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### ON THE ROMAN OCCUPATION OF LINCOLN AND THE EASTERN PORTION OF BRITAIN.<sup>1</sup>

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At the last meeting of the Institute, held at Taunton, an opportunity was afforded to bring before the members some account of the Roman occupation of the West of Britain, as on previous occasions, at Canterbury and at Colchester, opportunities were given to treat of the landing places on the Kentish coast, and of the settlement of the colony of Camulodunum. The vestiges of Roman occupation were then considered at those important places, and the visit of the Institute to the West of England brought us in contact with the remains on the shores of the British channel, and of the inland cities of Bath and Ilchester, with the rich field of Roman remains which Somersetshire discloses.

I propose now to trace the line of the Fosse Road from Ilchester till it brings us diagonally to the Roman city of Lincoln where we are now assembled, and I shall endeavour to shew the connection between the counties of Somerset and Lincoln in Roman times,—between Bath and Lincoln, which were connected by a direct road. This line of road is more direct and better ascertained than any other Roman road, and as it connected together important Roman towns, so does it seem to have been much frequented.

Leaving Bath (the hospital for sick soldiers and invalid citizens in Roman times, as at present), we come to the important town of Cirencester (Corinium), and on our way

<sup>1</sup> Read in the Antiquarian Section at the Annual Meeting, at Lincoln July 28th, 1880.

pass remains of Roman villas which bordered the Fosse Road, and travelling on to Leicester (Ratae), where very striking Roman remains are continually found,<sup>1</sup> we come through well defined Roman halting places, to Lindum.

At Lindum we find traces of the *Legio Secunda Adjutrix* (see "C. I. L.," p. 51), the same Legion brought into Britain by Vespasian, who subjugated the western portion of the island, and the head quarters of which were afterwards at Caerleon-on-Usk, where so many tokens of that Legion have been found.

The pigs of lead, worked from the Mendip mines, bear the stamp of the Emperor Vespasian, and are found as early as the date of the Emperor Claudius. As *Deva* (Chester), on the western portion of the island, was the standing quarters of the Twentieth Legion, so *Lindum* was probably (as Professor Hubner supposes<sup>2</sup>) the standing quarters of the *Legio Secunda*, in the expedition of Petilius Cerialis against the Brigantes. At a later period the head quarters were transferred to Caerleon, and Caerwent in the west. Their direct line of march would therefore be along the Fosse Road. As the stations of Camulodunum and Glevum (Colchester and Gloucester) probably mark the subjugation and settlement of the south and west of Britain, so do Lindum and Deva mark the further subjugation of the midland portion.

These stations were fixed prior to Agricola's further advance into northern Britain, and the complete subjugation of the Brigantes.

Altogether twenty inscribed stones have been found in Lincoln, including the recently discovered military, to be mentioned hereafter.

Let us now turn our attention to the evidence of Roman occupation which Lincoln has yielded, and draw what inferences may be fair from the nature of the evidence.

We must first deal with historical evidence, and then consider the Lapidary and other records. *Lindum* was the principal town of the Coritani or Coritavi, according

<sup>1</sup> A flat Roman tile found in Leicester bears the stamp LVIII. Fragments of seven tessellated floors are preserved in the Museum, besides the military, found two miles from Leicester. The building

called the Jury Wall may be the remains of a Roman temple or basilica.

<sup>2</sup> See transactions of "Arch. Soc." Bristol and Gloucester, Part ii, p. 218.

to the geographer Ptolemy, it is written in the Greek *Λίνδον*,<sup>1</sup> and still preserves its ancient name in *Lincoln*. Many Roman roads pass through it, and there is a dike connected with it, called the Fosse Dike, running between two rivers, the one the Witham, the river on which the city stands, the other the Trent.

The Fosse Road coming from the west, and the embouchure of the Axe (*Alaenus fluvius*) at Seaton (*Muridunum*), seems to have been prolonged through Lincoln to the mouth of the Humber, (the *Abus fluvius*) and so to have connected Lincoln with the east coast. Lincoln was also connected by the river on which it stands with the *Mætaris Æstuarium*, the Wash.

The Ermine Street entered it from the south-east, connecting it with a succession of well-defined stations, as *Causennæ*, *Durobrivæ*, and *Colonia Camulodunum*, and this road passed northward, separating into two branches, one of which crosses the Humber at *Winteringham*, and the other led by a less direct route to *Danum* (*Doncaster*), and on to *York* (*Eburacum*).

The meeting of five roads in *Lindum* establishes its importance.

From the chorographer *Ravennas* we learn that it was a colony,—*Lindum Colonia*. On an inscription found at *Mayence*, we have the name of the city as well as that of one of its magistrates,

M. MINICII, M.F. QVIR. LINDO. MARTIALIS. (Henzen 5793.)

and one found in the city commemorates also a *Decurio* or magistrate (see *Horsley*, B. R. 319, also I. B. L. 189). There are found in *Lincoln* inscriptions commemorating soldiers of four legions which were in Britain, viz., the

IXth. Which continued in Britain to the time of *Hadrian*, and was stationed at *York*, and was (see C. I. L. n. 183, 184) succeeded by the

VI. (See C. I. L. n. 187) stationed at *York* and the Northern Barrier.

II. *Adjutrix* (see C. I. L. n. 185, 186), at *Lincoln*, *Caerleon*, and *Caerwent*.

XIV. (See C. I. L. n. 187,) *Colchester*.

These legions formed the army of occupation, with this

<sup>1</sup> Μεθ' ἑοὺς ΚΟΡΙΠΑΤΟΙ ἐν οἷς πόλεις Λίνδον Ἰαγες:—*Lincoln*, *Leicester*, *Lindum*, *Ratic*. See *Ptolemy's "Geography."*

exception, that the XIVth was withdrawn from Britain,<sup>1</sup> and superseded by the XXth Valeria Victrix, stationed at Chester. An inscribed stone to the Goddess Mothers has been found at Winchester (Venta Belgarum), and runs thus (it is now in the Brit. Museum):—

MATRIB(US) ITA(LIS) GERMANIS GAL(LIS) BRIT(ANNIS)  
 (A)NTONIUS (LU)CRETIANUS (BENEFICIARIUS  
 CO(N)S(VLARIS) REST(ITUIT)

Hübner calls it “a consecration offered in days of old, to the Italian, Germanic, Gallic, and Britannic Mothers, the sacred protectoresses of those nationalities which furnished recruits to the four Legions of the army of occupation, to the II Augustan, XIV Gemina, IX Hispana, and the XX Valeria Victrix, and to their native allies.”<sup>2</sup>

At Lincoln also has been found a stone sculptured with the figures of three of the *Matronæ* or goddess Mothers, probably a similar act of consecration by three bodies of men. This is now in the Brit. Museum, and was probably erected by three of the Legionary detachments.<sup>3</sup> There is something very suggestive in these commemorations of the *Matronæ*.<sup>4</sup> It seems as if the idea of protecting care exercised over children in youth, was still regarded as necessary in days of manhood and in scenes of danger, by an invisible and superintending power, similar to that which had watched over childhood.

There is an altar in the Cloisters at Lincoln, which has three sculptures on it, one of which may be Hercules, and two other gods not easy to identify. This may also be a joint offering.<sup>5</sup> The Trollope collection is now in the Brit. Museum, some portion of it in the Gallery of Rom. Antiq., near the entrance, and the other portion not quite so accessible, being lodged with other Roman remains not properly arranged. When more space has been provided, it may be hoped that the whole will be placed together where it can be easily consulted. It is to be regretted

<sup>1</sup> Tacitus, *Hist.* iv, 68, 76.

<sup>2</sup> See Corp. I. L. vii, p. 16, No. 5, and “Transactions of Bristol and Glouc. Archæol. Soc.,” 1877-8, Pt. ii, p. 211; also a paper by W. M. Wylie, Esq., *Archæologia*, vol. xlvi, treating of the *Deæ Matres* and the *Matronæ*.

<sup>3</sup> An altar dedicated to the *MATRIBVS DOMESTICIS* has just been found at York.

(See *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxviii, p. 108.)

<sup>4</sup> A Sculpture of Three *Matronæ* was found also at Ancaster (see I. B. L. p. 51).

<sup>5</sup> Only two inscriptions mentioning the name of deities have been found, viz., to *Mars* and to *Mercury* (See Ins. B. L. p. 52). There is no trace of any local divinity in Lincoln, such as is found in the West and in the North of England.

that it ever left Lincoln, as remains should be preserved, if possible, near to where they are found ; but the want of a local museum probably rendered it expedient that monuments of historical value should be deposited in a place where they were most secure.

I need not discuss these inscriptions at length. They will be found recorded in the *Archæological Journal*,<sup>1</sup> and are also noticed by Camden, Horsley, B. R., Stukeley, and others, but most recently and accurately in the *Corpus I. L.* by Prof. Hübner, vol. vii.

I must now proceed to the description of the ancient city and the buildings found within it, both of past and more recent date.

A plan will be found in the volume of the "Proceedings of the Archæol. Institute," at Lincoln, published after their former meeting in 1848, also a map published, 1817, by William Marrat, and revised in 1848.

The Roman city is divided into two portions,<sup>2</sup> the upper and lower ; a natural escarpment divides these. The present Stone Bow is supposed to mark the Southern boundary, on which side flows the River Witham, the ancient *Victius Annis*. The Ermine street runs right through. Passing through the lower city and climbing the steep ascent, we come upon the remains of the Roman Gate of the Upper town to the south ; the gate is gone, but one of the jambs may still be seen. The Roman Way runs almost direct to the Newport gate, the North gate of the Upper town.<sup>3</sup> This is a most interesting relic of Roman times, too few of which remain in Britain.<sup>4</sup> It consisted of a wide centre arch, and formerly had two smaller side arches, only one of which is now visible, and the portal is now seen at a reduced height of nine feet. The eastern arch has been cleared, and the pathway lowered for foot passengers. The western arch is gone or hidden. To the right and left of this entrance gate are remnants of the northern wall of the Roman city, and the line of the Wide Foss is distinct. The massive Roman

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xvii, p. i, and following.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Drury, from recent examination, thinks that the city was twice enlarged in Roman times, and that two additions to the original castrum can be traced.

<sup>3</sup> For drawings of Newport Arch, see Stukeley, *Itin. Cur. Iter.* v, p. 89, drawn in 1722.

<sup>4</sup> A drawing of the Roman Gate at Canterbury is given in Stukeley.

city wall was carried round the brow of the hill and was pierced by four gates, the area enclosed being 500 yards by 400.<sup>1</sup> Within this area are found, at about nine feet below the present level of the city, remains of Roman buildings, and pottery and glass in great variety, pavements, and other indications of Roman refinement. The building lately laid open by Mr. Allis, in 1878, southward from the Newport Arch is of much interest and was probably the Basilica or Court of Justice and place of business, although the use of the building is still doubtful and only further discoveries can determine this or the probable date of its erection.<sup>2</sup>

The plan of Lindum is that of a garrison city or fortified camp; it is not like that of Bath or Uriconium (Wroxeter), or of Magna (Kenchester), but like Deva (Chester), Gloucester or Caerwent. We must look therefore for strict military arrangement within the walls, and all the buildings would be subservient to military purposes; but it seems to have been extended in area, and belongs to different periods.<sup>3</sup> All the Roman cities in Britain appear to have been fortified; but the fortifications of the larger cities are very irregular, as may be seen both at Silchester, Wroxeter, Kenchester, and Bath. The plan of Lincoln corresponds with that of Chester and Gloucester, and the fortified landing places on the Kentish coast.

Stukeley's description is as follows:—

"The city was divided into four equal parts by two cross streets that cut it through the cardinal points. The two southern quarters are taken up, one by the Castle, the other by the Church which Remigius built; but when Alexander, the Bishop, projected a larger structure, they carried the sacred enclosure beyond the eastern bounds of

<sup>1</sup> For a clear description of the Roman city and the run of the ancient walls; see a paper on recent discoveries at Colonia Lindum, by the Rev. S. M. Mahew, M.A., in the *Journal of the Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, vol. xxxv, Pt. iii, p. 308; also the drawing in Stukeley, *I. Cur.*

The Western Gate of the Roman city was accidentally discovered in 1836. It was found standing covered by the mound which formed the N. W. bulwark of the Castle. The arch had become loose by the abutments giving way, and the whole

fell down a few days after its discovery. The arch resembled that of the Newport Gate but without its posterns. See "*Gent. Mag.*," 1836, Pt. i, p. 583, with a drawing of the gate. Also vol. of "*Proc. of Archæol. Institute*," 1848, p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of recent discoveries, see *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxxvi, p. 277, also "*Proc. of Soc. of Antiq.*," June 20th, 1878.

<sup>3</sup> Stukeley's *Itin. Cur. Iter.* v, p. 88; also plan by Mr. Drury.

the (Roman) city, and built a new wall further away,"<sup>1</sup> and he adds "the Romans added a *second city* to this first, as big as the original on the south declivity of the hill, and made it to tally with the other."

The original walls have been much damaged by building the Norman Castle, as well as the Cathedral; also by sieges, especially in the time of the Empress Maud.

The city was extended northward along the line of the ancient Roman road in Saxon times, and further extended during the Norman period.

It is not at all improbable that a British city preceded the Roman. One of the interesting features which attach to the Roman Lindum is that the sewers of the Roman city are found to be perfect, like those at Bath and Colchester, and as well constructed. Mr. Wright has given a description and a drawing of one of them in his "Celt, Roman and Saxon," p. 178.

They are stated to resemble those that remain at Trèves on the Moselle, the ancient Roman Treviri; a fine specimen of a Roman drain remains at Colchester. It is a curious fact, however, that recent excavations for making modern sewers are said to have shewn that the old Roman drains have their levels above the level of the Roman roads, and this seems to prove that the Roman city, during the period of Roman occupation, underwent great changes of level; the previous buildings being destroyed, abandoned, and then rebuilt, and the sewers constructed during the latest occupation.

The name *Lindum* is from Lhyn, a lake or pool, a word still in use, and this lake seems to have existed in former days.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Itin. Cur. Iter. v, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> The waters of Brayford once washed the city wall. This is known from a deed of the 17th Century. For 500 years the level of High Street has remained unaltered; but 200 years ago the waters of Brayford washed over the site of Guild-Hall Street, while on the south side of the river St. Benedict's Church and buildings, now pulled down, were erected more than 700 years ago.

The present site of the city appears to be about 10 feet above the level of the Roman one.

Many stone coffins were found in St.

Martin's Lane, four feet under the surface.

Cavern like perforations, three feet in diameter, have been found eight feet below the surface, filled with run lime, with remains of plaster and tilework of Roman character.

Along Union Road, by the side of Castle Dyking, nearly the whole of the limestone rock has been excavated. This is the case in nearly all the trenches along the roads up Hill, e.g., Potter's Gate, The Minster Yard. This was probably the work of the Romans. For this information I am indebted to notes made by Mr. M. Drury,

A late discovery has very much added to the interest of Roman Lincoln,—the finding a miliary, or Roman milestone, in situ, with the inscription upon it, standing at the intersection of the four ways, leading to the gates, where it stood in Roman times. The inscription is of a late date, and put up in the time of a usurper, one of the thirty tyrants, in the time of the Emperors Gallienus and Valerian, when the Roman power was declining. It is, as is usual on such late erected stones, very ill cut, but the discovery is very interesting, as adding one more to the list of miliaries found in Britain, which amount to about 57 or 58.<sup>1</sup> The lettering is the usual formula,<sup>2</sup> although the form of the stone is very different to any I have seen, either in England or on the continent, where they are cylindrical. (See those preserved at Rome, at Lyons, at Avignon, at Nimes, &c., &c.)

IMP. CAES  
MARCO  
PIAVONIO  
VICTORI  
NO. P. FEL. INV.  
AVG. PONT. MAX.  
TR. P. P.P.  
A. L. S. M.  
P. XIII.

It contains the Imperial Titles, and also the distance from Lincoln to the nearest station, *Segelocum*, (Littleborough on Trent), given in the Antonine Itinerary as fourteen miles from Lincoln, on the road to Doncaster and York. Perfect miliaries are very rare, and seldom found in situ; this renders the Lincoln one of peculiar value, and standing as it does in the centre of the Roman city, cannot but remind the student of the 'miliarium aureum' in the Forum, at Rome, the foundations and understructure of which may still be seen,—and which was the point from which the distances along all the Roman roads were intended to be reckoned. We are carried in imagination, therefore, from Lincoln to Rome, and can

Engineer, during the drainage works, 1877-8. Lincoln is mentioned in the "Saxon Chron.," anno. 627; also by Beda, "Hist. Ecc. Gent. Anglor.," lib. ii, cap. xvi, anno 625, when Paulinus first evangelized that district; also by Henry of Huntingdon, lib. i, and called Kair-Loitchoit. He quotes verses recording its refinement, "Testis Lincolnæ gens in-

finita decore." Guortimur, son of Guorthigurnus, is stated by Nennius to have been buried at Lincoln, see "Hist. Nennii." cap. xlvii, who mentions Cair Loitchoith among the 28 cities of Britain.

<sup>1</sup> See "Archæological Journal," vol. xxxiv, p. 395.

<sup>2</sup> See "Archæological Journal," vol. xxxvi, p. 181.

realize the perfect system of road communication which then prevailed throughout that vast Empire. Every land from the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, from the north of Africa to the forests of Germany and the British Isles, contains these remarkable evidences of Roman power and Roman skill. We cannot but feel thankful that Lincoln now possesses one.

This stone also connects the east of England with the west, as only one other inscription to Victorinus has been found in Britain, viz., at Pyle, between Neath (Nidum) and Ewenny (Bovium), South Wales, and is preserved in the Museum at Swansea.<sup>1</sup>

We cannot well estimate the importance of Colonia Lindum, without touching also upon Deva, Chester, lying under the same parallel of latitude on the western, as Lincoln on the eastern, side of Britain. Professor Hübnér observes that "the campaign of Suetonius against the Isle of Mona<sup>2</sup> (Anglesea), is only conceivable with a basis for his operations such as was afforded by the Colony of Deva (Chester), on the northern frontier of the Silures and Ordovices, and which was completely conquered by Julius Frontinus.<sup>3</sup> At Deva were the standing quarters of the XXth Legion.<sup>4</sup> On the western side Petilius Cerialis, Vespasian's legate, had begun the further advance against the Brigantes, the Colony of Lindum is the geographical expression of these operations, probably the standing quarters of the Legion II Adjutrix,<sup>5</sup> sent to Britain by Vespasian.

Here, then, we obtain a clue to the probable foundation of the Colony Lindum, in the time of the Emperor Vespasian, and the "Standing Quarters of the Legio Secunda Adjutrix." It is very probable that from the two stations Deva and Lindum, on the western and eastern portions of our island, Agricola made his advance northward, and commenced the further subjugation of the island to the great Northern Barrier or the Wall in Northumberland, and beyond that boundary. The Roman army most pro-

<sup>1</sup> See "Archæological Journal," vol. iii, p. 275, with drawing.

<sup>2</sup> Agricola, 15.

<sup>3</sup> Agricola, 17.

<sup>4</sup> See Corp. I. L., vii, p. 47, also drawings of Roman altars and other remains found at Chester, in "Journal of the

Chester Archæol. and Historical Soc.," Part vii, p. 106, Part iv, p. 423, Part ii, 197. Deva was probably founded circa A.D. 69. The coins date from Galba downward.

<sup>5</sup> See C. I. L., vii. p. 51.

bably marched in two divisions, making good their road as they went, and communicating at fixed points with their fleet. To this expedition we owe the two lines of Roman road which traverse the eastern and western portions of our island, the one passing on from Lincoln to York and Newcastle-on-Tyne, the other from Chester to Lancaster, Kendal, Brougham, and Carlisle.

We cannot treat of the occupation of Lincoln and the east coast of Britain, without also considering the great dykes formed by the Romans as well as the roads. The vestiges of these great embankments are better preserved in the east of Britain, and seem to have been oftener constructed in the east than in the west.

While few and uncertain traces remain on the shores of the British Channel, clear and undoubted remains of them are found in Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire.

It has been well observed by a modern engineer that "the first great engineers who appeared in this district seem to have been the Romans. To their labours, without question, belongs the honour of having erected those stupendous embankments by which this vast tract of country is protected from the sea. . . . It is computed that these immense banks extend for about one hundred and fifty miles along the old sea borders of the Fen lands." They constructed an immense artificial canal, now known as "Car Dyke," which is supposed to have extended at one time all the way from Ramsey to Lincoln. It has been thought that this canal was used by them for purposes of navigation also, from the fact that along it they erected forts at seven places, viz., at Northborough, Braceborough, Billingborough, Garrick, Walcot, Linwood, and Washingborough. But the primary object of the great work was, without doubt, the interception of the upland interior fresh water, and its conveyance to the river. At the beginning of the present century Rennie reverted to the Roman system in draining the east and west Fens. The Car Dyke extends for a distance of forty miles, and has a width of sixty feet. . . . Many of the sites of ancient Roman cities are now occupied by modern towns; Lindum is Lincoln; Causennæ, Ancaster; Vaniona, Wainfleet; Durobrivæ, Castor on the Nene."

To the work of the Romans is due the very existence of

dry land in the Fens. "All that has been done (says the same writer) has been to improve and develop only. The stupendous works of these ancient conquerors of the world in excluding the tidal waters by their sea-walls, rendered subsequent drainage schemes feasible and desirable, and gave the English nation one of its most valuable and fertile provinces."<sup>1</sup>

A very interesting confirmation of the truth of these observations in respect to the permanency, engineering skill, and perfection of Roman work, is shown by works at present being carried out in Bath at the hot springs, where the ancient Roman drains for conveying the waste water from the spring, are being utilised by the Corporation, under the supervision of the City architect, who has been enabled to apply the old Roman drain to this purpose, and in doing this has come upon the original reservoir by which the very elaborate system of Roman baths in that city was supplied. Truly we owe something to the study of Roman remains, perhaps more than we are willing to allow, for here not only inscriptions which elucidate history are brought to light, but labour and cost is saved by utilising the works of those who civilised while they subjugated this island more than seventeen centuries ago.

No notice of Lincoln and its surroundings would be complete without mention of *Itinera* in which it is recorded. There are three, viz., the V, VI, and the VII.

The *fifth* passes out of London and ends with Carlisle and the Vallum of Hadrian, a distance of 443 miles. In this *Lindum*, *Segelocum* and *Danum* are all mentioned.

The *sixth* makes *Lindum* the terminus, commencing with London, and traverses 146 miles. The stations in this *Iter* follow the South Watling Street and the Foss Road.

The *eighth*, beginning at York, goes to London and strikes the Foss Road at Lincoln, following it as far as Leicester, and then quits it for Watling Street.

This serves to shew the importance of the city and its value as a military station.

Truly, Lincoln has a Roman history and associations

<sup>1</sup> See "Ancient reclamations in the English Fen lands," by J.W. Grover, C.E. in "Journal of Arch. Assoc.," vol. xxxv, p. 349, and following.

not inferior to any Roman city of Britain. Very rightly may we conclude with the observation of Horsley, who, in mentioning Lincoln, says: "Here we arrive at absolute certainty. Roman monuments have been found here, and Roman coins in the fields north of the city, and remains of Roman buildings. These evidences added to that of a due distance, and its situation at the intersection of several grand military ways, have procured the universal consent of antiquaries that Lindum, the terminus of the Sixth Iter, is the City of Lincoln." See "Brit. Rom.," p. 434.

Lincolnshire, as might be expected from the importance of the Roman city, and the roads which led to it, has produced remains of extensive Roman villas with their tessellated floors. These have been found at Horkstrow, Winterton, Roxby, Haseby, Storton, Scampton, Grantham,<sup>1</sup> but the county has not been examined as carefully, nor probably, have the same chances of finding occurred as frequently as in the West of England, especially in Gloucestershire and Somerset, where such fine villa remains have been discovered.

Perhaps the interest of these remains, and a juster idea of their historical value, may be the result of the present visit of the Archæological Institute.

<sup>1</sup> See Wright's, "Celt, Rom., Saxon."