

XIII.—THE RUDGE CUP.

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[Read on 29th May, 1935.]

I. GENERAL ACCOUNT : BY J. D. COWEN.

Among students of Roman Britain in general, and those of the Wall in particular, the name of the Rudge Cup is almost a household word. It is, however, doubtful whether more than a very few could give even the most meagre account of what it is, or any account at all of the circumstances under which it was found, and how it comes to be at Alnwick. On an occasion when it is proposed to treat of this remarkable object *de novo*, and in some detail, it seems desirable first of all to recapitulate what is known of these matters.

The Rudge Cup is a small bronze bowl, of simple hemispherical form, which in its original state was decorated over the greater part of the exterior surface with *champlevé* enamel in various colours, now, however, for the most part wanting (plates XXVIII.1, and XXIX). Thus far there is nothing about the bowl of outstanding note. Quite a number of similar bowls with equally elaborate enamel ornament are, as we shall see, known both from this country and the continent. What gives the Rudge Cup its unique character, and is the cause of its fame, is the presence immediately below the lip of a band of lettering, constituting an inscription of the highest interest to students of the topography and nomenclature of Roman sites in the north of England. All the difficulties to which



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Fig. 1. THE RUDGE CUP.



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Fig. 2. THE HILDBURGH FRAGMENT.

the inscription gives rise are difficulties of interpretation; the reading of the letters themselves is certain, and runs as follows:

A.MAISABALLAVAVXELODVMCAMBOGLANSBANNA.

As is well known, this line must be read as a list of place-names. That the sites recorded lie in the north of England, and in part at least on the Roman Wall itself, is proved by the presence of *Camboglans*, which may unhesitatingly be identified with the *Amboglanna* of the *Notitia*, the accepted Roman name of what is to-day Birdoswald. But the attribution of the remainder, and the connection between the whole, has given rise to a literature of its own. These topics, and the significance of the inscription in a wider setting, are to be considered afresh in the second part of the present paper.

Though its open mouth and general conformation would make the cup a serviceable one to drink out of, its small size counts against such a purpose, unless, indeed, we imagine the contents it was designed to hold to have been of the highest rarity, or of the most formidable potency. Much more likely is it to have been a sweetmeat dish, or maybe a cruet for salt or vinegar. But whatever the precise nature of its intended contents, of this at least we may be certain, that it did not stand alone but formed one of a set. In this respect it finds an exact parallel in those small and specialized forms of samian ware (Dragendorff 27 and 33), which appear to have been regularly made up into standard sets, and whose use, whatever it may have been,¹ may certainly be equated with that of the Rudge Cup. But the formal proof that the cup belonged to a set is provided by the well-known Vicarello goblets—a group of four silver vessels of a cylindrical form resembling imperial milestones, found in 1852 in the reservoir, or spring, of the *Aquæ Apollinares*, the ancient

¹ It is to these two forms that names such as *acetabulum*, and others, have been attached, but the identifications are not regarded as established.

mineral-water baths at Vicarello, thirty-four miles from Rome.² This set is furnished with inscriptions, repeated more or less identically upon each vessel, recording the stages of the itinerary from Cadiz to Rome. It is precisely such a truncated inscription as these that is provided by the Rudge Cup (see below, part II). And it is, to say the least, a fair inference that our cup did once in fact form part of a complete and regular service for the table.

The suggestion of a religious or ritual intent, as for pouring libations, seems ruled out by the obviously secular character of the inscription, while Bruce's explanation as a record of the stages of a pilgrimage,³ though recognizing the main feature of the text, is beside the mark.

Though it is over two centuries since the event, the discovery of the Rudge Cup was the result not, as might have been expected, of a chance find, but of a systematically initiated excavation. In the year 1725 a farmer working at a place known as Rudge Coppice, near Froxfield (six miles east of Marlborough in the direction of Hungerford), came upon some remains which appeared to be those of an early civilization. The discovery being notified to the earl of Hertford, president at that time of the Society of Antiquaries, he gave orders that the place be excavated under proper supervision, and the work was carried out forthwith. The site proved to be a villa of the Roman period, and a fine tessellated pavement was uncovered. At the same time the excavators found and cleared out in the immediate neighbourhood of the villa a well, in which among a mass of débris, including remains of Roman date, was preserved intact the enamelled bowl ever since known as the Rudge Cup.⁴

² They are preserved at Rome in the museum of the Collegio Romano. References will be found in most of the publications noted below which appeared after 1852.

³ *Alnwick Castle Catalogue*, p. 140.

⁴ A nearly contemporary account of the circumstances is contained in a letter of the antiquary Lethieullier dated 25 May, 1726, in which he gives Lord Hertford's own description of the discoveries of the previous

The suggestion has more than once been made that the discovery of the cup in a well with a number of other objects of Roman date may indicate that it was thrown in as a votive offering to the deity of the spring. This was undeniably a common practice in the Celtic world, and the suggestion has found special favour in the north owing to the discovery of the undoubtedly votive hoard recovered from the well of Coventina at Carrawburgh. The deposits of similar character found at one of the sources of the Seine (Côte d'Or), at the warm springs of Pyrmont in Westphalia, at Bourbonne-les-Bains (Haute Marne), and again the Vicarello find, all lend support to this not unattractive suggestion. But the nature of the remainder of the material got from the well must—as Bruce has observed—effectively dispose of any such notion. This consisted of “several bones of beasts, four, or five human skeletons, and some medals of the lower empire.” There is nothing whatever to suggest that the well was invested with any sacred character, while the presence of the animals' bones argues strongly against it. How the cup found its way into the well we shall never know, nor, with the votive idea once disposed of, are we much concerned. The absence of other articles of value of anything like comparable date seems to rule out the hypothesis of intentional concealment. It may, of course, always represent an accidental loss such as might happen at any time and place. More picturesque, however, and perhaps on the whole more likely, is the possibility that it went down concealed on the person of one of those unfortunate skeletons, whose presence in such a place can only be attributed to a scene of violence.

The lord Hertford on whose initiative the excavations were made was an enthusiastic and enlightened patron of science and antiquity; he was president of the Society of

year. The letter was first published from the Lethieullier MSS. by Colt Hoare (*Ancient Wiltshire*, vol. II, p. 122), and has since been several times reprinted.

Antiquaries from 1724 till his death in 1750. Taking his seat in parliament in 1722 as baron Percy, he succeeded his father as seventh duke of Somerset, and was created earl of Northumberland in 1749. The cup being, accordingly, the property of this peer, in whose possession it was when Horsley saw it a few years after the discovery, passed on his death to his daughter and heiress Elizabeth Seymour, baroness Percy, later first duchess of Northumberland, and in the unbroken possession of the family it has remained ever since.

But if the custody of this important relic has never been endangered, the knowledge of its whereabouts appears nevertheless at some period during the first half of last century to have been lost to the learned world. Colt Hoare indeed in 1821 stated that it was still preserved by the duke of Northumberland, though whether he ever saw it is another question. At all events nothing more was heard of it, and "the traces of its preservation had for some time been lost" when Albert Way, who was a personal friend of Algernon, the fourth duke, recognized it at Northumberland House. He was just in time to secure its inclusion in the great loan exhibition arranged by him at Edinburgh on the occasion of the visit of the Archæological Institute in July, 1856. And on 1 May, 1857, the cup was exhibited before the Institute in London, when Albert Way himself sketched its history, and emphasized the rarity and importance of the piece.⁵ There can be no doubt that it was Way who suggested the removal of the cup to Alnwick, for he was the duke's adviser in all matters of archæology, and was in fact the man to whom the formation of the Alnwick Castle Museum was above all others due. In that collection the Rudge Cup remains, being no. 746 in Bruce's *Catalogue* of 1880.⁶

⁵ *Catalogue of Antiquities, Works of Art, etc. . . Exhibited at Edinburgh, July, 1856*, ed. A. Way (1859), pp. 58-9 fig.; and *Arch. Journ.* XIV (1857), 282-4.

⁶ *Catalogue of the Alnwick Castle Museum*, no. 746, pp. 139-40, with coloured plate. The account there given, as it is the latest formal

By good fortune the cup had been discovered just in time to come under the notice of Horsley, and it was he who in the *Britannia Romana* (1732)⁷ had the satisfaction of first publishing it to the learned world. From that day forward a literature of its own has accumulated around this fascinating object, and casual references to it may be numbered in scores. It is not intended here to review this *corpus* of learning. Such part of it as is concerned with facts has been summarized above. The remainder, involving the element of criticism, is almost wholly conjectural; the greater part of it is to-day quite out of date; and a portion must even at the time of its appearance have run grave risk of inclusion under the title of nonsense. Here it will suffice to mention, besides Horsley and the notices already cited, only Colt Hoare's formal publication in *Ancient Wiltshire* (1821),⁸ and the relevant entries in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (1873)⁹ and *Lapidarium Septentrionale* (1875).¹⁰ In both of the latter a useful bibliography will be found, while the combined indices of 1897 and 1925 will supply references to what has appeared on the subject in the publications of our own society.

Now it is true to say that throughout the whole literature of the subject interest has lain almost exclusively on the *epigraphic* side. Indeed we know of no more than one passage—and that a recent one—in which the Rudge Cup is considered *as an enamel*. In 1932 Dr. Françoise Henry included the cup in her survey of enamelling in

discussion of the piece and stands unchallenged, may legitimately be considered as a statement of views still current. It contains, however, opinions which in the light of our present knowledge are no longer acceptable.

⁷ Pp. 329-31, plate N 74—opp. p. 192.

⁸ Vol. II, pp. 121-3. Plate opposite p. 122.

⁹ *C.I.L.* VII, no. 1291.

¹⁰ *L.S.*, no. 416, fig. Of the several reasonably accurate drawings published this is the best. The coloured plate in the *Alnwick Castle Catalogue* alone gives some idea of the original splendour of the piece, but it should be noted that while the *disposition* of the colours there shown is probably correct, the *shades* as reproduced are too pale, and should be much deeper.

western Europe, which appeared in *Préhistoire*¹¹ under the title *Émailleurs d'Occident*. An attempt is there made¹² to find it a place in the general series of Roman provincial enamels; and it is pointed out that if the identification of the names in the inscription with sites on or near the Wall is correct, the cup must have been made in Britain. But although nothing we shall have to say will controvert Dr. Henry's placing of this enamel, which is on the contrary confirmed, she would herself be the first to admit how slender is the evidence on which her conclusion rests, and how tentative that conclusion is.¹³ The value of her essay to us lies rather in the firmly grounded sequence of fashions in enamel work there established, and we shall have occasion constantly to refer to it. It is, moreover, a nice vindication of her judgment that the production of evidence hitherto unpublished goes to establish the correctness of an attribution, both in time and place, based rather on intuition than on evidence, and proposed under all due reserve.

It is the chief object of the present paper thoroughly to examine the Rudge Cup from this hitherto neglected point of view, that of technique and ornament, and on the evidence thus afforded to determine, so far as we are able, the date and the place of manufacture of this extraordinary piece, topics on which, in this country at all events, no opinion has yet even been offered. In so doing we shall have occasion to present, for purposes of comparison, more than one piece of which the existence has not hitherto been noted. This occupies the remainder of part I of the paper.

At the same time it seemed desirable that in order to complete the record, opportunity should be taken of bringing up to date our views on the epigraphic aspect of the question, the more so since, as has been indicated above,

¹¹ Tome II, fasc. i, pp. 65-146.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 116.

¹³ Even had the comparative material which is here brought forward been at her command, a full discussion of its bearings would, of course, have been out of place in a survey covering so wide a field.

much of what has already appeared in print on this topic is quite fantastic, and most of it is obsolete. This task Mr. I. A. Richmond has consented to undertake, and his discussion of the inscription constitutes part II.¹⁴

The cup may be formally described as a small bowl of bronze, 4 inches in diameter by 3 inches high, of somewhat flattened hemispherical form, with a slight concave moulding at the lip, and bead-rim base. The bottom, which is known to have been formerly associated with it, is now missing, and there are one or two small holes in the side of the bowl. The greater part of the outer surface is covered with *champlevé* enamel in red, green and turquoise blue, now largely perished, the design being disposed as follows:

1. A band of lettering reading as noted above. The letters stand up in relief on an enamel ground; they are robustly formed, and decisively executed. That they are the work of a practised hand is shown by the even spacing and absence of confusion where the two ends join. The letters have marked, if clumsy, serifs, and the open Λ is used.

2. The body of the cup is covered with the representation of a fortification consisting of a wall strengthened at regular intervals by crenellated turrets. The presentation is purely conventional, and the schematic manner in which it is conceived is further emphasized by the treatment of the surface, which is entirely covered with rectangular panels of enamel calculated to give the impression, rather than a faithful rendering, of coursed masonry. The spaces

¹⁴ Our warmest thanks are due in the first place to Dr. W. L. Hildburgh, F.S.A., for the generous loan of the enamelled fragment from Spain, which forms a part of his valuable collection, and for his welcome permission to retain it for purposes of study over a period of some months. For the photographs with which this paper is illustrated we are indebted to the kindness and skill of Mr. Parker Brewis, F.S.A. The drawings have been executed at a personal expense of considerable time and trouble by Miss S. H. Noble, of Armstrong College. And finally we must acknowledge the helpful criticism of our collaborator, Mr. Richmond. To his suggestions are due many of the points made in the course of part I.

between the turrets are filled by a purely decorative element consisting of pairs of crescents set back to back, with additional crescents, in the same manner but of smaller size, above and below. Further crescents similar to the last are to be found in pairs in an "inverted" position on the face of the fortification on the line of junction between the wall and the turrets. The colouring is deep turquoise blue and a shade of green now difficult to determine, arranged in alternate cloisons so that the same colours only touch diagonally. The outline of the upper edge of the turreted wall forms a continuous band of some prominence, and is picked out in red.

The nature of the turrets with their crenellated tops in bronze relief against the enamelled background is quite unmistakable, and will be further supported in the course of this paper. It is, therefore, extraordinary that the significance of the design, highly stylized as it is, has not long since been pointed out. Yet this is the first occasion on which the observation has been made. We may, however, we believe, go a step further, and taking the design in conjunction with the inscription, we may fairly claim that on the Rudge Cup we have the only contemporary representation of the Roman Wall known to have survived to our times.

The form of the bowl is not uncommon. Enamelled bowls of the same general character are known from a wide area, and fall into two groups, one probably of Belgian, the other of British manufacture. It is to the British series that the Rudge Cup most closely approximates. This bowl group consists of cups from Braughing (Herts) and Maltboek (Jutland), and a *patera* from West Lothian.^{14a} The fine handled vase from one of the Romano-British burials at Bartlow Hills (Essex), though not strictly a bowl, shows so many points of similarity that it must

^{14a} The precise place of discovery is not more closely specified. It is also known as the Linlithgow *patera*. The Maltboek piece is an obvious stray from the Roman world.

belong to the same school.¹⁵ Both in form and technique¹⁶ it is this group which supplies the closest analogies to the Rudge Cup, and we regard it as immediately antecedent to the subject of our enquiry. The group is remarkably homogeneous, and is undoubtedly the product of a single workshop. On the two cups and the *patera* the details of the design—the so-called olive wreath, the ivy scroll, and the backgammon dentellation—are practically identical,^{16a} while on the Bartlow vase the ivy scroll is replaced only by a modification of the vine. But note that of these decorative motives common to the Braughing group, not one is found on the Rudge Cup. There is here a gap to be bridged to which we shall have to return. The group is dated to the first half of the second century, probably towards the latter part of the period; the precise grounds for such dating will be further discussed below.¹⁷

To the enamelled bowls of the Braughing group there fall to be added a smaller and poorer specimen from

¹⁵ The primary publications of this grand group of enamels are as follows:

Braughing: PSA² IV (1870), 514, fig.

Maltboek: MSAN, 1866-71, 151-57. Coloured plate opp. p. 151.

West Lothian: PSAS XIX (1885), 45-50. Coloured plate opp. p. 46.

Bartlow: *Arch.* XXVI (1836), 300-17. Plate xxxv (coloured), opp. p. 310.

All four are conveniently illustrated together on one page by Dr. Henry, *op. cit.*, fig. 25, p. 112. In his recent discussion of the West Lothian *patera* (PSAS LXVI (1932), 302-6, fig. 14), Dr. James Curle felt obliged to leave open the question of the country of origin of this group. We believe that Dr. Henry's review of a wide range of material disposes of this point, and that the bowls in question may be accepted as British manufactures.

¹⁶ Note the serrated edge of the bronze setting, designed to key the enamel, common to the Rudge Cup and bowls of the Braughing class. The quality of the enamel, too, is the same.

^{16a} PSAS LXVI, *loc. cit.*, fig. 15.

¹⁷ The dating supported by Dr. Curle (*loc. cit.*), which is somewhat earlier than our own, has much to recommend it on stylistic grounds, but is against the evidence of associated finds, such as it is. It may be that the whole series of bowls, British and Belgian, should be dated about a generation earlier than Dr. Henry is inclined to make them, and that would result in a longer period for the development of the Namur school. But in any case the *sequence* here proposed is in no way affected.

Harwood (Northumberland), and a curious example found at Bingen, on the Rhine.¹⁸ The Harwood cup appears to be a later and degenerate copy of bowls of the Braughing class, perhaps by a different and slightly later school specializing in small objects with a distinctive form of scale pattern.¹⁹ That from Bingen is less easy to place. In the matter of form it is perhaps the closest approximation to the Rudge Cup of any, and the all-over pattern of rectangles seems to bring it into a close relation with the English piece on which the rectangular cells are so prominent a feature. Yet it is the writer's opinion that the relationship cannot be a close one. The indolent uniformity of design on the Bingen cup, amounting to nothing more than a complete coating of enamel held in place by a framework of the simplest possible quadrille formation, is in strong contrast to the admirably planned arrangement on the cup from Rudge. The proportion of the rectangles is different, a subtle distinction but not without its significance. While most damaging of all, the colour scheme is fundamentally distinct, the blues and white of the one having nothing in common with the red, turquoise and green of the castellated design. Judging from photographs alone, the quality of the enamel, too, *appears* to be different from the British paste, of which the somewhat coarse texture and bold application is readily distinguishable from the thinner, if neater, product of the Namur workshops, with its slick, almost machine-made, finish, and narrow cell divisions. It is a reasonable explanation of this curious piece that it is a foreign copy of a British cup similar to that from Rudge, made either in Belgium or in some as yet unidentified centre on the Rhine. In any case the Bingen cup is an isolated find; it leads to a comparison with no other enamels; it is of no assistance

¹⁸ Harwood: *Arch. Ael.*¹ IV, (1855), 102, fig.; Henry, *op. cit.*, fig. 27.11. Bingen: Lindenschmit, *Alterthümer*, III, i, 4, no. 4; Henry, *ibid.*, fig. 28.2. The Harwood cup is in the British Museum; that from Bingen in the Louvre.

¹⁹ Dr. Henry's "southern school II"; *ibid.*, 116.

in the matter of dating; and in spite of a specious resemblance to the object under examination, it may be dismissed from the argument.

Bowls of the continental group referred to above, of which the type example is the beautifully preserved specimen from the cemetery of La Plante, Namur, have a deeper bowl with stronger mouldings.²⁰ Their ornament consists of a severely compartmental decoration arranged in pentagonal panels, with a double outline forming round each panel a deep border, within which runs a simple continuous scroll motive, without doubt a debased version of the vine and ivy scrolls we have already met in the British group. Their associations do not provide a close dating, but they appear to stand at the head of that great development of enamelling in the Belgian workshops which resulted in the production of a mass of small objects obviously attributable to a single source, and including the charming, if somewhat stereotyped, animal brooches so common on Roman sites all over the western Empire.²¹ Dr. Henry does not in terms narrow down the chronological field, but it is her opinion that the bowls are contemporary with the British ones, and she remarks on the apparent lag in fashion between our own country and the continent in this, as in so many other periods.²² But though this is a criticism which for obvious reasons we must often—and inevitably—accept without rejoinder, in this case it seems to us unfounded, and in the course of this essay reasons will appear for our belief that the Belgian bowls are in fact subsequent to our own, and to some slight extent influenced by them. If this view is the correct one, the Belgian group will take a natural place in the second half of the second century. At all events the character of their ornament clearly cuts them off from the

²⁰ The four known examples are illustrated on one page by Dr. Henry, *ibid.*, fig. 30, p. 120.

²¹ It is to the same centre that we owe the countless small objects decorated in the *millefiori* technique; but that is not our concern here.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 122.

Rudge example, to the development of whose design they can have made no contribution.

But if the form of the cup is sufficiently well known, when we turn to the details of its decoration the position is reversed. Among the published material the lettering and the castellated scheme are absolutely, and the rectangles and crescents virtually, without parallel. It will be well, therefore, at this stage to introduce one or two fragments, hitherto unnoticed, on which these features do recur, and of which one at least is a document of first class importance.

In the collection of Dr. W. L. Hildburgh, F.S.A., there is a fragment of enamelled bronze (plate xxviii.2)²³ bought by him in Barcelona, when he was informed that it had been acquired from an itinerant collector working between Leon and Zamora, and almost unquestionably found in that district. In its present condition no more than a shadow of its former self it is now simply an irregularly shaped plaque of metal covered with sinkings for enamel, almost all of which has fallen out. That it has been reduced to its present form by the hammer is clear from the marks on parts of the surface; but conclusive evidences of its former shape are the segmental outline of the lower edge, and the long cracks, widening towards the top, which run down from the mutilated upper margin. As it is, a distinct curvature remains, but if the edges of these cracks were to be again brought together a bowl-like form would at once ensue; and all that is needed to complete the picture of its original state is the circular bottom which (as in the Rudge Cup) has dropped out, and a margin at the lip which hard usage has knocked away.²⁴

²³ At present exhibited in the Loan Court of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

²⁴ It has also been slightly trimmed at the edges with a chisel. The narrow margin which remains above the enamelled portion shows no signs of any sinking for an inscription, such as appears immediately above the turreted design on the Rudge Cup. A series of incised marks are, however, distinctly to be seen on the small fragment of this zone which is preserved. On the strength of a certain resemblance to the

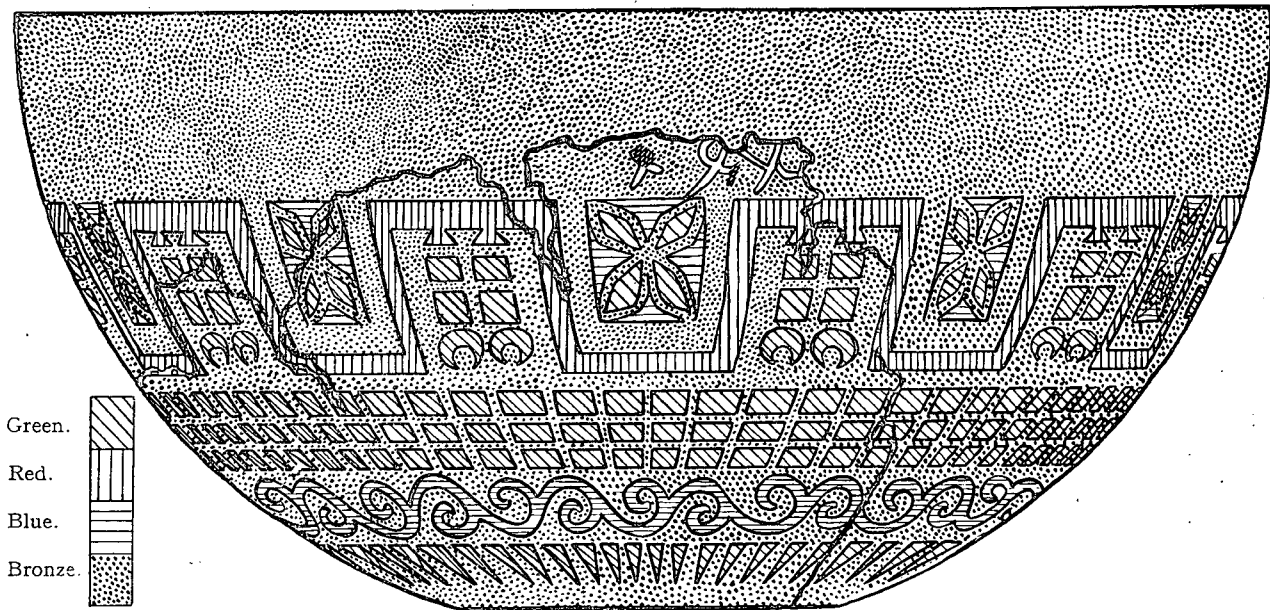


FIG. I.

Reconstruction of the Hildburgh bowl. (Approximately $\frac{1}{2}$.)

A reconstruction of the original appearance of this fragment is given in diagram form in fig. 1,²⁵ while on plate xxviii it is shown side by side with the Rudge Cup. The resemblance, amounting almost to identity, is self-evident. The same castellated "wall," built of the same rectangles, and with the same crenellated turrets, again dominates the design. The spaces between the turrets are somewhat differently filled up, but we must not omit to notice the distinctive pair of inverted crescents at the springing of each of the turrets. The colours and their disposition are very similar; two shades of green alternate in the rectangles, while the same in-and-out red line runs continuously through the pattern. Here beyond question is a true parallel for our cup, and it is the only one. It is certainly from the same workshop, if not actually by the same hand.

If, however, we have no more comparable cups in the same style we can at all events produce two further fragments of the same school. Of these, which are pieces of identical

debased lettering which appears on Hispano-Moresque vases of the later Middle Ages, it has been suggested that these may represent an Arabic inscription added by Moorish hands some centuries after the arrival of the piece in Spain. We are, however, assured by Mr. John Allan, F.S.A., Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, that an Arabic interpretation is out of the question. We accept the obvious view that they are no more than the remains of a repeated criss-cross pattern of which too little is preserved to allow of reconstruction.

²⁵ The details of the reconstruction were worked out by Mr. Richmond, under whose supervision the drawing was executed. It is worth observing that he found the measurement of the central girth of the cup (not necessarily its diameter), which he calculated from the diameter of the base in conjunction with the remaining curvature of the sides, after making allowance for the cracks, *exactly* agreed with the measurement yielded by a sufficient repetition of the pattern to complete the circle—on the legitimate assumption that the lay-out of the original was accurate. The margin of difference was in the strict sense infinitesimal. This argues for a high degree of accuracy in the curvature of the cup as shown in the restoration. No attempt has been made to produce an *imaginative* restoration of the lip. The form as shown results simply from the unmanipulated production of the line of curvature to a depth sufficient to cover the greatest probable extension of the margin. The lip was probably finished in at least some slight hollow moulding, and a beaded rim.

objects, one already published has not received the attention it deserves,²⁶ while the other has not previously been noticed. Both in the Black Gate collection, they were discovered on the Roman site of the Lawe, at South Shields, and are two fragments of a form of bronze object whose use we have not been able to determine (fig. 2).²⁷

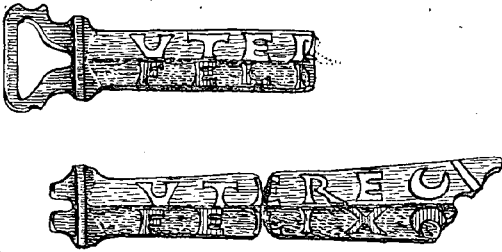


FIG. 2.

Bronzes with enameled inscription: South Shields (†).

Their interest to us in the present context is that both are inscribed with the words *VTERE FELIX*, the letters being sunk into the surface of the bronze and filled with enamel, alternately red and green. These are the only other examples of *inscribed enamels* we have been able to trace.²⁸ Further than that, not only is the form of the lettering identical with that on the Rudge Cup, but the end of the line is filled with a crescent of exactly the same form as

²⁶ *Arch. Ael.*² X (1885), 260, fig.

²⁷ The fragment already published has been regarded as the handle of a small vessel, *Arch. Ael.*³ XVII (1920), 12. This suggestion, never a very happy one, is conclusively ruled out by the formation at the narrow end, which is now supplied by the recognition of the second fragment. The loop is similar to what is found on a number of strap-tags, many of which were probably used on harness to carry small pendants, and the rivet-hole in the body of the tag would be congruous with such a purpose. But the tapering form of the shank would be unusual in an object of this class, and in such a context the inscription seems quite out of place. The words imply rather a definitive utilitarian purpose, as of a tool or implement, than purely decorative use. Under the circumstances we have no useful suggestion to offer, and can only wait till a more complete example comes to hand.

²⁸ Dr. Henry and M. F. Courtoy, curator of the Archæological Museum at Namur, have both been kind enough to confirm that no inscribed enamels are known to them in the continental collections.

those on both the Rudge and Hildburgh cups. Here again we may feel confident that we are in the presence of products of the same workshop.

We are now in a position to attempt, by an analysis of the individual motives in the decoration of the Rudge Cup, to place it in the general series of Roman enamels with somewhat greater precision than has yet been possible.

In the first place as to the lettering; as already indicated, the only other enamelled inscriptions known are the two fragments from South Shields, but as these are unassociated finds and do not belong to a datable type, they are not of much assistance. In so far as they are from Shields they might be held to support a northern manufacture, but it must not be forgotten that Shields was a sea-port and emporium, and has produced a number of undoubted exotics. The content of the inscription affords no evidence of date, though it may be regarded as supplying conclusive evidence of manufacture in this country. The form of the lettering cannot be pinned down closer than to a general second-third century dating.²⁹

The crescents are an unusual feature; they recur on the Hildburgh and South Shields fragments, but that, in conjunction with other features, only proves identity of origin. The only possible outside parallel seems to be the lid of a small circular box, or pyxis, from Silchester,³⁰ on which four crescents of a like form appear in conjunction with a disintegrated olive wreath of the type already noted on the Braughing bowl group. It is on the latter ground, no doubt, that the box-lid is attributed by Dr. Henry to the same workshop as the Braughing group.³¹

²⁹ *Ex inf.*, I. A. Richmond:

³⁰ Henry, *op. cit.*, fig. 27.5.

³¹ Somewhat similar crescentic forms appear on the Thames altar-plaque (*B.M. Guide, Roman Britain*, pl. ix; Henry, *ibid.*, figs. 24.5, 26.1), but their form is not clear-cut, and in any case no argument can be founded on the fact, as the date of the plaque cannot be regarded as settled. Dr. Henry argues (p. 110 and note) for a comparatively early date, but the evidence is anything but conclusive, and previous authorities have accepted Riegl's "late" (fourth century) dating.

The rectangles appear again on the Hildburgh piece, and in variant form on the Bingen cup, already discussed. We know of no others on which the rectangles appear in comparably massed formation, but the motive has a previous history. Its origin is to be found in the ladder pattern first seen in Gaul on an ornament from the Febvre collection (probably from Burgundy)³² and on a terret from Le Bouissonet.³³ In Britain it makes an early appearance in the Seven Sisters hoard, Neath, Glamorgan,³⁴ and was taken up by the north-British enamellers, who constantly used it in the decoration of the head-stud and dragoesque brooches.³⁵ Starting as quite an insignificant element in the design, in which it appears in a strip formation, it gradually takes an increasingly important part in the decoration of the whole. On the head-stud brooches it is almost the sole source of decoration, so that it is no surprise to find it used on a still larger scale on the Rudge and Hildburgh cups, the less so inasmuch as the motive is appropriate to the representation of a wall surface.³⁶ This tendency increasingly to cover the whole surface with rectangles is a good reason for placing the Bingen cup, on which it is reduced to an all-over quadrille pattern, at the end of the series. This view of the development, if correct, also yields us an approximate date for the Rudge Cup, since the *floruit* of the head-stud brooch is the second quarter of the second century. The Rudge Cup would

³² Henry, *ibid.*, fig. 22.1.

³³ *Ibid.*, fig. 22.3.

³⁴ Leeds, *Celtic Ornament*, pl. II, 4, 5.

³⁵ See e.g. *B.M. Guide, Roman Period*, fig. 61; *London Museum Catalogues, London in Roman Times*, fig. 28, no. 25.

³⁶ The possibility must not be overlooked that the rectangular treatment of the wall surface is due to direct inspiration from the models from which the whole idea of the turreted fortification is derived—namely the mosaic pavements of the first and early second centuries. The transference would be a natural one, but we believe that on any view of the matter the way was prepared, in so far as technique and workmanship were concerned, by the contemporary development of the ladder motive on the lines here indicated. The history, therefore, of that development remains in either event very much in point.

thus fall about the middle of the century, and the Bingen cup in the second half, just prior to the great outburst of activity in the Namur workshops, before they had developed independent ideas of their own, and at a time when they were prepared to adopt ideas from abroad as a basis for their work.

The regular alternation of the simple wall and its turrets gives rise to a rectilinear "in-and-out" profile which has been compared to a crenellation, though it is not so in the strict sense in which the tops of the turrets are crenellated. It approximates rather to a simplified key-pattern, and is emphasized by being picked out in a continuous line of red. Its presence is actually incidental to the design rather than an integral part of it, and it is not a little curious to find the same motive as a common feature on those bronze "tables" whose use has yet to be determined. The tables also show frequently the leaf-motive characteristic of the Braughing bowl group, and are on that account unhesitatingly assigned by Dr. Henry to the same school.³⁷

The representation of a turreted wall remains the most difficult of all to parallel. The whole conception of the design must certainly be derived from the castellated borders not uncommonly found in mosaic pavements of the first century.^{37a} In them we have the same wall, interrupted at intervals by turrets with the same crenellations, though whether it is walled cities that are portrayed, or military forts, is not clear. On the Rudge Cup the motive has, it would seem, by an easy transference of ideas been adopted for the representation of a *frontier* wall. In metalwork it is only on the Hildburgh fragment that it reappears, but there, by way of compensation, the resemblance is very close. It is, however, worth noting, that in

³⁷ Henry, *op. cit.*, p. 116, fig. 27.7.

^{37a} There is one at Italica, in Spain, and a second from the same place is now in Seville Museum—no. 92. Another is in Carpentras Museum; and one at Avignon, figuring a gate, is reproduced in *Collectanea Antiqua* V, 35, and Ward, *Romano-British Buildings and Earthworks*, p. 70, fig. 23. All are of first century type. *Ex inf.* I. A. Richmond.

the treatment of the crenellations on the turrets the shallow rectangular profile of the Rudge Cup is replaced by a deeper, more broken outline, in which the merlons appear as inverted triangles. This is probably the craftsman's attempt to translate into a formula suitable to his medium the conventional T-shaped configuration which in the mosaics represents the merlon with its heavy stone cap.

Of much greater consequence is the second point of difference. While on the Rudge Cup the inscription and the turreted wall together account for the whole of the decorated surface, on the Hildburgh fragment this part of the design takes up much less space, leaving room for the inclusion of two further bands of decoration between the lower edge of the wall and the foot of the bowl. It is here that the great value to us of the Hildburgh fragment lies, for it contains, in association with the schematized wall, motives which enable us to fit this specialized class of bowl with certainty into the general scheme of Romano-British enamels. Of these the more important is the backgammon dentellation next the foot—one of the constant elements in the design of the Braughing cup group, and one which appears also on the Bartlow Hills vase, and on an ornamental foot-stand from Corbridge. Both the latter objects may be assigned to the same school as the Braughing bowl group, and the character of the Hildburgh fragment as a piece transitional between this well-recognized British school and the Rudge Cup is beginning to emerge.

In the running linear scroll immediately above the backgammon motive³⁸ we may suspect a schematized version of the ivy scroll as seen on the same bowl group.³⁹ That, if correct, suggests that the Hildburgh fragment is

³⁸ It is executed in a full clear blue, of which a small fragment remains. The colouring of the dentellation is not so easy to determine. It appears to consist of the two shades of green found in the rectangular panels, arranged in alternate *pairs* of triangles.

³⁹ Both motives are seen in convenient juxtaposition at the top of the Thames altar-plaque, where their genuine relationship is very apparent.

somewhat later in date, a view which is confirmed by the reappearance of the same scroll in an inverse technique, that is in relief against an enamel background, on bowls of the continental school which we have dated to the second half of the second century.

The only other feature of the Hildburgh fragment not yet noticed is the group of four "leaves" which occupies the spaces between the turrets. This is yet another element which carries us forward to the continental bowl group, where it reappears in a circular setting, but unmistakably the same, on the handle of the *patera* from Pymont in association with a reminiscence of the running vine, or ivy, scroll.⁴⁰

The Hildburgh fragment thus stands out as a link not only between the Braughing bowl group and the Rudge Cup, but also as one between the British and continental bowl groups. It proves that the Rudge Cup is the latest development of the British school in this direction; it suggests that this development is contemporary with the early bowls of the Namur school; and it reinforces the suggestion, already made on other grounds, that this school derived its initial inspiration in part at least from Britain.

Now that with the help of the Hildburgh fragment the Rudge Cup has been fairly established within the framework of British enamels, it remains to determine as near as may be the absolute date. Since it has been shown that it is a development of the south-eastern British school of enamelling, as particularly exemplified in the Braughing bowl group, the precise date of the latter becomes an all important question.

The matter has been discussed by Dr. Henry, and her conclusion in favour of a date in the first half of the second century—approximately Hadrianic—rests on secure ground.⁴¹ Both their form and the elements of their decoration are

⁴⁰ Henry, *ibid.*, fig. 32.1.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 114. But see also note 17 *supra*.

directly copied from samian ware from the La Graufesenque and Lezoux factories of the end of the first and the beginning of the second century. One of the Bartlow Hills burials contained a coin of Hadrian, and the vase is believed to date about the period of his reign. It follows that allowing for the stage of development represented by the Hildburgh fragment the Rudge Cup should fall about the middle of the century, or in the decades immediately following. That is a date confirmed by the evolution of the ladder motive into an all-over rectangular pattern. The lapse of time necessary for such a development seems to postulate a dating no earlier; while the character of the wall pattern hardly permits us to put it later. The motive of a fortification with gates and turrets is a common one on mosaics of the first century, but is not found after the opening years of the second; and the general resemblance is too great to allow us to place the cup much after the middle of the century. We conclude that a central date for the manufacture of the cup would probably fall within the reign of Antoninus Pius.

While previously the cup, in point of detail and technique, stood alone, the material now brought forward shows it to belong to a school with very individual characteristics. Though unimpressive in quantity, this comparative material makes up for its lack of bulk by its distinctive motives and their constant association. Thus of the lettering, crescents, rectangles, and crenellations found on the Rudge Cup, lettering and crescents reappear together on the fragments from South Shields, and crescents, rectangles and crenellations on the Hildburgh fragment. We may thus be assured that it is in fact with a distinct school, and not with an isolated freak, that we are dealing, while the associated motives on the Hildburgh piece provide the essential link with a British school which has already been recognized, and can be approximately dated.

The precise territorial area of this school is not easy to

determine, and for the present the question is best left open. That it is a British one there can be no disputing. Its affinity with a school already accepted as British, no less than the nature of the inscription, settle the point for good and all. Perhaps the simplest answer is that this is a continuation of the long established south-eastern school of enamel-work, whose existence has been traced up to the period of the production of the Braughing group, but, hitherto, no further. The appearance of its products on the Wall is easily explained by the well-known partiality of the military element for enamelled effects. And the same explanation holds good for the choice of the inscription on the Rudge Cup.⁴² As Mr. Richmond suggests, this is almost certainly one of a set which would record, on its constituent pieces, the whole of an itinerary. Working from a written source, there is no need to suppose the producer actually labouring on the spot. He may just as well have had his factory in London. Only he had an eye to the military market.⁴³ If that is correct there is no need to suppose that the Rudge Cup ever found its way to the Wall at all. It may, indeed, have been brought south again by some retired army man, but equally it may have been bought in the south by someone who had seen northern service, or even for some extraneous reason by someone who had no connection with the Wall at all. The discovery of the Hildburgh fragment in the centre of the military district of Spain is a further example of the same tendency. Its appearance there is proof only of

⁴² Its almost entirely Romanized decoration is a further argument for a southern origin. The products of the only school of enamelling yet recognized in the north—the acanthus, head-stud, and dragonesque brooches—all contain a considerable unromanized, Celtic element. In the Rudge Cup only the crescents could possibly be considered as due to Celtic taste. It is true that the crescent is a characteristic Celtic motive, but it plays a very subordinate part in the design, and as Dr. Henry has pointed out (*op. cit.*, p. 121), even in the south of this country Romanization of the peculiarly native technique of enamel work was never complete.

⁴³ Just as did the Campanian firms—e.g. those of Cippius Polybius, and Ansius Epaphroditus—engaged in the production of the common bronze *patera* and other similar vessels.

movement in the Roman world of which we were already well aware. That it is of British origin is, we hope, in view of what has now been said, beyond argument.

The Rudge Cup itself emerges from our analysis with an enhanced importance. No longer an isolated and undatable curiosity, it now stands forth as the product of a British workshop of about 150 A.D. It constitutes the finest surviving and only complete example of an unrecognized phase in the history of the British school of enameling. And it gives us the only contemporary representation of the Roman Wall.

II. THE INSCRIPTION: BY I. A. RICHMOND.

The single line of moulded letters which runs below the rim of the Rudge Cup may be read,⁴⁴ in a continuous series unseparated by stops;

A. MAISABALLAVAVXELODVMCAMBOGLANSBANNA.

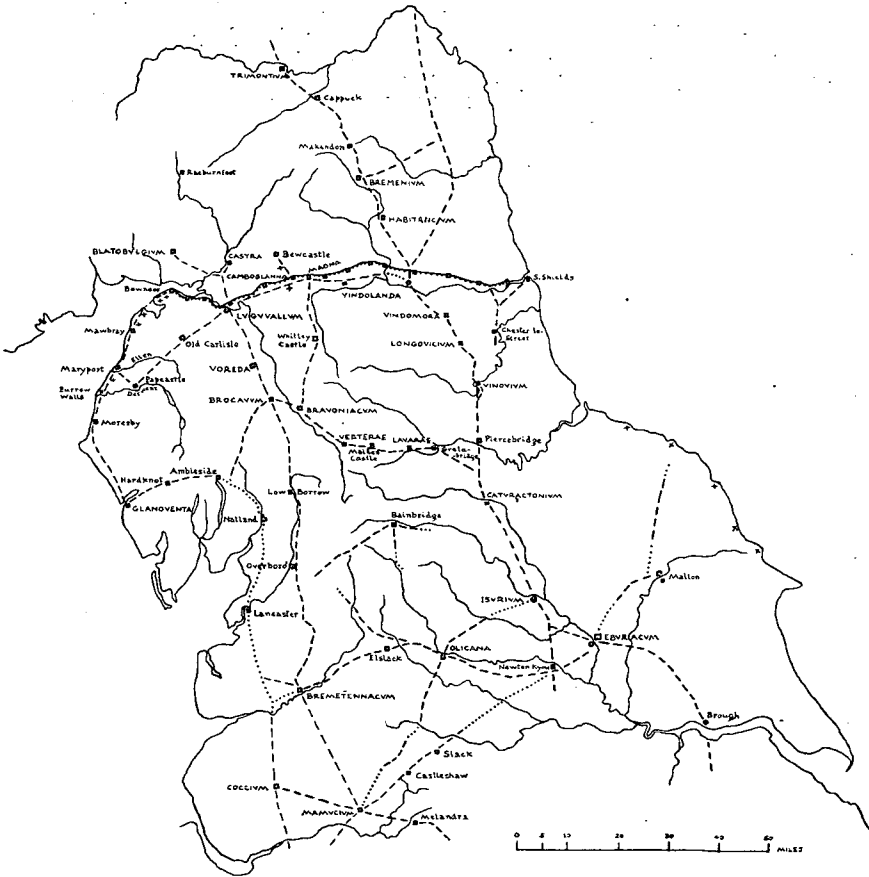


FIG. 3.
The Roman North.

⁴⁴ *CIL* vii, 1291, and p. 104, where the identifications are discussed; also Haverfield, *CW*² xviii, 223-8.



1



2



3

Figs. 1, 2 & 3. RUDGE CUP SHOWING INSCRIPTION.

The words thus formed are known to be a series of place-names, all occurring in other Roman sources and all connected with Cumbria or the western end of Hadrian's Wall. On the cup, a recognition of them as military posts is facilitated by the castellated border over which they are placed.

The order of the names is determined by the occurrence of the preposition *a* before the name *Mais*, which it governs. *Maia*, seemingly the nominative form of this name, occurs in the *Ravenna List*,⁴⁵ where it is associated with the same group of place-names in the reverse order. Thus, the fact that *A* is not the initial letter of the name in question is reasonably certain; while the occurrence of a terminal *-a* in the preceding name, *Banna*, ensures that it is not the last letter of that word. Accordingly, it may be assumed that the legend begins at this point, and is to be read, by inserting divisions, as *A Mais Aballava Uxelodum Camboglans Banna*. Two of these names, however, are known from other sources to have had longer forms, etymologically more correct than those given here. *Uxelodum* occurs in the *Ravenna List* as *Uxelludamo*,⁴⁶ and in the *Notitia Dignitatum* as *Axeloduno*,⁴⁷ the form *Uxellodunum*, meaning "high fort," being the soundest. *Camboglans* also appears in the same sources, as *Gabaglanda*⁴⁸ in the *Ravenna List*, and as *Amboglanna*⁴⁹ in the *Notitia*. As the late professor Haverfield⁵⁰ pointed out, the version in the former source supports the initial consonant, which gives to the name the meaning "twisted glen"; and this appellation singularly befits Birdoswald, where the name is placed in virtue of its position in the *Notitia* series *per lineam valli*.

⁴⁵ *Ravennatis anonymi cosmographia*, ed. Pinder and Parthey, 433, 3; henceforward abbreviated as *Rav*. The readings given here are based upon a personal collation of all three manuscripts, in rotographs.

⁴⁶ *Rav.* 433, 1.

⁴⁷ *Notitia Dignitatum*, ed. Seeck, Occ. xl, 49; henceforward abbreviated as *N.D.*

⁴⁸ *Rav.* 431, 10.

⁴⁹ *N.D.*, Occ. xl, 44.

⁵⁰ *CW*² xviii, 223-8.

If this is the reading of the inscription, its meaning is another question to which an answer must depend upon the construction of the peculiar form which the sentence takes. The initial preposition of motion, followed by a string of names in the accusative or locative cases, is typical in Latin of just one type of composition, namely the *Itinerary*. A glance at any section of the Antonine Itinerary will be sufficient to confirm the truth of this statement. Further, the suggestion thus conveyed, that the names come from an itinerary, is supported by the occurrence of four out of the five names in reverse but otherwise similar relation in the *Ravenna List*.⁵¹ For that document is indubitably derived from a road-book or map, though the fact is obscured by the avoidance of repetition in the names. To illustrate this point, more familiar to continental⁵² than English students, two series of names already known to northern folk may be taken. The *Ravenna List*,⁵³ having mentioned *B]ravonia[cum* (= *Brovonacae* or *Braboniacum*, now Kirkby Thore), does not mention the place again, but gives in order all the points on radiating roads. To south, *Valteris* (= *Verteris*, now Brough-under-Stainmore); to north, *Bereda* (= *Voreda*, now Old Penrith) and *Lagubalium* (= *Luguvallum*, now Carlisle); to north-west, by Maiden Way, *Magnis* (= *Magna*, now Carvoran) and *Gabaglanda*, (= *Cambo-glanna*, now Birdoswald), and then, east of *Magna*, *Vindolanda* (now Chesterholm). The next series is on Dere Street, beginning with *Lincovigla* (= *Longovicio*, now Lanchester), *Vinovia* (= *Vinovia*, now Binchester), *Lavaris*⁵⁴ (= *Lavatrae*, now Bowes), *Cactabactonium*

⁵¹ *Rav.* 432, 20; 433, 1-3, *Banna*, *Uxelludamo*, *Avalava*, *Maia*.

⁵² Readers will find a useful summary of current views in Grenier's *Manuel d'archéologie*, vi, 2, 138-9, 128 n. 1; or in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, s.vv. *Itinerarien* or *Karten*, by Kubitschek.

⁵³ *Rav.* 431, 2; 431, 6-11; 431, 12-16; for the name *Braboniacum* see *CW*² xxxiv, 117.

⁵⁴ This would appear to be one of the names, as *Vindolanda* (Haverfield, *Brit. Acad. Suppl. Papers*, iii, 32), of which the *Ravenna List* preserves a better spelling than the currently accepted form. *Lavarae* is plainly a river-name, cognate with the modern

(=*Caturactonium*, now Catterick), and *Eburacum* (now York). The evident connection of both these series with a road-list or map will be readily conceded. In fact, an alternative explanation of the order is hardly possible, and the same consideration applies throughout the document, as the writer, in collaboration with Mr. O. G. S. Crawford, hopes shortly to demonstrate for the whole British section. Thus, if the inscription on the Rudge Cup may be suspected to come from an itinerary, that suspicion may be taken as usefully confirmed by the correspondence of the names with a series in the *Ravenna List*. Finally, it may be noted that the connection of itineraries with a series of ornamental cups is not unknown, as the Vicarello cups⁵⁵ testify.

Turning now to the identification of the names, a fixed starting-point is afforded by *Camboglans*, no doubt a shortened form of *Camboglan(ni)s*, and equated with Birdoswald. *Banna*, however, is known to be not far away, since Birdoswald itself yielded the altar⁵⁶ dedicated by the *venatores Bannienses*. The name would appear to mean a "tongue or horn," as applied to a promontory,⁵⁷ and would fit the fort at Bewcastle best of any site near Birdoswald, the suggestion being one with which other commentators have played. Here it may be stressed that if an itinerary is in question, Bewcastle also has the advantage of being directly connected by road and signal-tower⁵⁸ with Birdoswald.

Among the other names, *Uxellodunum* has been

Welsh *Llafar* (Ekwall, *English river-names*, 238, s.v. Laver), Gaelic *Labhar* (Watson, *The history of the Celtic place-names of Scotland*, 432), and Gallic *Labara*, *Labarus*. The name means "babbling," and the river, now Greta, falls in noisy rapids below the fort.

⁵⁵ These are four silver goblets modelled as mile-stones, found at Vicarello and inscribed with the itineraries from Gades (the modern Cadiz) to Rome. The texts differ from goblet to goblet, showing that alternative lists were at the disposal of the carver.

⁵⁶ *CW*² xxxiii, 239-40, for an exact account of the discovery, correcting *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, 370, and *CIL* vii, 830.

⁵⁷ Dottin, *La langue gauloise*, 231, s.v. *banno-*, quoting Meyer-Lübke, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, xix, 274.

⁵⁸ *CW*² xxxiii, 241-5.

equated with Maryport⁵⁹ and *Aballava* with Papcastle,⁶⁰ the latter identification being based upon the discovery at Papcastle of an inscription⁶¹ by the Aballavensian Moors. But these equations are not very certain, and a consideration of the place taken by the names in the *Ravenna List* does not strengthen the case in their favour. To understand this, it is necessary to review the names⁶² in that source which are assignable to Cumbria.

Omitting here any consideration of Roman names in southern Lakeland, the coast is reached at *Cantiventi*, followed by *Iuliocenon* and *Gabrocentio*. These, as Hübner⁶³ pointed out, are the *Notitia*⁶⁴ forts *Gabrosentum*, *Tunno celum* and *Glannibanta* (= *Glanoventa*, now Ravenglass) in reverse order. The *Notitia* is, in fact, working down the coast from the Wall, while the *Ravenna List* is going northwards. Accepting, then, the identification⁶⁵ of Ravenglass as *Glanoventa*, it is reasonable to suppose that the next two names are the coastwise forts⁶⁶ of Moresby and Burrow Walls. At this point there is a well-known gap in the *Notitia* series. But the *Ravenna List* continues with the name *Alauna*, a common river place-name,⁶⁷ which survived in the river Alne, now the Ellen. That

⁵⁹ *CIL* vii, p. 85. The identification was made upon the basis of the presence at Maryport of *cohors I. Hispanorum*. But this was not the later garrison of the fort, as would be required to fit the text of *N.D.*, *Occ.* xl, 49; see E. B. Birley, *JRS* xxii, 58.

⁶⁰ This identification is founded upon *CIL* vii, 415, which mentions the Aballavensian Moors at Papcastle in A.D. 241.

⁶¹ *CIL* vii, 415; *ibid.*, 416, may have been a somewhat similar text.

⁶² The names in question run from *Rav.* 430, 14 to 431, 2, and 431, 6-11.

⁶³ *CIL* vii, p. 85.

⁶⁴ *N.D.*, *Occ.* xl, 50-2. In considering the name *Tunno celum*, of which the *Ravenna* form is *Iuliocenon*, Horsley's conjecture (*Brit. Rom.* 499) *Itunocelum* may be recalled. The situation makes it very attractive, for the word would then mean "Eden Naze," the *Ituna* being the Eden (*Ptol. Geogr.* ii, 3, 2), and *ocelum*, meaning a "naze," as for Spurn Head (*Ptol. Geogr.* ii, 3, 6.) There could be no more appropriate name for a post upon the St. Bee's cliffs.

⁶⁵ *Archæologia*, lxxi, 1-16.

⁶⁶ The evidence about Burrow Walls is discussed in *CW*² xxix, 157-9.

⁶⁷ Ekwall, *English river-names*, 6, *s.v.* Aln, where these names are discussed.

being so, it is impossible to resist the conclusion that this is the next coastwise fort, Maryport-on-the-Ellen. The next two names would continue the coastwise series, *Bribra* fitting Mawbray and *Maio* falling into place as Bowness. The two remaining names in this part of the country are *Olerica* and *Derventione*; and while hesitation may be felt in ascribing the name *Olerica* to Old Carlisle without further proof of identity, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that *Derventione* represents Papcastle-upon-Derwent.⁶⁸ Just as in the case of *Alauna* and the Ellen, the correspondence of river-names speaks for itself. But if these conclusions are valid, the older identifications of *Uxellodunum* and *Aballava* cannot stand.

If an alternative place must be found for these names, an attempt to allot one might be based upon the identification of *Maia* with Bowness. That identification has much to commend it, for Bowness is the terminal point of two main systems, the line of Wall-forts and the line of coast defences. The fact that it is indeed the terminal point of two converging lines is disclosed by the double occurrence of the name in the *Ravenna List*.⁶⁹ These repetitions are very rare in the List, which normally avoids them; but they slip in occasionally, and a return by a different route to the same point is the source from which they always spring. If this is so, the sites are to be sought upon the Wall, the one line which provides a real connection between *Maia* on the Cumberland coast and *Camboglanna*. In other words, they would be Wall-forts.

At first sight this proposition is startling. Between Birdoswald and Bowness there are four forts, Castlesteads, Stanwix, Burgh-by-Sands and Drumburgh; and the Rudge Cup or *Ravenna List* provide only three names.

⁶⁸ The name was common, as for *Derventio*, Littlechester, near Derby, and for another place in Yorkshire, probably Malton, and certainly upon the Yorkshire Derwent. In the list of rivers, *Rav.* 438. *Dorvantium* is probably the Cumbrian Derwent, for it follows the Welsh coastal streams and comes immediately after *Coantia*, no doubt the Westmorland Kent.

⁶⁹ *Rav.* 430, 19, and 433, 3.

But when the facts are considered in the light of the hypothesis that both sources are derived not from a military list but from an itinerary, the question takes on a slightly different shape. For these types of list may be expected to mention only those points at which there were conveniences for the official traveller, in the form of post-houses (*mansiones*) or changes of horse (*mutationes*). In this respect the omission by the *Ravenna List* of *Pons Aelius*,⁷⁰ the small fort at Newcastle upon Tyne, is significant. The post-house was doubtless at Benwell (see above, p. 224). In the light of this observation the *Ravenna List* of the Wall may be reconsidered. It runs continuously from *Serduno* (*Segedunum*, now Wallsend) to *Esica* (*Aesica*, now Great Chesters). Then *Magna* and *Camboglanna* are omitted, since they have been mentioned before.⁷¹ There follow *Banna Uxelludamo*, *Avalava* and *Maia*. Now *Banna*, as the order on the Rudge Cup shows, should fit in as beyond *Camboglanna*, yet not, as the *Notitia*⁷² certifies, between it and *Magna*, a position which very greatly strengthens the case for an identification with Bewcastle; for, while part of the Wall-system, the place is yet not reckoned as a Wall-fort. One may compare the inclusion of *Lavaræ* in the Dere Street series. This would leave us with the identification of *Uxellodunum*, "high fort," with Castlesteads, perched on the cliff above the Cambeck. Stanwix is then to be excluded from the series, since posting facilities are known from *Iter II* of the Antonine Itinerary⁷³ to lie at Carlisle (*Luguvallum*), already mentioned in the *Ravenna List* as *Lagubalium*, on the north

⁷⁰ *N.D.*, Occ. xl, 34. In *Ravennas*, the name should come between 432, 12 and 13, but fails to appear.

⁷¹ *Rav.* 431, 9 and 10.

⁷² *N.D.*, Occ. xl., 43-4, agrees with present knowledge of the Wall in showing that there was no fort between Birdoswald and *Magna*; yet the order of the Rudge Cup, which places *Banna* after *Camboglanna* (Birdoswald) and is certainly working from the west, shows that the place must have been upon a branch-road from Birdoswald.

⁷³ This is the route from *Blatobulgium* (Birrens) to *Rutupiæ* (Richborough), which passes through Stanwix from north to south, but mentions only *Luguvallum* (Carlisle).

road. Then follows the large fort at Burgh-by-Sands, which may be equated with *Aballava*, and the quite exceptionally small fort (if fort it be) at Drumburgh, where no posting-station need be. Drumburgh therefore omitted, *Maia* would fall at Bowness once more. The scheme is not unreasonable, for it involves only the omissions which are peculiar to a document derived from an itinerary, and it has the merit of including, in that part of the *Ravenna List* directly ascribed to the Wall in the text, the whole number of important stations.⁷⁴ The order is then seen to be broken only because certain forts have already been mentioned in connection with the south-bound roads.

The advantages of this interpretation, as giving a meaning to the Rudge Cup, are very great. In the first place, this is the only way of providing a link between the Cumberland coast, where *Maia* is undoubtedly to be placed, and Birdoswald, certainly identified as *Cambo-glanna*. Again, the only scheme of which either Birdoswald or *Banna* form part is the scheme of Wall-defence, and only under that heading can they be united with other names. As connected with the Wall, moreover, the continuous castellated pattern on the cup below the names assumes a new meaning. It typifies not only the military nature of the places mentioned, but comes to stand for the continuous line of the Great Wall by which they were united and the regularly spaced turrets which were the standard links in the long chain. The choice of pattern would thus gain greatly in significance. Lastly, the occurrence of the list of names upon such a cup becomes altogether clearer, if it may be regarded as the first member of a series, no doubt forming a table-service in the manner of small

⁷⁴ It may be suggested that a similar explanation accounts for the presentation of the forts of the Antonine Wall in the *Ravenna List* (435. 3-12), where the limits of the list applying to the Wall are precisely defined, although only ten forts out of a possible nineteen are mentioned. It is unlikely that the whole line was supplied with posting facilities in every fort, though it is not impossible that one or two forts with southern roads arriving at them may have been mentioned elsewhere in the list.

samian cups, which contained the whole list of Wall-forts. The manufacturer of such a set would derive his information not from an official document, but from a road-book, just as the carver of the Vicarello cups⁷⁵ engraved upon them, not always from the same version of the route, the posting-stations from Gades to Rome. It is not difficult to understand such a set of decorative table-ware, a variant of the usual pewter or silver, being used by an officer stationed upon the Wall, and taken by him into retired life, as is implied by the finding of the Rudge Cup in a well in Wiltshire. But to suppose that the manufacturer of these ingenious articles of commerce took at random two names from the Birdoswald district and three from the widely separated Cumberland coast puts undue strain upon his credit as a designer and our credulity as students.

⁷⁵ See note 55.