

Richard of Cirencester.

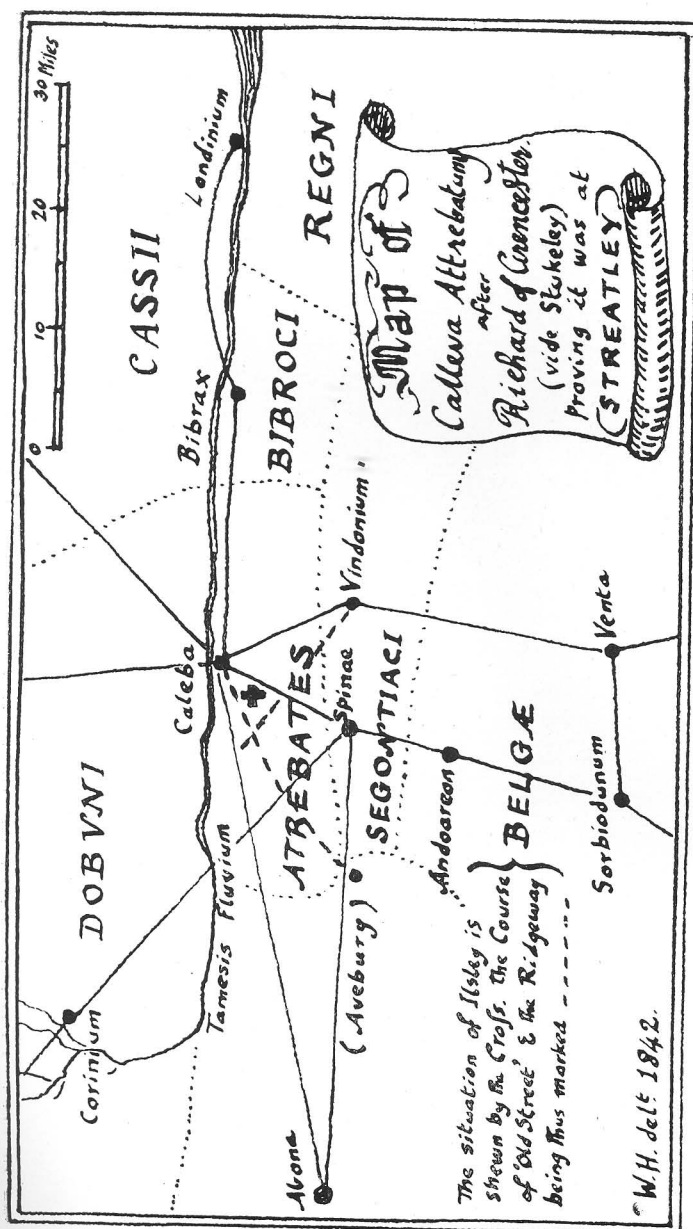
By G. W. B. HUNTINGFORD.

Beliefs die hard, especially when they are convenient ; and if the treatise called " De Situ Britanniae " were but genuine, its value would be immense. No doubt it is the desire for the information it purports to give that has kept alive this skilful forgery, for belief in it, so industriously inculcated in good faith by Stukeley and Colt Hoare, is perhaps not really dead yet, in spite of the uncontestable proofs of forgery put forward by Woodward and Mayor over sixty years ago. A writer in " The Oxford Country " tells us that Richard " usefully preserves genuine local traditions."¹ But Charles Julius Bertram, the son of a London silk-dyer, born in 1723, settled with his family at Copenhagen in 1743, and there he wrote his famous book (it was published at Copenhagen in 1758), basing it on such works as were available at that time—the Antonine Itinerary, Camden, Baxter, Horsley. There is no hint of a knowledge of " local tradition " apart from what he found in his sources, and at the best he sometimes made a lucky shot. The treatise, which he attributed to Richardus Corinensis,² a monk of Westminster, has been shown so conclusively to be an XVIIIth century invention, that it is needless to go into the details of its spuriousness.³ The history of such a document, however, deserves a little attention ; and the sources of such parts as relate to Berkshire and adjoining counties are not without interest to local archaeologists, and may serve to warn believers, if any still exist in this county.

¹ p. 110 (Murray, 1912).

² The genuine 14th cent. chronicler was *Richardus de Cirencestria*.

³ By B. B. Woodward, *Gent. Mag.*, NS. i. 301, 617 ; ii. 458 ; iv. 443 ; and Prof. J. E. B. Mayor in pref. to *Ricardi de Cirencestria Speculum Historiae*, (Rolls ed., vol. ii.) to which add Mr. H. J. Randall's entertaining and useful paper "*Splendide Mendax*" in "*Antiquity*," v. 1933, p. 49.



Copy of the map of "Calleva Attrebatum" from W. Hewett's "History and Antiquities of the Hundred of Compton, Berks." (Reading, 1844.) (p. 103.)

Three of the Itinera of the "De Situ," XII, XV, and XVIII, run through or close to Berkshire. Iter XII goes from Aquae via Verlucio, Spinae, and Calleba to Londinium; Iter XV from Londinium via Caleba, Venta Belgarum, Clausentum, and Dubrae back to Londinium; while Iter XVIII traverses the middle of the island from Eboracum via Tripontium, Dorocina, and Tamesis, to Clausentum. Between them, these 3 itinera contain 43 places, of which 11 names are spurious (marked *).

ITER XII.

AB AQVIS LONDINIVM VSQVE SIC :

VERLVCIONE	MP. xv. (Spy Park ?)
CVNETIONE	xx. (Mildenhall, near the Kennet).
SPINIS	xv. (Speen).
CALLEBA ATREBATVM	xv. (Silchester).
*BIBRACTE	xx. (Bray).
LONDINIO	xx. (London).

This is compiled from Antonine XIV : AQVIS SVLIS, VERLVCIONE xv, CVNETIONE xx, SPINIS xv, CALLEVA xv; and Antonine VII : PONTIBVS xxii, LONDINIO xxii, with the false Bibracte instead of Pontes. This name, Bibracte, is due to a conjecture of Camden's that it was the name of Bray, an unwarranted transplantation of the Gallic Bibracte (Aeduorum) due, doubtless, in its turn to the local tribe name Bibroci mentioned by Caesar (B.G. V. 21). The older antiquaries wrangled over the site of Bibracte, just as they did over Calleva; the latter, they thought—misled by a statement of Richard that the "Attrebrates, whose chief town is Calleva, live upon the Thames"—was anywhere but Silchester.

ITER XV.

A LONDINIO PER CLAVENTVM IN LONDINIO SIC :

CALLEBA	MP. xliii. (Silchester).
VINDOMI	xv. (Dummer or Popham).
VENTA BELGARVM	xxi. (Winchester).
*AD LAPIDEM	vi. (Stoneham).
CLAVENTO	iiii. (Bittern).
PORTV MAGNO	x. (Porchester).
REGNO	x. (Chichester).

The remainder of this iter does not concern us here : it returns to Londinium by Dubrae, Regulbium, and Madus (which occurs also in the Pentinger Table), and contains more spurious names : Ad Decimum, near Reguum ; Ad Lemanum ; and Cantiiopolis instead of Durovernum (Canterbury). Antonine VII again furnished Bertram with his route in this iter, to which he added the fictitious Ad Lapidem, Portus Magnus from Ptolemy, and Vindomis from Antonine XV. Ad Lapidem is taken from Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica* IV. 16 : two Christians who escaped from the Isle of Wight " were conducted to the place called At the Stone " where they were betrayed. The journey from Reguum back to London is based on Antonine II B,⁴ III, and IV, with a fictitious coastal route.

ITER XVIII.

AB EBORACO PER MEDIUM INSVLAE CLAVSENTVM VSQVE SIC :
[LEGEOLIO (Castleford) to BENNONAE (High Cross) = MP
CXXXIX].

TRIPONTIO	MP. XI	(? Lilburn).
ISANNAVARIA ⁵	XII.	(near Whilton).
*BRINAVIS	XII.	(Chipping Warden).
*AELIA CASTRA	XVI.	(Alchester).
*DOROCINA	XV.	(Dorchester).
*TAMESI	VI.	(Wallingford, Moulsoford, or Streatley).
VINDOMI	XV.	(Dummer or Popham),
CLAVSENTO	XXXXVI.	(Bittern).

This iter contains in all 17 places, of which two are given as " illegible." The first five give a new road, invented by Bertram, from Legeolium to Derventio (Little Chester, near Derby,

⁴ See below, " *The Antonine Itinerary*."

⁵ Antoniane has various spellings of this name : Bannaventa, Bannavenna, Isannavantia ; Bertram chose the most corrupt to play with. Banaventa is probably the nearest, and this seems to be the place where St. Patrick in his " *Confessio* " says he was born : " *patrem habui Calpornium diaconum, filium quondam Potiti presbyteri, qui fuit in vico. Banavan Taberniae, villuiam enim prope habuit, ubi capturam dedi.* " (O'Connor, *Rev. Hibern. Scriptt.*, i. cvii, cxi). The name is capable of being re-divided so as to give Banavanta ; if this is right, this small place acquires some historical interest. (See Haverfield, " *Roman Britain in 1913*," p. 44. 45).

where was a small Roman site) ; the sixth place, * Ad. Trivonam, is added to connect Derventio with Etocetum (Wall), which begins a section of the route based on Antonine VB⁶ and VI : (V) ETOCETVM, MANDVESSEDM, VENONAE, BANAVENTA, (VI) VENONAE, BANAVENTA, TRIPONTIVM. From Brinavae to Vindomis four of the names are Bertram's, though his route is actually a Roman road ; but as late as 1813 the Bishop of Cloyne wrote that " it is yet uncertain whether traces of any Roman road remain between Silchester and Streatley." ⁷ The line has, however, been fairly satisfactorily traced in this Journal,⁸ and the crossing of the Thames placed at the parish boundary of Brightwell and Sotwell ; from Dorchester to Alchester across Otmoor the line has long been known. Unfortunately the names in the Oxford and Berks Section are all figments. Aelia Castra is a Latinized form from Al-chester ; Dorocina seems to be an improvement on Bede's Dorcic (*Hist. Eccl.*, III. 7), while Tamesis, though legitimate enough as a river-name, was used by Bertram for a " station " which never existed. Roman remains have been found all along this road. At Alchester is an earthwork which has lately been excavated. Round Dorchester are several Romano-British rural sites, and a Roman house was found in the town; the name may be Keltic with a Latin ending, and though in Roman times it *may* have been something like Dorocina, we do not know what it really was. At Streatley Farm were found the remains of a Roman house, which Colt Hoare, who saw the place in 1810, considered to be the site of Richard's Tamesis.⁹ Hewett, who thought the name Calleva meant " the fort upon the water,"¹⁰ decided that Streatley was Calleva, and Silchester Vindomis—misled by ' Richard of Cirencester.' He tried to support his theory by means of the map drawn by Bertram and printed by Stukeley, and gave a copy of part of it, which is here reprinted as a curiosity.¹¹ We

⁶ See below.

⁷ Lysons', *Berks.* p. 201. (1813 ed.)

⁸ P. Williams, " *Roman Roads of Berkshire*," B.A.J. xxix. 233-235.

⁹ Hewett, *The Hundred of Compton*, p. 105-106. (1844).

¹⁰ It may contain the Welsh cell, " grove," and the first syllable of Silchester may stand for the Lat. *silva*. Rhys, *Celtic Britain*,² p. 283.

¹¹ Hewett, *loc. cit.* For the history of this map, see Mr. Randall's paper in " *Antiquity*," v. 1933.

may note in it, between Spinae and Sorbiodunum, the name Andoareon, intended for Andover, and as a monstrosity equalled only by the Venantodunum which some atlases give as the Roman name of Huntingdon.

BERTRAM AND THE ROMAN PROVINCES OF BRITAIN.

Bertram is responsible for the allocation of the Roman provinces of Britain as commonly given in the atlases. This division is as follows :

MAXIMA CAESARIENSIS¹² : Between the Humber and Hadrian's Wall.

VALENTIA : Between Hadrian's and Antonine's Walls.

BRITANNIA PRIMA : South of the Thames and Avon, including Cornwall, Devon, Wessex, and Kent.

BRITANNIA SECUNDA : Wales.

FLAVIA CAESARIENSIS : the Midlands between the Thames and the Humber and Mersey.

The fact is that we know practically nothing about these provinces beyond the names. Cassius Dio, it is true, says that Caerleon on Usk (Isca Silurum) and Chester (Deva) were in Upper Britain, and that York (Eboracum) was in Lower Britain ;¹³ otherwise we have little or no information from classical sources. Giraldus Cambrensis, however, when at Rome in 1200, saw a list of the IVth century provinces, with the areas assigned to each. Describing this in a memorandum to Pope Innocent III—in the course of his fight for St. David's claim to the metropolitanship of Wales,—he said, " Britain has five provinces : " Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, Flavia, Maxima, Valentia. " The western part of the island was called Prima because the " Britons under Brutus and Corineus arrived in that part first, " and it was first settled by Corineus and his followers. Britannia " Secunda is Kent (Cantia) because it was the second part " occupied—by Brutus and his people. The third province,

¹² The names, which occur in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, are genuine enough : it is the division that is doubtful.

¹³ *Rom. Hist.*, LV. 23. Upper Britain contained Prima and Secunda ; Lower Britain, Maxima, Flavia, and Valentia. York was in Maxima according to Giraldus.

" Flavia, means yellow (flava) ; it is also called Mercia, as abound-
 " ing in trade (quasi mercibus abundans), and Londonia is its
 " capital. The fourth was called Maximia, that is the province
 " of York, from the emperor Maximus. The fifth was called
 " Valentia, from the emperor Valens, and comprises Albania,
 " now abusively called Scotia."¹⁴ Discounting the explanations
 of these names as typically Giraldine, we have certain facts, one
 of which is that Wales was in Prima, and not Secunda, as
 Bertram said, and another that Kent was in Secunda along, we
 may suppose, with Wessex. Now since the works of Giraldus
 Cambrensis are genuine and not forgeries (the passage I have
 quoted was written about February, A.D. 1200), and since he
 would have gained nothing by giving a false distribution of the
 Roman provinces, his account, which was plainly unknown to
 Bertram, is quite likely to be correct as far as it goes, and there
 seems no valid reason why it should not be accepted. Certainly
 it would be better to have Giraldus' division on the maps in
 place of Bertram's.

THE ANTONINE ITINERARY.

This valuable document presents many difficulties, in the
 matter of its date, its purpose, and its topography. The arrange-
 ment, too, has puzzled many people. As we have it, the British
 section contains 15 itinera, two of which are particularly difficult.
 Iter II is headed A VALLO AD PORTVM RVTVPIS MP. CCCCCXXI.
 The first eleven names give a route from Blatobulgium (Middleby
 Kirk) to Calgaria (Tadcaster) via Eboracum : the twelfth starts
 another route from Noviomagus (Holwood Hill) to Rutupiae
 (Richborough), in the South of England. Unless all the inter-
 vening places have been accidentally left out, these two routes
 can have no connection, and the simplest explanation is to suppose
 that, in spite of the heading, we have here a copyist's error, who,
 seeing a list of names ending with " Rutupis," wrote his heading
 accordingly, unaware that Noviomagus is considerably more

¹⁴ *Gir. Cambr., De Iure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiae*, II, printed in
 Haddan and Stubbs " *Councils*," i. 405.

than 10 miles from Calgaria. This iter should therefore be divided into two parts thus :

IIA : A Vallo ad [Calgariam], Blatobulgio, Castra Exploratorum, Luguvallo, Voreda, Brovonacis, Verteris, Lavatris, Cataractoni Isurium, Eboracum, Calgaria.

IIB : Noviomago, Vagniacis, Durobrivis, Durolevo, Duroverno, ad Portum Rutupis.

As to the number of miles in the heading, MP. cccccxxxi, it represents neither the total of A, nor of B, nor yet the total of both (A is 153 MP, B is 75, and both together are 228).

Iter V also presents the same difficulty, probably due again to the confusion of a copyist. As the text stands, we have the heading A LONDINIO LVGVVALLVM AD VALLVM, followed by 39 names. The first eleven take us from Londinium to Danum (Doncaster) through East Anglia ; twelve to thirty-one, from Cambodunum (Slack Fort near Huddersfield) via Mancunium (Manchester) and Etocetum (Wall) to Londinium, with a digression from Condate to Deva (Chester) and Bomium (Bangor is coed). Thirty-two to the end then take up the route left off at eleven, from Legeolium (Castleford), the next place to Danum, through York to Luguvalium (Carlisle). The whole iter should therefore be re-arranged, and in this case the mileage of the heading, 443 MP. is nearly the same as the total of the route from London to Carlisle, omitting the part from Cambodunum to Londinium, i.e. 441 MP. If the Cambodunum section is included, the total would be 704 MP. The MS. order, and the suggested re-arrangement, are as follows :

MS. ORDER :

A LONDINIO LVGVVALLVM.
AD VALLVM.
CAESAROMAGO. (Chelmsford).
COLONIA. (Colchester).
VILLA FAVSTINI. (A farm).
ICINOS. (=Venta Icenorum).
CAMBORICO. (Cambridge).
DVROLIPONTE. (Ramsey).
DVROBRIVIS. (Castor).

SUGGESTED ORDER :

A :
A LONDINIO.
CAESAROMAGO.
COLONIA.
VILLA FAUSTINI.
ICINOS.
CAMBORICO.
DVROLIPONTE.
DVROBRIVIS.

CAVSENNIS. (Ancaster).	CAVSENNIS.
LINDO. (Lincoln).	LINDO.
SEGELOCI. (Littleborough).	SEGELOCI.
DANO. (Doncaster).	DANO.
CAMBODVNO. (Slack Fort).	LEGEOLIO.
MANCVNIO. (Manchester).	EBVRACO.
CONDATE. (Warrington).*	ISVBRIGANTVM. ¹⁵
DEVA. (Chester).	CATARACTONI.
BOMIO. (Bangor is Coed).	LAVATRIS.
MEDIOLANO. (Whitchurch).*	VERTERIS.
RUTUNIO. (Roden River).*	BROCAVO.
VIROCONIO. (Wroxeter).	LVGVVALLO.
UXACONA. (Oakengates).	B.
PENNOCRUCIO. (Penkridge).	CAMBODVNO.
ETOCETO. (Wall).	MANCVNIO.
MANDUESSEDO. (Mancetter).	CONDATE.
VENONIS. (High Cross).	DEVA.
BANAVENTA. (Near Whilton).	BOMIO.
LACTODORO. (Towcester).	MEDIOLANO.
MAGIOVINTO. (Fenny Stratford).	RVTVNIO.
DVROCOBRIVIS. (Dunstable)	VIROCONIO.
VEROLAMIO. (Verulam).	UXACONA.
SVLLONIACIS. (Brockley Hill).	PENNOCRCVIO.
LONDINIO. (London).	ETOCETO.
LEGEOLIO. (Castleford).	MANDVESSEDO.
EBVRACO. (York).	VENONIS.
ISVBRIGANTVM. (Aldborough).	BANAVENTA.
CATARACTONI. (Catterick Bridge).	LACTODORO.
LAVATRIS. (Bowes).	MAGIOVINTO.
VERTERIS. (Brough).	DVROCOBRIVIS.
BROCAVO. (Kirkby Thore).	VEROLAMIO.
LVGVVALLO. (Carlisle).	SVLLONIACIS.
	LONDINIO.

Some of these identifications are still doubtful; such are marked with an asterisk. Whatever may be said of this rearrangement, it makes order out of disorder, and is, I think,

¹⁵ By which we should doubtless understand *Isurium Brigantum*, "Isurium of the Brigantes."

simpler (and therefore more probable) than a suggestion made many years ago by a correspondent in this Journal, that Calleva-Vindomis in Iter XV, as well as IIB (Noviomagus) and VA (the East Anglian route), indicate "branch lines," "just as we are accustomed to see in Bradshaw stations on branch lines inserted between lines next to the name of the junction in the main line time table."¹⁶ As far as can be seen, the route from Condato to Deva and Bomium in VB is certainly a "branch line"—at least it is more easily explained as such—but the Itinerary gives no visible indication that it is a digression.

Those who wish to examine Richard of Cirencester for themselves may be glad of a few bibliographical details.

The whole text, including the treatise "De Situ Britanniae," and the Itinerary, is to be found in the following:

1757. "An account of Richard of Cirencester," by William Stukeley.

1758. [Richard of Cirencester, Gildas, and Nennius] edited by Charles Julius Bertram. (Copenhagen).

1776. "Itinerarium Curiosum," by William Stukeley. [Second edition, including the "Account" and Bertram's text and notes].

1809. [Bertram's text, with a translation by Henry Hatcher].

1848. "Six Old English Chronicles," translated by the Rev.

J. A. Giles, in Bohn's Antiquarian Library. [A reprint of Hatcher's translation].

The Itinerary alone will be found in:

1847. "An Archaeological Index," by J. Y. Akerman.

APPENDIX:

GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS ON THE ROMAN PROVINCES.

Britannia habuit provincias numero quinque, Britanniam primam, Britanniam secundam, Flavianam, Maximiam, Valentiam. Prima dicta est occidentalis pars insulae, quod primum in illa Britones, Bruto et Corineo¹⁷ ducibus, applicuerunt; eaque primo a Corineo et suis occupata est et inhabitata. Britannia

¹⁶ *Berks, Bucks, and Oxon Archaeol. Journ.*, ii. 121. (Jan., 1897).

¹⁷ Cf. *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, i. 16, 17.

secunda Cantia, quod secundo a Bruto et suis inhabitata fuerat. Tertia Flavia, hoc est, flava; quae dicitur et Mercia, quasi mercibus abundans, caput cujus est Londonia. Quarta Maximia, id est, Eboraca, ab imperatore Maximo dicta. Quinta Valentia, ab imperatore Valente nuncupata, Albania scilicet, quae nunc abusive Scotia dicitur.¹⁸ [*De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiae, Distinctio II*; Haddan and Stubbs, "*Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*," I. 405-406. (Oxford, 1869).]

¹⁸ This extract is introduced in the original text by the following words: Ut evidentiora, pater sancte [Pope Innocent III], quae subscribentur existant, paulo remotius atque prolixius, quoniam ab ortu pariter et processu fidei Christianae in insula Britannica, tam juxta divisiones Anacleti Papae et epistolam Gregorii Augustino directam, quam etiam Ecclesiasticae Historiae Anglicanae a Beda digestae, seriem ordiemur . . . Juxta tomum enim Anacleti Papae, sicut in pontificalibus Romanorum gestis et imperialibus continetur, directam Galliarum episcopis, juxta statum gentilium ante Christi adventum, Britannia habuit provincias numero quinque, etc.