



ON THE TENTH ITER OF THE BRITISH PORTION OF THE  
ITINERARY OF ANTONINUS AND SOME OF THE NOTITIA  
STATIONS IN THE NORTH OF ENGLAND.

By W. THOMPSON WATKIN.

AMONGST the many unsolved questions relating to the period of the Roman sway in Britain, none has caused greater discussion, or produced greater variety of opinion, than the route of the Tenth Iter of Antoninus. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Camden, Gale, and Horsley, and more recently Dr. Bruce, Messrs. Hodgson Hinde, and Just, and the Rev. J. C. Maughan have grappled with the subject, but the solution has seemed as far off as ever. After having for some years given the deepest attention to this archæological puzzle, I have ventured to lay before the antiquarian world the following remarks, in the hope that if not actually giving a solution to the question, they will at least tend to that result. With regard to my observations upon the *Notitia* stations, it will be seen that they are virtually necessitated, as a corollary to those on the Itinerary.

A frequent reference being required to the First and Second Iters of Antoninus, I must here introduce them with the Tenth,<sup>1</sup> as well as a portion of the *Notitia* for the same purpose.

ITER I.

A Limite, id est, a Vallo, Prætorium, usque Mill Pass,  
Centum quinquaginta et sex, CLVI.

A Bremenio	.	.	( <i>High Rochester</i> )	Mill Pass		
Corstopitum	.	.	( <i>Corchester</i> )	viginti	.	xx
Vindomora	.	.	( <i>Ebchester</i> )	novem	.	ix

<sup>1</sup> The distances in these iters are given according to the last edition of the Itinerary, by Parthey and Pinder, Berlin, 1848,

which contains many important corrections.

Vinovium . . .	( <i>Binchester</i> ) novemdecim . . .	XIX
Cataractoni . . .	( <i>Catterick</i> ) viginti duo . . .	XXII
Isurium . . .	( <i>Aldbrough</i> ) viginti quatuor . . .	XXIV
Eburacum . . .	( <i>York</i> ) septendecim . . .	XVII
Leg VI. victrix		
Derventione . . . . .	septem . . . . .	VII
Delgovitia . . . . .	tredecim . . . . .	XIII
Prætorio . . . . .	viginti quinque . . . . .	XXV

## ITER II.

A Vallo, ad Portum Ritupis, Mil Pas, quadringenta octoginta et unum, CCCCLXXXI.

A Blato Bulgio . . .	( <i>Middleby</i> ) Mil Pas	
Castra Exploratorum	( <i>Netherby</i> ) duodecim . . . . .	XII
Luguvallio . . . . .	( <i>Carlisle</i> ) duodecim . . . . .	XII
Voreda . . . . .	( <i>Old Penrith</i> ) quatuordecim . . . . .	XIV
Brovonacis . . . . .	( <i>Brougham</i> ) tredecim . . . . .	XIII
Verteris . . . . .	( <i>Brough</i> ) tredecim . . . . .	XIII
Lavatris . . . . .	( <i>Bowes</i> ) quatuordecim . . . . .	XIV
Cataractone . . . . .	( <i>Catterick</i> ) sexdecim . . . . .	XVI

This Iter then pursues the same route as the first to York, and thence to Richborough, in Kent.

The fifth iter of Antoninus takes the same route *from* York *to* Carlisle—but makes this difference in the names and distances—beyond Brough:—

A Verteris . . . . .	( <i>Brough</i> ) Mil Pas	
Brocavo . . . . .	( <i>Brougham</i> ?) viginti . . . . .	XX
Luguvallio . . . . .	( <i>Carlisle</i> ) viginti duo . . . . .	XXII

## ITER X.

A Glanoventa, Mediolanum, Mil Pas, Centum et quinquaginta, CL.

Galava . . . . .	octodecim . . . . .	XVIII
Alone . . . . .	duodecim . . . . .	XII
Galacum . . . . .	novendecim . . . . .	XIX
Bremetonacis . . . . .	viginti et septem . . . . .	XXVII
Coccio . . . . .	viginti . . . . .	XX
Mancunio ( <i>Manchester</i> ) . . . . .	septendecim . . . . .	XVII
Condate ( <i>Kinderton</i> ) . . . . .	octodecim . . . . .	XVIII
Mediolano . . . . .	novendecim . . . . .	XVIII

## NOTITIA IMPERII.

## SECTIO LXIII.

## Sub Dispositione Viri spectabilis Ducis Britanniarum.

## Præfectus Legionis Sextæ.

- ” Equitum Dalmatarum, Præsidio.
- ” Equitum Crispianorum, Dano.
- ” Equitum Cataphractariorum, Morbio.
- ” Numeri Barcariorum Tigrisiensium, Arbeia.
- ” Numeri Nerviorum Dictensium, Dicti.
- ” Numeri Vigilium, Concangio.
- ” Numeri Exploratorum, Lavatris.
- ” Numeri Directorum, Verteris.
- ” Numeri Defensorum, Braboniaco.
- ” Numeri Solensium, Maglove.
- ” Numeri Pacensium, Magis.
- ” Numeri Longovicariorum, Longovico.
- ” Numeri Derventionensis, Derventione.

## ITEM PER LINEAM VALLI.

- Tribunus Cohortis quartæ Lergorum, Segeduno.
- ” Cohortis Cornaviorum, Ponte Ælii.
- Præfectus Alæ primæ Astorum, Conderco.
- Tribunus Cohortis primæ Frixagorum, Vindobala.
- Præfectus Alæ Sabinianæ, Hunno.
- ” Alæ secundæ Astorum, Cilurno.
- Tribunus Cohortis primæ Batavorum, Procolitia.
- ” Cohortis primæ Tungrorum, Borcovico.
- ” Cohortis quartæ Gallorum, Vindolana.
- ” Cohortis primæ Astorum, Æsica.
- ” Cohortis secundæ Dalmatarum, Magnis.
- ” Cohortis primæ Æliæ Dacorum, Amboglanna.
- Præfectus Alæ Petrianæ, Petrianis.
- ” Numeri Maurorum Aurelianorum, Aballaba.
- Tribunus Cohortis secundæ Lergorum, Congavata.
- ” Cohortis primæ Hispanorum, Axeloduno.
- ” Cohortis secundæ Thracum, Gabrosenti.
- ” Cohortis Æliæ Classicæ, Tunnocelo.
- ” Cohortis primæ Morinorum, Glannibanta.
- ” Cohortis tertie Nerviorum, Alione.
- Cuneus Armaturarum, Bremetenraco.
- Præfectus Alæ primæ Herculæ, Olenaco.
- Tribunus Cohortis sextæ Nerviorum, Virosido.

I should premise that, with the exception of the nineteenth, twentieth, and twenty-first stations, *per lineam valli*, none of those named in the *Notitia* are connected with the

tenth Iter of Antoninus. These three, *Glannibanta*, *Alio*, (or *Alionis*) and *Bremetenracum*, are considered by some antiquaries as the *Glanoventa*, *Alone*, and *Bremetonacæ* of Antonine. In this I am disposed to concur; for that there were *more* than eighteen stations *on* the wall is not only improbable, but by an examination of its remains seems impossible. We also find that the *Brovonacæ* of the second iter is called in the *Notitia*, *Braboniacum*. There is no greater difference in this than between *Bremetonacæ* and *Bremetenracum*.

It appears to me that the first great point to be ascertained is, the *exact date* of the Itinerary, for the following reason:—We find in the northern counties of England (as well as elsewhere) two classes of Roman roads, those of the Higher Empire, most of which were made at or before the time when Hadrian built the great barrier *Murus*, and those of later periods, even to the decline of the Lower Empire. The question arises, were any of the latter included in the iters? This can only be decided by knowing the date of the Itinerary itself.<sup>2</sup>

There were four emperors who bore the name of Antoninus, namely, Antoninus Pius, who reigned A.D. 138—161; Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, A.D. 161—180; Bassianus, the son of Septimius Severus, better known as Caracalla, who took the names of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, which are found upon all his coins and inscriptions, A.D. 212—217; and Elagabalus, who took the same names as Caracalla, A.D. 218—222. I am of opinion that the emperor whose name was given to the Itinerary was the first-named, Antoninus Pius, and that it was compiled at *the commencement* of his reign. From an inscription by the first cohort of the Cugerni, found in Scotland, we have satisfactory evidence that the great barrier between the rivers Forth and Clyde, called the Antonine Wall, was erected in the third consulship of Antoninus, or between A.D. 140—144; probably in the first-mentioned year. From that period, therefore, *this wall* would be considered as *the limit* or boundary of the

<sup>2</sup> Messrs. Parthey and Pinder, in the preface to their edition of the Itinerary, p. v.—ix., seem to assign a later date for its compilation than I have done; or at least they come to the conclusion that it has been altered from time to time.

They seem also to think that Severus was the builder of the Northumbrian Wall; but recent discoveries make it almost certain that that work was erected by Hadrian.



Roman empire in Britain. But the internal evidence of the Itinerary itself, proves distinctly that the station at Middleby (*Blatum Bulgium*), on the western road, and that at High Rochester (*Bremenium*), on the eastern, were at the time it was compiled *the limit* to which the Roman power was confined.

We thus arrive at the conclusion that the date of the Itinerary is between A.D. 138, the year in which Hadrian (the predecessor of Antoninus Pius) died, and A.D. 144, the year in which the latter completed his third consulship.

It is worthy of notice how inscriptions confirm the fact of the boundary of the Roman empire at the death of Hadrian; for while inscriptions to him have been found along the whole length of the Northumbrian wall, and even at Middleby, not one has been found to the north of that station.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, at least twenty-two to his successor have been found in Scotland. In fact, from a fine inscription found at *Bremenium*, dedicated to Antoninus Pius, by the first cohort of the Lingones,<sup>4</sup> the inference may be fairly drawn that that station was not completed at the time of the death of Hadrian, but was taken in hand by Lollius Urbicus (whose name appears on the slab), and that he made it his base of operations against the Caledonians, prior to erecting the Scotch wall.

Assuming, therefore, upon this basis, that the date of the Itinerary is previous to A.D. 144, we must be careful to reject such Roman roads, as are evidently of a late period of the Empire, from our remarks. The next point to be considered is,—have we any town on the route to afford a clue as to the locality of the iter? There is one—*Man-cunium*, satisfactorily proved, from other sources, to have been at Manchester. It is from *this point*, then, that we are obliged to start. Several Roman roads meet there, the stations on which, with their distances, are all well known, except on those which lead north and north-west from that city, and we are thus, as it were, thrown upon these last for the solution. If we take the road running almost due north, and follow its course until we come to the first

<sup>3</sup> A pig of lead inscribed to Hadrian was found near the Scotch Wall in 1850 (on the bank of the river Carron); but this had doubtless been carried there by the builders of that work. No lapidary

inscriptions have been found.

<sup>4</sup> It appears to have been one of the slabs placed over the gateways when the *castrum* was erected.

station, it will lead us to Ribchester, which is at least twenty-six or twenty-seven miles from Manchester, and the distance that we require to reach *Coccium* is only *seventeen*. Ribchester, therefore, *cannot* be the site of *Coccium*, as many antiquaries have supposed; and, in addition, the road from Manchester to that place, according to the Rev. Edmund Sibson, in an interesting paper on the Roman roads in Lancashire (Baines, *History of Lancashire*, edit. 1836, vol. iii.), “in the bleak, mossy ground, between Ug Lowe and Pik Lowe, above Haslingden Grange, is found in the peat moss, four feet beneath the surface, and is *only a layer of white sand, about a foot thick, spread over the soft boggy earth.*” A road so constructed, doubtless marks a late period of the Empire, and is far different from the fine roads constructed before the middle of the third century. It would seem to have been made with a view of connecting Manchester and Ribchester by a shorter route than the one *previously in use* via Wigan.

Let us now, with the assistance of the ordnance maps of the district, and of Mr. Sibson's remarks, trace the roads leading north-west from Manchester. The first is an originally fine road, though now much obliterated, running by Chorlton Fold (where it crosses the Patricroft and Clifton Junction Railway) through Worsley,<sup>5</sup> Mawdesley Common, Tyldesley, and Hindley. This portion of it is formed of large stones and gravel, and is of considerable thickness; it then crosses Amberswood Common, where it is fourteen yards in breadth, and three feet in thickness, and at this point appears to be formed of gravel mixed with earth. It then runs through the Coal Pit Fields at Ince, crosses the Leeds and Liverpool Canal near the foot bridge, and into the Scholes; then, on the west side of the road, from the Scholes to Plat Bridge, crosses the Douglas at the bottom of the bridge, and enters Wigan by Mill Gate.

Three important Roman roads meet at Wigan—one coming south from Ribchester and the neighbourhood of Preston; another coming north from the station at Wilderspool near Warrington; and the third is the one above described. The town stands on the summit of a hill, and, by the names

<sup>5</sup> This road was subsequently (1862) laid bare at Worsley, in making the rail-

way from Eccles to Wigan. (See *Gent. Mag.*, April, 1862, p. 419.)

of the streets, appears to have had four gates (in the Roman manner)—Wall Gate, on the road to Wilderspool; Mill Gate, on the road leading east, towards Manchester; Standish Gate, on the road to Ribchester and Preston; and Hall Gate, on the west. In 1836, according to Mr. Sibson, the remains of a ditch and agger were still visible round the town; Roman sepulchral urns, containing burnt bones, &c., have occasionally been found, and many fragments of Roman pottery. There can, I think, be no reasonable doubt of its having been a Roman station—not an important one, I admit; but was *Coccium* an important post? The Tenth Iter of Antoninus is the only place in which we find it mentioned; whilst *Bremetonacæ*, the station next in succession to the north, is mentioned in the *Notitia*, and also by Ravennas, as *Bresnetenaci Veteranorum*; Manchester, the station to the south of it, is also mentioned by Ravennas, and occurs likewise in the second Iter of Antoninus. *Coccium* was in all probability a mere *mansio*, of the same class as *Sulloniacæ*, between London and St. Albans; *Pontes*, between London and Silchester; or *Brige*, between Winchester and Old Sarum. Its remains would soon disappear in the large and busy town that for centuries has occupied its site, in the same manner that the great station of *Pons Æli* (the remains of which must have been very extensive) has disappeared under the effects of mediæval devastation and modern building at Newcastle-on-Tyne. The distance of Wigan from Manchester, along the Roman road I have described, is almost exactly *seventeen miles*, thus agreeing with the Itinerary distance between *Coccium* and *Mancunium*. Mr. Sibson places the former station at Wigan, and, for the reasons stated above, I feel bound to concur in his decision.

It is but just to state that there is another Roman road which leads from Blackrode, four or five miles north-east of Wigan, towards Manchester. In the vicinity of Blackrode, however, it is, according to Mr. Sibson, only three yards broad, and paved. It has not been satisfactorily traced farther north than Blackrode, but there does not seem to have been a station at that place, unless it were a small outpost—not a vestige is visible. By the ordnance map this road ran south-east from Blackrode, by Chew Moor, Over Hulton, Middle Hulton, Peel, Little Hulton, Stanney



Street, and fell in with the road from Wigan near Chorlton Fold or Hope Hall.

But to return to Wigan. The road leading north from it runs through Wigan Mains, to a place called Beggars' Walk, beyond which, about two miles from Wigan, it is in good preservation, and is formed of blocks of yellow-coloured freestone and gravel, about fourteen yards broad and three feet thick. In this locality it forms the cart-road to Standish, through which village it runs. Early in the eighteenth century, a copper *urceolus* (?) was found near Standish, containing two gold rings, a signet, and two hundred Roman coins, which are mentioned in *Leigh's Natural History of Lancashire*. After leaving Standish, this road passes through Welsh Whithill, Euxton Burgh, Rose Whithill, and Bamber Green to Walton,<sup>6</sup> where it crosses the Ribble about six miles west of Ribchester, and falls at right angles upon the Roman road, leading from the Fylde to that place, which is continued into Yorkshire. At this point of junction *the original road* seems to terminate, though at a later period it was continued, as we shall presently see, northwards to Lancaster; from the junction it is amalgamated with the road from the west into Ribchester.

We have now arrived at the greatest of the Lancashire stations, the remains of which have for centuries been celebrated, and are still traceable. It is about 300 yards by 140, contains ten acres, and its distance from Wigan, by the route we have just mentioned, is from *twenty* to *twenty-one* miles. This of itself would be strong presumptive evidence that it was the *Bremetonacæ* of the Iter; but we have fortunately still stronger proof. The station has yielded many inscriptions, some thirteen of which have been preserved, and among them is one of which the following is a copy:—

DE O S A N  
 . POLINIMAPON  
 . OSALVTE . DN  
 . N . EQQ . SAR .  
 BREMETENN  
 . ORDIANI

<sup>6</sup> It was here, that in 1855 Mr. Hardwick found vestiges of a small Roman post, coins, pottery, and traces of entrenchments. Underneath the latter he

found the portion of an old wall, evidently of an earlier date, and probably British. It had no mortar.

. OANTONI  
NVS . LEG . VI  
VIC . DOMO  
MELITENV S

Although some parts of this inscription have been the subject of much discussion, all antiquaries are agreed as to the Sarmatian cavalry of *Bremetenracum* (or *Bremetonacæ*) having had a share in its erection; in fact no doubt can exist on the point. This being admitted, we must then, on the same principle as that by which, from inscriptions, we place *Bremenium* at High Rochester, *Ratis* at Leicester, *Vinovium* at Binchester, and *Lutudæ* at Chesterfield, place the *Bremetonacæ* of Antoninus at Ribchester. Again; to still further prove the correctness of this view,<sup>7</sup> we must notice that no less than four inscriptions have been found there which mention this Sarmatian cavalry; in three of them called *Ala Sarmatarum*, and in the one we have given, apparently N(umerus) Eq(uitum) Sarmatarum, whilst the *Notitia* places at *Bremetenracum* the CUNEUS *Armaturarum*. Is not this a mis-reading of *Cuneus Sarmatarum*?<sup>8</sup> Several notorious mistakes, such as *Lergorum* (in two instances) for *Lingonum*, and the placing at *Æsica* of *Coh. I. Astorum*, whilst the inscriptions found there prove the garrison to have been the *Coh. II. Asturum*, occur in the *Notitia*, and I incline to the opinion that this is another. In addition to the distance from Wigan agreeing on the one hand, we find that from Overborough also agreeing on the other: but I anticipate.

*Galacum*, the next station on the route, was, according to the iter, twenty-seven miles from *Bremetonacæ*, and we must therefore look for a station which will suit this distance. If we leave Ribchester by the road leading almost due north,<sup>9</sup> at a distance of twenty-six miles we come to Overborough, where there have been discovered undoubted traces of a Roman station. In the time of Horsley the remains of it must have been considerable; but in 1740 (nine years after

<sup>7</sup> Mr. Hodgson Hinde, *Archæologia Eliana*, vol. iv., was the first who suggested that Ribchester was *Bremetonacæ*.

<sup>8</sup> Mr. McCaul (Brit. Rom. Inscr. p. 81) states that the reading of at least five MSS. of the *Notitia* is *armaturarum*, and

that the application of *cuneus* to cavalry is more consistent with the usage in the *Notitia*.

<sup>9</sup> Whitaker states that this road is decidedly of the Higher Empire.

his death), a modern mansion was built upon part of the site, which occasioned the levelling of its ramparts on the north and west sides, whilst the area was laid out as a garden. Notwithstanding this, the ramparts on the east and south sides were still visible in 1807. This station is situated in the position usually chosen by the Roman engineers, at the junction of two rivers,—the Lac, which washes its southern, and the Lune or Lone which runs on its western side.

During the excavations required for the foundation of the mansion in 1740, there was found an altar bearing the following inscription :—

DEO SAN  
GON TR  
EBIVAT  
TAPOSV

Dr. Pegge read this as “Deo Sango N(umerius) Trebiv(s) Atta Posv(it).” Whitaker, in his History of Richmondshire, gives the reading, “Deo Sango N(aulus) Trebiv(s) Atta pos(uit) v(otum).” On the reverse side of the altar were sculptured an axe and knife, and the figure of an owl. The original is now lost ; but from the account of Rauthmel, who first published it in his Antiquities of Overborough, it would appear, from the form of the letters, to have been of the Lower Empire. At the same time were found a gold bulla, a large brass coin of Vespasian, a common patera, and a *præfericulum*.

With few exceptions, English antiquaries, following the lead of Horsley, have, until lately, placed *Bremetonacæ* at this station. The time, however, seems to have arrived when that decision must be laid aside, and the name of *Galacum* (or *Calacum*) substituted for that of *Bremetonacæ*.<sup>1</sup> The *Galatum* of Ptolemy, evidently a British town, must be sought for in this locality ; it was doubtless the same as *Galacum*. The British remains in this neighbourhood are very extensive. The peculiar name of the river at Overborough is suggestive—the *Lac*,—as if part of the word *Galacum* were still retained in it, as we find the river Laver at the ancient *Lavaræ* or *Lavatræ* (Bowes).

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Just, Journal of British Arch. Association, vol. viii. 1852, places *Gala-*

*cum* here, but strangely fixes upon Lancaster for *Bremetonacæ*.

That this station existed in the reign of Antoninus Pius seems certain, from the fine road which connects it with Lancaster, on which, at Caton, about four or five miles from the latter town, was found a *miliarium* or milestone of the time of Hadrian in good preservation, dated in his 3rd consulate, A.D. 120. The inscription is thus given in the plate in Whitaker's History of Richmondshire :—

IMP . CAES  
TR . HADRIA  
AVG . P . M . T . P  
COS . III . P . P .  
>I . M . P . III .

This road apparently runs no farther eastward than Overborough, where it joins that running northwards.

Let us at this point consider, for a moment, how far the great station at Lancaster can in any way be connected with our subject. And I will first say that, from the ancient name of this town (called Chercaloncastre in Domesday Book), from the name of the river,—

“ The shallow, stony Lone,  
That to old Lancaster its name doth lend ; ”

from the fact, also, of the hundred in which it is situated bearing the name of Lonsdale, combined with the peculiar name of a deity on an altar found near the town IALONVS, I was at one time inclined to place *Alone* at this station, in which case I should have considered Natland to be *Galava*, and the large station at Ambleside, *Glanoventa*. But the distances will not suit ; and the only road which seems to have led from Lancaster during the Higher Empire is the one of which I have just spoken, running north-east to Overborough. The road connecting it with Natland is a continuation of the one I previously alluded to as starting from Walton, near Ribchester, and which runs over Fulwood Moor, Cadley Causeway, through Broughton, Barton, and Bilsborough, along Fleet Street in Claughton, and through what is called the *Borough*, a few miles south of Lancaster. Two miliaries, inscribed to the Emperor Philip, A.D. 244—249, have been found on this route, a fact which Whitaker thinks seems to prove (and in this I concur) that the road

was made in the reign of that Emperor. Whitaker states, that a person who saw a portion of it dug up in the Fylde, informed him that it was constructed like a common highway, with small broken stones compacted by time and pressure. At "The Folly," a mile north of Lancaster, Whitaker himself took up a portion of it, which entirely corresponded with this account, and he adds that here it was pointing direct to Natland. This evidence, as to its construction, of course shuts it out from the list of roads of the time of Antoninus Pius.

Altogether eleven inscriptions are recorded as having been found at Lancaster, or within a few miles of it. It appears to have been garrisoned by the Ala II., Gallorum Sebusiana (or Sebosiana), and large foundations of buildings, sculptured figures, quantities of coins, Samian ware, pottery, &c., have been found. We have thus the evidences of a most important station, and of the Higher Empire—what was its name? This must be left in abeyance, for neither roads nor distances will agree with its being *Alone*. If we want to find the site of that *castrum* we must, in my opinion, retrace our steps to Overborough, and again take a northerly course.

The road from Ribchester northwards, after leaving Overborough, is traced along Wandel's Lane, through Casterton near Sedburgh, and up the valley of the Lone, until at about eighteen miles from Overborough we come to the remains of a considerable station, apparently overlooked both by Camden and Horsley. Britton, in his *Beauties of England and Wales*, was the first who noticed it, and the late Mr. Just, in the *Journal of the British Archæological Association*, vol. viii., was the first who conjectured it to be *Alone*. It is situated at the confluence of the Borrow with the river Lone, about one hundred yards south of Borrowbridge, and bears the name of "Castlehow." In old writings the Borrow is called the *Burrough Becke*, evidently from the *castrum* upon its banks. The station is a parallelogram of 135 yards by 104 yards, contains about 4 acres, and has been surrounded by a wall of stone and mortar, about 9 ft. thick, the lower portions of which are apparently standing buried in the rubbish which has fallen from above, except on the western side, where it stands 8 ft. or 9 ft. high, but stripped of its facing-stones. The Praetorian and Decuman gates



and the fosse are still very distinct. No inscriptions have been found here, but in 1826 part of a hypocaust was uncovered, and at various times coins and fragments of pottery have been turned up. The area, which lies buried in its own rubbish, has, however, never been excavated. To the north of the station are the remains of the abutment of a bridge across the Borrow, with good reason supposed to be Roman. Part of the grouting of the bridge still adheres to the rock foundation. Mr. Just also says that the Roman road is visible just beyond this bridge, and though lost for a considerable distance, takes the direction of Kirkby Thore.

What has been said of the etymology of the neighbourhood of Lancaster is equally applicable here. The Lone (or Lune) washes the castrum; the whole valley down to Overborough is called the valley of the Lone, the hundred is called Lonsdale. The distance also, *eighteen* miles, from Overborough agrees remarkably with the iter. *Alone* is there stated to be *nineteen* miles from Galacum. Mr. Just fixes upon this site as that of *Alone*, the evidence is strongly in favour of it, and I must say that I coincide with his opinion.

The only Roman road which has been found to lead from Borrowbridge, and which is apparently of the Higher Empire, is the one before-mentioned, leading to Kirkby Thore. As far as regards the direction this is right, but Kirkby Thore is, according to Mr. Just, *seventeen* Roman miles from Borrowbridge, and we only require *twelve*. It is in this stage that the only real discrepancy occurs, and the only solution that I can suggest is that the numeral v. has been omitted by some early transcriber of the Itinerary, thus rendering the distance as XII. miles instead of XVII. There is no doubt of many such mistakes occurring in the Itinerary. The station at Kirkby Thore is a most important one; many inscriptions, sculptures, coins, &c., have been discovered. I agree with Mr. Just in placing *Galava* here, but the question arises, why was it omitted in the second iter, between *Verteræ* and *Brovonacæ*? That iter seems most explicit, and apparently gives the name of *every station* along its route (while the fifth, in this neighbourhood, does not). The clue to this would seem to be involved in the question, does the Roman road from *Verteræ* to *Brovonacæ* go close to the station at Kirkby Thore? It is

more than doubtful. Mr. Just, had he lived another year, intended by an accurate survey to have settled this point. On the other hand, as Mr. Just observes, Kirkby Thore is upon the "Maiden Way," a continuation apparently of the road northwards from Borrowbridge, and which runs by Whitley Castle to Caervorran, on the Northumbrian Wall.

Starting again northwards from Kirkby Thore, along the "Maiden Way," we come to the station at Whitley Castle, the distance being almost identical with that of the Itinerary. The station is a large one, containing nine acres, and it is the first one south of the wall. On its western side it has seven ditches and ramparts, and on the northern side four. This arises from the fact of its being on level ground. It has never been excavated, and is filled with ruins. Several inscriptions have been found, amongst them one to Caracalla in his fourth consulship, A.D. 213, by the third Cohort of the Nervii. As this cohort is placed by the *Notitia* at *Alionis* (or *Alio*), the station has by many antiquaries been given that name, but unless *corroborative facts* can be produced, it is useless to decide on its name from *one* inscription of *this nature*. On the same principle we might place *Vindolana* at the great station at Risingham, whereas it is well known to have been at Chesterholm.

Unless, therefore, we can find a road leading in some other direction from the station at Borrowbridge, I hold the opinion that the Tenth Iter commenced at Whitley Castle, taking the line of the "Maiden Way," and running, as will be seen, almost due south (with the exception of the easterly bend at Wigan) to Manchester. Had *Glanoventa* been north of the Wall it would doubtless have been so stated at the commencement of the iter, in the same manner as *Bremenium* and *Blatum Bulgium* are named at the commencement of the First and Second Iters. The distance also from Manchester would be too great to allow of it, whilst it is certain that neither *Glannibanta* nor any other of the *Notitia* stations were to the north of the Wall.

Having thus traced the iter to its starting point, it is necessary to say a few words on the stations which lie south of Manchester. At eighteen miles from *Mancunium* is placed *Condate*, which until lately has generally been considered to be at Kinderton, near Middlewich, where are the remains of a station, at which roads from Manchester,

Chester, Wilderspool, near Warrington, and Chesterton, near Newcastle-under-Lyne, meet. The actual distance from Manchester is about twenty-three miles, and from Chester (*Deva*), twenty, which latter agrees with the distance of *Deva* from *Condate* in the Second Iter. Its distance from Chesterton, hitherto considered *Mediolanum*, also agrees well, the actual distance being eighteen or nineteen miles. The remains of a station exist at Chesterton, but it is little known, and quite unexplored.

A modern archæologist, Dr. Robson, in papers read before the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire (December, 1849), and the Archæological Society of Chester (May 4th, 1870), has started the theory that *Condate* was at Wilderspool, and *Mediolanum* at Kinderton. His argument is based upon the fact of the distance between Wilderspool and Manchester, agreeing with that of *Condate* from *Man-cunium*, the distance between Wilderspool and Kinderton, with that of *Condate* from *Mediolanum*, and the distance between Wilderspool and Chester, with that of *Condate* from *Deva* in the Second Iter. It will be noticed that with one exception (that of Kinderton from Manchester), there is an equal agreement of distances in the older arrangement. Mr. Robson also pre-supposes the existence of a road from Wilderspool to Manchester, a fact *not yet proved*, though very probable;<sup>2</sup> but if it were of the Higher Empire, we should doubtless have some considerable remains of it existing. Another argument against his decision, arises from the distance of *Uriconium* (Wroxeter) from Kinderton. The Itinerary gives the distance from *Uriconium* to *Mediolanum* as twenty-three miles. Mr. Robson's conclusions would place them (even in a straight line), thirty-five miles apart; whilst, on the other hand, if *Mediolanum* were at Chesterton, the distance from Wroxeter is nearly identical with the Itinerary. Until, therefore, the site of *Mediolanum* is determined, the latter part of the iter must remain a subject of dispute.<sup>3</sup>

Before proceeding to the stations named in the *Notitia*, it is necessary to notice an important fact in the First and Second Iters. In the former between *Bremenium* (High

<sup>2</sup> Baines, Hist. of Lancashire (edit. 1836), vol. i. p. 14, and vol. iii. p. 110, speaks confidently of the existence of the road.

<sup>3</sup> The etymology of Kinderton is strongly in favour of its being *Condate*. The difference between Condate-ton and Kinderton is very slight.

Rochester), and *Corstopitum* (Corbridge), we find the great station at Risingham; between *Vindomora* (Eldchester) and *Vinovium* (Binchester), occurs another large station at Lanchester: and again, between *Vinovium* and *Cataractonium* (Catterick), we find the large station at Pierse Bridge. In the Second Iter, the same thing occurs, the fine castrum at Greta Bridge, intervening between *Cataractonium* and *Lavatrae* (Bowes). None of these castra are named in the Itinerary, and why? My own opinion is that they *were not in existence* when the Itinerary was compiled. Horsley considered Lanchester to be the *Glanoventa* of the Tenth Iter, and the *Glannibanta* of the *Notitia*. The great objection to this is that the fact of *Glanoventa* being the commencement of the Tenth Iter, would not prevent its being given as a station *en route* in the First, *were it situated at Lanchester*. *Calleva* (Silchester) is the starting point of the Fifteenth, and the terminus of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Iters, yet it is nevertheless given as an intermediate station in the Seventh; and the same thing occurs, with regard to *Londinium*, *Eboracum*, *Lugwallium*, and *Isca Silurum*. Why, then, should an exception be made in the case of Lanchester?

Except Pierse Bridge, these unidentified stations have been prolific of inscriptions, but none of them are earlier than the reign of Severus. At Greta Bridge, near the site of the northern gateway, a fine slab was discovered in 1792, which has generally been considered as originally placed over the gateway arch. It was inscribed—

IMPP . CAESS . L . SEP . SEVERO  
PIO . PERT . ET . M . AVR . ANTONI  
NO . PIO . AVGG . ET . . . . .  
NOB . CAES . SVB . CVRA . L .  
ALFENI . SENECTIONIS  
LEG . EORVM . PR . PR .

The name of Geta has been purposely (though imperfectly) erased from the third line; the remainder informs us (as I take it), of the *first erection* of the gate and *castrum*: had it been merely a restoration or re-building, we should no doubt, as in other cases, have the word *restituit* introduced.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>4</sup> To my mind, the omission of this station, built by Severus, from the second iter, is another convincing proof that the

Antonine, whose name was given to the Itinerary, was Antoninus Pius.

At Risingham, where no less than eleven inscriptions of the reigns of Severus and Caracalla have been found, a gateway slab erected in the reign of the former Emperor, under the same legate, as that at Greta Bridge, informs us of the *restoration* of the *castrum*. Possibly it was built, soon after the Itinerary was compiled, destroyed in the insurrection in the reign of Commodus, and rebuilt by Severus. Dr. McCaul (Br. Rom. Inscr. p. 147) refutes the idea of its bearing the name of *Habitancum*, which Camden and Horsley had given it, from an inscription found there. Had there been a station of that name, it would no doubt have been given in the Chorography of Ravennas. But that author gives the name of a station next to *Bremenium* as *Eburocassum* (probably Eburo-castrum), which name may have been given to it during the residence of Severus at the station, after leaving behind his capital of *Eburacum* (or Eboracum). Mr. J. Hodgson (*Archæologia Eliana*, vol. iv.) shows the great probability of Severus being at the station, when the above named gateway slab was erected.

Lanchester has yielded nineteen inscriptions, but nothing which bears a date is earlier than the reign of Gordian, at which time some buildings were restored, thus showing their previous existence. Pierse Bridge has only yielded two sepulchral inscriptions, from which nothing as to the date of its erection can be gained.

Having thus discussed the point as to the omission of these stations from the Itinerary, let us proceed to the second part of the subject, in which I think we shall be able to identify the names of two of them as *Notitia* stations.

Taking first Sectio LXII (the stations under the Duke of Britain), we find that there are only four whose sites we know with any degree of certainty, namely, *Danum*, *Lavatræ*, *Verteræ*, and *Braboniacum*; out of the remainder I have selected three, *Arbeia*, *Dictis*, and *Concangium*, for the purpose, if possible, to throw light upon their position.

Horsley placed *Arbeia* at Moresby, *Dictis* at Ambleside, and *Concangium* at Natland, near Kendal. In this decision Horsley evidently acted upon an erroneous basis, for he says, "The order in which *Arbeia* is mentioned in the *Notitia* suits very well with the supposition that this (Moresby) is the place, for Moresby is nine or ten computed miles from Ellenborough, which station I take to be



the last of those contained under the title *per lineam valli*." Acting upon this argument, Horsley ought to have placed *Præsidium* at Moresby, as being the first on the list, while, with far greater probability of correctness, he places it on the other side of England, at Broughton, in Lincolnshire. But he seems to have had very little *fixed opinion* regarding these stations, for he says again, "I was once inclined to suspect, from the inscriptions found in Richmondshire mentioning the *cohors Nerviorum* (*sic*) that *Dictis* might be there. But the *Nervii Dictenses* were perhaps no part of that cohort; and if they were, the cohort was afterwards removed to *Virosidum*." The last clause of this is to me unintelligible; but had Horsley retained the idea of placing *Dictis* in Richmondshire he would have been probably nearer the truth. My own views would lead me to place *Concangium* at Greta Bridge, *Dictis* either between Greta Bridge and Pierse Bridge (in a district abounding with Roman remains) or at Pierse Bridge itself, and *Arbeia* either at Pierse Bridge or at the mouth of the Tees; and for this I will adduce the following reasons:—<sup>5</sup>

The author of the *Notitia* seems invariably to act upon a certain rule, that of recording the names of the stations, either in a line from north to south or from east to west, and where that cannot be arranged, to follow the course of a river, a coast line, or a line of road. For example, he commences with the infantry on the east coast of England, under the Count of the Saxon shore, and he gives the stations due north and south, viz., *Othona* (Bradwell), *Dubræ* (Dover), *Lemanæ* (Lymne).

He then gives the cavalry on the same coast, also in the same order, at Brancaster and Burgh Castle; next, the *castra* at either end of the channel which separated the Isle of Thanet from the main land, commencing with the northern one (Reculver); lastly, are the two *castra* on the Sussex coast, given from east to west, namely, *Anderida* and *Portus Adurni*. Turning to the *Item per lineam valli*, we find, both by inscriptions and the visible remains of the fortresses, that he has pursued a line commencing at the *east* and terminating at the *west* end of the wall.

<sup>5</sup> The Rev. J. Hodgson, in his list of the Roman auxiliary forces in Britain, published in his History of Northumber-

land, is inclined to place *Concangium* at Greta Bridge, but does not state his reasons.

In this section under consideration (LXII) we find that he commences with the cavalry, *apparently again* from east to west—then follow the infantry, commencing with those stationed at *Arbeia*. Surely there is a strong *prima facie* ground for inferring that the same rule is adopted, which is almost rendered a certainty when we find him enumerating, in regular succession, the three stations immediately next westward of Greta Bridge, *Lavatræ* (Bowes), *Verteræ* (Brough), and *Braboniacum* (Brougham). Of this latter fact there can be no doubt, as the names are clearly laid down and similarly arranged in the Antonine Itinerary. Why, then, should we not give the name of the station preceding Bowes in the *Notitia* to the remains of the station immediately preceding it, on the route which we find the *Notitia* is taking, especially when that station is nameless?

Again, the Chorography of Ravennas, after naming several stations in Cumberland, proceeds by way of Binchester, Bowes, and Catterick to York, and then gives the following six stations in succession:—*Decuaria* (Petuaria), *Devovicia* (Delgovitia), *Dirio* (Dictis), *Coganges* (Concangium), *Corie*, and *Lapocarium*. Now, from the geography of Ptolemy, we know that *Petuaria* was somewhere about the mouth of the Humber. From the Antonine Itinerary we find that *Delgovitia* was in the neighbourhood of Londesborough. Should we not then reasonably conclude that the next station named was also in Yorkshire, especially when we find the author proceeding northwards to the *east* end of the Roman wall (immediately after naming these stations)? Even for this work, prone to eccentricities as it is, it would be too great a bound to pass at once from the east of Yorkshire to the west of Westmoreland, omitting every station *en route*.

The inference is plain—*Dictis* and *Concangium* were between York and Londesborough on the south, and the Roman wall on the north.

Greta Bridge, which I thus fix upon as *Concangium*, is a fortress of from four to five acres in extent, has been strongly walled, and has yielded ten inscriptions, but none of them afford any clue as to its garrison; the Roman road from Catterick to Bowes runs through it. Between this station and Pierse Bridge the whole country abounds with British and Roman remains; there are several undoubted Roman camps, and some immense irregular intrenchments. At

Gainford an interesting inscribed altar to Jupiter Dolychenus has been found. Was *Dictis* in this neighbourhood, or at Pierse Bridge? If at the latter I would call attention to the fact that Drake, in his map of the Roman roads in Yorkshire, traces one from York to the mouth of the Tees, where it is joined by another from Dunsley Bay. They are apparently vicinal ways, but I am ignorant of the source from which he obtained his information as to their existence, or whether there are any traces of their course at present visible. It is possible that *Arbeia* might be situated at the junction of these roads, but I am inclined to fix it at Pierse Bridge, and *Dictis* somewhere near Old Richmond. It is plain, from the composition of its garrison, the *Numerus Barcariorum Tigrisiensium*, which Dr. McCaul (Brit. Rom. Inscr. p. 84) translates, "The company of bargemen of the Tigris," that *Arbeia* was situated upon a wide river, such as the Tees is, in this locality. It is also noticeable that the *numerus* does not bear the name of the station, as at *Longovicum*, *Derwentio*, and *Dictis*.

Horsley, after placing *Arbeia*, *Dictis*, and *Concangium* as I have stated previously, and *Lavatræ*, *Verteræ* and *Braboniacum* as in the Itinerary, turns suddenly back in his route and fixes *Maglovæ* at Greta Bridge, and *Magæ* at Pierse Bridge, then again turning and leaping over the whole of these stations we find his *Longovicum* at Lancaster, and *Derwentio* at Papcastle. Such a circuitous route, after the plain and straightforward manner in which the other *Notitia* stations are arranged, is contrary alike to reason and to probability; and I venture to say there are few antiquaries of the present day who can concur in it.

Lastly, I will take some of the stations *per lineam valli*. The first twelve of these, from *Segedunum* (Wallsend) to *Amboglanna* (Birdoswald), have been clearly identified by the exertions of Horsley, Dr. Bruce, and others. The *modus operandi* by which this result has been obtained is the proving, from inscriptions, that the garrisons in succession agree exactly with the order in which the names of the same corps occur in the *Notitia*. But beyond Birdoswald this order ceases, and though there are the remains of at least five stations visible, in none of them has been found an inscription mentioning any of the corps forming the garrisons of the remaining stations *per lineam valli*. Other corps are

named :—the *Coh. II. Tungrorum*, at Walton House ; the *Coh. I. Nervana Germanorum*, and *Ala Tungrorum*, at Burgh-upon-Sands.

From what is now visible, the station at Walton House appears to be the next one to Birdoswald ; but as an inscription has lately been found on the face of a quarry near Lanercost, mentioning a decurion of the *Ala Petriana*, there may have been a station at that place, and its name *Petriana* ; but I have a strong suspicion that the *Notitia* has followed the line of the wall *no farther* than Lanercost. It seems evident, from the state of the wall westward from that point, that it was destroyed long previously (and probably during the Roman period) to that portion of it which is in Northumberland. While in the latter county, and as far into Cumberland as Lanercost, we have large portions of it here and there above ground, and the castra in a comparatively good state of preservation, beyond Lanercost not a trace of it remains above the foundation. Dr. Bruce accounts for the complete destruction of the wall in this region by the scarcity of building stone, which has tempted the inhabitants to make a quarry of it. To a certain extent this may be the case, but not entirely. It cannot account, however, for the absence of the forces named in the *Notitia*, and the substitution of others in the inscriptions of the neighbourhood. Some of the *castra* may have existed as independent forts in the time of the *Notitia* ; but the continuity of the line of defence was, I apprehend, broken some time before.

My opinion is, I think, supported by the Chorography of Ravennas. Commencing at the east end of the Wall, this author proceeds regularly westward as far as *Æsica*, the tenth station, where he breaks suddenly off. It is right to state, however, that he omits *Pons Alii* (Newcastle), and *Vindolana* (Chesterholm) from this list. The latter, which lies some distance south of the Wall, he had previously given, and we find the remaining stations indiscriminately mixed with others not named in the *Notitia*.

Again, had the *Notitia* followed the line of the Wall, I think we should have had *Luguwallium* (Carlisle) in the list.<sup>6</sup> According to precedent Stanwix should have been the

<sup>6</sup> It may be objected that the name of a town south of the wall could not be given as *on* the wall. To this I would

reply that *Vindolana*, the ninth station, is still further south of the wall than Carlisle.

fortress, and Carlisle the town under its protection, which appears to have been the case, for there is no evidence, that I am aware of, that Carlisle was ever a walled *castrum*, important town though it was. Both Stanwix and Carlisle are, I think, comprehended in the name *Luguvallium* of Antonine, as at *Durobrivæ*, where Castor, on the Northamptonshire side of the river Nen, is the fortress, and Chesterton, on the Huntingdonshire side, the town. The Second Iter of Antoninus (unlike the First) crosses the Wall at a point where there is a station, and the only name given is *Luguvallium*, thus passing Stanwix in silence, unless it is comprehended under that term.

But by far the most important evidence that we must look for *Aballaba* and the subsequent stations, elsewhere than on the Wall, was the discovery in 1865 at Cocker-mouth Castle (built of stones from the adjoining Roman castrum at Papcastle) of an inscribed stone which seems to fix *Aballaba* (or *Aballava*) at the latter place. The inscription, of which the commencement, for perhaps two or three lines is wanting, runs thus :—

. EG AVG IN CI  
NEVM. FRISION  
VM. ABALLAV  
ENSIVM . . . . .  
\*XIIIIKALETXIIII KA  
NOV. GORIIET POMPI  
ES ET ATTICO ET PRE  
...TATO. COS. VSLM.

This shows that in November, A.D. 241, a Cuneus of Frisiones, called the "Aballavensian" were stationed at Papcastle.<sup>7</sup> On turning to the *Notitia*, we find that several bodies of troops, had attached to their ethnic name, the name of the place where they were stationed, such as the *Numerus Nerviorum Dictensium*, *Equites Dalmatarum Branoduensium*, &c., but none who bore the name of a place, were stationed elsewhere than at the place itself. This is con-

<sup>7</sup> I have taken the inscription from a lithographic copy of the stone published by Mr. H. T. Wake of Cocker-mouth. Dr. Bruce (*Gent. Mag.*, Sept. 1866) gives a slightly different reading, especially of

the seventh line, which he commences COS. ET. Dr. M'Caul of Toronto, in a recent communication to the writer, gives the first four letters of this seventh line as REST (*ituit*).



firmed by inscriptions at *Bremenium* and *Bremetenracum*, whilst at Binchester, which had long been identified with the *Vinovium* of Antoninus, the following inscription was found :

. MANDVS  
EX . C . FRIS  
VINOVIE  
V.S.L.M

Dr. McCaul (*Br. Rom. Inscr.* p. 65) expanded it *Amandus ex cohorte Frisiorum Vinoviæ, &c.* The Cockermouth inscription enables us to give the true reading—*Amandus ex cuneo Frisionum Vinoviensium, &c.* Judging by these precedents is there any doubt of Papcastle being *Aballaba*?<sup>8</sup>

But there is still further evidence. The two stations next to *Aballaba* in the *Notitia* are *Congavata*, garrisoned by the second cohort of the Lingones, and *Axelodunum* by the first cohort of the Spaniards. Now, at the two stations next adjoining Papcastle, we find these cohorts mentioned in inscriptions—*Coh. II. Lingonum* at Moresby, and *Coh. I. Hispanorum* at Ellenborough (where they have left many inscriptions), whilst not a trace of them has been found on the wall. In fact, the *successive order* of the *Notitia* garrisons, broken off at Lanercost, seems renewed at Papcastle, Moresby, and Ellenborough. Are these two latter *Congavata* and *Axelodunum*? I certainly incline to that opinion. I am aware that an objection may be raised to the effect that inscriptions of a later date than those at Ellenborough have been left by *Coh. I. Hispanorum*, at Netherby; but, unless the objectors are prepared to prove *that place* to be *Axelodunum*, and thus extend the *Notitia* stations to the north of the wall, it cannot be sustained. We find some of the cohorts for centuries at the same place. What more likely than that the *Coh. I. Hispanorum*, after executing their work at Netherby, should return to their old head-quarters at Ellenborough? It might as well be urged that because the same cohort had left an inscription at the Bridge of Ardoch, in Perthshire, and the *Coh. II. Lingonum* another at Ilkley, in Yorkshire, that those places were *Axelodunum* and *Congavata*.

<sup>8</sup> Since writing the above, I have received from Dr. McCaul of Toronto, part xiii. of his *Notes on Latin Inscriptions found in Britain*. At pp. 25 26 of this

pamphlet he apparently comes to the same conclusion as to the site of *Aballaba*; while, at pp. 16, 17, he seems inclined to place *Petriana* at Old Carlisle.

A few words, and I have done. As it is impossible that the whole of the stations named as *per lineam valli* could be *on* the wall, the confusion introduced into the *Notitia*, by the omission of the terminal station, is perhaps but a reflex of the period of its compilation. A few years subsequently both legions and cohorts left Britain. The grand wave of Roman conquest which, from the time of Cæsar, had passed over Gaul and submerged Britain, gradually rolled back, amidst the closing scenes of the Lower Empire, leaving behind it, upon the surface of our island, the ruins of its own creation. Upon our age has it fallen to guard and preserve what still remains of them, to investigate their history, and to illustrate their grandeur, which is that of Britain—of Europe—of the Roman world.