GARIANONUM,
AND THE COUNT OF THE SAXON SHORE.

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(Read in part at Burgh Castle, July 6th, 1885.)

It is a matter for genuine congratulation that the members of the Suffolk Archæological Institute have at last paid a visit to the great Roman Camp situated in their county. Few counties are so favoured as to contain a Camp with stone walls, and in no instance is the preservation of these ramparts more complete than we find it in this secluded spot, where most are inclined to recognise the Garianonum of the Notitia Imperii, and the Onobbersburh of Bede.

The normal Roman Camp was square, as we find from Polybius, the length of each side being 2,017 Roman feet, with a clear space of 200 feet left everywhere between the vallum and the tents.*

In England, however, we have not such an example, even at Richborough (Ritupiae). At Pevensey (Anderida) and Silchester (Calleva) the rubble walls apparently follow in part the irregular lines of a British earth-work, while here, although the rectangular form is adhered to, the length is more than half as much again as the breadth. The dimensions are, internally, 620 ft. by 383 ft., and the average height is from 14 to 15 feet,

according to measurements made by me, Sept. 13, 1886.

The question at once arises as to whether Burgh Castle originally had four walls, or was protected on the *W.N.W.* side by what was then an arm of the sea. To this question Mr. Harrod's labours were largely directed by desire of the late Sir John Boileau, to whose spirit the preservation of this splendid monument is due.

The opinion of those who denied the existence of a fourth wall was defended on the ground that the sea would form an adequate protection at the back. No doubt the whole of the marsh might be flooded at an exceptionally high spring-tide, or under the influence of a north-westerly gale, or by heavy freshets, or by a combination of these causes, but a dry, still season, and the absence of unusual tides, would bring about a different state of things; and indeed the most unfavourable condition of the marshes would offer no fatal obstacle to the pirates who swarmed up the estuaries and creeks of this part of the country. On this ground there is really no presumption against the hypothesis of a fourth wall. Rather, the existence of a British tumulus on the spot where the Thorpe station now stands, and the salting mound just above the present average water level, in Herringfleet, would favour the idea that there has been but little change in that level, since the days of the Roman occupation. But Mr. Harrod's excavations went to the extent of affording strong positive evidences as to the fate of the fourth wall. The ragged ends of both north and south walls, and the broken bonding courses convinced him that both walls must have been extended beyond their present terminations, and thus he was led, at his first visit in 1850, to make a series of trenches on the low ground to the west, separated by a hedge from the present path leading to the Cement Works. He began nearly opposite to the Praetorian Gate, but a little further to the north, and worked

*The bearings of the walls are E.S.E., S.S.W., W.N.W., and N.N.E. We shall distinguish them hereafter as E., S., W., N., respectively.*
steadily southward. Very little reward he met with at first, broken mortar, loose flints, and fragments of tiles; but in one place he found a layer of flints, placed on the clay, with a thin covering of gravel sifted over them. One of Sir John Boileau's gardeners, James Kettle, drew Mr. Harrod's attention to this, as the same thing had been observed in the foundations of a small building within the walls, to be noticed presently. But this faint indication of the foundation of a wall was soon excelled by that which was found in the trench numbered 3. Here, four feet below the surface a fragment of the wall was reached, which in its fall had retained its continuity. Penetrating a little below this a number of oak piles about a foot apart were discovered. On these the wall had originally rested, and further investigations in the trench No. 1, showed the piling precisely in the line of foundation indicated in the other trenches. The piles, Mr. Harrod tells us, "were about a foot apart, and had clay, chalk-stones, mortar, &c., very firmly rammed in between them to the depth of about eighteen inches, after penetrating which space, black mud was thrown out, speedily followed by the water, which then rose a little above the top of the piling, and, as I judge, to the level of the water in the adjacent drains."

The obvious difficulty of carrying out extensive diggings in such a position as that of the footpath below the Camp, prevented Mr. Harrod's enquiries from being pushed much further. In one trench, marked 15 on his plan, a solid mass of mortar was found seven feet below the footpath, but the hole had to be filled up, and from that day to this no further excavation has been made on that special spot.

Where then is the West Wall? Its fragments have doubtless been dispersed over the vicinity of the camp. Some, perhaps, underlie the oozy bed of the Waveney, or even of Breydon. Some may be looked for in farm-buildings, cottages, or in the walls of the parish church of Burgh Castle. Much very likely has been ground to
powder on the roads of the Lothingland Hundred. But Mr. Harrod's investigations will carry conviction to most minds that at Burgh Castle, as at Richborough, the camp originally had four walls.*

The characteristic—

"Indurate flint, and brick in ruddy tiers
With immemorial lichen frosted o'er."

—require no notice here; but it may be a question whether the overhanging of the walls is not to a certain extent intentional, and the higher level of the ground inside the camp is to be remarked.

Six cylindrical bastions remain, of which one on the west side has fallen,—

"undergnaw'd by years."

—The diameter is about 14 feet, and only the upper part is at all bonded with the walls, which circumstance suggests that they were built at a time between the commencement and the completion of the walls. Down the middle of each is a round hollow space, apparently for the insertion of the centre timber of a temporary wooden turret, to be raised in case of an attack on the camp.

Adjoining the West wall was a room sixteen feet six inches square, the foundation resting on a layer of flints with fine gravel sifted over them, as described above. The flue formed by the usual flanged tiles was found, with some indications of a furnace.

On each side of the Praetorian Gate the remains of a wall were discovered, turning inwards at right angles to the main wall. Mr. Harrod conjectures this to have been merely intended to keep the roadway clear of earth. No other discoveries were made hereabouts, save a narrow trench just within the gate, apparently for the reception of a wooden threshold; but Mr. Harrod expressed his conviction that he was wrong in not digging to a greater depth, and in adhering too closely to a straight line.

Thus far later investigations on the spot take us; but

* See Norfolk Archaeology v, 146.
we cannot leave the material aspect of Garianonum, without recording the cinerary urns found at Runham Vauxhall a few years ago. Mr. H. Watling, of Stonham, is my informant. The urns, with a coin of one of the Constantine family, were on his brother's property, on what was then probably the west bank of some backwater joining various branches of the estuary. This little Roman or Romano-British settlement may thus have been the parent of the Borough of Great Yarmouth.

Written testimony will take us no further back than the geographer Ptolemy, whose great work dates from about the time of Hadrian.

In Ptolemy* (Geog. Lib. ii. cap. 3) the mouth of the Yare takes its place thus on the East Anglian coast:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Long.</th>
<th>Lat.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaris æstuarium</td>
<td>20 30</td>
<td>55 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garieni flu. ost.</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>55 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extensio</td>
<td>21.15</td>
<td>55 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idumanii flu. ostia</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>55 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamesa æstuarium</td>
<td>20.30</td>
<td>54 30</td>
</tr>
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However much he may have been misinformed as to the Scotch coast, imagining it to run out nearly eastward from the Forth, his account of our own shore shows practical acquaintance with its outline. The tendency of the measurements is to thrust the mouth of the Garienus northward and Extensio eastward, which tallies with the natural changes of situation, the Caister mouth being then probably regarded as the principal haven, and Lowestoft Ness having suffered curtailment in common with other points of projection. Ptolemy's degrees of longitude, it must be remembered, start from Fortunatæ Insulae, which are generally regarded as the Canary Isles.

A gap of some 240 years occurs before we meet with Garianonum in the Survey of the Roman Empire, made shortly before its division into Eastern and Western

* My quotations are from Sebastian Munster's edition (Basle, 1540.) I have to thank the Mayor and Corporation of Colchester for access to the book, which forms part of Archbishop Harsnet's library.
Empires, under Arcadius and Honorius. This great work, generally known as Notitia Imperii, bears on its title page, as published by Frobenius in 1552:—

“Notitia Utraque cum Orientis tum Occidentis ultra Arcadii Honoriique Caesarum tempora, illustre vetustatis monumentum, imbthesaurus prorsum incomparabilis.”

From this work it appears that the Britains were then divided into five provinces.

(1) **Britannia Prima**, South of the Thames
(2) **IIa**, Wales
(3) **Flavia Caesariensis**, all the country between the Humber and the Thames, including all the Eastern Counties but the coast line.
(4) **Maxima Caesariensis**, from the Humber to the Cheviots, and
(5) **Valentia**, the Scottish Lowlands.

—These were under Consulares (4) and (5), or Praesides (1), (2), (3), who were subject to the Vicar of the Britains, himself one of the six Vicarii or Deputies of the Proconsul of Africa. Their jurisdiction, though mainly fiscal,* ("Virum spectabilem Vicarium, quem totius collectionis et transmissionis cura constringit." Cod. Th. ut infra) extended, through the Agentes in rebus, to the Public Post and the Detective Police, under the Stationarii and Curiosi respectively; and it is remarkable that on the staff of the Vicar of the Britains is one officer entitled *Princeps de Schola*† Agentum in rebus, the Principal of the College or Corporation of these officials. Again, these four provinces were under the Praetorian Prefect of the Gauls, among whose functions was that of the Judge in a Court of Final Appeal.‡ Again, three officers, the Count of the Britains, the Duke of the Britains, and the Count of the Saxon Shore throughout the Britains, were under the Master of the Foot in the

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† Probably equivalent to consortium. Amm. Marc. xv, 5.
West; and this expression must not be read too definitely, as a great body of cavalry was under this command.

Of these three, the jurisdiction of the Count of the Britains was apparently in the central parts of the island, that of the Duke of the Britains unquestionably in _Maxima Cesariensis_, for to him was committed the North Wall, the Stations of Doncaster (_Danum_) Lancaster (_Longovicus_), Borough (_Braboniacum_) &c.; and that of the Count of the Saxon Shore, with whom our paper is concerned, over the whole coast line from Brancaster to the middle of Sussex. His stations were

(1) _Brannodunum_—Brancaster
(2) _Garianonum_—Burgh Castle
(3) _Othona_—Bradwell-juxta-Mare.
(4) _Regulbium_—Reculver
(5) _Ritupia_—Richborough
(6) _Dubri_—Dover
(7) _Lemanni_—Lympne in Romney Marsh
(8) _Anderida_—Pevensey
(9) _Portus Adurni_—now swallowed up by the sea, near New Shoreham, where the mouth of the Adur used to be.

Now our _Garianonum_ being "sub dispositione viri spectabilis, Comitis Litoris Saxonici per Britanniam" it is certain to have been visited and inspected in its turn, from time to time. This officer must have been a man of high dignity, though not of the highest, _spectabilis_, but not _illustris_, with a staff rather greater than that of the Comes Britanniarum, whose name follows his in the _Notitia_.

A passage in Ammianus Marcellinus (xv. 5) throws light upon the title _spectabilis_, and the way in which it might be acquired.

In the year 355 Silvanus, Master of the Foot in the West, and thus the superior officer of the Count of the Saxon Shore, assumed the purple in Gaul, casting
Constantius II. into abject terror. The Emperor could not meet his rival in the field, but despatched Ursicinus, an officer who had fallen into disfavour through his military successes, and who was anxious to retrieve his position in any way, to compass treacherously the destruction of Silvanus. Ursicinus started at once from Italy, accompanied by only twelve men, of whom the historian himself was one, and using all possible expedition arrived at Cologne, whither Silvanus had betaken himself, before any imagined that the assumption of the Empire had become known at Rome. The rumour of their approach, however, preceded them, and they found the city in a state of excitement. It was agreed to lull the new Emperor into security by every mark of outward respect. Ursicinus was brought courteously into the Imperial presence, and after having performed the customary acts of profound obeisance was himself regarded as spectabilis and intimus, the latter epithet being naturally suitable to the status of a Comes.* How he improved the occasion to the murder of Silvanus does not belong to our work. Such then was the rank and dignity of the great officer to whom the protection of the Saxon Shore was entrusted.

The Notitia gives the following as the forces under his command:

"Sub dispositione uiri spectabilis, Comitis litoris saxonic per Britanniam.


The Dalmatian horse were scattered in many stations and under many skies, from Brancaster, where

* Susceptus tamen idem Dux leniter, adactusque, inclinante negotio ipso cervices, adorare sollemniter anhelantem celsius purpuratum, ut spectabilis colebatur et intimus.

Amm: Mare: xv. 5.
they could almost see the sea-walls which the Coritani were throwing up under Roman supervision, to Phœnicicia, the Euphrates valley, and where Beer-sheba looks north towards the hill country of Judah, and south over the wilderness of Arabia.

The Stablesian (African) horse were also posted at other places besides Burgh Castle—at Pelusium in the Delta of the Nile, in Scythia, in Moesia. The Fortenses, of whom we know less, were in Spain and Africa, as well as on the Essex coast.

The Tungrican foot at Dover, from what is now Tongern in the Bishopric of Liege, were of a race which had thrown off its allegiance to the Romans during the revolt of Civilis (A.D. 70), and joined the standard of that gallant chief with their leaders Campanus and Juvenalis.* They had become serviceable enough again by the time of the Notitia. Among the Auxilia Palatina we find Sagitarii Tungr, and again Tungr, no doubt infantry. Both archers and foot appear also as serving under the Count of Illyricum.

The Turnacenses at Lympne, from Tournay, and the Abulcians at Pevensey, I can find at no other stations.

We cannot go wrong in identifying the Vetassii at Reculver with the Betassii, neighbours of the Tungr, and coupled with them by Tacitus in the place already referred to. Archdeacon Battely, in his Antiquitates Rutupinæ directs attention to five important passages, of which I quote one. "Rutupi portus, had procul a Morinis, in austro positos Menapios, Balasiosque prospectat."† The limits of paper and time must be my excuse for leaving the Second Legion and the Exploratœs.

The Notitia then gives the Officium or staff of attendants and other subordinates at the disposal of the Count of the Saxon shore in these terms:—

"Officium autem habet idem uir spectabilis Comes hoc modo.

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* Tac. Hist. iv. 66. † p. 35.

—Of these the Princeps, who seems to be the Lieutenant of the Count, two Numerarii and the Commentariensis come from head-quarters, being from the staff of the Master of the Foot Guards, as we should term præsentales pedites.

In the Theodosian Codex (vii, 1, 17) is a constitution of Arcadius, given at Constantinople, a.d. 398, commanding the recall of all soldiers, præsentals as well as provincials, to their proper quarters—

"Revocari suos quosque ad numeros et sedes, tam Præsentales, quam Provinciales milites jubentur." On which Gothofred says "Præsentales dico, qui, de more in Urbe Constantinopolitana, præsentis in ea Principe, ejusque comitatu versari solebant, et Principis obsequio deputati erant, &c. His scilicet verbis intelliguntur Præsentales, qui Principe Constantinopoli hærente inibi quoque degebaut."

In the Western Empire, mutatis mutandis, the præsentals must have been normally at Rome.

The functions of the Count of the Saxon Shore must have been partly fiscal, from his having two Numerarii on his staff, for these were revenue officers, as we learn from the Theodosian Codex (viii, 1). They bear no good name, various rescripts referring to their pride, greed, fraud, and sloth. They may be placed on the eculeus, if necessary, for the detection of the falsification of their accounts. No military promotion is for them. They are to buy and sell nothing during their term of office, which lasted at first two years, then was increased to five, and finally diminished to three. When their time is up they are to wait in their provinces a year to answer any charges brought against them. Altogether they are regarded as a bad lot, and they do not seem to have improved, as the last period mentioned was subsequently doubled.

Among the functions of the Commentariensis was the superintendence of prisons, and the Cornicularius, Adjutor,
and Subadjuva, were in all probability his assistants. A constitution of Valentinian, Valens and Gratian (A.D. 371) De Fidelis Custodia shows this group of officials to have been as tricky as the last.

"Ad Commentariensem receptarum personarum custodia observatio et pertineat nec putet hominem abjectum atque vilem objiciendum esse Judiciis, si reus condiciione aliqua fuerit elapsus. Nam ipsum volumus ejus pana consumi, cui obnoxius docebitur pusse, qui fugerit. Si vero Commentariensis necessitati aliqua procul ab officio egerit, Adjutorem ejus pari jubemus invigilare cura, et eadem statuimus legis severitate constringi" (Cod. Th. ix, 3, 5).

The actual custodians of the prisons were Claviculare. The Commentariensi is so called "quod Commentarios, id est rationes custodiarum et damnatorum conficeret." The Corniculum was in earlier days, apparently, a horn-shaped ornament awarded for distinguished service in the field. L. Papirius (Liv. x, 44) rewards his cavalry, "corniculis armillisque argenteis," after the taking of Aquilonia and Cominum. Hence came the military office of Cornicularius, transferred afterwards from the adjutant of a centurion to the deputy of a commentariensis. The Subadjuva I find only in the Theodosian Codex (vi, 27, 3) in the civil service among the Agentes in rebus, but from the collocation of offices in the Notitia, he must have been a subordinate of the Commentariensis and Cornicularius. I can find nothing about the Regerandarius, and am driven to conjecture from the form of the word that his function was to block out fresh work for his superiors, arrange new expeditions, &c.

Exceptores, who were originally amanuenses, came to be officers in the Chancery of the Imperial Court, and Singulares, so called from their not using letters, but words, nota, were short-hand writers, mentioned in Codex Justinianus (I. 27, 1 & 8).

I pass to a notice of the doings of Counts of the Saxon shore given by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxvii, 8). It is the only one I have lighted on.
It is the year 368. The morose and sanguinary Emperor Valentinian is hurrying from Amiens to Treves. The itinerary route is by Cormeilles, Soissons, Arlon, &c. Somewhere in this wild forest district a message from our island reaches him. The barbarians have reduced the Britons to the last stage of distress. Nectaridius, Count of the Maritime district ("maritimi tractus") is killed. Fullofaudes, the Duke, in the north, is surrounded by enemies. Horror-stricken, the Emperor despatches to the spot Severus, Count of the Body-guard, almost immediately recalls him, replaces him by Jovinus, who sends on Provertides with the utmost speed to organise the army. Then as rumours thicken and the gloom deepens, Theodosius (father of the Emperor of the same name), a man of high military reputation, takes the supreme command. He takes the sea at Boulogne, crosses to Richborough (Rutupiae), close to Sandwich, one of the stations of the Count of the Saxon shore. Gathering his forces, Batavians, Heruli, Jovini, Victores, he attacks the disorderly band of plunderers near London ("Lundinium, vetus oppidum, quod Augustam posteritas appellant"), wins an easy victory, sets the captives free, restores the booty, reserving but a moderate share for his men, settles the country under a firm and just ruler, Civilis, and returns to France, covered with glory, next year. But the tide of barbarian invasion was not thus to be arrested. In the following year (A.D. 370) Nannenus, a veteran commander, now Count of the Saxon shore, bore the first brunt of the sea-rovers' assault. Weakened in numbers, and wounded in body, he begged the Emperor to send Severus, who at last had an opportunity of showing his quality. The Saxons were so alarmed at the appearance of his army, and the glitter of eagles and other standards that they desired a truce, which Severus granted on receipt of the usual hostages. The truce ended in the Saxons receiving permission to return whence they had come, without baggage. He arranged ambuscades, however, for the slaughter of the whole of them; but
the Saxons discovered his perfidy, offered a stubborn resistance, and would have destroyed their assailants, had they not been taken in flank by a body of mail-clad horsemen ("catafracti") and in the end butchered to a man. A just umpire, says Ammianus Marcellinus, will censure this perfidy, but will not take it amiss when he estimates the character of these pirates. The retired valley ("abditâ vallis") mentioned by the historian would lead us to select Kent or Sussex, rather than Norfolk or Suffolk, as the scene of this treacherous exploit.

Thus the Roman records come to an end, and a Hiatus valde deflendus separates the Count of the Saxon shore from the blessed Furseus, whose settlement at Cnobheresburg is thus described:—

"Ubi quadam infirmitate corporis arreptus, angelica meruit visione perfriui, in qua admonitus est coepito verbi ministerio sedulus insistere, vigiliis consuetis et orationibus indefessus incumbere; eo quod certus sibi exitus, sed incerta eiusdem exitus hora esset futura, dicente Domino: 'Vigilate itaque, quia nescitis diem neque horam.' Qua visione confirmatus, curavit locum monasterii, quem a praefato rege Sigiberto acceperat, velocissime construere, ac regularibus instituere disciplinis. Erat autem monasterium silvarum et maris vicinitate amoenum, constructum in castro quodam, quod lingua Anglorum Cnobheresburg, id est, urbs Cnobberi vocatur; quod quidem monasterium rex provinciae illius Anna ac nobiles quique augustioribus aedificiis, ac donariis postea adornarunt." (Ric. de Cirenc. Spec. ii, c. 38. Rolls Series i, 157.)

And again:—

"Anna . . . a beato Furseo viro Dei monasterium in regno suo aedificatum augustioribus aedificiis ac donariis adornavit, possessionibus ac copiis temporalibus rerum Christo ibidem servientibus augmentare non desit. (Id. ii, 64. Rolls Series i, 263.)

If Furseus's monastery was actually within the Camp, no trace of it remains, but in the outbuildings at the Rectory is the base of a flint wall of no great length,

* "Quos clibanarios dictitant Perse, thoracum muniti tegminibus, et limbis ferreis cincti, ut Praxiteliis manu polita crederes simulaca, non viros quos laminarum circuli tenues apti corporis flexibus ambiebant, per omnia membra deducti; ut quocumque artus necessitas commovisset. vestitus congrueret junctura cohærenter apta."

Amm. Marc. xvi. 10.

† S. Matt. xxiv, 44.
surmounted by later work, in which is embedded an arch stone of the Norman period, with a double moulding, zig-zag and cable. I do not see to what part of the present church this stone can be referred.

The coins found at Burgh Castle are on the whole of a later period than those from Caister, which may have shared the name of Garianonum with Burgh, in the days of Honorius, or possessed it solely in the days of Ptolemy. Instead of the large brass Trajans and Adrians, we have all those from the "Thirty Tyrant" period onwards. A good Gallienus was a few years ago put into the offerty at Gorleston, possibly with eleemosynary intent, possibly regarded as a mere Nehushtan. A Constans, with a not uncommon reverse, representing the Emperor seated in a galley under a XP labarum is in the possession of Sir Francis Boileau. The small medal bearing the head of a young Mars, with the wolf and children for reverse, is common enough, as also the corresponding Constantinople medal. Horses' teeth abound to such an extent that the place might have been inhabited by a professor of equine dentistry. The only remarkable ceramic relic from Burgh, which I know, is a fine Durobrivian vessel, in the possession of Mr. Nash, of Great Yarmouth.*

To trace the fortunes of the Castrum, till its happy purchase by Sir John Boileau, in 1845, or thereabouts, would require a separate paper. In concluding this brief notice of its earlier history, I would recommend to all who have not visited this camp to give plenty of time to an examination of its character, and so to become thoroughly impressed with a sense of that might which pertained to

"Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam."

Our present Oxford Professor of Poetry, Mr. Francis Turner Palgrave, of a family well-known and respected in Yarmouth, in his Visions of England, has given us the

* For a detailed account of it see Norfolk Archaeology III., 415.
results of his meditation on *Garianonum* in these powerful and suggestive lines, descriptive of a dead earth revolving round a dying sun:

Yet on her outworn surface bearing round
Perchance, with rocks and plains and dwindling seas,
Some sign of the lost race,—some walls like these,
With flint-work iron bound;

Gray towers and gables; roads through mountains hew'd;
Outlines of cities, crumbling in their sleep;
—Such as in Equatorial forests deep
The wayfarer has viewed

Crying, what vanished race these regions trod?—
But none will be to ask our history then:
Silence and death:—the busy tribes of men
Gather'd to rest and God.

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**VESSEL FOUND AT BURGH CASTLE.**

*Never previously engraved. One-fourth original size. Drawn by H. Watling.*
BURGH CASTLE.

East View, from an original drawing, made 1885, by H. Watling.