

THE WESTERN STATIONS.

BY MR. W. H. D. LONGSTAFFE. READ MARCH 26TH, 1879.

THAT Banna is Bewcastle, Camboglans Cambeck-Fort, Petriana Old Carlisle, Aballava Papcastle, Congavata Moresby, Uxelodunum Ellenborough, and Tunnocelum Bowness, are identifications which have, for varying reasons, presented themselves to other minds. These may, judging from the words in the Itinerary—"a limite, id est a vallo," and again "a vallo," applied to the stations far north of the actual barrier—fairly be deemed to be "per lineam valli." Continuous works do indeed reach to Moresby on the west, and to Tynemouth on the east, and it is interesting to observe that the Lingones occur at both places. The words of Camden (placing in his margin, "The sea side fenced"), are:—"From hence [*i.e.* from Egremont, to which a road from Papcastle led] the shore, drawing itselfe backe little and little, and as it appeareth by the heapes of rubbish, it hath beene fortified all along by the Romans, wheresoever there was easie landing. For, it was the outmost bound of the Roman empire, and the Scots lay sorest upon this coast and infested it most, when, as it were with continuall surges of warre, they flowed and flocked hither by heapes out of Ireland. And certaine it is that Moresby, a little village, where is a roade for ships, was one of these fortifications. For there are many monumentes of antiquity, as vaultes under the ground, great foundations; many caves, which they use to tearme Picts'-Holes." Then, after mentioning "the carcasse of an ancient castle, called Papcastle," in which the celebrated font of Bridekirk was said to have been found, the topographer crosses to Workinton, and informs us that "from

hence some thinke there was a wall made to defend the shore in convenient places, for foure miles, or thereabout, by Stilico the potent commander in the Roman state, what time as the Scots annoyed these coasts out of Ireland. For thus speaketh Britaine of herselfe, in Claudian :—

“And me likewise, at hands (quoth she) to perish, through despight
Of neighbour-nations, Stilico fensed against their might,
What time the Scots all Ireland moved offensive armes to take.”

“There are also, as yet, such continued ruins and broken walles to be seene as farre as to Elne-Mouth.” This notion may have elements of truth in it. That Stilicho, not necessarily during his own sojourn here, did *something* in the way of fortifying Britain is obvious, and his works were not confined to the west coast. I take up a newer translation :—

“When the Scot moved all Ireland to my doom
And hostile oars lashed all my waves to foam,
This is his work—that I no longer fear
The *Pict*, nor tremble at the Scottish spear;
Nor watch the doubtful winds around my coast,
Lest they should waft in sight the *Saxon* host.”

“The Book of Notices,” which tells us “what legion binds the Saxon, which the Scot,” shows how the south-east Saxon shore, and the Linea Valli (against the Picts, a non-maritime power, on the east, and against the Scots of Ireland, necessarily a naval power, on the west,) were guarded. Very little attention is paid to the rest of Britain. The Roman protectorate was dying. And now comes the question :—Who were the Attacotti? the nation thought worthy of being recorded as one of the four nations that extinguished that protectorate or empire or whatever we may like to call it, seeing from Ptolemy and the history of Boadicea that the natives were distinguishable into districts. Had these Attacotti had anything to do with the making of what is now called the Vallum? That Hadrian had, like Stilicho, something to do with what we call the Wall, seems to be clear from documentary evidence on parchment and on stone, but while one party thinks that the Vallum was the earlier work, and that its northern rampart was a well laid-out road, the other party naturally objects that

there are blocks of stone which unfit that rampart for the purpose of a road. Taking the ordinary idea that, for some "why or wherefore," it was thought to be judicious to do what Hadrian's successor, Antoninus Pius, thought it unnecessary to do against more northern tribes, more dangerous, one would think, than the acquired southern ones, how is it that the Vallum is left in such a strange state? But, as to these Attacotti, doctors differ. Baxter places them in the south-west of England, Hughes in the present Scotland. Neither doctor attempts to identify them with Ptolemy's *Attrebatii*. The evidence about them is of the sparsest description, and one would not like to give a decision on the construction of Ammianus's words under the year 364:—"The Picts the Saxons also and the Scots and the Attacotts." I purposely use no punctuation. The Picts lived north of the Frith of Forth, the Saxons lived in Sleswick-Holstein, the Scots lived in Ireland. But where were the Attacotti living? I quote the same author again under 368:—"The Picts in two nations divided Dicalidons and Vecturions and also the Attacotts a bellicose nation of men and the Scots," Gaul being disturbed by Franks and Saxons. I again avoid punctuation. Jerome, about 393, speaks of having, in his youth, in Gaul, seen the "Atticots, a British race," feed upon human flesh, and gives some details as to their particular joints, much reminding us of our Christmas beef. Shepherds and shepherdesses keeping kine and swine in the woods appear to have been their temporary prey, and, apparently, they resembled the Africans in their habits of cutting steaks without sacrificing life. This grave theologian proceeds to the matrimonial usages of the Scots and brings in Plato and Cato. Once more, under 400, he mentions the rite of the Scots and Attacotts and Plato. And he has an exceedingly interesting passage about the Alpine and Scottish dogs and Cerberus.

Now this scarcity, if the *Notitia* are complete, of Roman garrisons in England at the time of the compilation of these Notices, is most instructive. Either the interior was entirely in the hands of the Attacotts or some other enemies, or it was thoroughly rebellious, or it was not rebellious and required no guarding. The whole tone of the history, as it presents itself to the mind, is that the Romans, bad as they might be [see Gibbon], were not unwelcome emperors or protectors, and I adhere to the original ideas which I entertained on the appear-

ance of the Survey of the Roman Wall that the Vallum is considerably later than the murus or its earlier ditch, and to those of Robert White that the murus would be built much after the manner of a Gothic cathedral, with broached stones at Ouseburn, and plain stones elsewhere, the design, useful or useless, having to be carried out.

Leaving the Roman Wall, I return to the independent works in its neighbourhood.

There are many delicacies and honesties about Horsley's "Britannia Romana," especially near the close of it and of him. In introducing the independent works, he says:—"I have taken some notice of the out-buildings at Walwick-Chesters between the fort and the river. I might have added, that these buildings seem to have been continued near the river lower down than the fort. I have also said that the shorter military-way from Carvoran has terminated eastward at this station. I should rather have said only, that it came up to this station; for I am now of opinion that it has been farther continued, 'till it reached Watling-Street." As to this final opinion there can be little doubt about its accuracy. Two camps had to be served on the way, and the Devil's Causeway, running from Berwick, crosses Deor Street or Watling Street at an angle, falls into Stanegate and provides access to the four "independent stations," Little Chesters and Carvoran in Northumberland, and Castlesteads and Watchcross in Cumberland. These, like Carlisle itself, all lie south of the works now called the Wall.

Glannibanta and other stations, though kept up by the Romans in the deadly times of the *Notitia* for some reason, probably in connection with the "linea valli," seem to constitute a distinct series, and it will be remembered that in earlier days Glanoventa abruptly commences Iter X. without any mention of the limes, limit, or leam:

My humble task will be to attempt to justify the identifications mentioned at my commencement, and to comparé the evidences in the hope of detecting Gabrosentum and Maia.

I have, without regard to scale, roughly coloured an ordnance map of Cumberland, simply as to the succession of *civitates*; but, in dealing with the Rudge Cup and the *Notitia*, I thought that it might be desirable to delineate roughly the Roman roads, observed or traditional. Not having minute local knowledge, it would be absurd to illustrate

my subject by more than simple straight lines. The blue line represents the arrangement in the *Notitia*, the red one that on the Rudge Cup and the Chorographia of Ravennas. The dotted brown lines show the roads merely as to their general courses, not as to their details. From Banna on the way to Axelodunum, and from Amboglanna to Aballaba, the two routes to a considerable extent might have been identified. But for clearness I preferred to keep them as distinct as possible. The courses of the roads are, however, in connection with the main subject, of much interest, and I have ventured by a black line to indicate how to a certain extent the two systems may coincide. The two names common to these two systems are Axelodunum and Aballaba. The consideration of the various iters may well be deferred, but as Glannibanta and Alione of the *Notitia* are clearly identical with the Glanoventa and Alone of Iter X., I have further ventured to extend my blue line to those places, and to indicate the road from them to Bremetenracum or Ribchester.

Come we now to Amboglanna, because one cannot help feeling that the range from its neighbour Banna to Maia is earlier than that of the *Notitia*. We cannot reject the evidence of the Rudge Cup, whatever we may think of copies of writings.* The corroboration by the Rudge Cup of the value of the Chorographia of Ravennas with all its corruptions is striking when the two evidences are seen side by side; and the Chorographia, for many reasons, deserves the most careful dissection. Here is a little piece of it:—"Juliocenon, Gabrocentio, Alauna, Bribra, Maio, Olerica, Derventione, Ravonia Bresnetenaci Veteranorum." I have, and other people may well have, notions about the items of this passage. I cannot bring them into any reasonable order. Possibly, although not widely separated, they have none, and they must not disturb our present progress.

Commencing with Ainboglanna, and taking the names on the Rudge Cup inversely, there have been discovered at that station now called Burdoswald, a stone commemorating the Bannian hunters and a piece of pottery reading reversely Banna. There being no pretence to justify an identification of Banna with Amboglanna, but considering

* "May of Lambton (sayeth Surtees) does not occur elsewhere" than in Bishop Kellaw's grant of an approvement, meadow, made from the waste by "Maia de Lambton [Leam-town]. Of course, this strange companionship of names connected with Roman localities is accidental.

the proximity of the two places, and that a road has been distinctly traced between them, we can have little hesitation in indentifying Bewcastle with Banna. Whether there was a direct road from it to Cambeck-Fort, or travellers had to avoid the hunters' forest by coming round by Amboglanna, is a question left to local observers.

The next station, omitted by the Chorographia of Ravennas, possibly from its insignificance, is Camboglans, and here one of the four independent stations, on the Cambeck, anciently Camboc, seems to have claims, seeing that it is on the right route, until the contrary shall be shown. The next is Uxelodum, probably approached by the ascertained road through Petriana, and manifestly the Uxeludianum of the Chorographia and the Axelodunum of the *Notitia*. The name evidently refers to water or waters and to a hill. From the numerous inscriptions by the First Cohort of the Spaniards there can be no doubt, that Ellenborough is Axelodunum. The name, probably, is compound or pleonastic. Ax or Ux is intelligible enough, El may well be the Elne, and as to Dunum we may take the site.

Harking back from the sea-coast, we come to Aballaba, which is placed at Papcastle on the authority of an inscription mentioning the Aballavensian Frisons; some Vinovian ones identifying Vinovium with Binchester, had other proof of identity been wanting. It is noteworthy that a Roman road from Aballaba to Egremont passes by Frisington:

We now have to seek for Maia south of Papcastle, and in doing so we arrive at a remarkable fortress, which "from its situation appears evidently to have been made with a view of guarding one of the principal passes from the west coast into the inland country" (Bishop of Cloyne), and probably to have been connected with an occupation of the mouth of the Esk which rises near it. "Two rivers," says Holland's "Camden" of 1609 (Camden dying in 1623), "very commodiously enclose within them Ravenglass, a station or roade for ships, where also, as I have learned, were to be seene, Roman inscriptions: some will have it called in old-time Aven-glasse, as one would say, the blew river, and they talke much of King Eueling, that heere had his court and roiall palace. One of these rivers named Eske springeth up at the foote of Hard-knot (nere Wrinose *in the margin*), an high steepe mountaine, in the top whereof were discovered of late huge stones and foundations of a castle not without great wonder, considering it is so

steep and upright, that one can hardly ascend up to it." Hodgson observes that "Castle seems to have been the designation of a station in Cumberland—Chesters in Northumberland" (ii. iii., 222). Holland was not a Cumbrian, but the phrase *castle* for a *camp* occurs in Halliwell's "Dictionary of Archaic Words," and Holland was not unaware of its continuance in Cumberland, having elsewhere to speak of "the carcasse of an ancient castle, called Papcastle, which by a number of monuments laieth claime to bee a Romaine antiquity." So he uses the word for both ancient and modern bailies, as did his master Camden the word *castrum*. Speed, in the first edition of his maps, notes the Roman character of this castle, under Cumberland, in a passage worth quoting:—"Many memorable antiquities remaine and have beene found in this countie: for it being the confines of the Romans' possessions, was continually secured by their garrisons, where remaine at this day parts of that admirable wall built by Severus: also another fortification from Workinton to Elns-mouth, upon the sea-shoare toward Ireland, by Stilico raised when under Theodosius he suppressed the rage of the Picts and Irish, and freed the seas of the Saxon pyrats. Upon Hardknot Hill, Moresby, Old Carleil, Papcastle, along the Wall, and in many other places, their ruines remaine, with altars, and inscriptions of their captaines and colonies, whereof many have beene found, and more as yet lie hid." Bishop Gibson can have had no personal knowledge of the place as he surmised that the stones were "possibly the ruins of some church or chapel," built on a mountain, as in Denmark, and as both nearer Heaven and more conspicuous. All doubt, if any were justifiable, as to the Roman nature of the castle on Hardknot Hill, is unavailing against the clear evidences in Hutchinson's "History of Cumberland." Nicholson and Burn, in their otherwise excellent book, do not seem to mention it. But, in 1791 or 1792, E. L. Irton, Esq., and Mr. H. Serjeant had it excavated and surveyed, and the valuable results of their labours, showing a full-sized Roman station, "with a great many fragments of brick, apparently Roman, which must necessarily have been brought from a great distance," will be found in Hutchinson's History, i., 569, with the information that at the outside of the eastern gate there appeared to be preserved a space of about "two acres," used perhaps for a parade and military exercise. On the north of this plot was an artificial bank of stones,

“having a regular slope from the summit,” near which, on the highest ground, were the remains of a round tower. From some works adjoining this, the road “is continued along the edge of the hill to the pass, where it joins the highest part of the present road to Kendal, from which road this fort, on the west side of Hardknot Hill, then known to the country people as Hardknot Castle, was about 120 yards to the left.” The importance of this commencement of the group of stations, receives corroboration from “the broken battle-axes of flint, arrow-heads, and coins of different people—many of them Roman, and some Saxon,” found at Walls Castle, near Ravensglass.

In this singular and skilfully-formed station, which was “as nearly square as the ground would admit,” the irregularity of the position of the four gateways (all of which were flanked by two turrets) being owing to the ground also, the walls were of “the common fell stone,” except the corners (in which were turrets) and the arching of the gateways, both of which items were of freestone. There is no freestone nearer than Gosforth. In 1792, all the corners had been robbed of their material for neighbouring buildings, and when Lysons visited the remains in 1813, “no part of the walls was to be seen standing; the stones having been thrown down on both sides formed a high ridge, which, in a spot more favourable to vegetation, would have long since been covered with turf. There did not appear to have been any mortar used in the walls.”

The “esplanade at the distance of 150 yards, formed with much trouble, for the exercise or review of troops,” as the Bishop of Cloyne puts it, is very interesting in connection with the sequence of fortresses under our consideration; for Lysons has this note:—“A broad pavement of flat stones, intended probably for the same purpose, was found a little out of the gate at Cambeck Port, on the Wall [Camboglans], when that station was destroyed in 1791.”

We now may consider the *Notitia* series. Leaving the Wall at Amboglanna, Banna and Camboglans being practically useless and unnoticed, we soon meet with an Ala Petriana in a quarry nigh Lanercost, which valuable cavalry, under the same name, has occurred at Old Penrith, and with the honourable addition of Augusta at Carlisle, both places being on the Petter-rill. They were clearly the wing of the west at the time of the *Notitia*, and instead of taking the

name of their city, like the Dictenses, or Aballavensian Frisons, or the Vinovian Frisons, seem to have been the Petrian wing at the Petrian city to which they had given name. At this, their final resting place while in Cumberland, they have left numerous inscriptions, omitting the name by which they were known on out-service, and while at home in Petriana content with their dignified designations relating to the generic Augustus, and some particular Augustus. Old Carlisle appears to have been particularly suitable to a movable body such as theirs was. Holland, as to it, makes his author to read thus:—"Beneath this abbey [Holme Cultram] the brook called *Waver* runneth into the said arme of the sea, which brook taketh into it the riveret Wiza, at the head whereof lie the very bones and pitifull reliques of an ancient citie. The neighbours call it at this day Old Carlisle. . . . The situation to discover and descry afar off is passing fit and commodious, for, seated it is upon the top of a good high hill, from whence a man may easily take a full view of all the country round about. Howbeit, most certaine it is, that the wing of horsemen, which for their valour was named Augusta, and Augusta Gordiana kept residence here." I think that I should like to put upon further record that Camden, in this district, was indebted for copies of Roman inscriptions to "Oswald Dikes, a learned minister of God's word." Some people may blame Oswald Dikes, incumbent of Wensley, for desiring to be buried under the magnificent brass of Master Simon of Wensley, rector of Wensley. Oswald Dikes's modest memorial on the same stone does not offend *me*.

From Petriana the *Notitia* sequence proceeds to Aballava, *hodie* Papcastle as aforesaid, and then goes to Congavata, *hodie* Moresby, where the second cohort of the Lingones have, in accordance with the *Notitia*, left their mark. Then the course turns along the coast, for we come to Axelodunum (Ellenborough) again. And we must again follow our noses to arrive at Tunnocelum, taking Gabrosentum on our way.

There is a general notion, and perhaps it is rightly founded, that while the east coast is gradually sinking, at a rate more slowly possibly than that at which the ancient animal, the chalk producer, in fossil or in living times, performed and is performing his inevitable work, the west coast is rising. That the east coast has been sinking is obvious to anybody who knows the history of the destroyed churches and

villages of Yorkshire, who seeks in vain for the capacious harbour of the Wear, or is accustomed to the submerged forest ranging from Seaton to Whitburn at least. Whether the west coast is really rising may admit of doubt. Before approaching Tunnocelum (Bowness) we, having to find Gabrosentum on our way, will refer to a perplexing page of Holland:—"The inhabitants at this day call it Bulnesse: and *as small a village as it is, yet hath it a pile*, and in token of the antiquity thereof, besides the tracts of streetes, ruinous walles; and an haven now stopped up with mud; there led a paved high way from hence along the sea-shore, as far as to Elen-Borough, if we may relie upon report of the by-dwellers. Beyond this a mile (as is to bee seene by the foundations at a nepe tide) beganne that Wall, the most renowned workes of the Romans, which was the bound in times past of the Roman province; raised of purpose to seclude and keepe out the barbarous nations, that in this tract, were evermore *barking and bayning* (as an ancient writer saith) *about the Roman empire*. I mervailed at first, why they built here so great fortifications, considering that for eight miles or thereabout there lieth opposite a very great frith and arme of the sea: but now I understand, that at every ebbe the water is so low, that the borderers and beast-stealers may easily wade over. That the forme of these shores hath bene changed, it doth evidently appeare by the tree-rottes covered over with sand a good way off from the shore, which oftentimes, at a low ebbe, are discovered with the windes. I know not whether I may relate here, which the inhabitants reported, concerning trees without boughes, under the ground, oftentimes found out here in the mosses, by the direction of deaw in the summer: for, they have observed, that the deaw never standeth on that ground under which they lie."

If this were the plight of Bowness, we cannot feel surprize at Gabrosentum lying under the waves and sands of the Irish Sea. As Hardknot Castle had to be protected by Ravenglass, Papcastle by Moresby and Ellenborough, Carlisle by Bowness, so would Old Carlisle have to be. The nature of its own garrison, a flying body of cavalry, never very persistently within its walls, would necessitate particular attention to the custody of its stores, and the provision of them against the Scots of Ireland. We need, therefore, feel no surprize at the mouth of its river being well guarded, and emerging from the dim

ages as a port continuing to be of consequence, and used for purposes resembling those of its Roman days. Save a solitary inscribed stone figured in the "Lapidarium,"

"Not even the ruins of her pomp remain;
Not even the dust they sank in; by the breath
Of the Omnipotent, offended, hurled
Down to the bottom of the stormy deep."

Even the later "chappel of the Grune," which stood aloof from the new Skinburness as the church stands aloof from the modern Newbiggin, has disappeared. The dismal story of the last days of Gabrosentum may be best told in the simple words of Nicholson and Burn:—"In the year 1301, Bishop Halton being informed that the inhabitants of the village or town near the port in Skinburnese were at a great distance from all manner of divine service, grants a power to the abbot and convent of Holme Cultram to erect a church there. The town of Skinburnese was at this time not only privileged with a market, but seems also to have been the chief place for the king's magazines in these parts for supplying the armies then employed against the Scots. But the case was most miserably altered very soon after. For, in 1305, we find it thus mentioned in the parliament records: 'at the petition of the abbot requesting that whereas he had paid a fine of 100 marks to the King for a fair and market to be had in Skinburnese, and now that town *together with the way leading to it* is carried away by the sea, the King would grant that he may have such fair and market at his town of Kirkby Johan instead of the other place aforesaid, and that his charter upon this may be renewed; it is answered, Let the first charter be annulled, and then let him have a like charter in the place as he desireth.'"

And yet, as, past the forgotten Lavatris, the Laver floweth still, by its old name, so past the sunken city of Gabrosentum the ancient stream which conferred that appellation preserves its own to the present day. It seems to have been generally assumed by antiquarians that the first part of the name refers to the caprine species, and seeing that the same word is repeatedly found in application to rivers in the forms of Waver, Babren, Wever, Bever, and Wiver, Lloyd has to explain the circumstance in this fashion:—"Some rivers are metaphor-

ically denominated from the nature of their current, as *Gavr* or Goat from its frequent leaping, in time of flood, over a great number of large stones and precipices, down from the Glyder to the Lhan-Beris in Carnarvonshire." If this is the case with the Cumbrian Waver, the idea was a likely one to have arisen in the minds of those who sojourned upon the river which flows from that forest the goats whereof attracted Drayton's attention. Our word Waver, having a Saxon origin, can hardly be brought to bear, notwithstanding the sharp turns of this Waver, and those of the Wiver "then the which," Harrison "reade of no river in England that fetcheth more or halfe so many windlesses and crincklinges." The names of natural objects, however, deserve to be studied, without regard to comparatively modern forms of languages. Old Carlisle itself is upon the Wiza (Ouse?), which flows into the Waver, a name sufficiently archaic to have produced the designation of a township upon it, Waverton.

We thus arrive at Bowness, an exceptional station in the West, as Tunnocelum, by a process different from that of Horsley. At this particular point, the *Notitia*, before proceeding to Iter X. at Glannibanta, rests, and the Eden, her "sweet lovely self, a river so complete," was considered to end:—

"That mighty Roman fort, which of the Picts we call,
But by them near those times was styled Severus' wall,
Of that great emperor named, which first that work began,
Betwixt the Irish-sea and German-ocean,
Doth cut me in his coursé near Carlile, and doth end
At Boulnesse, where *myself* I on the ocean spend."

Drayton also chooses to end his wonderful "Polyolbion" at Solway Frith. "Under this Burgh [on the Sands], within the very frith (says Holland's 'Camden') where the salt water ebbeth and floweth, the English and Scottish, by report of the inhabitants, fought with their fleetes at full sea, and also with their horsemen and footemen at the ebbe . . . : This arme of the sea both nations call Solway-Frith, of Solway, a towne in Scotland, standing upon it. But Ptolomee more truely tearmeth it *Ituna*. For *Eden*, that notable river, which wandereth through Westmorland and the inner partes of this shire, powreth forth into it a mighty masse of water, having not yet forgotten what a doe it had to passe away, strugling and wrestling as it did,

among the carcasses of freebutters, lying dead in it on heapes, in the yeare of salvation 1216, when it swallowed them up loden with booties out of England, and so buried that rable of robbers under his waves." The Eden in Fife, it will be remembered, is considered by Horsley to be, clearly, Ptolemy's Tinna. As to the latter part of Tunnoceleum, there may fairly be a diversity of opinion. The junction of the Eden and the *Solway* cannot be overlooked, on the other hand while this *ocelum* is represented by *Bowness*, Ptolemy's promontory of *ocellum* is represented by *Holderness*. As you are aware, I only use etymology as secondary or corroborative evidence of what may, irrespectively of it, be probable, and I offer no opinion on the questions arising when we have arrived at Tunnoceleum.

. "From hence the shore, shooting out, buncheth foorth as farre as to the Promontorie *Nesse*." (Holland's "Camden," 451).