

XX.—*An Examination of Horsley's Allocation of the Miscellaneous Notitia Stations in the North of England.*

THERE are few things which would add so largely to our knowledge of the topography of Roman Britain, and of the arrangements for the defence of the province, as an accurate adjustment of the sites of the Notitia Stations south of the Wall; which, for distinction's sake, I have termed "miscellaneous," to the exclusion of the "*Stationes per lineam Valli*;" the position of three-fourths of which are established beyond controversy. It must, however, be admitted in the outset, that as regards a great majority of these miscellaneous stations, we have no adequate materials on which to found a positive conclusion. The evidence of inscriptions, by which the mural stations have been identified, affords us little assistance, and four only of the stations in the Northern Counties which precede them in the Notitia are to be found in the Itinerary of Antoninus. Still our certain knowledge of the sites of these four enables us to form probable conjectures of the position of the remainder, or, at all events, to determine with some degree of confidence where they are not; and in an inquiry of this kind the detection of error is only second in importance to the discovery of truth.

The services of HORSLEY in ascertaining the true order of the "*Stationes per lineam Valli*" cannot be too highly estimated; but the same encomium is scarcely to be awarded to his allocation of the miscellaneous stations. As

regards the latter indeed, his efforts have been positively injurious, inasmuch as succeeding writers have been induced by the weight of his authority to accept his conclusions, instead of investigating the subject for themselves. It is due, however, to this great master of Romano-British antiquities to state, that although he has adopted a most unsatisfactory course in settling these stations of the Notitia, he has laid down a general outline, which may lead others to juster conclusions. In prosecuting this inquiry, I propose to adopt HORSLEY'S own rule for my guidance; nor can I doubt that if he had been able to bestow the same pains and leisure upon his essay on the Notitia as on his examination of the stations of the Roman Wall, he would have worked out from his own principles equally valuable results. His words are these:—"The author of the Notitia appears manifestly to have set down all those places together in his account which are near to one another, and seems to proceed in some order. Thus in the Stations *per lineam Valli*, he proceeds right from east to west along the line of the Wall. This makes it probable that some such order is preserved in the other set which precedes them."

I do not propose to discuss the nine stations on the southern and eastern coasts, under the command of the Count of the Saxon Shore, respecting which indeed there is little doubt; but to confine myself to those in the northern province, under the command of the Duke of Britain.

The list commences with the Sixth Legion, to which no station is assigned, but which we know, both from Ptolemy and the Itinerary, had its head-quarters at York, when not engaged in active service.

Next follows—"The Prefect of Dalmatian Horse, *Præsidio*." HORSLEY would identify PRÆSIDIUM with PRÆTORIUM in the Itinerary, on the ground of an alledged identity of signification. The position of PRÆTORIUM is very doubtful, being placed by CAMDEN at Patrington, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and by HORSLEY himself at Broughton, in Lincolnshire. I feel some doubt whether "*Præsidio*" is to be treated as a proper name at all, or whether it should not rather have its usual signification, "in the garrison." The explanation which I would offer is this, that the Sixth Legion was quartered at York, as the most convenient and central point, ready to be summoned to the field wherever danger presented itself, but

that, besides the encampment of this force, there was a permanent and stationary garrison at York, and that this consisted of the troop of Dalmatian Horse. We should then read—"The Sixth Legion (at York)—The Prefect of Dalmatian Horse in garrison there."

At the date of our copy of the Notitia, the Sixth Legion was probably on the frontier, and the words "at York," would be struck out, leaving the meaning of Præsidium imperfect, except on the supposition of its being a proper name.

We have next a list of twelve stations, commencing with DANUM (which occurs more than once in the Itinerary, and which we know to be Doncaster), and immediately followed by the Stations *per lineam Valli*, commencing at the eastern end. Now, following HORSLEY'S rule, it seems no unfair inference, that the intermediate Stations are arranged with some degree of regularity between Doncaster and the east end of the Wall, and this presumption receives additional force from the circumstance that three of the intermediate Stations occur also in the Itinerary, and their localities, which are thus known to us, are in precise conformity with our theory. These are LAVATRIS, VERTERIS, and BRABONACUM, which occupy the same central position between Doncaster and the Wall in the Notitia list, which they do in the map of Britain. LAVATRIS is undoubtedly Bowes, and VERTERIS, Brough. Of BRABONACUM, HORSLEY says—"I know no sufficient argument against the conjecture that BROBONACUM is the same with BREMETONACÆ in the Itinerary." But surely the affinity between BRABONACUM and BREMETONACÆ* is infinitely less than between the former and BROVONACÆ. Indeed, BRABONACUM and BROVONACÆ are identical in every thing but the termination; for it is notorious that the Romans, in writing British names, used the letters *b* and *v* indiscriminately; as CASSIBELLAUNUS and CASSIVELLAUNUS, LUGUBALLIUM and LUGUVALLIUM, TRINOBANTES and TRINOVANTES, GLANNIBANTA and GLANOVENTA. There is indeed little doubt that the ancient British tongue, like the modern Gaelic, had no enunciation of *v* distinct from *b*, but that *v* in British names should in all cases be treated as *b*. We can hardly hesitate, then, in identifying BRABONACUM with BROBONACÆ (Kirbythure), especially when we find BRABONACUM following LAVATRIS and VERTERIS in the Notitia,

* The true affinity of BREMETONACÆ is with BREMETENRACUM of the Itinerary.

precisely as BROBONACÆ follows them in the Itinerary. Thus then we have—

DANUM,	Doncaster.	
MORBIUM,		}
ARBEIA,		
DICTIS,		
CONCANGIUM,		
LAVATRIS,	Bowes.	
VERTERIS,	Brough.	
BRABONACÆ,	Kirbythure.	
MAGLOVÆ,		}
MAGÆ,		
LONGOVICUM,		
DERVENTIO,		

This appears the legitimate exposition of HORSLEY'S theory; we must now examine his own deviations from it in practice:—

1st. As regards the four Stations between DANUM and LAVATRIS; he places MORBIUM at Templeborough, near Sheffield; ARBEIA at Moresby, near Whitehaven; DICTIS at Ambleside; and CONCANGIUM at Kendal.

The first of these exhibits certainly no great violation of his rule; but to proceed at one bound from Templeborough, in the extreme south of Yorkshire, to Moresby, on the coast of Cumberland, a distance, in a direct line, of 120 miles, over a range of hills the most rugged and impracticable in England, is an abandonment of every principle of order. Nor does he assign any ground for fixing ARBEIA at Moresby, beyond the admitted fact of the existence of a Roman Station at that place, for which no Roman name had hitherto been found.

If Moresby be abandoned as the site of ARBEIA, no argument remains for placing DICTIS at Ambleside, a position nearly as remote from the last ascertained Station.

The objection to placing CONCANGIUM at Kendal is the same in principle, and only less in degree; but it must not be concealed that this last allocation was made originally by CAMDEN, and was probably the cause of

HORSLEY placing the two other Stations on this side of the island. CAMDEN's sole inducement was a fancied combination of the name of the river on which Kendal stands, the Kent, or as he writes it, the Can, in CONCANGIUM, a piece of etymological evidence which might be received in corroboration of a conclusion otherwise probable, but totally inadequate as independent testimony.

The position of these three Stations at Moresby, Ambleside, and Kendal, is quite as irreconcilable with HORSLEY's canon, in relation to the three Stations which follow as to those which precede them. It is true that the mere distance from Kendal to Bowes is much less than from Templeborough to Moresby, but still it is very considerable; and the violation of topographical order is yet more striking. Of the three Stations of Bowes, Brough, and Kirbythure, the first is much the furthest to the east, but all are considerably to the eastward of Kendal, and yet by this scheme of HORSLEY's, from this most westerly position at Kendal, we are taken past the two others to the most eastern at Bowes, and have then immediately to retrace our steps to Brough and Kirbythure.

In disposing of the four Stations which immediately precede those on the Wall, HORSLEY has placed MAGLOVÆ at Greta-bridge, MAGÆ at Peirce-bridge, LONGOVICUM at Lancaster, and DERVENTIO on the Derwent, which flows into the Humber. As regards the two first, no objection can be offered on theoretical grounds; and although we have no positive evidence in favour of this location, it can not be denied that garrisons at Peirce-bridge and Greta-bridge, in conjunction with those at Bowes, Brough, and Kirbythure, would be admirably adapted to command all the passes from the frontier to the south of Britain. We know of no line of march, practicable during the Roman period, by which an enemy having broken through the Border Rampart, could avoid encountering at least one of these garrisons.

LONGOVICUM is placed at Lancaster, and DERVENTIO on the Derwent, in Yorkshire, solely on grounds of etymological affinity; not certainly vague or fanciful, but such as we can not fail to recognize, so far as this species of evidence is admissible. Still we must hesitate before we follow our authority a hundred miles from Peirce-bridge in one direction to Lan-

caster, and nearly an equal distance in another to the Derwent, when we have the Station of Lanchester and the northern Derwent in the direct line of road from Peirce-bridge to the Wall. It is no part of my plan to enter at length into the claims of Lanchester to the antient name of *LONGOVICUM*, but I may observe that the first parts of the two words are undoubtedly identical, whilst the first syllable of Lancaster is more probably derived from the river which flows through the town, the Lone or Lune, which can not have been the root of *LONGOVICUM*.^b

The chief difficulty as regards the Station on the Derwent is this, that Ebchester, the only station on that river, occurs under a different name in the Itinerary, where it is called *VINDOMORA*. In reply to this, Mr. HODGSON says—"In the long lapse of time between the *ANTONINES* and *THEODOSIUS THE YOUNGER*, when the *Notitia* is supposed to have been written, the original propriety of the name may have been forgotten, and *Derventio*, the name of the river, on which it was situated, adopted as more appropriate."

I will venture to offer an alternative suggestion. The road which passes Ebchester was undoubtedly constructed before the Station, as it passes at the distance of more than a quarter of a mile from it; whereas had the Station been in existence at the time the road was made, there cannot be a doubt that the latter would have been diverted, so as to approach it more closely, especially as such a line presents greater facilities.

My solution of the difficulty is this, that *VINDOMORA* was the name of the village or halting place in the *Iter*, and that *DERVENTIO* was the name given to the fort subsequently erected. In confirmation of this view, I may mention the fact of an altar having been found in the northern bank of the stream just where the road crossed, precisely in the position where it is probable the ancient village stood. The discovery of this altar is noticed by Mr. *MACLAUCHLAN*, the author of the *Survey of Watling Street*, recently completed under the auspices of the Duke of

^b The case of Lanchester has been ably stated by the late Mr. HODGSON in the notes to an unpretending little volume of *Poems*, of one of which the title is "*LONGOVICUM*." Mr. H. here follows the opinion of Camden, who fixed *LONGOVICUM* at Lanchester, and offers some judicious remarks in opposition to *HORSLEY*'s views regarding the 10th *Iter* of Antoninus.

Northumberland. This gentleman was so much struck with the unusual space which intervenes between the road, as pointed out to him, and the Station, that on this ground alone he has laid down the line at this point, not as tradition represented it to have gone, but as he presumes it must have gone, close to the Station, and it is probable that ninety-nine persons out of a hundred would have done the same. The traditionary line however is supported by undoubted evidence. I have conversed with those who remembered traces of it, and who have seen the foundations of the Roman bridge at this point.

Passing the Stations on the Wall, eighteen in number, according to HORSLEY, or seventeen, according to Mr. HODGSON, we have either five or six enumerated in the Notitia to dispose of. If we are correct in placing the first series of Stations in something like regular sequence from south to north, between Doncaster and the Wall, and then following the Stations *per lineam Valli*, from east to west, the same order will lead us to seek the remaining five or six Stations in a southward direction from the western extremity of the Wall. In this view, we are confirmed by the fact, that three of the remaining Notitia Stations coincide, but in inverted order, with a similar number of Stations in the tenth Iter of ANTONINUS, the course of which from Ribchester, the last positively ascertained Station, is undoubtedly in a northern or north-western direction.

On a former occasion I stated at length the grounds on which I arrived at the conclusion that Ribchester was the true site of BREMETONACÆ, and I pointed out that if, as has been generally supposed, the 10th Iter coincided for a part of its course with the Maiden-way, from Kirbythure, northwards, the Itinerary distances would agree very well with the supposition of Whitley, near Alston, being the site of GLANOVENTA, but that they would not admit of its being ALIONE, according to the suggestion of CAMDEN adopted by HORSLEY. If it should turn out that no road has existed from Overborough, the Station north of Ribchester, to Kirbythure, it seems worthy of investigation whether the 10th Iter did not strike off from Overborough to the coast; in which case Moresby would agree very well with the Itinerary distance of GLANOVENTA, and ALIONE must be sought in the intervening district. In this case the route would lie by

Ambleside, from whence there are ascertained traces of a Roman road to the coast; but if the figures of the Itinerary are correct, they do not favour the supposition of the identity of Ambleside with ALIONE. According to HORSLEY, GLANOVENTA is the first Station after those on the Wall, and TUNNOCELUM the last Station on the Wall at Bowness. According to Mr. HODGSON'S computation the Stations on the Wall are complete without TUNNOCELUM, and if this view be correct we have another Station to locate, which from the nature of its garrison (the *Cohors Ælia Classica*) was undoubtedly situated on the sea-coast. If I am right in placing all the Stations which follow those on the Wall on the western side of the island, I know none which can compete as the site of TUNNOCELUM with the remarkable Station of Ellenborough, whose position on an eminence overlooking the Solway (the Ituna Æstuarium of Ptolemy), is perhaps expressed in the name, *quasi* I-Tuno-celum.

I am conscious of having deviated as regards these western Stations, rather more than I intended into conjecture, but having done so, I append the result of those conjectures, not with a view of attaching any undue weight to opinions formed on imperfect grounds, but to lead to further inquiry, and possibly a satisfactory solution hereafter.

NOTITIA STATIONS IN THE NORTH-WEST OF ENGLAND.

TUNNOCELUM,	Ellenborough?
GLANNIBANTA,	Moresby?
ALIONE,	
BREMETONACÆ,	Ribchester.
OLINACUM,	Ilkley.
VIROSIDUM,	Adel?

JOHN HODGSON HINDE.