CORNWALL & DEVON

— Sketch Map to Illustrate the Hercules Pt. —

— Topography of Ptolemy —

— and the Ravennat —

R.H.W.

Vexela Estuary

Vertavia +

Taimen R.

Melarnoni ×

Duvocoronavis +

Uxela

Elconio +

Giano ×

Eltabo +

Damnonium P. ?

Antivestaeum P.

Alauna Sylva ×

Moridunum

7°ssewa1

Isca

Alonqium +

Mastevia ?

Termogia

Tamare

7°ssewa1

Nemetotacio ×

Deviónisso +

Ardua +
Vernalis +
Pilais +

Cenion R

Milidunum +
Apanavis +
Duriarno +
Devertia ? Stene ?
Masona ?

Abona R

Naurum R

Stadia

Tamarus R
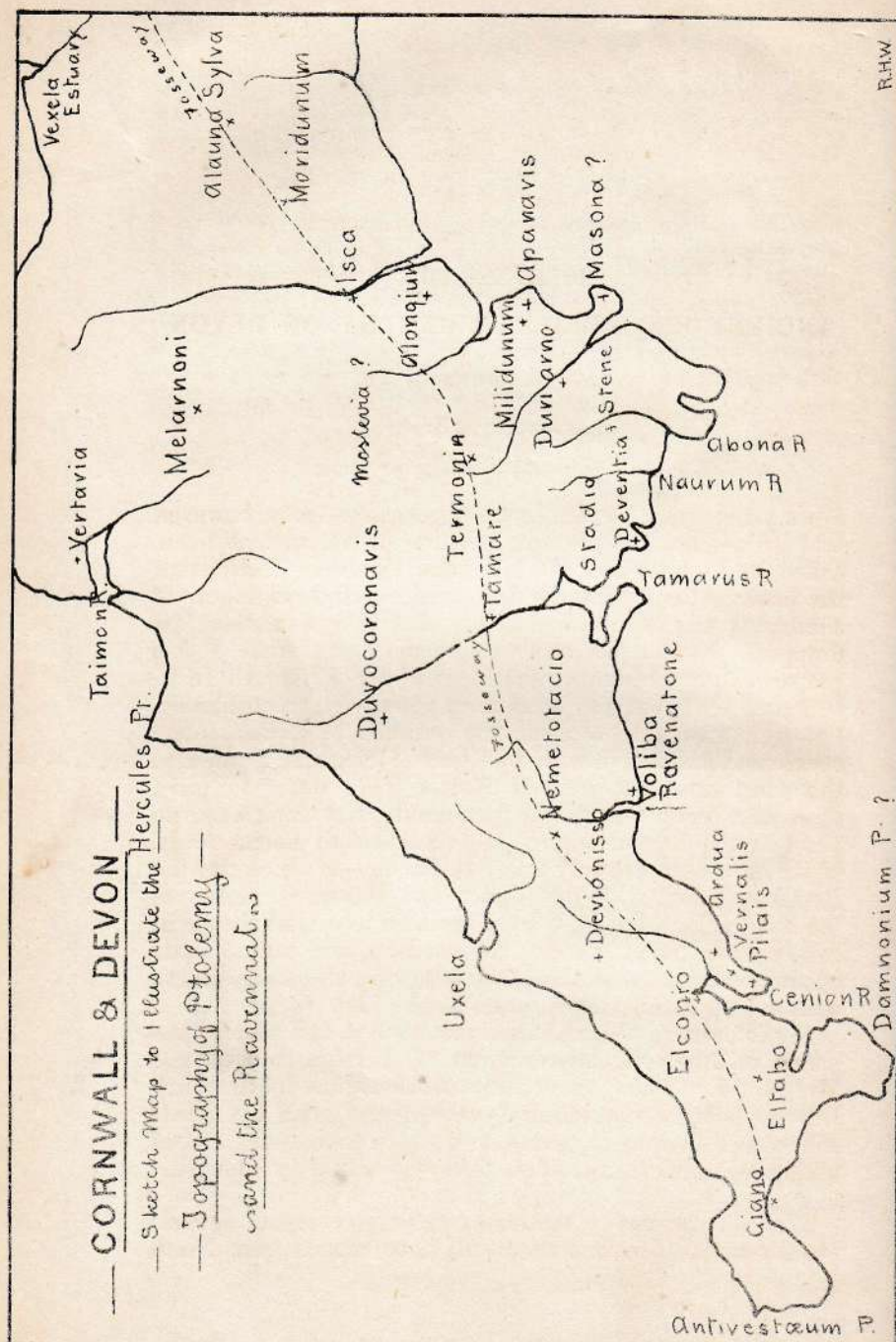
Voliba
Ravenatone

ANCIENT RECORDED TOPOGRAPHY OF DEVON.

BY R. N. WORTH, F.G.S.

SOME years since I commenced an enquiry—soon, however, laid aside—into the probable position of the ancient town, called by Ptolemy and his followers, *Tamare*. The further my investigations went, the less chance did there appear of coming to any definite conclusion, and they were therefore dropped. The subject came before me again while I was preparing my address as President of the Plymouth Institution in 1881, but was once more passed by. Considering, however, upon that occasion the question of Roman intercourse and association with this part of England, I came to the conclusion that west of Exeter there was "no proof of Roman occupation;" and particularly that there was "no proof of the Roman origin" of "the so-called Roman roads, which have been not only traced to Exeter—to which city the Romans undoubtedly had direct and improved means of communication—but have been assumed to extend thence in two branches (one traversing the northern and central parts of the peninsula, and the other following the south coast), with sundry ramifications, to the Land's End."*

My interest in the topic was reawakened last year by the papers of Mr. J. B. Davidson, on "Old Teign Bridge," and Mr. R. W. Cotton, on "Some Ancient Roads in South Devon." Hence the enquiry was reopened, with the result not only of leading at length to definite conclusions, but of taking me much further afield than was originally intended.

That Tamare was on the Tamar well nigh everyone agreed; but the places identified therewith have ranged from North

* *Trans. Plym. Inst.* viii. 49.

Tamerton, Tavistock, Tamerton Foliot, Saltash, and Kings Tamerton, to the Tamarworth assumed to have occupied in part at least the site of modern Plymouth. The question was how to decide between them.

Naturally the first suggestion was to seek Tamare on the line of some well-recognized means of communication, and here the hypothesis that the *town* of Totnes was connected with the Fosseway, appeared to indicate a continuation of that great road through South Devon to some point near the mouth of the Tamar.   No doubt this was the reason that led our revered friend, the late Mr. R. J. King, to find Tamare in King's Tamerton, at the point where the Hamoaze draws in to its narrowest limits; and the conclusion was one that naturally, in the absence of close investigation, obtained general acceptance.

But enquiry produced no arguments in its favour.   Kings Tamerton has no traces of antiquity.   There is no evidence in the South Hams of the existence of any such road as the Fosseway must have been.   The occurrence of the name Ridgeway, at Plympton, has been cited in support of the hypothesis of a Roman road; but " Ridge Roads " are even more common than " Hollow Ways," and it so happens that there is a Ridge Road on the crest of the hill immediately beyond Plympton, to the south of Ridgeway; so that there is here quite as good proof of the existence of two Roman roads in the district as of one.   That the South Hams are traversed by many very ancient trackways is unquestionable, but there is none to which we could assign a Fosseway pre-eminence.

While considering this special point, it occurred to me as at least possible that some clue to the ancient roads of the county might be derived from *Domesday*.   It seemed reasonable to suppose that manors would be taken, to some extent at least, in their line of access.   Order of some kind it is certain there must have been, and some topographical arrangement is evident, if incomplete.   Of course, in entering upon this enquiry, we are at once confronted with the fact that the primal order of classification is that of ownership.   But this simply limits our range.   The information which we seek may not appear in the case of holders of few manors; but if it is to be gained at all it will be found in the list of the possessions of the greater feudal lords, and here I think it is plainly discernible, so far as South Devon is concerned.

For example, in the Earl of Moreton's manors we have in

succession those of Mortberie, Tori, Harestane, Spredelestone, and Wederige, which lie either on, or immediately contiguous to (and precisely in the order named), the present road from Dartmouth to Plymouth, but branching therefrom at Brixton, over Staddiscombe, in a direct line to Plymouth Sound.

So in those of Judhel of Totnes, there occur in succession, following the adjacent group of Sireford, Chichelesberie, and Ulueveton—Brisestone, Done, Stotescome, and Staddon, precisely on the same course.

Again we find Judhel—though the arrangement of his manors in the Kingsbridge promontory suggests a series of traverses, inevitable since no main road could pass through it—holding in order the manors of Cortescanole, Bradelie, and Huish, which lie in this very fashion, but with the intervention of some manors of other lords, on the existing cross road following the valley of the Avon.

There are several features in Judhel's list that seem to suggest also the starting from Totnes as a centre in various directions.   One set of manors begins with Hamestone, another with Cornworthy, and another with Foletone.   They afford, however, little information beyond the main fact that the order of succession wherever there is no return, here as elsewhere, is almost always, though not quite invariably, from the east.

We have a cross-road indicated in the succession of the king's manors—Diptford, Ferlie, and Alvington.

I do not desire to press these conclusions too far; but I think there are fair grounds for considering that *Domesday* does indicate the existence of a road through South Devon, from Dartmouth Haven to Plymouth Sound, with certain cross tracks chiefly based upon the river valleys, the main line passing through Morleigh, Modbury, and Brixton. There also seems to me some evidence, though not so clear as one could wish, of a road from Totnes through Harberton, Diptford, and Ugborough. There is, however, no clear proof to be derived from this source of the existence of such a main artery as that on which Ridgeway is commonly assumed to stand, nor is any succession of manors indicated in the vicinity of which it would form a part.   Moreover, as I have said, the old Ridge Road lies to the south of Plympton Earle, and parallel to the more modern Ridgeway.

If we come nearer to the presumed Tamare, and take Plympton as a starting-point, we find two ancient road

systems going in a westerly, or north-westerly, direction. The one runs by Plym Bridge, and forms a fairly direct road to Buckland and Tavistock.

The other system leads to the passage of the Tamar at Saltash. That this is a very old route is proved by the name of the manor on the opposite side of the Plym— Efford = Ebb-ford. The modern road is conducted by an artificial causeway, still called Long Bridge, from a structure erected in the seventeenth century. In the reign of Elizabeth this road lay over marshes, since reclaimed, and even then was only passable at favourable states of the tide. *Domesday* here affords us some fairly definite information.

Efford, the manor immediately west of the Plym, is set down as the property of Robert Bastard, but then fortunately we have a whole group of the possessions of Judhel—Boche-land, Modlei, Leuricestone, Westone, Bureton, Manedone, Witelie, Colrige, Contone. Now these embrace the direct route from the passage of the Plym to the manor of Kings Tamerton, next the Tamar—the assumed Tamare—with a return to the starting-point at Efford. Kings Tamerton belonged to the Royal demesne. We have similar indications in the succession of the manors of Robert of Albemarle— Stoches, Wide, Witelie; in that of Alured the Briton— Bucheside, Tanbretone; of Robert the Bastard—Elforde, Stanehvs; of the Count of Moreton—Hanechelole, Lesiston.

Perhaps the finest example of an old pack-horse road in South Devon (worn deep into the rock by the traffic of many centuries) is that which passes round the flank of the hill to the north of Efford, in the direction of Egg Buckland; and it is a fact not without much significance and value, that on the highest point of the old and direct road—with which this was probably associated, perhaps a branch for Plymouth— from Plympton to Saltash Passage, at Tor, a hoard of bronze celts, &c., was found. It is also noteworthy that the return route indicated in the Judhel order corresponds very closely with another ancient road leading between the same two points, by what is now the village of St. Budeaux. Nor do I think it possible to resist the conclusion that both these roads existed as trackways, over the unenclosed grounds, at the time the Great Survey was made. There must of course have been times when the fording of the Plym at Marsh Mills would be attended with great difficulty, and even danger. Then no doubt the higher ford by what is now Plym Bridge was taken. Another old road leads thence by

Egg Buckland and St. Budeaux to the Tamar; and the pack-horse road already noted would be available as part of this system for connection with Plymouth.   The whole district indeed is full of deep-set lanes, and traces of disused roads which show their high antiquity; but it is possibly not with-out its meaning that we have no such *Domesday* evidence of the Plym Bridge route as we have of the Marsh Mill; and here also there is no indication of what would be called a main thoroughfare.

I naturally turned from *Domesday* and the existing traces of ancient ways to see what light could be thrown upon the enquiry by the records of old visits to the West.   As a rule, few things were so persistent until the introduction of the railroad system as accustomed routes of travel.   Now William of Worcester has left materials enough to show that the main roads through Devon into Cornwall in the fifteenth century followed much the same lines that they did at the beginning of the nineteenth.   He indicates a northern road by Stratton, Boscastle, Tintagel, Wadebridge, St. Columb, Redruth, Lelant, to St. Ives; another from Exeter by Crockernwell, Zeal, Stickle-path, Okehampton, Launceston, Bodmin, Michell, and Redruth, to St. Michael's Mount; a third by Tavistock, Liskeard, Lost-withiel, St. Austell, Grampound, Truro, and Helston, to Marazion.   The lowest bridge on the Tamar and the lowest continuous route therefore was then Horse, or, as he calls it, Hautes, or Hawtys Bridge.

There is not much help to be derived from Leland.   He went into Cornwall by the northern route, and returned through Plymouth, taking the road out of Cornwall by Liskeard, Menheniot, St. Germans, and Saltash.   From Ply-mouth he went through Plympton, crossing the river Plym at the ancient "ebb-ford"—"I crossed over *Plym* Ryver at the Ebbe"—near the confluence of the Torry.   He mentions Plym and Bickleigh bridges.   His route to Exeter took him through Totnes; but he expressly states, "*Estbrenton* (Ash-burton) is in the Highway betwixt *Plymmouth* and *Excestre*." Tavistock New Bridge at Gunnislake had been built between the visit of William of Worcester and Leland's coming into the West.

There are several references to the routes usually taken between Plymouth and Exeter in the latter part of the seventeenth century, to be found in the MS. memoirs of Dr. James Yonge, in the library of the Plymouth Institution; and they show clearly enough that, unless there was occasion

to visit Totnes itself, that town was left on one side.   The customary road from Exeter to Plymouth was over Haldon to Chudleigh, and thence by Ashburton, Brent, Ivybridge, and Ridgeway.   Occasionally a more southern road was taken, through Newton Bushel, Dartmouth, and Modbury. The Ashburton road must have been an open one; for on one occasion Yonge lost his way between Ashburton and Plymouth during the night, and wandered on the Moor.   In 1697 there was a stage-coach to Exeter which went by Oke-hampton.   The direct road from Plymouth to Barnstaple was by Horrabridge, Lane Head, Five Oaks, Hatherleigh, and Torrington.

There is nothing in all this to encourage the belief in a main road into Cornwall through the South Hams *viâ* Totnes; indeed, the plain inference is quite the other way.   The next step therefore was to inquire whether there could possibly be any mistake in the association of Totnes with this ancient route.   Now so far back as 1880 * I expressed my opinion that in all the early references the word Totnes is used "as the name of a district, and not that of a town," and suggested that "what we may call the older Totnes is really the ancient name for the south-western promontory of England."   And it is evident that in effect this was the case.   Totnes occurs on coins of Æðelred, but is not otherwise mentioned as a town in any document earlier than Domesday ; nor does the name appear elsewhere before the Conquest save in the so-called *Chronicle* of Nennius (perhaps originally written by Gildas, and to be ascribed to the sixth century).   And here it is abundantly clear that the allusion is not to Totnes town ; for the single passage in which the name occurs is that in which Britain is spoken of as extending "from the sea to the sea; that is from Totnes to Caithness"—"*a mari usque ad mare, id est a Totenes usque ad Catenes.*"   What we are really concerned with here is the original statement, not the inter-pretations put thereon by long subsequent writers, when Totnes town had risen into fame.   But we cannot pass over the earliest gloss upon the words of Nennius—that of Henry of Huntingdon, who wrote in the twelfth century, and who, speaking of the four chief highways of Britain, says the fourth or Fosseway "begins in Caithness and ends in Totnes; that is to say, from the beginning of Cornwall to the end of Scotland"—"*incipit in Catenes et desinit in Totenes, scilicet a*

* *Trans. Devon. Assoc.* "The Myth of Brutus the Trojan," vol. xii. pp. 560-571.

principio Cornugalliæ in finem Scottiæ." To translate these words "from the borders of Cornwall to the extremity of Scotland" is to substitute ambiguity for precision. If the statement of Nennius, and its amplification by Henry of Huntingdon, have any meaning at all, they cannot be twisted into implying an association of the Fosseway with Totnes town; but the blundering of the one Totnes with the other has been responsible for all the confusion into which this enquiry has been thrown.

Accepting the statement of the only original authority, that the Fosseway ran from one end of the island to the other, and leaving Totnes town out of the question, what are the general conclusions to which the analogies of other portions of this ancient road would lead us, as to its course in Devon and Cornwall? First, that it would hold as direct a course as possible along the western highlands; second, that it would be continuous, not broken by a troublesome and ofttimes dangerous passage over an estuary, which a course a few miles to the north would have avoided by a ford. The supposed main road by Totnes town answers to neither of these conditions. Can we find traces of such a road elsewhere?

The trackways of Dartmoor are described by the Rev. S. Rowe as "constructed of stones (too large to be easily displaced) irregularly laid down on the surface, and thus forming a rude but efficient causeway, the general breadth of which is about five or six feet, but which, in one example (near Three Barrow Tor), we found to be fifteen feet."* The chief of these trackways is "supposed to traverse the forest in a line, bearing east and west, from Hamildon to Great Mis Tor." A good deal rests on the evidence of tradition; but when Mr. Rowe wrote this trackway could be traced down the northern slope of Chittaford Down towards the banks of the East Dart for a considerable distance, "running due west, through Hollacombe, and up the opposite hill to Little White Tor. Down the common towards the Dart it leads to the north-east, but in the level near Post Bridge it takes a direction southward. With some difficulty it may be detected through the boggy meadows, below Hartland farm. The peat-cutters are reported to come upon it, below the surface in some places; nor is it at all unlikely that the encroachments of the vegetation, which in some instances are only partial, should in others have extended over the

* *Perambulation*, 2nd ed. p. 57.

whole breadth of the trackway, and thus have obliterated all traces of it in the lower grounds."‡

It seems plain that such a main trackway as this could only have been constructed with a view to through traffic; and an examination of the route shows that it could have been designed to lead to no other place than Tavistock on the west, while Exeter naturally suggests itself by way of Chudleigh on the east. Here then, I believe, we have the line of the true Fosseway. It leads by the most direct route, along the backbone of the peninsula, into further Cornwall. It connects, more or less directly, a great chain of hill fortresses. It has precisely the characteristics of adapted Roman roads, which I have traced over the Northumbrian moors. It crosses the Tamar at a spot which the defeat of the Danes and their allies on Hingston Down in 835 shows was then regarded as the gate of Cornwall.

This conclusion reached, however, it seemed not only desirable, but necessary to go further, and to include in the enquiry an examination of the contemporary materials for the ancient topography of the county, found in Ptolemy's Geography, and the treatise of the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna. It may seem indeed as if further commentary upon either could well be spared; but having regard to the controvertible character of most of the conclusions of commentators, and to the fact that the latest writer has the most materials for forming an opinion, the attempt if venturesome seemed worth the making.

The only entries in Ptolemy that can have to do with this part of England are :

	Long.		Lat.	
	d.	m.	d.	m.
Vexala estuary . .	16	0	53	30
Hercules promontory . .	14	0	53	0
Antivestæum promontory also Bolerium . .	11	0	52	30
Damnonium promontory also Ocrinum . .	12	0	51	30

Southern side after the promontory Ocrinum.

	Long.		Lat.	
	d.	m.	d.	m.
Outlets of the river Cenion .	14	0	51	45
Outlets of the river Tamarus .	15	40	52	10
Outlets of the river Isaca .	17	0	52	20
Outlets of the river Alænus . .	17	40	52	40

* *Perambulation*, pp. 57, 58.

Towns of the westernmost people, the Dumnonii:

				Long.		Lat.	
				d. m.		d. m.	
Voliba	.	.	.	14	45	52	20
Uxela	.	.	.	15	0	52	45
Tamare	.	.	.	15	0	52	15
Isca Dumnoniorum	.		.	17	30	52	45
Second Augustan Legion		.		17	30	52	35

There is hardly one of these names that has not had very diverse assignment. The Vexala estuary is generally regarded as that of the Parret; and the promontory of Hercules is all but universally identified with Hartland Point. Antivestæum, however, is placed at the Land's End, Cape Cornwall, and St. Ives; and the Dumnonian headland at the Lizard or the Deadman.

The rivers have given more trouble. The Cenion has been variously regarded as the Fal and the Tamar, Tamaris as the Tamar and the Exe, Isaca as the Exe and the Wey.

With the towns it is still worse. Tamare is one of the Tamertons, Saltash, and Tavistock; Voliba is Lostwithiel, Tregony, and Bodmin; Uxella is Exeter, Lostwithiel, Crockernwell, and Bridgwater; Isca Dumnoniorum, Chiselborough and Exeter; and the head-quarters of the Second Augustan legion have been placed at Liskeard, at Exeter, at Ilchester, and Caerleon.

Some of these assumed identifications are so extraordinary, that until one enquires closely into the matter it is difficult to see how the blunders originated. This problem, however, is not so very abstruse after all. The worst errors have been made by those who have trusted entirely to Ptolemy's leadership, and the next place is taken by those who have been misled—far more pardonably—by fanciful etymologies.

Now a cursory examination of Ptolemy will show that there is, very naturally, a marked difference in the accuracy of his latitudes and his longitudes. He is very little over a degree out in his estimate of the distance between the Land's End and Dunnet Head, but he is four degrees in excess in his estimate of the much smaller distance between the Land's End the North Foreland; and of two places almost exactly on the same parallel of longitude, Ptolemy sets one down as 17·30 and the other as 31·20.

Moreover, while he averages nearly two degrees in excess in the latitudes given to localities in this Western promontory, they are relatively placed with much greater exactness,

the total range of error on either side of these two degrees being about 40 minutes. But the longitude is quite another affair. Between the Land's End and Exeter 6½ degrees are allowed, instead of less than 2¼; and between the Land's End and Hartland three are set down, instead of one. It is abundantly evident, therefore, that his longitudes had better be left out of the calculation. They cannot aid us, at any rate, in the West, and they are certain to mslead.

Isca Dumnoniorum and Moridunum are the only two places in Devon mentioned in the Antonine *Itinerary,* and there is no reasonable doubt that the Isca of Ptolemy and Antoninus is the modern Exeter. How will this enable us to approximate the position of Voliba, Uxela, and Tamare?

The latitude assigned to Voliba is 25 minutes less than that of Exeter, and the longitude may be so far taken into account as to indicate its being the most westerly of the three. This would place Voliba about the parallel of St. Austell or Tregony, and within reasonable distance of Polruan, which, as we shall see by-and-by, is the most likely locality.

Uxela has the same latitude as Exeter, and its longitude is east of Voliba. If Uxela was a port—and upon that point there can be little doubt—this carries us to the north coast, beyond Launceston and Camelford. Boscastle is in the direct line, but the Camel, or Allen, estuary is within the ordinary limits of error; and it is a curious coincidence, if nothing more, that we have in that locality such names as Porth Izaak, Zanzidgie, Canalidgie, Lezizíck, and St. Issey, which seem to preserve the first part of the name, as the Allen of the river does the latter. *Uisc-alan* would = "Allan water," or river, and it would be difficult to get nearer Uxela.

Tamare is given half a degree less latitude than Exeter. It must be on or near the Tamar. But as half a degree south of Exeter places us on the parallel of the Eddystone, it is clear that there is error somewhere.

As to the place of the Second Legion, which has the same longitude as Exeter, its latitude would bring us somewhere on the shore of Torbay.

There is no substantial aid to be derived from a comparison of the latitudes of the respective river mouths; for while that would place Tamare only five minutes within the Tamar estuary—satisfactory enough to those who identify it with King's Tamerton—it would fix Exeter 25 minutes up the Exe, near Exmoor.

If we take the Land's End as our standard, assuming that it is Ptolemy's Antivestæum, we find Voliba ten minutes south, several miles from land, in the English Channel. Uxela is 15 minutes north, which brings us sufficiently close to Lostwithiel, one of the favourite claimants for the seat of this long-lost town. But precisely the same latitude is given to Isca! Tamare is even more hopelessly placed than Voliba; for it is five minutes further south, and therefore all the more at sea. The Antivestæum bearings are clearly, therefore, of no use.

We turn next to those of Hartland, the other headland which may be regarded as definitely established. Voliba lies 40 minutes south. This brings us to the parallel of St. Austell and Fowey, and therefore to Polruan. Uxela has a southing of 15 minutes. That brings us near Boscastle, and again within reasonable distance of the Camel estuary. Isca has the same latitude as Uxela, and works out with remarkable accuracy. Tamare is 45 minutes to the south, or just outside Plymouth Sound. But as to Tamare, no two sets of bearings approximately agree. Those of Hartland, all round, seem the most reliable.

Of the other points named by Ptolemy, there seems no reason to doubt the assignment of the Vexala estuary to that of the Parret, and of the river Cenion to the Fal. Those of Hercules promontory to Hartland, of Antivestæum to the Land's End, of Tamarus to the Tamar, and of Isaca to the Exe, I have already accepted by implication. There remain therefore only the Dumnonium promontory and the river Alænus. If there is no mistake in the statement that the Cenion follows the Dumnonium headland, then that point must be the Lizard; otherwise I should have placed it rather in the Start district. The river Alænus, with Mr. Kerslake, I believe not to have been the Axe, but in all probability the ancient Allen of Christchurch Haven. Similarity of name has led some commentators to place Uxela on the Vexala; but the difference of latitude—45 minutes—and of longitude —one degree—forbid such a view.

We now pass on to the presumably seventh century list of cities and camps (*civitates et castra*) of Britain, given by the Chorographer of Ravenna. Whatever his precise date, he certainly wrote after the Saxon conquest; for he mentions Hengist and Horsa.

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The Anonymous Geographer first groups the following names of towns, &c., which presumably are in the West of England, and probably in Devon and Cornwall :

Giano, Eltabo [or Giano Eltabo], Elconio, Nemetotacio [or totatio], Tamaris, Durocoronavis [or Purocoronavis], Pilais, Vernalis [or Vernilis], Ardua, Ravenatone, Devionisso, Statio Deventia [or Stadio deventiasteno], Stene, Duriarno, Uxelis, Vertevia, Melarnoni [or Melamoni], Scadum Namorum [or Scadoniorum, Scadumnamorum], Termonin, Mostevia [or Mestevia, Mescenia], Milidunum, Apaunaris [or Apuanaris], Masona, Alongium [or Aloungium, Alovergium].

Then Moridunum is given as the next city to Scadomorum, which practically fixes the last-mentioned as the Antonine Isca Dumnoniorum, or Exeter.

Some of these twenty-four names correspond so closely with others in the Antonine Iters, that at the first scan the group seems to represent a much larger area than we here assign to it. A fuller examination of the Ravennat's complete list shows, however, that similar Antonine-seeming names are also given elsewhere, and in the connections which appear to belong to them. There is therefore no reason to doubt that he intended the first group to apply to the West.

To a qualified extent the same rule applies to his separate list of rivers, thirty-six in all. The western rivers named are in the first nine—Fraxula, Axium, Maina, Sarva [Sarna], Tamaris, Naurum, Abona, Isca, Taimon [or Tamion]. The Sarva is of course the Severn ; and the four that follow the Tamar, Erme, Avon, and Exe. Taimon is probably the Taw.

The general opinion of antiquaries concerning the work of the Anonymous Geographer is very well expressed by the Rev. Mr. Reynolds, whose *Iter Britanniarum* was published in 1799. He agrees with the suggestion of Dr. Mason, that the Ravennat's names may have been taken from some kind of map, and that there is some kind of order preserved in the work; but goes on to say, "Such is the method of it, that it cannot be in our position to settle from it the situation of a single town, since we cannot discover what was the particular plan, or whether any, which the author made use of in the arrangement of them."* The brothers Lysons are only in the fashion when they call the list a collection of barbarous names.

* *Op. cit.* p. 134.

It may be venturesome to attempt the solution of a problem which has puzzled so many eminent men; but I think I shall be able to give reasons in favour of my attempt to unriddle the mystery, which have at least an air of probability.

The one point on which all commentators have agreed is the commencement of the list at the extreme west of Cornwall; and there is also a general agreement in the belief that the twenty-four names which precede Moridunum are to be found in Devon and Cornwall.

The first thing to be settled then is the place at which we are to start. This we shall find is one of the two keys to the solution of a problem, which has always appeared more difficult than it really is. The first name is *Giano*. Mr. Kerslake, whose critical acumen in questions of this kind is so very remarkable, identifies Giano, as do others, with Ptolemy's Cenion. And this would be a very natural conclusion if the G had the hard sound. But the Ravennat used the Italian pronunciation, and sounded the *g* soft. In the non-recognition of this fact lay the initial error of previous enquirers, and its recognition at once suggested a Mounts Bay locality. Gian became evident in the second syllable of Lud*gvan*, and in the *Jew* which closes the popular name of Marazion—Market Jew; and Lud and Mara stood confessed as simply distinctive prefixes. It had always been a difficulty, in accepting the classic Iktis as St. Michael's Mount, that the elder topographers gave no indication of a town in that neighbourhood; but here the objection was removed. The original of Giano is probably the Kornu *Zian*, which simply means "sea-shore," or "strand." The old Cornish tongue had no *j*; its *g* was commonly if not universally hard, and it is difficult to see how the *sian* or *zian* could have been reproduced by the Ravennat better than in *gian*. If Mara in Marazion stands for *marhas* = market, then "market on the shore" is a perfectly satisfactory rendering of the name.

The locality of Giano settled, the next step was easy; in fact this was the chief key to the whole position, though a subsidiary key afterwards appeared. Eltabo and Elconio, bearing in mind that the *e* would sound *a*, and that *h* was a letter never used by the Ravennat, suggested as their first component the Kornu *hayle* or *hel* = a river. Assuming a topographical order Eltabo associates itself at once with the Helford river and Helston, and though we cannot read Helston into Eltabo, it is a curious fact that a site at Helston is

called the "Tubbans" (*tuban* in Korna = a dam or bank), and that we have adjoining the Helford the manor of Traboe. Condurra, at the mouth of the Helford, is the site of one of the most important finds of traces of Roman intercourse in Cornwall.

Elconio needs no comment. Ptolemy's Cenion is really Kenwyn or Truro, and has nothing to do with Tre*gony*, and Elconio is simply an ancient form of the colloquial "Kenwyn river" of the present day. It is the town at the head of this tidal branch of the Fal, in other words Truro, the high antiquity of which has been curiously overlooked by those antiquaries who have preferred the abstruse to the near.

And this view is strengthened by the fact that here we leave the coast for a while and take up the central line of internal communication which I have identified with the Fosseway.

Nemetotatio is a word manifestly corrupt beyond even the Ravennat's worst, though he converts Isca Dumnoniorum into Scadomorum. But we are not altogether clueless. Were the inflection dropped, and the syllables reversed, the likeness of Totatneme to Bodmin would be at once apparent, and the transposition of the two components of a compound name is of common occurrence between one language and another. "Neme" is not Kornu, but "Menna" is, and is frequently employed in place-names in the Bodmin district, as in Mennaglaze, Mennabroom, Polmenna, Tuelmenna. It also occurs as the older name of the great earthwork immediately to the south-east of Bodmin, now known as Castle Canyke (Saxon *Conig*, as in Conygar), but once as Castle Mannau, and clearly the parent of the modern town.

Here then I place Nemetotatio. The fact that Tamaris is the next place in order shows that this curiously-named spot is between Truro and the Tamar, and the identification of Durocoronavis with Launceston appears to indicate that, like Bodmin, it stood at a point where the roads to these two places diverged.

If I am right in placing Nemetotatio on the main central road, so also must be Tamaris, and we shall find it somewhere above the tidal reach of the Tamar, and near a ford by which regular communication could be kept up. We cannot place this ford lower down than Horse Bridge, and if not Tavistock itself Tamaris must be represented by some place in its immediate neighbourhood.

The next name on the list is one as to which I feel no difficulty—Durocoronavis. And here we come to the application of the second key to the Ravennat's list at which

I have hinted.   He was a man evidently unacquainted with the meaning of the Kornu-Keltic names; for he simply turns them into Latin, with a flavour of Italian pronunciation, as best he may.   But Saxon words, or particles of which he understands the meaning, he commonly translates.   The old name of what is now Launceston proper was Dunheved, or Dun-heafod.   He knows that heafod means "head," or "summit," and so he turns it into *coronavis*.

We then return once more to the coast at the Fal estuary. Is it an accidental coincidence that where the Ravennat has Pilais, Vernalis, and Ardua, we have Philleigh, Veryan, and Ardevora, with their little creek harbours ?

In Ravenatone, the *v* being sounded *u*, we have clearly one of the Cornish Ruans; and Polruan, as Ptolemy's Voliba, is at once suggested.   Polruan has yielded moreover unmistakeable traces of ancient external intercourse.

Devionisso is clear enough.   Deuionis comes quite as close as a Latin or Italian reproduction of a Keltic word could possibly be expected, to *dinas*, the ancient Kornu word for a fortified place; and of the various extant dinases of Cornwall that which best suits the reference is undoubtedly the finest of them all—the magnificent entrenchment on the high ground south of St. Columb.

This, with one exception, completes our examination of the Cornish section of the Ravennat's list, which we are compelled to make as an indispensable preliminary to the settlement of the localities of his Devonshire towns.

Concerning Statio, or Stadio Deventia, our first Devon name, I have no hesitation.   Several years since the existence of an ancient town on the eastern shore of Plymouth Sound, was revealed by the discovery of a cemetery of the Bronze Age, which dated back to pre-Christian times.   This settlement may have been continued to some extent as the Saxon Plymstock; but *Stadio Deuentia* is very clearly to be read in the modern Staddon, the yet extant name of the site where the cemetery was discovered, and the adjacent Staddiscombe.   But for the opening up of this cemetery, the existence of this very ancient town would have been utterly unknown, and the identification probably would never have been suggested.   The presence of this town moreover is a strong incidental reason for assigning to Tamaris a portion removed from the river's mouth.

Stene should in like manner present no difficulty, for we find it next in topographical as in literary order in the

fine "camp" of Stanborough, in Morleigh parish, which has given name to the Hundred on the verge of which it stands, and which commands a wide area of the South Hams, and particularly the lower valley of the Avon.

Duriarno is not quite so easily disposed of. The name no doubt is intended to represent the Dart river—*Durium Amnem*, as it is put by the assumed Richard of Cirencester. But is it Dartmouth, or Totnes? Stanborough rather indicates the former, early importance the latter, which moreover seems to correspond better, as we shall see, with the continued line.

Now comes a break, and the Ravennat goes back to the west to pick up the places on the north coast that he has overpassed. As we proceed with our examination, we find that his method of working is to carry on the towns from west to east upon more or less direct lines, keeping each set abreast of the other at frequent intervals, and completing the series by traverses from north to south.

We therefore return to Uxelis, which we identify with Uxela of Ptolemy, on the Camel estuary. The locality has yielded ample traces of foreign intercourse—Roman coins, pottery, and personal ornaments having been found at St. Minver; and coins and Samian ware in the camp at Tregear, near Bodmin. And this identification of Uxelis, moreover, strengthens that of Nemetotatio.

Vertevia, which follows, unquestionably lies in the North of Devon. It is the town sometimes called Artavia, and associated with Hartland, or Harty Point. There are two possible claimants—the great earthwork at Clovelly Dikes, and the ancient Barum, now Barnstaple. The name would lend itself to either; but the date at which the Ravennat wrote seems likely to have been considerably later than the occupation of the Dichens; and the Artavia (= Harty) has not the same claims to our regard as the Vertevia, which in the exchange of "v" for "b," and the use of "v" for "u," is practically identical with the Abertaw—the mouth, or rather confluence, of the Taw—in which the name of Barnstaple is with good reason held to have originated.

Melarnoni naturally suggests, seeing that Exeter is the next place on the list, and that *arno*, as in Duriarno, stands for "river," some place on the Mole. Molland has been regarded as a Roman station, but without evidence. If Melarnoni is a continuing town, then South Molton, the centre of a great network of ancient roads, has decidedly the best claim.

That Scadum Namorum is Exeter will need no argument in proof; but the corruption of Isca Dumnoniorum into this very uncouth phrase will help to illustrate the difficulties there are in dealing with the Ravennat's names, and the manner in which he "accommmodated" them by phonetic processes.

Having reached Exeter from the north, our author next returns to pick up the central route, which he had previously brought to the Tamar.

The first name in this section is Termonin, which, under the assumed form of Termolus, has been assigned to Molland Bottreaux.   There is no name in Devonshire at the present moment even faintly resembling this, and yet by the application of the principles already laid down we get a reasonable meaning at once.   The old Devonshire pronunciation of Tor is Tar.   There are ancient maps in which Torquay is called Tar Key; and even at the present day, in spite of the levelling-down tendencies of our Board and National schools, the word may be heard in this form.   On Dartmoor no genuine old-fashioned Moorman ever thinks of saying anything else, as the Rev. S. Rowe points out in his *Perambulation*.   An Italian, or native of Southern Europe, writing Tar by sound would inevitably spell it Ter; and Tor is one of those Keltic words which, as we have seen, the Ravennat accepts without translation.   But the latter part of the name was apparently Saxon; for it seems to be translated by the Latin *mons*. Termonin would thus be neither more nor less than Torhill. Whether the explanation of the latter half of the name be accepted or not, I have little doubt about the former. If we accept both, we should be inclined to seek the place indicated in the neighbourhood of some exceptional Tor— such, for example, as Hey Tor.   And there I was inclined to leave this point, regarding Termonin simply as some spot on Dartmoor connected with the great central trackway, until by accident I chanced upon the following passage in the *Perambulation** touching the tracklines or boundary banks "invariably observed in connection with aboriginal dwellings and sepulchral remains:" "The most striking specimen is perhaps that which is presented on the south-eastern slope of *Torrhill*, near the road from Ashburton to Moreton, below Rippon Tor.   Here are evident marks of regularity of design, and the tracklines intersect each other in such numbers that nearly the whole hillside is partitioned into squares, convey-

* pp. 58-9.

ing in a remarkable manner a lively idea of an aboriginal rural settlement, as there are remains of many antient habitations within their respective inclosures." Probably nowhere on the Moor are there such distinct traces of an extensive and important settlement. What is more, they are on the line of the great central trackway which I have assumed to be the Fosse Road, and nearly midway between Tavistock and Exeter.

And when this was recognized, there flashed upon me what seemed a remarkable piece of confirmatory evidence. In that curious old map known as the Peutingerian Table, a road is shown going westerly from Isca Dumnoniorum, on which appears Ridumo xv., of course indicating that the place in question was on a main line of communication, and fifteen miles from Exeter. Now the direction of Ridumo appears to negative the idea that Moridunum is intended. In a straight line Torrhill is just the required distance from Exeter; and Ridumo seems a very likely corruption of the name of the adjacent height of Rippon.

Whether Mostevia, our next station, lies on the direct road to Exeter is open to argument; but its successor Milidunum is clear enough. We have about half a mile south-east of Chudleigh, and just within the enclosure of Ugbrook Park, the great entrenchment of Castle Dyke, which comprises $9\frac{1}{2}$ acres of ground, and is enclosed by an agger and fosse even now 40 feet from top to bottom. The enclosure is an irregular oval, about 270 yards by 220, and has an outwork on the south-west 700 feet distant, with a vallum and fosse about 400 yards in length.* This is unmistakeably on the line of the older road to Exeter, which I identify with the Fosseway. If similarity of name is chiefly regarded, then Fosteville, lying between this old road and the new branch road by Teignbridge, has a claim; so also has Wooston, the chief earthwork near Moreton. The superior importance of the latter may give it the preference.

Milidunum I place unhesitatingly upon Milber Down, the remarkable earthworks on which were among the earliest to attract the attention of our antiquaries.

Apaunaris, or Apuanaris, must be looked for in Torbay, and I think we shall find it in the ancient earthworks which once covered the Down above and between Babbacombe and Anstis Cove. And here again we have evidence that the Ravennat was accustomed to translate his names when he knew what they meant. *Naris* is of course nose = ness ;

* The dimensions are those given by Mr. J. Davidson in his *Notes.*

Apa as unquestionably stands for the first word of the modern term with which we are familiar as "Hope's Nose." And this, by the way, leads us to suspect that in the Apa we have also the first two syllables of Babba, and that it may have been the name of the whole of the promontorial district. Of course *nasus* would be a more usual form than *naris;* but again this may be due to the writer's imperfect Latin ; and we have in Cornwall Nare applied to several headlands. H the Ravennat never uses, as we have already seen.

Masona has no distinct relation, that I can trace, to any local name. Very likely it is Berry Head, which must have had an older name than that which it has taken from its ancient earthworks.   One naturally hesitates, however, to press into the service such very faint echoes as Mudstone on the one hand, and Ash Hole on the other, though both, as they stand, are very manifest corruptions.

Aloungium, the last name of the pre-Isca series, is one of considerable interest.   It belongs to a group, very nearly akin, scattered by the Ravennat throughout the kingdom. Not only do Alauna and Alunna occur six times in his list of British towns, but in various divergences and combinations. The Antonine Itinerary also gives us Alone.   It is clear then that we have here a term of ordinary application, and, from the fact that no attempt is made to translate it, a word of Keltic origin.   It is generally assumed to be connected with the Keltic *alan* = river ; but I am convinced that in some cases we must trace it to the Keltic *hal* = hill, or rather to its plural *halow* = hills.   It is one of the commonest incidents of topographical nomenclature to find common names taken by people who do not know their meaning for proper names, and used accordingly.

Aloungium therefore at once suggests *Hal*don, but I am not clear as to the meaning of the distinctive termination. Possibly it represents the Latin *longus* (we have the Italian *allungato*).   If so we may connote the fact that the part of Haldon immediately south of Mamhead and north of the valley of the Dawlish water is Langdown to this day.

To complete our inquiry we must ascertain whether the Ravennat's list beyond Exeter will fit in with the results thus attained.   As we brought him into Devon from the west, so we must take him out to the east.

Moriduno is given as the next place to Exeter, and between Moriduno and Venta Velgarum, or Winchester—the next place which may be regarded as clearly identified—we have :

Alauna Silva, Omire, Tedertis, Londinis [Landinis, Lindinis], Canca, Dolocindo [Dolotindo], Clavinio [Clavimo], Morionio, Bolvelaunio, Alauna, Coloneas, Aranus [Aramis], Anicetis, Moiezo [Meiezo, Melezo], Ibernio, Bindogladia, Noviomagno, and Onna.

None of these places, I believe, is to be found in Devon, Moridunum completing the series of our local towns. As to the site of Moridunum, Seaton is now generally abandoned, and either Honiton or Hembury Fort is believed to have the preference. Such clue as we get from the Ravennat seems also to point in the latter direction, for I believe that he leaves the county by the Fosseway. For this reason therefore of the two inland claimants to the honour I prefer Hembury to Honiton, which seems to me of much later origin.

Woodbury in such a case is quite out of court as a candidate for the position of Alauna Silva. Those who identify the Alænus with the Axe have no difficulty in holding that Alauna Silva is somewhere on the banks of that river; but to assume an exchange between two such words as Axium and Alænus is asking rather too much. Moreover we are not driven to this hypothesis at all. Alauna, as we have seen, may have nothing to do with a river, but may be simply the Keltic *halow* = hills. If Alauna Silva is "the wooded hill district," then we have the site of the place intended clearly indicated in the great hill fort of Castle Neroche, surrounded by the forest of the same name.

To trace out the places named between Moridunum and Venta Velgarum with any pretence to certainty would require more precise local knowledge of our bordering counties than I possess. Still certain points appear to be clear enough. My impression is that the Ravennat follows the line of the Fosseway pretty closely, until he diverges from it by continuance to the estuary of the Bristol Avon. Then that he takes a traverse from the northward across Wilts. Next, that he again picks up his southern line of communication. In fact, that he gives the list as one would do it in the present day, who worked by a map, and who adopted what I may call a system of consecutive parallelism.

Now the five names which follow Alauna Silva are Omire, Tedertis, Lindinis, Canca, and Dolocindo or Dolotindo. The last of these is clearly Doulting, which lies on the Fosseway at or near the junction of the ancient road traversing the crest of the Mendips. Omire, Tedertis, Lindinis, and Canca in all likelihood are to the south, and I think it highly probable therefore that by Omire our author intends the

magnificent set of earthworks on Ham (Om) Hill; and by Canca, the equally noteworthy fortified town of Cadbury,* Lindinis is clearly the "lake fort," and probably an old name of Ilchester, near which we still have the name of Limington. Tedertis may be a form of Petherton. At least these spots occur on or close to the line of the Fosseway in the order given by the Ravennat, and were this the place many arguments might be advanced in support of these suggestions, though I do not lay absolute stress upon them.

My impression is that the line is continued from Doulting by Clavinio (Clutton) to the mouth of the Avon at Morionio, the latter name appearing to indicate a place by the sea.

And then we appear to make a fresh start from Doulting on the Fosseway. The next name is Bolvelaunio. Now bearing in mind that the Ravennat has no W and substitutes B, there can hardly be a doubt that the place here indicated is Wellow.

The succeeding group of names comprises Alauna, Coloneas, Aranus or Aramis, Anicetis, Moiezo, and Ibernio. As to the latter, though possibly I stand alone, I have no doubt of its being the modern Iwerne, and of its applying to the great earthworks on Hamildon and Hod Hills near Blandford.

This gives us a clue that cannot lead us very far wrong. Alauna is probably some place on the Avon between Wellow and Calne, the most likely Coloneas. Sarum or Salisbury does not occur in the Ravennat's list; but assuming that I am right in following this traverse the similarity between Aramis and Harnham the Salisburian suburb is very striking. Yet after all it is only the initial "S" that is wanting for the reproduction of Sarum itself, and that may really be the final "s" of the word preceding, and in any case is within the limits of proven corruption. Have the words been rightly divided in reading the MS. ?

Whether Anicetis completes this traverse or begins a new one I shall not venture to decide; but I have no hesitation in holding that Moiezo lies west of Ibernio, and in suggesting Dorchester. Durnonovaria, like Sarum, does not occur in the Ravennat's topography; and Maiden Castle, the original of Dorchester, is really Maes-dun (Maes = Moeiz), as we have it in the Somerset Maesbury. There can be hardly a doubt that the three names which lie between Iwerne and Winchester are those of three intervening towns; but my

* The name Camel, which occurs several times in the vicinity, is much nearer to Canca, and has led to Cadbury being regarded as Camelot ! Tacitus speaks of the *Cangi* as dwelling in Somerset.

references to localities beyond the Devonshire border have been simply intended to show the consecutive character of my argument, and the general applicability of the rules laid down. Here therefore I stop, leaving it to others who possess the all-essential local knowledge to carry the enquiry further if they will.

There remains but one other point for comment. The only other record of ancient British topography which we possess beyond those already commented upon or alluded to, is the list of thirty-three cities which is commonly ascribed to Nennius. I cannot find in that list any name which by any process of accomodation can be associated with Devon or indeed with Cornwall, save possibly Cair Teim; for Cair Pensauelcoin, as Mr. Kerslake has shown, is certainly *not* Exeter.

To place my suggestions as clearly before my readers as possible, I have appended a map to this paper, on which they are set forth.

No reference has been made to the work of other commentators, either in agreement or disagreement, because it has been felt that the hypotheses advanced must stand or fall upon their own merits, and that whatever weight rightly attaches to the opinions of the many distinguished men who have enquired into these matters, their views are but opinions, and cannot in any case be cited as conclusive authority. The only "authorities" indeed are the original authors under review, and the vestiges of antiquity by whose aid the riddle has been attempted to be solved. If the system here set forth for the interpretation of the Ravennat is the right one, it will prove itself in the very fact that it is capable of systematic application; and as a system by the results of that application it must stand or fall.