## COVENTINA.

## By W. H. D. LONGSTAFFE.

I MAY appropriately commence this paper with the words of Mr. Coote:—"There are persons who cannot patiently estimate a mass of particular facts, howsoever laid before them; in other words, cannot appreciate what lawyers call evidence. I (continues he) will examine this question of persistence (meaning his own subject) upon its probability also, viz., upon the general and admitted facts which have reference to, or are connected with, it. \* \* \* But mere belief alone will not do much either for history or pedigree. There must be something else, which, if it is not evidence, must look a little like it—something that must make a theory possible or probable to some minds."

It happily flashed across the brain of our friend Mr. James Clephan that the last part of the name of the goddess commemorated at Procolitia alluded to the South Tyne, into which the water from her temple, after receiving additional supplies, finds its way at no great distance. He requested me to consider whether this idea was feasible. I deemed it to be well worthy of attention, and, thinking it over, I asked myself what, in case the surmise were correct, could the former part of the name be? And then, I sent myself to Coventry.

Pulling old Holland's charming translation of Camden's Britannia out, I found two suppositions as to the derivation of the name of that "sweet and neat" city, both requiring the double use of the letter T, which we probably require in discussing the word Coventina. Premising that, as in the name of the goddess and that of Covent Garden, we find both Conventry and Coventry, it appears that Camden inclines ("ut credimus" are his words) to identify the first part of the words with a convent or covent of monks. Now there is a story of Canute having placed nuns at Coventry, who were displaced in 1016. In 1043 Earl Leofric, and, as some say, the famous Godiva, his wife, enlarged, and in

manner built anew, the monastery for male residents. In the charter of confirmation by Edward the Confessor in the same year, he makes no mention of the former foundation, nor of S. Osburga, said elsewhere to have been a former abbess, and to have been included in the dedication, nor of Lady Godiva. But this we learn, that Leofric (and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle confirms this statement) did construct a monastery "in the town which is called Coventre," words which indicate that it was already so designated. Against any allusion to the earlier nunnery, it may fairly be argued that while nunneries were introduced into towns, a nunnery was an improbable origin of a town, and that a combination of the common British tre (identical with town) and of the Latin or English convent is unlikely at so late a period of the Saxon occupation.\* As a rule, the first parts of names are more ancient than their adjuncts, which are sometimes pleonastic. Camden himself hesitated, for after giving the optional derivation, to which we shall come presently, he proceeds to his description of the place with the preface "Well, whencesoever it was so called."

The second proposition reads thus:—"Yet there be (some) that would have this name to be taken from that little brook that runneth within the citie at this day called Shirburn, and (which) in an ancient charter of the priorie is written Cuentford." This little stream, like that a little below Procolitia, is composed of two streamlets. Not that I think the two streamlets at Procolitia compose the Northumbrian Con-vvent.

To me it is impossible to resist the junction of the British, and therefore earlier, part of this name Cuentford with the British tre, and identifying this name Cuenttre with the modern Coventry. And if, leaving Holland, we next turn to the valuable epitome of Leland's labours on our rivers—prefixed by Harrison to what is called the Shaksperian edition of Hollinshed's Chronicles (1577), and appearing in an altered form in the later edition of 1586—we find the course of the vein we have reached. Cursorily we drop upon the rivers Conwey, Colne (on which is Quenington, after the manner of our Tinningham on the Northern Tyne and Skerningham on the Skerne), Covine, flowing into the Severn, Queney, Kynel (giving name to Kenelsworth), Kensig, and Kent, with Kentmere, Colnehed, and Kendall upon it.

<sup>\*</sup> Neither convent nor covent is in Bosworth's Anglo-Saxon Dictionary.

There is, by the way, a little stream called Kent, which flows into the Tees near Darlington.

In such names we have ample explanation of some part of that of Conventina, Coventina, or Cowentina, and it is very interesting to observe the attempt of the local sculptor at Procolitia or thereabouts trying with his two V's to produce the sound of Gu or W found in Horsley's river Wentfar, near Norwich, wherein he thought that the name Venta of Venta Icenorum was "well enough preserved," as he puts it. This is on his page 443; and on his previous page 442 I observe the name Colnbrook in a distant locality. Before returning Horsley's volume to its shelf, let me note that he founds, on page 450, an argument upon an "if." "If (says he) Glanoventa signify a bank or hill near a river, ven or vent in the British tongue signifying a river \* " On the subject of W, Mr. Coote's page 33 may be usefully consulted. He states that "it had and has a sound always unknown to the whole of Germany and Scandinavia."

From these details I inferred that Conventina was the goddess of the South Tyne, and that her name is merely that of the Tyne combined with other Celtic matter, about which there may be more trouble in coming to correct conclusions

When I first delighted in my friend's suggestion, a difficulty arose about this combination in my mind which never ought to have arisen; for the poet of poets sings that "the lovely Bridegroome came,

"The noble *Thamis*, with all his goodly traine;
But him before there went, as best became,
His auncient parents, namely th' auncient *Thame*,
But much more aged was his wife than hee,
The Ouze, whom men do *Isis* rightly name."

So that Conventina was as likely a name as well could exist nigh a river. Before laying the splendour of Spenser down, one line must be quoted:—

"The Cle, the Were, the Guant, the Sture, the Rowne," and these lines must be referred to:—

"Then came the Bride, the loving Medva came, Clad in a vesture of unknowen geare And uncouth fashion, yet her well became."

<sup>&</sup>quot;On her, two pretty handmaids did attend."

This is an interesting coincidence, and coincidences sometimes give a clue to the inner spirit of artisans the most barbarous. There is a stone from Procolitia on which a superior water-goddess, pouring water from an urn, has two inferior ones as supporters turned towards her and doing the like.

From this stone it is clear that three streams were represented at Procolitia by three naiads, creating perpetually-running waters, of whom one was chief. Accordingly, on another stone, the chief goddess thereon, called Covventina, is similarly employed in her solitary glory.

Spenser's wonderful marriage of the Thames and Medway merely carries on an ancient and beautiful idea, adapted with singular delicacy by Scott when he speaks of the Greta meeting the Tees, and in rather an interesting way by the author of "The Marriage of the Coquet and the Alwine"—a little poem printed by the late Mr. Adamson among the Newcastle Tracts.

Bearing in mind the sleepy figure at Chesters (No. 148 of "Lapidarium"), representing the male genius of a river, I may be pardoned for a flight of imagination that there might be an old poetical notion that the guardian of North Tyne was masculine, that of the South Tyne feminine, and that they were wedded at the junction of their streams nigh Hexham.

That names of males or females are sometimes derived from natural objects cannot well admit of doubt. Even our sceptical Surtees (who served Sir Walter Scott out in his own coin), when he reaches Dame Luneta de Stretelum, is compelled to ask the question:—"Is it too romantic to suppose that this lady's Christian name, which has never occurred to me elsewhere, was formed from the river Lune?" Perhaps he might have been justified in asking, also, whether the final syllable did not allude to the first one of the name of the river into which that Lune flows, the compound name "Tu-esis," hodie Tees.

Taking up Mr. Coote's "Romans of Britain" again, it is well to note his instances of such names, and of nouns looking like female ones doing duty for masculine cognomina. Euphrates was accurately the name of a male, Ida of a female. Asella and various such names quoted were names of males in the time of the Empire. Lucæna, a Roman name, was that of an Anglo-Saxon burgess of Canterbury.

Memphis was both a man's and a woman's name. Both the Anglo-Saxons person called Æsica were males. The Ida of Bernicia was a male.

If, then, the North and South Tynes were each called Tina in ancient days, the name might be applied to a male divinity of North Tyne, to a female divinity of South Tyne.

That Conwent is not exclusively northern seems to be likely, remembering Coventry and the Covine. And here in the North we have evidences of Convent and Kent. Are there, in these forms, one word or two, used all over? Were these two words pleonastic? We cannot shut our eyes to Colne being distinct. We cannot shut our eyes to the existences of the river Wye, of the Conwey, of Dare and Der-went, and of Went-fare and Wents-beck.

Let me remind you of some general rules.

- 1.—There are certain primitive words relating to water which are met with alone.
  - 2.—These primitive words are, very frequently indeed, combined.
  - 3.—The combinations may be pleonastic, referring to one river, or,
- 4.—They may contain the names of more rivers than one. Taking Tame-Ouse in Thames, and Ouse-Eure in Isurium, as guides, it would appear that there was a practice of adding the name of a new-comer to that of the stream supposed to receive it.
- 5.—The new-comer sometimes supplants a larger stream as to name. Thus the great Missouri gives way to the less Mississippi, and the Eure gives way to the Ouse.
- 6.—On the other hand, sometimes the parent-river simply overrides the new-comer; sometimes for a period or for a distance it survives in conjunction with it. There is a pregnant passage in Harrison on this subject, as follows:—"Here, sayth Lelande, I am brought into no little streight, what to conjecture of the meeting of Isis and Ure, for some say that the Isis and the Ure doe meete at Borowbridge, which to me doth seme to be very unlikely, sith Isurium taketh his denomination of Isis and Uro, for it is often seene that the lesse ryvers doe mingle theyr names with the greater, as in the Tham-esis and others is easie to be found. Neyther is there any more mencion of the Ure after his passage under Borowbridge, but only of Isis and the Ouze in these dayes, although in olde tyme it helde unto Yorke itselfe,

which of Ure is truely called Urewijc (or Yorke shorte), or else my perswasion doth fayle me. I have red also Ewerijc and Yorwijc. From Borowbridge, the Ouze goeth to Aldbrough, and, receiving the Swale by the way, to Aldworke, taking in Usburne water from the south west, then to Linton upon Ouze, to Newton upon Ouze, and to Munketun, meeting with the Nydde ere long, and so going withall to the Readhouses, to Popleton, Clifton, Yorke, \* \* and so into Humber."

- 7.—From the foregoing passage, seeing that Isurium is above the junction of the Eure with Ouseburn, it appears that combined names may relate and work back to the entire main stream or a considerable part of it.
- 8.—Combined streams may, from their point of juncture, receive a new name. "There is," sayeth Harrison, "no ryver called Humber from the heade, wherefore that which we now call Humber hath the same denomination no hygher than the confluence of Trent with the Ouze, as beside Leland, sundry auncyent writers have noted before us both." Possibly the name of Eure did not anciently extend upwards beyond the junction of what, in the upper courses, is now also called the Eure, with the Cover.

If etymology can be admitted at all as quasi-evidence, it can, as I think with Hinde, only be admitted in a corroborative fashion. Brand seldom relaxes into a smile, but he seems to enjoy the varied derivations of Tyne. One authority made it "the extended river," another the "pent in" river, a third "a river formed of two rivers." The last derivation is possibly under the other circumstances deserving of as much attention as the other two derivations, but only as cor-From the marriage of the twin rivers at Hexham, the word "tyn," if it means "double," is proper enough for the main stream. Nor, as to the couple, need we resort to the dogma that this appropriate name might, under Rule 7, be extended to both of them, because it is applied to them after their union. Each of them was entitled to the epithet: North Tyne, from its junction with the Reed, South Tyne, from that with the joint stream formed by the twin rivers Allen; and then this joint stream itself might on the same principle well be called Tyne before it ran into the Con-vent. The facts (not to speak of the theoretic system) hardly justify opinions as to the name Tyne;

but there are at least three reasons for believing that, from time whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, the South Tyne was called Tyne, whatever might be the ancient name of the North Tyne:—

- 1.—The junction of one Allen with the other.
- 2.—The junction of the united Allens with the South Tyne.
- 3.—The occurrence of "Tina" in the name of the goddess worshipped nigh South Tyne.

Pardon may be given for repeating Brand's quotation from Drayton's *Polyolbion:*—

"I could, if I did please,
Of my two fountains tell, which of their sundry ways
The South and North are named, entitled both of Tyne;
As how the prosperous springs of those two floods of mine
Are distant thirty miles: how that the South Tyne named
From Stanmore takes her spring for mines of brass that's famed;
How that named of the North is out of Wheel Fell sprung
Amongst these English Alps, which, as they run along,
England and Scotland here impartially divide;
How South Tyne, setting out from Cumberland, is plyed
With Hartley, which her hastes, and Tippall that doth strive,
By her more sturdy stream, the Tyne along to drive;
How the Allans, the East and West, their bounties to her bring,
Two fair and full-brimmed floods; how also from her spring
My other North-named Tyne through Tyndall maketh in."

I now come, with much diffidence, to the application of what I may call evidences, differing, I admit, in degree of quality.

The name of Conventina contains three numerous and well-known pre-historic names, whatever they may mean, of streams which, using distant nomenclatures, may be termed the Colne, the Guent, and the Tyne, the latter being eventually deified in the form of a female goddess, with her attendant naiads, the Con and the Went; her name combining designations of three streams, as we have names combining those of two, such as Tame-Isis, Isis-Ure, Dare-Went, Wents-Beck, Con-Wye, Us-Wye, and so forth ad infinitum. To any certain marshalling the three in order, I do not, after many centuries, disguise the difficulties presented. I cannot presume to theorise as to whether the Ouse-Eure or the Team-Ouse formulary should be adopted; but

we have the fact that there is a tendency to euphonise n by converting it into l. "Colchester," says Horsley, "stands on the river Colne, and is owned to be Roman; and one would think that its name does much favour its being Colonia, which is the common opinion. I am rather inclined to think that Colonia is the British name Latinised than that it is the Latin appellative turned into a proper name, and given to the river." A curious and a fine question may occur whether when we find the Roman Corstopitum emerging as Colebridge (hodie Corbridge) we may not have had the ancient name of the river kept up through all revolutions. If the whole river was Colne in its earlier days, Colchester was exactly what one would expect to find as the name of the fortification where the travellers on Iter I. crossed a Colne.

The peculiarity of the spelling of the name of Corbridge was not lost upon our earlier antiquaries. After mentioning the flowing of the "Ridde" into the North-Tine "a little lower than Belindgeham" [his spelling agrees with present pronunciation], Harrison proceeds thus: "Beneath the confluence in like sort of both the Tines, standeth Corbridge, a towne sometime inhabited by the Romaines, and about twelve myles from Newcastell, and hereby doth the Corue run [alluding to the little stream which passes the mill west of the Roman station] that meeteth ere long with the Tine. Not far off also is a place called Colchester, whereby Lelande gesseth that the name of the brooke should rather be Cole than Corue; and in my judgement his conjecture is very likely, for in the life of S. Oswijn, otherwise a feeble authoritie, the worde Colbridge is alwaies used for Corbridg." It appears, however, from what is printed of Leland's MSS., that he only thought that "the pretty brook, where evident tokens were still to be seen of the old bridge, was called Corve, though the name was not well known," and, "by this brook, as among the ruins of the old town, is a place called Colecester, where hath been a fortress or castle."

Upon the same principle of n being apt to slide into l, and remembering how Dearnington became Darlington, but that the popular abbreviation Darnton survives, it seems probable that the township of Cownwood, or Coanwood, or Collingwood, in the parish of Haltwhistle, refers to the ancient name of one of the streams which it adjoins. Conventingwood, or Conningwood, would naturally become

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Collingwood. The Coanwood-burn runs through it, but this is only an inconsiderable rivulet, which might easily take its appellation from the land which, being a township, is necessarily of ancient date. It abuts upon the South Tyne itself. The only other word that may just possibly allude to the primitive appellation of the Tyne seems to be Condercum, the ancient name of Benwell.

If any of these resemblances to the first syllable of Convventina refers to that joint name, it must have retained and lost its rule over the whole course of what is now South Tyne and Tyne, just as a Went succumbed to Eure, which succumbed to Ouse, which succumbed to Humber, not without struggles as to the Went now Eure in Wensleydale, or the Eure now Ouse at York.

The present evidences of the second syllable of Con-vvent-tine are Taking the analogy of Isurium, we find the word in the tributary Darwent, and as b, f, v, w, and gu, are convertible, we may remember Benfieldside on the Darwent, and Benwell on the Tyne (the last being the Bynwhalle and Ad Murum of the Saxon, period, as it Much more interesting in connection with both Convventina and Glanoventa is the fact that, according to the late Mr. Bainbridge's careful description of the Maiden-Way, after leaving the proximity of the Roman station at Whitley Castle, it "passes through the meadows, towards the north-west corner of Wanwood-Bent large pasture on the other side of Gilderdale Burn," crosses that tributary of the Tyne, and at the other side, crosses "the corner of Wanwood-Bent pasture, in its course to the Roman station at Kirby-Thore, called Burwens, or Burrans," at which Mr. Bainbridge ended his survey. But the identity of the Vent and its junction with the Tyne before Wanwood is reached does not depend upon mere similarities of name. Harrison, in 1577, is precise in his language. "The South Tine (says he) ariseth in the Cheviote Hilles [meaning that continuation of what we call the Cheviots, which is now known as the backbone of England, and eare it hath gone farre from the head it meeteth with Esgyll on the east, and another rill on the west, and so going by the houses towards Awsten-moore, it joineth with Schud from by west, and soone after with the Uent from by east about Lowbiere; from Lowbier it goeth to Whitehalton to Kyrke-Haugh, crossing the Gilders-Becke, to Thornhope, where it is inlarged with a water on

eache side to William's-Stone." It is quite clear that here what is now the river Nent is intended by Uent; and in the old maps of Hond and Blome that river is called "Vent flu.," flowing past Lowbier, a place marked as opposite to Alston. In the form Nent we possibly have a trace of the last letter of Con; but we must remember that there is a river Nen elsewhere. The truth is, that considering the total disappearance of Beda's Denisesburn, whereon the British king, Cadwalla, died, which was only identified with Rowley-water by one insignificant charter, and the exclusive use of the name Tyne for many centuries, we could have felt no surprise had there been no traces whatever of Con and Vent on the river.

There is on the banks of the joint-stream Con-vent (the latter name having perhaps had a tendency to extinguish Con, just as Tyne extinguished both the antecedent syllables) a notable Roman station which, from no etymological surmises, but on totally different grounds, Mr. Hodgson-Hinde conceived might be Glanoventa. It is at present known as Whitley Castle. Mr. Hinde properly considered that etymology may be used "in corroboration of a conclusion otherwise probable, but is totally inadequate as independent testimony." "grounds of etymological affinity, not certainly vague or fanciful, but such as we cannot fail to recognise so far as this species of evidence is admissible," are elucidated by his allusion to the Notitia station of Longovicum being (in spite of Harrison's assertion that the Lane or Lune giveth name to Lancaster, and Spenser's "stony shallow Lone that to old Loncaster his name doth lend") placed at Lancaster, and Derwentio on the Derwent in Yorkshire. He never goes into meanings of words, but only into local identities; and so he, in support of Hodgson's views in his little book of poems written at Lanchester, points out as to Longovicum, that Lancaster is on the Lune, while the first syllable of Lanchester (Lang in our old records) is undoubtedly identical with the first part of Longovicum, and that there is a Derwent at Ebchester as well as one in Yorkshire. clear that he did not trouble with the reasons for these names. solution of the difficulty as between Vindomora and Derventio (which names, after all, may have something in common) is that the road of the Itinerary crossed the Derwent at Vindomora, more than 4-mile above the station Derventio of the Notitia at Ebchester. But all this

use of etymological resemblance was in conjunction with the probability, for other reasons, of Piersebridge being Magæ. even go further, and, all other reasons being favourable, point out, as to the large station of Piersebridge, and as to Moresby-on-the-Sea, that Maga was garrisoned by the Pacenses, and Glanoventa by the Morini, a seaside people, from whose port Cæsar sailed. The former corroboration may be allowable, but there is no river Venta at Moresby; and it does not follow that the seaside people could not defend an inland fort. So, again, in considering the rival claims of Ptolemy's Ituna Æstuarium (Solway Firth) and the mouth of our Tyne to the site of Tunnocelum on the sea coast, we must first consider the improbability that the compiler of the Notitia would, after proceeding from east to west, suddenly jump back to the east, and leave unnoticed the necessary precautions on the west coast against the Scots. After this, we may fairly use the circumstances that the Eden still flows into the Solway, and that Horsley considers that Ptolemy's river Tinna "is certainly Edin in Fife. Its situation between Boderia and Tava," says he, "proves this sufficiently; and the latter part of Edin seems to retain some of the ancient name, for D and T are oft interchanged."

Here again the meaning of words seems no more to have troubled Horsley's brain than it did Hinde's, when he was puzzled as to whether Iter X-which he had secured from Mancunium (Manchester) to Bremetenracum (Ribchester), and to Galacum (Overborough), on good itinerary and inscriptional evidences-went north-east to Whitley Castle, or north-west to Moresby, at one of which places he would place Glanoventa. So far as he uses etymology, he says:--"It is remarkable that Camden had some suspicion of the identity of Galacum and Overborough in consequence of the name of the rivulet on which the latter stands, the Lac, being incorporated in the Latin word. Whitaker has pointed attention to some Roman remains at a place called Borough, a little to the left of Horsley's direct line, which in point of distance would answer very well for Alone, which name, if we were disposed to give ourselves up for a moment to the hazardous guidance of etymology, might be rendered Ad Lonam, on the Lon or Lune, whose waters flow past the station." He did not attempt to distinguish between the varying explanations of Glanoventa, alias Glannibanta, and, singularly enough, he does not say that Venta had

occurred to him, as it did to Camden, who, just as he traced lac in Galacum, remarks that "Glanoventa in the British tongue signifieth the shore or bank of Venta," not troubling to explain what Venta means, but in his own way entering his notice of Glanoventa under the "Wents-beck," hodie Wansbeck at Morpeth, and modestly saying:-"Upon the banks whereof, I have thought this great while, whether truely or upon a bare supposall I know not, that in old time Glanoventa stood, which was fortified by the Romans with a garrison of the first cohort of the Morini, for defense of the marches, which the very situation doth, as it were, perswade, and the river's name, together with signification of the same, induceth mee to thinke. For it is seated within the raunge of the rampire or wall, even where the booke of Notices placeth it; the river's name is Wants-beck, and Glanoventa in the British tongue signifieth the shore or bank of Venta. Whence also Glanon, a city in France upon the sea shore, whereof Pomponius Mela hath made mention, may seeme to have drawn that appellation." In some earlier editions, Camden, who evidently thought that, wherever Glanoventa was, it must be on a river corresponding with Venta, gives the same etymology—combined with the occurrence of the letters VENT on a shattered inscription—as a reason for placing it at Burgh, a fort close to Banbrig in Wentsedale, as he spells the words. The occurrence of a second inscription, at the Burgh there, caused him to change his mind and to identify that camp with Bracchium, but the passage led me to observe that in the later edition he makes Baintbrig to be at the confluence of a little river called Baint (Beynt in 1228) with the Ure. - This confluence is thus noted by Drayton:-

" \* \* \* the Your,
From Morvil's mighty foot, which rising with the power
That Bant from Sea-mere brings \* \* \* \* "

Seamer-water is a remarkable lake, and the river Baint "with a great noise streameth out of it." One cannot wonder at its issue giving name to the upper valley of the Eure, and Wanless, and Wendsley or Wentsley upon it. The whole river is now called the Eure, until it assumes the name of Ouse. The case reminds one of the Tyne. But the chief interest lies in this direct example of Went and Bant being the same, though, even without it, no one accustomed to the converti-

bility of certain letters would hesitate to identify Glannibanta with Glanoventa.

Although he does not express it, I suspect that one difficulty was passing through Hinde's head in submitting Whitley Castle as Glano-He did not like to resist the conclusion that Brobonacae or Braboniacum was the station near Kirby-Thore. I admit that Braboniacum was in that part of the country, for both name and locality come, where they should come, after Lavatris on the Laver [observe the river again giving name to the station, and surviving it to the present day! ] that is Bowes, and again, after Verteris - which, we have no reason to doubt, is Brough. Still, looking at Dr. Bruce's map, and what camps have to be served with roads, it does not follow that Kirby-Thore was the precise locality of Braboniacum. On the other hand, it may be that the Maiden Way did not strike off direct from Kirby-Thore southward, any more than it did from Magna northward, and the same argument as to Braboniacum we may apply to Gallava. There may well be two Roman names near Kirby-Thore -not necessarily both names of stations-(as it is supposed that there were two names at Ebchester), or there might be two stations, as there are two railway stations at Darlington, with lines north and south through one, east and west through the other, there being no station at the crossing of these two lines, just as there are no traces of any fort at the distinct crossing at Wreckenton of the Roman roads from Newcastle to Chester-le-Street, and from Shields to Lanchester. Waiving, however, these intricate questions of crossings or runningpowers between two lines, other evidences are in favour of Glanoventa being Whitley Castle. Hinde's quiet explanation why Iter X might well begin there, and the northern part of the Maiden Way be ignored in an Itinerary, is in our "Transactions" (4to, Vol. III., p. 117), and the wonder to a numismatist would be that an iter did not begin there. Long after the Roman reign we know with what care our Edward I. reserved the mine and the miners of Alston-in other words, the silver mine called that of Cumberland or Carlisle-when, at the instance of his nephew Alexander, Prince of Scotland, he re-granted the manor to the Veteriponts. There was no possible reason why the silver should not go directly to Mancunium in the time of the Romans, instead of circuitously to Luguvallium (Carlisle). The road northward might be

useful for some reasons, but southward it would be what we would now call a good lead-road, and Iter X seems to be confined to this more important part. It is self-evident that some of our best known Roman roads, even when as well formed and paved as the Wreckendike, find no place in the Itinerary. So also we find, by the complete disappearance of roads clear and perfect in the last century, how little dependence is to be placed on the mere presence or absence of remains of such works.

It forms no part of my paper to investigate the history of the North Tyne. If Tyne means double, the north stream is by the junction of two powerful streams at Reedsmouth fairly entitled to the name, and if it does not, there is nothing peculiar in the proximity of two rivers of the same name. Beyond the early appellation of Tindale for its territory, I have no other evidence as to its name Tyne. its name was of two or three syllables, the form of the syllable preceeding Tyne cannot admit of much doubt. The river rises in a part of the mountain range which probably gives the origin of a numerous northern family, and which in the old maps is termed "the Belles." Let us now take up Harrison again. "The Tine (says he) ryseth of two heades, whereof that called North Tine is the first that followeth to be described. It springeth up above Belkirke in the hylles, and thence goes to Butterhawghe (where it receiveth the Shele), thence to Cragsheles, Leapelish, Shilburne, Yarro, Smalburne, Elis, Grenested, Heslaside. Billingham, and at Readsmouth taketh in the Reade. After the confluence it passeth to Leehall, to Carehouse, crossing Shillington rill by west." All further that I shall do as to North Tyne is to remind you of Cilurnum, Chollerton, and Chollerford, in hinting that the Shele of North Tyne corresponds with the Vent of South Tyne.

The likeness of the names of rivers and of the places, Venta or otherwise, to which they give name, is really an endless subject, and I must refer you to the whole of the pages of Horsley, and those of other honest, even if mistaken, authors. The proximity of rivers bearing the same name, or varieties of it, is remarkable, but I suppose that the inhabitants would simply talk about going down to the water for meat or for drink, and have as little communication with their neighbours, or the world at large using the same practices, as their conquerors would have.

For instance, we would hardly expect to find Alston at the junction of Con and Vent, and Ale-burn flowing into their joint stream which receives the combined two Allens arising at no great distance from the head of Ale-burn, Alne being so prone to become Ale, especially in composition. So also we should hardly expect to find so near the origin of Convventina, another river "called Ken," which "cometh from Kentmeres Side," and leaves "Colnehed Park by east." I again quote Harrison.

I only wish that some one would attempt to work out an archæological subject of such interest. We appear to arrive at the substratum of some language of which comparatively modern evidences are but secondary proofs, and that he could complete his task, and save his successors poor Harrison's perplexity. "For (says he) so motheaten, mouldye, and rotten are those bookes of Lelande which I have, and besides that, his annotations are such, and so confounded, as no man can in maner picke out any sence from them by a leafe together, wherefore I think that he dispersed and made his notes intricate of set purpose, or else he was loth that any man should easily come by that knowledge by readyng, which he, with his great charge, and no lesse traveile, attained unto by experience."

P.S.—Just as I deemed it fit to prefix certain sentences to my original paper, I deem it right to say, as an appendix, that as an out-of-the-way writer on Coventina and Glanoventa, I was not aware of some western labours partly bearing upon the appropriation of Glanoventa and Gallava. The *Gentleman's Magazine* was a most useful publication for antiquaries at large before the societies and archæologia, and tracts and journals, and rival magazines, and "notes and queries," and papers, and speeches, and lectures, which have destroyed it, were invented. I have to bend to the miserable result, and seek for needles in numerous bottles of hay as best I can.

With Mr. Hinde's first thoughts in placing Glanoventa on our northern Venta at Whitley Castle we may agree, and from its exceptional circumstances, I take it that no more interesting excavation could take place than that of the singular station so called.

The suggestions that Coccium is at Wigan, and that Bravonacae is at Brougham, deserve careful consideration, and their acceptance, if justifiable, would remove difficulties. I regret very much that Mr.

Just's intended survey of the Kirby Thore district has not been made; and I think that it is my wisest course not to disturb my cautious language. The detached but celebrated inns of Catterick Bridge and Rushyford may not have passed out of the minds of the surviving travellers on the Great North Road which passes them, Iter I., as it may truly be called at Cataractonium.

P.S. II.—The frequent independence and obliteration of the stony made-ways of the Romans near their stations, and the consequent difficulties experienced by Mr. Maclauchlan and others in determining the course of an Iter at those points, may have arisen from several circum-Those which may naturally occur are:—(1) The dislike, in all ages, of some suburban, and, to a certain extent, of some urban, residents to a noisy thoroughfare being too close to their dwellings. (2) The need of a moderately open space outside of the station walls for military works or operations, for it is not to be supposed, from the siege of Troy downwards, that a great keep would be resorted to, and the enemy allowed to bring his means of attack up to the very walls. in the first instance. (3) The imprudence of providing the enemy with a good road for such a bringing of munitions of warfare either sooner or later. (4) In an emergency the roads, even though at a reasonable distance from a station, would be torn up against the foe; and that the stations were needed at one period, and were sometimes eventually attacked and destroyed, is obvious from the very fact of the construction of them, and from the evidence at such places as Lanchester of the flames by which they occasionally perished.

In connecting Conventina and the three urns on one of the sculptured stones at Procolitia with streams, no attack is made upon the sanctity of the well at Procolitia, or the votive character of a few at least of its long series of coins, some of the earliest of which seem to be the finest among them, and very unlikely to have been in circulalation at a late period of the Empire, before which the decreased weight of the money would have a tendency to doom any rubbed heavy coins to the melting-pot. That the coins found, or the bulk of them, whether taken off the furniture of the shrine, or, in some other way, valuable chattels of public or private bodies or individuals, were not originally in the well, but suddenly hurled with the altars, seems

to be likely enough. Against the obvious suggestion to the mind accustomed to the later English coinages and discoveries of hoards of their produce, it may with great propriety be argued that this island could hardly be largely the seat of Roman coinage, and probably not at all. so until a comparatively late period; and that the small coins then struck were not of the splendid metal of which the earlier and larger brass coins are composed, either here or abroad, a fact opposed to the idea of recoinage here, or exportation of the coins themselves or the melted brass to be reminted. Just as our remodelled sovereign soon went for twenty-one shillings and was called a guinea, and the practically inferior value of the inferior money of some of the Scottish Stuarts and the English Tudors necessitated a reform, the circulation of the old coins might continue with a much greater value for them comparatively. The difficulties of the votive theory which presented themselves to Mr. Roach Smith were the enormous number and the generally worn condition of the coins. To any quondam churchwarden the poverty of the offerings may not be a surprise; and the elevation of Coventina to the rank of goddess of an important river, and of her well to that of an object of pilgrimage for all the Tynesiders of the time of her worship, decreases the difficulty of number. Still these points are difficulties, and the purely votive theory requires the belief in a possible but not probable idea that the goddess's priests, beyond being honest, were transcendently conservative, not only keeping the offerings unspent, but keeping them in the precise state in which they were presented; although, as one would think, they and their establishment must have become more exile in revenue every year as the old beliefs of the west were sinking in consequence of the introduction of modified ones from the east. From every aspect, if it be conceded that the mass of ancient brass coin was sufficiently valuable to be taken care of, one question still remains: Did it belong to the station of Procolitia, or to the temple of Coventina? The officers concerned, civil or ecclesiastical, would, upon any flight, intend to return to their deserted premises. Which body was most able to carry treasure? Which could best subsist without it? And why was there no attempt made to regain it? Was one party, or were both parties, strictly honest, superstitious, reverential, or archæological, looking to future fortunes, or to the beliefs or information of future men?

It certainly requires strong faith in human virtue to answer the last question in the affirmative. With such strange problems before me, I have thought it right to show my utter inability, after much thought, to solve the perplexities about the find. extent, as to time, of the contents of this find, reminds one of that in the mineral waters of Vicarello, near Rome, where the offerings are stated to have begun with æs rude, and to have run through the Republic and the Empire. As to why Convventina was especially worshipped at this particular well, one might just as well ask why the well at Stockton, in the chapelry of St. Thomas and parish of St. Mary, was St. John's Well, and what real connection there was between the sanctity of the well at Jesmond and St. Mary? Whether religious or civil commotion caused the final deposit in the well at Procolitia, can perhaps never be more than a matter of conjecture. In any case ancient reverence would prompt it. Such reverence long survived, and as this is a Northumbrian case, it is proper to write a reminder that one of the evidences is, that in the North of England the enclosure around a sacred stone, tree, or fountain, as on the Continent, seems to have become, or always had been regarded as, a sanctuary or place of frith or peace, like the substituted frith-stols in churches. In the Anglo-Saxon law of the Northumbrian priests this remnant of heathendom is expressly condemned in these words:-"If there be a frith-geard on any one's land, about a stone, or a tree, or a well, or any folly of such kind, then let him who made it pay lah-slit (a species of mulct), half to Christ, half to the land-rica (or lord of the soil); and if the land-rica will not aid in levying the fine, then let Christ and the king have the bote." The offence was not confined to Northumbria. The canons enacted under King Edgar ran parallel:-"We enjoin that every priest zealously promote Christendom, and totally extinguish all heathendom; and forbid well-worshippings, and necromancies, and divinations, and enchantments, and man-worshippings, and the vain practices which are carried on with various spells, and with frith-splots, and with elders, and also with various other, trees, and with stones." There is another very similar and puzzling word, but as it also occurs in the law of Northumbrian priests, in a clause other than that already quoted, it would appear to be distinct from frith. The other clause in those laws imposed a fine, to be

divided between Christ and the king, against any one that should "practise any heathenship either by sacrifice, or by firhte, or in any way love witchcraft or worship idols." So also the laws of King Canute forbade all heathenism, and defined what it was:—"Heathenism is that men worship idols; that is, that they worship heathen gods, and the sun or the moon, fire or rivers, water-wells or stones, or forest trees of any kind, or love witchcraft, or promote morth-work in any wise; or by blot, or by fyrht; or perform anything pertaining to such illusions." The continuous or temporary existence of a belief, true or false, once formed and approved, is a subject which has perhaps hardly received due attention.

It may be a nice question of chronology as to which of two brains, both friendly to mine, the solution of the meaning of the last syllable of Coventina, in which solution the three brains agree, was primarily presented. No searching and earnest enquirer is indisposed to waive his original ideas, or attempts to adhere tenaciously and untruly to them. It is interesting, but not astonishing, to know that Mr. Roach Smith, our veteran Roman antiquary (who, as we were, was rather startled with Tyne-born Coventina) had, before he read my paper developing Mr. Clephan's view as to the third syllable, and my own as to the two previous syllables of the name, himself suggested in the part (now in the press) of his valuable "Collectanea Antiqua" that the final syllable referred to the appellation which has long been that of the Tyne in its two fair branches, and of the noble joint stream. Premising that I have received his kind communication of what rough proof of his struck-off sheets had remained with him while my postscript II. was lying elsewhere in uncorrected type, I think it best to determine, whatever it or my paper may contain, to leave in their present plight all suggestive questions of detail, about which antiquaries may agree to differ, while their respective minds are quietly disposing of them in attempting to bring their general conclusions to a tolerably perfect bearing.

"Never wait to ask if you may print letters of mine."

## P.S. III.

"Strood, January 13th, 1879.

"My dear Sir,—I am obliged by your kindly sending me your paper, which, of course, you will print in the "Archæologia Æliana." It is full of sound reasoning. You will not be disgusted to find that I have printed (Vol. VII., C.A.) very briefly my notions of the etymology of Coventina, in which I make the tina of Ptolemy the very basis of my argument, as years ago, I did with "Tunno-celum." The con-vent I have said and take to be equivalent with con-fluo, a coming or flowing together. I gave up the foreign Con-venæ (much the same thing) on account of the tina, which I believe to be something more than a common feminine ending like that in Faustina. I am sorry I did not know there was another of the same opinion as myself. I was glad with the chance of placing upon record the fact that you, I, and Mr. Blair walked together from Chesters to Procolitia. I shall be pleased if you find anything of interest in the impressions of the seals I send with this.—Believe me, yours very truly,

C. ROACH SMITH."

-SPENSER.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Next these came Tyne, along whose stony banke
That Romane Monarch built a brazen wall,
Which mote the feebled Britons strongly flanke
Against the Picts, that swarmed ouer all,
Which yet thereof Gualsener they doe call:
And Twede the limit betwixt Logris land
And Albany: and Eden though but small,
Yet often staind with bloud of many a band
Of Scots and English both, that tyned on his strand."