bootle, a legend says that some Roman galleys lie sunk, vide White's "Lays and Legends of the Lake Country," and not far off is an encampment called Eskmeals, where Roman coins and altars have been found, (Hutchinson's "Cumberland," Vol. I. p. 561). Muncaster in its name would seem to indicate a Roman camp. Ravenglass is said to have been the Ravonia of the Cosmography of Ravenna, (vide Wright's "The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon," p. 464)"; and Camden says Roman inscriptions have been found there.

North of this, the road was probably close to the sea shore, going inland at the promontory of St. Bees Head.\*

\* The portion south of St. Bees is difficult to make out. There seems to have been a double coast road here; one close to the shore, another a little inland, possibly a little later in date than the first.

At

At Egremont, Roman stones have been observed in the masonry of the castle (vide Jefferson's "Allerdale-above-Derwent," p. 32, 33). At Moresby, and again at Ellenborough, and from Ellenborough coastwise to Bowness, all antiquarians are agreed that there has been a road, and even a wall; and also a small camp at Mowbray, near Allonby, (see Dr. Bruce's "Roman Wall," p. 362, 366, and Hutchinson's "Cumberland," Vol. II. p. 408. Whelan's "Cumberland," 236). Camden writes "That from hence (St. Bees Head) the shore drawing itself backe, little by little, as it appeareth by the heaps of rubbish, it hath been fortified all along by the Romans, wheresoever there was easie landing;" he further states that from Workington many suppose a wall to have run for four miles along the coast. Further traces of this great Roman road are to be found in the raised road in the Parish of Holme Cultram, known as Causeway Head, which points directly to Bowness, though the estuaries of Waver and Wampool now intervene. These estuaries appear to have been solid ground occupied by the town of Skinburness until the sea broke in, in the 14th century. Roman remains have been frequently found near Skinburness (vide Whelan's "Cumberland," p. 247) and from an altar found there, Dr. Bruce conjectures that the Romans had a camp at Skinburness, (vide Transactions, Cumberland and Westmorland Archæological and Antiquarian Society, Vol. I. p. 40). Between Skinburness and Bowness is a large camp, at a place called Campfield. From Bowness to Carlisle a Roman road ran along the Wall, and was there, no doubt, long before the Wall, dating from the march of Agricola. From Carlisle the Roman road ran along the Wall into Northumberland.

Thus we get a Roman road running round the district now known as the county of Cumberland, from Duddon Sands on the south-west, to the boundaries of Northumberland on the north-east. Now this, before entering  
Cumberland,

Cumberland, was a road by no means suitable for the march of troops, and passage of baggage, being only open over the great estuaries at certain hours, and those variable ones, puzzling, no doubt, to the Romans, who were accustomed to a tideless sea. When possession of the country was obtained, they sought a safer road, and found it by Kendal, Ambleside, and Keswick, and thus the coast road by the sands, Whitbeck, and Bootle, would then become of secondary importance. The new route would seem to be the 10th Iter of Antoninus, which we now give.\*

Roman Miles.			
Mancunium	...	...	Manchester†
Coccium	...	17	Ribchester
Bremetonacæ	...	27	Overborough, in Lancaster
Galacum	...	19	Kendal
Alone	...	12	Ambleside
Galava...	...	17	Keswick
Glanoventa	...	18	Old Carlisle.

The localities of Galacum, Alone, Galava, and Glanoventa have been much disputed, but antiquarians seem now disposed to put the first three of them at Kendal, Ambleside, and Keswick; and Glanoventa, at one of the coast towns, (vide Wright, "the Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon" p. 139, also Godwin's "Archæological Handbook"). We hope to put Glanoventa at Old Carlisle, as we shall try to prove a few pages later on. Old Carlisle was a place of vast importance, the centre of a circle of camps, and hence likely to have been the terminus of a road, important

\* Many local authorities insist that the 10th Iter went up the Tebay gorge, and they put Galacum or Alone at Low Borrow Bridge. In that case they must make the Iter terminate at Whitley Castle, which, as Dr. Bruce in the Lapidarium says, is a very unlikely place to be the terminus of a great road. I hope to show in this paper that Glanoventa, (and Glannibanta, which I take to be one and the same, and to be Old Carlisle), is from its importance as a strategical position, a very likely place to be the terminus of a great road.

† From Manchester a Roman road went to Chester, where a Roman legion was quartered for a long time, but was removed prior to the date of the Notitia, though it was there at the date of the Itinerary of Antoninus, and the 10th Iter as given by me would be its line of communication with Old Carlisle, and the military stations on the Wall.

enough to figure among the Itinera of Antoninus. In Hutchinson's "Cumberland," Vol. II. p. 400, it is stated that the foundations of Roman buildings at Old Carlisle extend over many acres. The distances on the tenth Iter, as given, are hard to fit into their places, but many antiquarians consider them as corrupt, a figure being so apt to get misplaced, or omitted by a copyist. For the exact line taken by this Roman road, we refer our readers to Nicholson's "Kendal," (partly cited afterwards) and to West's "Guide to the Lakes." The identification of Bremetonacæ with Overborough is the subject of a very valuable and sound treatise by the Rev. Richard Rauthmell, under the title of "Antiquitates Bremetonacenses," published 1746.

Thus we get, beside the Maiden way, two main Roman roads through Cumberland. The earlier one, which originally went round the sea coast, and which was deviated for convenience by Keswick to Old Carlisle, and is the 10th Iter of Antoninus. The second, the great road from Carlisle to York, the 2nd Iter of Antoninus, and more modern than the 10th Iter, which it would supersede in importance when York became the capital of Northern Britain; while the removal of the Roman legion from Chester at some period between the date of the Itinerary and the Notitia, would render the 10th Iter useless in a military point of view: its camps would be deprived of their garrisons, and the camps on the Wall would be handed over to the commander at York, and form the "Item per lineam Valli" section of his command. I take it that the general at Chester, while a legion was there, commanded *all* the camps on the Wall, as far as the Tyne, and I think so because I think that Agricola marched from Chester, and founded all those camps, retaining Chester as his head quarters. Returning to the 2nd Iter, and to the question of its being later in date than what I consider to be the 10th Iter, General Roy, in his magnificent work on the "Military Antiquities" of the Romans in Britain, p. 72, 74, proves that the  
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three great camps, which defended the 2nd Iter, viz., that of Ray Cross on Stanemoor, that on Crackenthorpe moor in Westmorland, and that at Birrenswark in Scotland, present methods of fortification, which were not introduced until long after the time of Agricola.

General Roy has traced in Scotland the vast temporary camps occupied by Agricola's army. One may be asked to point out these vast camps on the line of his coast march round Cumberland. The attentive reader of General Roy's work will see that this cannot be done, in districts which the Romans occupied for a length of time. The sites of the temporary camps became the sites of permanent camps, much smaller indeed, but whose suburbs, growing for two or three centuries, would soon wipe out entrenchments made for the occupation of a night or two. Still there can be small doubt that the sites of the camps now straggling along the coast, and from the Solway to the Tyne were the sites where Agricola rested on his march.

Having pointed out the main Roman roads in Cumberland, we must now fill up the outline by tracing the cross roads, and placing as far as possible the stations, whose names we learn from the *Notitia Imperii*.

A well marked Roman road, called Plumpton Low Street, runs almost parallel with the 2nd Iter, from Penrith to Carlisle, but on the west of the Petteril; this was probably an old British road, improved and used by the Romans prior to the making of the 2nd Iter, and was probably the track by which they first opened out the inland route to Carlisle. Great part of this road is still used as a road, but where it is not, it can be traced through the fields. For information as to this road, I am indebted to Mr. Lees, of Wreay.

A large and well-known Roman station exists near the Red Dial, Wigton, at a place called Old Carlisle: we have already spoken of it, and with it we will begin, as some of the cross roads leading to and from it are well in evidence.

The

The high road from Carlisle through Thursby leads almost direct to this station, and runs along the old Roman road, which, in the time of Horsley, was very large and wide, leading directly to Carlisle and the Wall. The road on the other side, leading to the station at Ellenborough, was also until lately distinct; it is described as running southward "along the present turnpike road, nearly to Waver Bridge, then along the high grounds behind Waver Bank farm, north of Priestcroft colliery, where, as it crosses the road to Crookdale, it may be still seen; then over Leesrig pasture, and Oughterside Moor, where I have been informed traces of it are visible." (Vide "the Picts or Romano—British Wall," p. 7. Dr. Bruce's "Roman Wall," p. 360). A little to the south-east of this road lies a camp near Whitehall; hence it seems probable that a road ran from Waver Bridge past this camp direct to the Roman station at Papcastle, and the extreme straightness of the present turnpike road may lead us to conclude that it follows the line of the Roman Road.

Dr. West, in his valuable Guide to the Lakes, gives us the following description of Caermot on the road between Keswick and Wigton:—

"Caermot is a green high crowned hill, and on its skirt, just by the road side, are the manifest vestiges of a square encampment inclosed with a double foss, extending from east to west 120 paces, and from south to north, 100 paces. It is divided into several cantonments, and the road from Keswick to Old Carlisle has crossed it at right angles. Part of the agger is visible where it issues from the north side of the camp, till where it fell in with the present road. It is distant about ten miles from Keswick, as much from Old Carlisle, and is about two miles west of Ireby. On the northern extremity of the said hill of Caermot, are the remains of a beacon, and near it the vestiges of a square encampment. This camp is in full view of Bowness and Old Carlisle."

From the existence of the camp, and its position, we may conclude that a road ran past it from Old Carlisle to the station at Keswick, branching off from the Ellenborough  
and

and Papcastle roads, and running to the head of Bassenthwaite Lake, and thence to Keswick.

In Lyson's "Cumberland," p. cxlvii., mention is made of a Roman road which ran from Old Carlisle to Plumpton wall by Broadfields. This is probable, as Roman works once existed on Broadfield Common, and Camden considered Rose Castle to have been a Roman station. Mr. Lees has traced this road, and makes it run into the 2nd Iter at Causeway House. The works on Broadfield Common, and the camp, which must have existed at Muncaster, would be points on the western Roman road from Carlisle to Penrith.

A Roman road led from Old Carlisle to Bowness, passing Kirkbride Church, which stands in a Roman Camp.

Mr. Mackenzie Walcott states, in his "Guide to the Lakes," p. 102, that a Roman road did lead from Old Carlisle to Drumburgh, and that traces of it are visible at Low Moor. There is a long straight piece of road through Aikton, which if produced both ways would lead from Old Carlisle to Drumburgh, and which seems an old Roman road. There are earthworks at Down Hall, near this road, which may have been Roman, though afterwards the site of a medieval castle. Another Roman road went from Old Carlisle to Burgh, passing a camp at Foldsteads, where an altar has been found.—Other roads probably led to Holm Cultram, or Skinburness.

Let us take a map and draw on it these roads radiating from Old Carlisle, and we shall see its importance as a strategic point. Troops stationed here could in a very few hours be at any point menaced by the enemy, from Carlisle along the Wall to St. Bees Head. Did the enemy land south of that point, the garrison of Keswick would move south to intercept them, and be replaced at Keswick by a reserve from Old Carlisle, while the Old Carlisle garrison could be replaced from several points as necessary. By the use of beacons and semaphores their movements could

could be carried out with great celerity. Further it was in direct communication with the Roman legion at Chester, by what I consider the 10th Iter.

If we move ourselves by the Roman road from Old Carlisle to Keswick, we shall find we are at another great strategic point, also on the 10th Iter, and in communication with Chester, and also a place where many roads join, and where Roman remains are abundant, (*Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, Vol. I. p. 220). Let us turn to the accurate West for information on the subject; in his "Guide to the Lakes," p. 145, he tells us that in consequence of Camden's silence as to Keswick, and in consequence of a mistake made by Horsley as to Keswick, a regular survey was made of the military or Roman roads, and those from Papcastle, Ellenborough, Moresby, Ambleside, and Plumpton, were found to coincide at Keswick. Mr. West, no mere guide book writer, but a Roman Catholic clergyman and scholar, writes in 1780, and when the survey of which he writes was made, many traces of the old Roman roads must have been left, which inclosures and the plough have now obliterated. One road he describes for us with an accuracy and minuteness that makes one wish he had deemed it worth while to be as communicative about the others. That road is the one from Plumpton Wall to Keswick. He says,

"Upon Hutton Moor, and on the north side of the great road may be traced the path of the Roman way that leads from Old Penrith, or Plumpton Wall, in a line almost due west to Keswick. Upon the moor are the traces of a large encampment that the road traverses. And a little beyond the eighth mile post on the left at Whitbarrow, are stray vestiges of a square encampment. The Roman road beyond that, is met with in the enclosed fields of Whitbarrow, and is known by the farmers from the opposition they met with in ploughing across it. After that, it is found entire on the common, called Greystoke low-moor; and lately they have formed a new road on the agger of it. It proceeds in a right line to Greystoke town, when it makes a flexure to the left, and continues in a line to Blencow; it is then found in a ploughed field, about 200 yards to the north of Little Blencowe,  
pointing

pointing at Coach-gate; from thence it passes on the north side of Kell-barrow, and through Cow-close, and was discovered on making the new turnpike road from Penrith to Cockermouth, which it crossed near the toll gate. From thence it stretches over Whitrigg in a right line, is visible on the edge of the wood at Fairbank, and in the lane called Low Street. From thence it points through enclosed land, to the south end of the station, called Plumpton wall and Old Penrith. It crossed the brook Petteril at Torpenholme."

From Whitbarrow, Mr. West, p. 150, makes a Roman road run down by a fort on Soulby Fell to the fort at Dunmallet, and communicates with the well known Roman road, the High Street, leading from Ambleside to Penrith and Brougham. From Whitbarrow camp, known as Stone Carron, an ancient, *i.e.* Roman road, ran between Mell Fells to the head of Gowbarrow Park, and vestiges of it were visible when Jefferson's "Leath Ward" was writ, vide that book, p. 386. It probably continued to Ambleside, Hutchinson's "Cumberland," Vol. I. p. 412.

Mr. West's Roman road from Moresby to Keswick must have joined the Ellenborough road at Papcastle. Dr. Stukely asserts that he had seen vestiges of it.

Traces of a Roman road are to be found in Borrowdale, Hutchinson's "Cumberland," 2 Vol. p. 164, 176, 208, and there would be a road to it from Keswick; see West's "Guide to the Lakes," p. 123, 143.

In the south-west of the County of Cumberland, we find a Roman road from Ambleside over Hardknott, past an enclosed fort, and running down to Ravenglass or Bootle. This road, the road from Keswick over Borrowdale would probably join.

A Roman road ran from Egremont to Papcastle, which would be thus another great converging station. This road was traced by the Rev. James Fullerton, see Lyson's "Cumberland," cxxxvii. The Roman road from Ellenborough to Papcastle was traced by the late Mr. Dykes of Dovenby Hall, (vide Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, Vol. 1, p. 167).

East

East of the 2nd Iter of Antoninus, Old Penrith must have had some communication eastward to the Maiden Way, and probably another to Brampton. A Roman fort is in the parish of Kirkland, near the Maiden Way, and is known as the "Hanging Gardens of Mark Antony."

The necessity for this apparently intricate mesh work of roads and forts, west of the 2nd Iter of Antoninus arises from the Roman position being out-flanked. Their front was to Scotland, along Hadrian's Wall: on their left flank, the western districts of Scotland threatened down as far as St. Bees Head, while Ireland took up the line where Scotland ceased. Thus, the Romans were bound to refuse their left flank, as it is called in terms of military art, and to fortify and garrison strongly the district thus menaced. From their great camps at Old Carlisle, Papcastle, and Keswick, large reinforcements, moving on the inner and therefore shorter lines, could rapidly arrive at any menaced part on the coast, while the Keswick garrison closed the passes of Borrowdale and of Dunmail Raise, the only passes leading south. The way in which all the stations mutually supported, and could readily supply each other with reinforcements, is very wonderful, and indicates military talent of a high order. The position was worthy of the importance the Romans attached to it; even while Chester was occupied as a military station, a successful invasion of West Cumberland would have driven the defeated Romans across their lines of communication, the 2nd and 10th Itinera of Antoninus, and the Maiden Way; by it they would have been severed from their bases of operation at Chester and York, and compelled to change their front, leaving the garrisons on the west part of Hadrian's Wall blockaded in their stations. This the Romans were too military a nation to risk, and hence the tenacious and iron grasp which they closed on Cumberland.

The traveller, who visits the sites of the Roman forts in Cumberland and Westmorland, will notice their well  
chosen

chosen positions; how one fort commands a view of its neighbour, or if, for some reason or other, it is in a low position, a beacon stands on some near and elevated spot. By semaphores in the day, and by fires at night, the intelligence of a hostile expedition would easily be flashed across the country, and troops in motion, perhaps even before the Scottish or Irish keels had touched the Cumbrian coast.

We have, in thus setting out the Roman roads in Cumberland made mention of all, or almost all, the Roman stations, known to have existed in that county; the harder task of giving to them their ancient names has proved a puzzle which the most eminent antiquarians have failed to solve. In the earlier days of Romanic English archæology antiquarians endeavoured to assign to each station its name from the *Notitia Imperii* rather by guess work than on any systematic plan. Gordon, in his *Itinerary*, above a century since, was the first to attempt to fix the sites of the *Notitia* stations on correct principles. Where a station produced inscriptions by the same cohort as the *Notitia* mentions, he concluded that the station was rightly named. Horsley added new proofs to those of Gordon, and out of the twelve stations from Segedunum to Amboglanna, eight have yielded up inscriptions of this kind. (See Hodgson's "Northumberland," Vol. iii. pt. 2. p. 168.) But this mode of proof fails *in toto* from the moment we set foot in Cumberland; Dr. Bruce, in that most magnificent work, the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, writes;—

"In this state of uncertainty, it will be better for us to forbear attempting to give to the camps we meet with, their ancient designations. In due time the key may be found, which without the application of force, will send back the bolt, and make all plain; till then we must be careful to confess our 'ignorance.'"

The "*Notitia Dignitatum et Administrationum omnium tam civilium quam militarium in partibus Orientis et Occidentis*," the Military and Civil Service List of the Roman Empire, gives us a list of the officers *per lineam Valli*, the names

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of

of their stations, and the troops they commanded. The first twelve stations have been identified by the inscriptions found within their sites: eleven of these twelve are situated in Northumberland; for convenience we give these eleven stations in a tabulated form, showing the allocations that have been made for them.

	Names of Stations.	Rank of Commander.	Garrison.	Modern Name.
1.	Segedunum	Tribunus	Cohors IV. Lingonum	Wallsend
2.	Pons Ælii	Tribunus	Cohors I. Cornoviorum	Newcastle-upon-Tyne
3.	Condercum	Prefectus	Ala I. Asturum	Benwell
4.	Vindobala	Tribunus	Cohors I. Frixagorum	Rutchester
5.	Hunnun	Prefectus	Ala Saviniana	Halton Chesters
6.	Cilurnum	Prefectus	Ala II. Asturum	Walwick Chesters
7.	Procolitia	Tribunus	Cohors I. Batavorum	Carrawburgh
8.	Borcovicus	Tribunus	Cohors I. Tungrorum	Housesteads
9.	Vindolana	Tribunus	Cohors IV. Gallorum	Little Chesters
10.	Æsica	Tribunus	Cohors I. Asturum	Great Chesters
11.	Magna	Tribunus	Cohors II. Dalmatarum	Caerboran

We give the remaining twelve stations in a similar table, but adding to it the various conjectures of antiquarians from the father of English Archæology downwards.

	Name of Station.	Rank of Commander.	Garrison.	ALLOCATIONS BY		
				CAMDEN.	HORSLEY.	HODGSON.
12.	Amboglanna	Tribunus	Cohors I. Ælia Dacorum	Ambleside	Birdoswald	Birdoswald
13.	Petriana	Præfectus	Ala Petriana	Plumpton Wall	Castlesteads	Castlesteads
14.	Aballaba	Præfectus	Numerus Maurorum Aurelianorum	Appleby	Watch Cross	Stanwix
15.	Congavata	Tribunus	Cohors II. Lingonum	Rose Castle	Stanwix	Burgh
16.	Axelodunum	Tribunus	Cohors I. Hispaniorum	Hexham	Burgh	Drumburgh
17.	Gabrosentis	Tribunus	Cohors II. Thracum	Gateshead	Drumburgh	Bowness
18.	Tunnocelum	Tribunus	Cohors I. Ælia Classica	Tynemouth	Bowness	Tynemouth
19.	Glannibanta	Tribunus	Cohors I. Morinorum	Near Morpeth	Lanchester	Lanchester
20.	Alio or Alionis	Tribunus	Cohors III. Nerviorum	Whitley Castle	Whitley Castle	Whitley Castle
21.	Bremetenracum		Cuneus Armaturarum	Brampton	Brampton, or Plumpton Wall	Brampton, or Plumpton Wall
22.	Olenacum	Præfectus	Ala I. Herculea	Ellenborough	Old Carlisle	Old Carlisle
23.	Virosidum	Tribunus	Cohors VI. Nerviorum	Warwick	Ellenborough	Ellenborough

		ALLOCATIONS BY					
		WRIGHT.	MAUGHAN.	Mr. MACLAUHLAN.	Lapidarium Septentrionale.	PROFESSOR HUBNER.	R. S. FERGUSON
12.	Amboglanna	Birdoswald	Birdoswald	Birdoswald	Birdoswald	Birdoswald	Birdoswald
13.	Petriana	Castlesteads	Lanercost	Castlesteads	... ..	... ..	Castlesteads
14.	Aballaba	Watch Cross	Castlesteads	Brampton	Papcastle	Papcastle	Papcastle
15.	Congavata	Stanwix	Brampton	Watch Cross	Moresby ?	... ..	Moresby
16.	Axelodunum	Burgh	Watch Cross	Stanwix	Ellenborough	Ellenborough	Ellenborough
17.	Gabrosentis	Drumburgh	Linstock	Burgh	Moresby ?	... ..	Malbray
18.	Tunnocelum	Bowness	Stanwix	Drumburgh	... ..	... ..	Skinburness
19.	Glannibanta	(Doubtful)	Kirksteads	Bowness	... ..	... ..	Old Carlisle
20.	Alio, or Alionis	Whitley Castle	Burgh	Whitley Castle	... ..	... ..	Bowness
21.	Bremetenracum	Brampton	Boustead Hill	Brampton	... ..	... ..	Drumburgh
22.	Olenacum	Old Carlisle	Drumburgh	Old Carlisle	... ..	... ..	Burgh
23.	Virosidum	Ellenborough	Bowness	Ellenborough	... ..	... ..	Stanwix

Camden, in making his conjectures was guided only by the resemblances of names, and little trust can be placed upon such guesses as the placing Aballaba at Appleby. Gordon first, and Horsley after him, found the true method, and by it they and Hodgson assigned positions to the first twelve stations *per lineam Valli*, to which all their successors have agreed. The method they employed has until very recently, and with the exception of the well identified Amboglanna, utterly failed in Cumberland; this failure is due to the nature of the country, more amenable to cultivation than the wilds of Northumberland traversed by the Wall, and cultivation is near akin to obliteration of ancient ruins; Cumberland is not frequent in stone quarries, but the ruins of the Roman masonry furnished a ready supply of material to all who wished to build, while a much to be cursed superstition led the Cumbrian peasants to pound and deface the "uncanny" written stones they so frequently found in cultivating their fields, and in building their farmsteads. Thus then, west of Amboglanna, Gordon, and Horsley, and Hodgson could only guess; finding that the first twelve stations *per lineam Valli* follow along the Wall in exact sequence, they concluded this must be so throughout, and to each ruined station they assigned in due sequence its name, differing over this point mainly, that one held, and the other denied, Watchcross to be a station. Horsley and Gordon had five stations, and Hodgson six, for which no places could be found on the Wall itself. These they allocated in supporting stations south of the Wall, in a line from east to west. The late Mr. Maughan, Vicar of Bewcastle, convinced that all the stations must be actually on the Wall itself, called in the aid of etymology, and in several ingenious papers, (Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, Vol. I.) worked out his proposition: etymology is but a deceitful guide, and we can hardly put much trust in Mr. Maughan's results. Mr. MacLauchlin,

MacLauchlin, in his "Memoirs during a survey of the Roman Wall," has also trusted greatly to etymology. The misfortune of the etymological method is that it fits any place. Thus both Mr. Maughan and Mr. MacLauchlin make Axelodunum to mean "a fortress on high ground," and one adjusts it to Watchcross, and the other to Stanwix; but out of the twenty-three stations *per lineam Valli* this description would fit twenty. So they both make Glannibanta to mean the cliff over or near the valley or plain, an equally comprehensive description, and accordingly both apply it to different places.

In the midst of all this guess work, a light has recently seemed to break in upon us, and the clue it shows, if followed right, may lead to victory.

"Dr. McCaul thinks that the compiler of the Notitia ceases after Amboglanna to give the stations of the Wall in regular order. If the proper order was to be abandoned, this (Amboglanna) seems the fitting place for doing so, as the Maiden Way coming from the south to Magna, and continuing northwards from this station, brings Amboglanna into direct intercourse with the contiguous forts in all directions."

This is from a note by Dr. Bruce, in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*; in the opinion therein expressed, we humbly venture to coincide, but with this qualification that we fancy the compiler of the Notitia intended to give all the stations in a due sequence from east to west. He could not have drawn up the Notitia from personal knowledge, but must have had access to documents in the offices of the Roman Army, answering to our quarter-master and adjutant-generals departments. The general in supreme command of the forces along the Wall then resided at York, but, as in our army, so must he in his, have had subordinates, lieutenant-generals, and inspecting officers, constantly visiting and reporting to him, on the efficiency of the garrisons under his command. Suppose one of these inspectors to have a tour of duty from York up by the eastern

eastern route, and then along the Wall to Amboglanna, and so to York by the Maiden Way; his report to his chief at York would furnish the compiler with the first twelve stations running from east to west. From the report of another inspector who took the western country,\* the compiler would get the western stations, and through mistake might easily invert the list, and put the westernmost station next Amboglanna. If we conceive four inspectors instead of two, or an inspecting tour which doubled upon and crossed itself, we can clearly conceive the compiler inverting the order of some of the stations. That he has done so will presently appear.

In the year 1870 (vide *The Lapidarium Septentrionale* p. 429, and the *Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, Vol. I. p. 175), a find of Roman altars was made at Ellenborough, by Mr. Humphrey Senhouse, of Netherhall, seventeen in number, of which thirteen give the names of the commanders of the station, and seven of these were prefects of the first cohort of Spaniards, which the *Notitia* places at Axelodunum. Hence Professor Hübner without hesitation pronounces Ellenborough to be Axelodunum.

Moresby (see the *Lapidarium*) has yielded two altars erected by the second cohort of Lingones, and one by the second cohort of Thacians. The *Notitia* places the second cohort of Lingones at Congavata, and the second of Thacians at Gabrosentis. Thus Moresby may be easily one or the other, more probably Congavata. In two inscriptions found at Papcastle, the word "Aballavensium" occurs and the conclusion is that Papcastle is Aballaba or Aballava. We thus get three stations between St. Bees and Bowness, which have always been looked for between

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\* The compiler may have got hold of some old report of some inspector, who inspected the western positions from Chester, in the days when a legion was quartered there, and may have thought his tour, started from York, and not from Chester. The long gap between Castlesteads and Stanwix, which has no station but the doubtful one of Watchcross, would be a more likely place to divide two inspectors' tours of duty, than that between Castlesteads and Birdoswald; taking the gap between Castlesteads and Stanwix as the division makes Castlesteads *Petriana*.

Bowness

Bowness and Birdoswald, a fact which points to the inversion we have just suggested.

Glannibanta we take to be the Glanoventa\* of the 10th Iter of Antoninus, which we have taken to terminate there, because there we suppose the Itinerary to come on the system of roads and forts, belonging to the Wall; and we take Glanibanta, or Glanoventa to be Old Carlisle which is just about the exact distance from Keswick that Glanoventa is from Galava in the Itinerary of Antoninus, Iter No. 10. The supposition that Glannibanta and Glanoventa are one and the same place, and that that place is Old Carlisle, fits in well with the history of the Roman conquest of Cumberland. It has been argued in this chapter that Agricola conquered the district by marching round its coast, and forming a great coast road, which was more or less abandoned for a short cut, which avoided the estuaries, and conducted to Old Carlisle, a place of undoubted high military importance, and magnitude, and so likely to be the terminus of a military Iter, of the 10th Iter, as we suppose it; and we suppose that in the earlier Roman days in Britain, when a legion lay in garrison in Chester, Old Carlisle, and not Carlisle (Luguvallum) was the Roman head quarters in Cumberland, which would be only transferred to Luguvallum or Carlisle, when York became the capital of Roman Britain, when the great road from York to Carlisle, (the 2nd Iter of Antoninus), was opened, and when the military connection with Chester was done away with. And in the names of Carlisle and Old Carlisle, there appears to be some traditional confirmation of this theory. That Old Carlisle was an important place is shown by the vastness of the ruins; in the last century they covered many acres: (II. Hutchinson's "Cumberland," p. 400). Stukeley writes of it, "Iter

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\* After coming to this conclusion, it was gratifying to find that Smith's Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography says Glannibanta is merely the Notitia form of Glanoventa.

Boreale"

Boreale" p. 54, "The fairest show of buildings I ever saw."

Tunnocellum, from its marine garrison, must have been a seaport: now Skinburness was once a good harbour prior to the breaking in of the sea, in the 14th century: we have already shown that the Romans had a station there, and we prefer it to Bowness for Tunnocelum, because Bowness is a poor port, and a sailing fleet at Bowness would often be wind bound, when they could easily go to sea from Silloth. Malbray, between Ellenborough and Skinburness, would then be Gabrosentis; Alio, Bowness; Bremetenracum, Drumburgh; Olenacum, Burgh; and Virosidum, Stanwix. Burgh marsh would be grand drilling ground for cavalry for the Ala Herculea, which the Notitia puts at Olenacum. Petriana (see note, p. 87), we would assign to the eastern inspecting district, and leave it at Castlesteads.\*

We have thus got six stations not on the Wall, namely, Papcastle, Moresby, Ellenborough, Malbray, Skinburness, and Old Carlisle, but those who read our remarks on the outflanking of the line of defence of the Wall on its left, will see that these stations are as necessary to its defence, as any actually on the Wall, would naturally therefore be under the same general, and so would be *Item per lineam Valli*;—the more so, if that general resided, as we are convinced he originally did, at Chester, and not at York.

The main results of this survey of Roman Cumberland and Westmorland are, we venture to submit:

(1) The tracing out of Agricola's line of march, and the consequently proving that to Chester, and not to York,

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\* The following seems a confirmation of the allocations we have ventured to make. The area of all the stations on the Wall is about from 3 to 5½ acres, except Drumburgh, which is but ¾ of an acre. All of them are garrisoned by a cohort of infantry, or a squadron of cavalry, but one which is garrisoned by a "*cuneus armaturarum*," viz. Bremetenracum, which we make Drumburgh. Thus our allocations bring the exceptional camp, and the exceptional garrison together. The Notitia does not give the rank of the commander at Bremetenracum: hence we imagine he was of inferior rank, and his command, or "*cuneus*," but a small body.

must we look to understand the Roman system of fortresses in Cumberland and Westmorland and on the Wall.

(2) The proving the importance of Old Carlisle, that it was the Glanoventa of the Itinerary of Antoninus, and the Glannibanta of the Notitia; it was therefore the northern terminus of the 10th Iter, which passed through Kendal, Ambleside and Keswick.

(3) The allocating the western stations *per lineam Valli*; that all our allocations are right we do not assert, but in some of them we have great confidence.

(4) The making of a mere skeleton and tentative map of the Roman roads in the two counties. It is much to be hoped that in a couple of years, or so, this Society may be able to produce a map, on a large scale, of Roman Cumberland and Westmorland; such will require the united labours of several of our members.

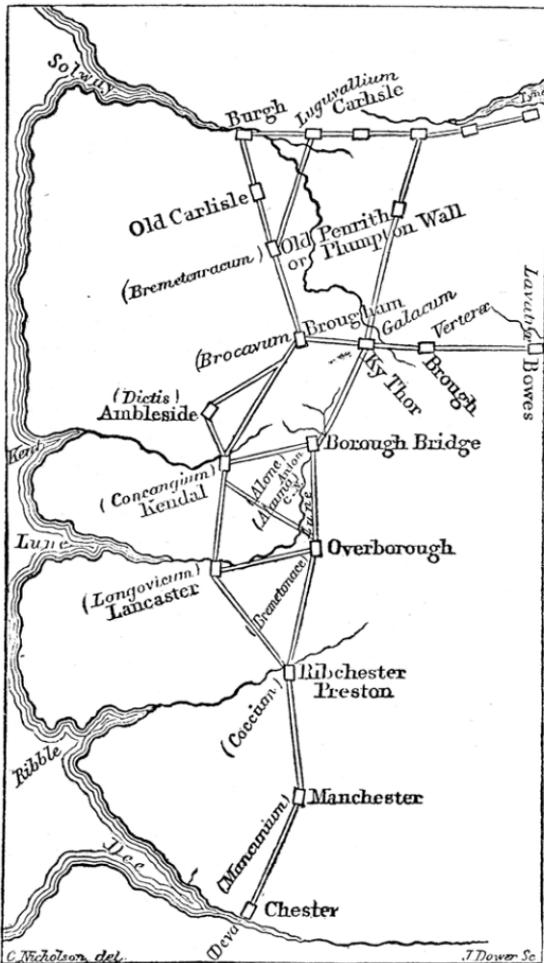
In conclusion, I wish to express my thanks to my friend the Rev. Thomas Lees, who in the most unreserved manner placed at my disposal his great knowledge of local Roman roads. To him I am indebted for information as to the western route by the Petteril from Carlisle to Penrith, and for information as to many cross roads, particularly in the Forest of Inglewood, and in the Barony of Greystoke. To Mr. Jackson I am under similar obligations, and it is a matter of gratification to me that he and I, working independently, arrived at the same conclusion as to the route taken by Agricola. I must also express my obligations to Mrs. Senhouse of Netherhall for kindly lending me a copy of the Notitia.

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#### APPENDIX BY THE WRITER.

After the reading of the above paper at Kendal, several questions were put to me about the Roman roads in Westmorland, to which, from want of minute local knowledge, I could not give but halting replies. The following passages from Nicholson's Annals of Kendal, gives accurately the position of these roads, and I cite the passage because

because, in other respects, I must disagree with it. I am indebted to our excellent Secretary, Mr. Wilson, for the loan of the wood block of Mr. Nicholson's diagram. This diagram, however, is most wonderfully distorted, Old Carlisle being put eastward of Kendal and Lancaster, instead of westward. It should be compared with the map given with this paper.



“The Roman roads and chain of camps by which this country was held in subjection are traced on the above diagram. We are not able in this place to do more than give a general description of the routes, north, south, and east, from the station at Kendal.

Going

Going northwards or rather *north-west*, the road leaves the station at the *ford* across the Kent below the foot of Mill Lane, from thence it proceeds by Stane Bank Green and Boundary Bank to Cunswick Scar and *Raderheath*, thence to Dan Hill and Restane. About High Restane the road be-forked, and became two roads, one going by a *Borrens* which lies near the line of Railway, across the *Troutbeck*, over a ford at Troutbeck Bridge, and to the head of Windermere, where the station "*Dictis*" stood. Here was placed a company of Nervian soldiers—"Prefectus numeri Nerviorum Dictensium Dicti." From *Dictis* the road went up the *caasa* (causeway, in polite phraseology) by Ambleside, forded the Stockgill above the Salutation stables, at Hollicar Ford (*Holy Cairn* ford), mounted the hill by Hollicar Lane and Seathwaite; again recrossed the Stockgill near High Groves, and winding out of the valley by *Woundale* into the head of the vale of *Troutbeck*, where it passed over "the Tongue" and up the steep of High Street and Froswic by a path which still bears its original name of "Scot-raik." The other road from Kendal starting at the junction aforesaid, near High Restane, proceeds by another *Borrens* [good lights in a blind road are these names] to Ravenscarth,—originally *Rafen-scaer*—along the edge of Hill Bel (Il Baal), and Froswic, to High Street. At the shoulder of High Street, the two roads from Kendal and Ambleside unite, and thence the road proceeds over the table-land of High Street (where we laid bare the Roman pavement in two or three places, a foot beneath the turf that now covers it); along the ridge of Riggendale (Riggendum) and down by Martindale, skirting for some distance, the river Eamont, to "*Brocavum*" Brougham.

Going northwards, from Kendal to Borough Bridge, traces of the road, actual and nominal, are nearly all lost. But there is an undoubted Roman name in Whinell, viz. "*Borrens*," which draws our attention in that direction. We incline to the opinion that the road went by the Spital, Laverock Bridge, Meal-Bank, and Patten (*Path-en*, plural in Saxon "paths," or *Padden*, Teut. "to tread,") to *Borrens* aforesaid; thence along what is marked as a bridle road in Hodgson's map of Westmorland, over Whinell common, and the Hause, to Borough Bridge. From the station "*Alaunæ*," at Borough Bridge, to Kirkby Thor, the road proceeded by Castle How, at Tebay, over Orton Fell, down by Wicker Street (where there are traces of a British town), past Crosby Rafenswath, by *Borrens* and Caster-rig in King's Meaburn, and across the Eden to the Station "*Galacum*" at Kirkby Thor. *Galacum* and *Brocavum* were united by a road which the present turnpike road mainly occupies for the whole distance.

Southward from the Kendal station, the road seems to have gone by Low Barrows Green, and Stainton, (*Stane-ton*); there it bifurcated, one branch proceeding by way of Kirkby Lonsdale to Lower Casterton, where it would join the straight road between Borough Bridge and Overborough; the other branch proceeding from Hincaster, by *Borwic* (*Burgh-wic*), where traces of docks were found, and Carnforth (*Cairn-ford*), to *Longovicum* at Lancaster. The name *Wartom*, which is near the line of route, suggests the idea of a battle in that locality."

The readers of my paper will see that I have given to Kendal (*i.e.* Watercrock) and to Ambleside, Roman names wholly different from those given by Mr. Nicholson; in fact north of Coccium (*Ribchester*) we rarely agree, he taking the 10th Iter up the Maiden Way, while I take it by Kendal, Ambleside, and Keswick to Old Carlisle, for  
which

which I have already given my reasons.\* But I must disapprove that Kendal (*i.e.* Watercrock) is Concangium, and Dictis Ambleside, First of all we have no inscriptions to guide us, and in one of these two allocations the *ignis fatuus* of similarity of sound seems to have misled antiquarians, many of whom, I suspect, have never seen the Notitia Imperii, except at second hand, in quotations. That the Cangii lived in Westmorland, and that Concangium was called after them, seems only a guess; Oreilius, the able German editor of Tacitus, places the Cangii in Wales, and there is strong evidence from inscriptions on Roman pigs of lead that the Cangii inhabited a lead producing country.

However, with these arguments I care not to meddle; I take up my position on the Notitia Imperii. The 52nd section gives the troops in Britain *Sub dispositione viri spectabilis Comitum litoris Saxonici per Britanniam*; they are stationed at nine fortresses on the coast from Brancaster in Norfolk to Portchester in Hants., and omitting the two first, Othona and Dubræ, the others are given in geographical sequence running round the coast. The 63rd section gives the troops *Sub dispositione viri spectabilis Ducis Britanniarum*, who ruled at York; their stations are given in two divisions; first come 12 stations, and then under the separate heading *Item per lineam Valli* come 23 stations, the first 12 of which are positively identified, and run in strict geographical sequence from east to west; I have stated above my views as to the other eleven, and I have no doubt when they are identified, we shall find they are in geographical sequence, perhaps accidentally inverted. I therefore conclude that the Notitia always gives military stations in a geographical sequence, and not anyhow. The 12 stations in the first division of section 63 are

Danum, identified as Doncaster  
 Morbium,  
 Arbeia,  
 Dictis,  
 Concangium,  
 Lavatres, identified as Bowes in Yorkshire  
 Veneræ, or Verteræ, identified as Brough  
 Brabonicum, identified as Brougham  
 Maglouæ  
 Magœ  
 Longovicum  
 Derventio, identified by the aid of the Itinera  
 as New Malton, in Yorkshire.

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\* I have mentioned that Messrs. Wright and Godwin agree with me in taking the 10th Iter by Kendal, Ambleside, and Keswick; Mr. Percival, in a paper in the first volume of the *Archæologia* takes it by Kendal and the Sands.

Now

Now some people have said that Morbium is Moresby: but the Notitia would hardly jump from Doncaster to Moresby: and I have in my paper shown the probable allocation of Moresby, from inscriptions found there; Morbium however, is identified by Horsley with Temple borough in Yorkshire. And Arbeia, Dictis, and Concangium, when found, will probably turn up in Yorkshire in geographical sequence between Doncaster and Bowes: Mr. Lees suggests that Concangium stood probably either at Greta Bridge, or at that point north of Catterick, near Middleton Tyas, where, from the Roman road leading to the north from York via Piercebridge, another turned off north-west to Bowes.

Longovicum, also, must not be looked for at Lancaster, but near Derwentio, or New Malton, viz. at Lanchester, while Ad Alaunum is generally allocated to Lancaster, the camp on the Lune.

The fact is local antiquaries have been too zealous, and have put down every Roman camp they hear of as in their own locality, quite forgetting the many great camps in Yorkshire, full as important, and more so than many of ours. I imagine that the stations in the first part of the 63rd section of the Notitia, those I have just given, are the original garrisons under command of the *Dux Britanniarum*; and are to be sought for round York. I imagine that the stations in the second part, those *Item per lineam Valli*, are the garrisons once, with some others, commanded by the general at Chester, and transferred to the *Dux Britanniarum* at York, when Chester was disestablished as a military station; Agricola's campaign north from Chester is the key to allocating these stations.

I have a further reason, which confirms me in my idea that at Chester, and not at York, is the solution of the problem before us, to be found. The attentive reader of the Notitia Imperii will note that in the first part of the 63rd section the troops are mentioned as *numeri*, and as *equites*: in the 2nd part (or *Item per lineam Valli* part) as *cohortes* and *alæ*. Now the terms *cohors* and *ala* are older terms of Roman military technology, than the term *numerus*, a term of later date, as applied to an organized body of soldiers, than the term *cohors*, which was disused in the time of the Antonines, (Godwin's Archæological Handbook p. 22). This difference in the technology of the two parts of section 63 must mean something. I take it that the words *cohortes* and *alæ* direct us to Agricola and to Chester; *numeri* and *equites* to York, and to Hadrian, or Severus.

I also take it that Roman camps in West Cumberland and Westmorland are more allied to Chester and to Agricola, than to York and anyone there, and that therefore it is a mistake to search for their names in the first part, (or York part) of section 63 of the *Notitia Imperii*.