

ROMAN LEICESTER.

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At the present time there is, perhaps, no form of research which would so much advance our knowledge of the Roman Empire as an examination of its individual town-sites. It is only by working out the details of inhabited sites and particularly of towns, one by one, that we can obtain the facts needed to prove various general conclusions as to the development of the Empire, and above all, the development of its provincial life. If, for example, we can show, as I believe we can, that many Roman provincial towns were founded or grew large in one particular age, say, in the Flavian age (A.D. 70-96), we shall gain light on the spirit of that age, and on the social policy of the imperial government during it. Such things are not told us by ancient writers, not even by Tacitus; for them we must go to archaeology and to history, working in union.

This study of single sites has been, unfortunately, undertaken by the scholars of no country, except perhaps by the French in respect of North Africa.² Even epigraphists, who often meet dates on inscriptions, and whose work

¹ This article, which has been edited for the press by Miss M. V. Taylor, M.A., was written by Prof. Haverfield primarily as a paper to be read before the Leicestershire Archaeological Society and the Roman Society in 1918 and 1919. In spite of his statement below, it is only fair to him to say that, although he had agreed to send it to this Journal, he would never have published it in its present form. He would have altered it in many respects and probably rewritten it. No archaeologist has ever taken greater pains with the form in which his material was presented. Every published article or work was recast more than once (and often three or four times) and large parts rewritten before he felt content to send it to editor or publisher. This paper, therefore, must only be regarded

as the first draft. Illustrations as suitable as possible have been added; for figs. 3 and 4 and pl. II (1) thanks are due to the Clarendon Press: for fig. 6 to the Society of Antiquaries: for pls. I, III (1), VIII to the Victoria County History, and for fig. 5 to the Society of Roman Studies. Mr. S. H. Skillington has given much help with the illustration and in answering many queries, while the late Mr. Perkins Pick did much to assist Prof. Haverfield.

² See J. Toutain, *Les cites romaines de la Tunisie; essai sur l'histoire de la colonisation romaine dans l'Afrique du Nord* (1895). Much very good work on Roman towns in north Africa has been done by Cagnat, and others; their publications of remains at Timgad and the like are of the first importance.

requires them to study closely the character and history of single spots, have seldom essayed the task in the sense in which I mean it. It is, of course, no easy task. The material for most of the towns, at least in Britain, is copious. But it is unsifted and desperately scattered; part lies buried in uncatalogued museums, and part in private local collections, which are hard to learn about and almost as hard to get to and get into, but which cannot be safely neglected. For such collections often contain unnoticed but decisive evidence as to the date when a town was founded, when and how long it flourished, what size it reached, and so forth. A really exhaustive inquiry into the 'Samian' and other datable potsherds found on any town site, or into the Roman coins picked up there, will probably yield dates to prove the facts required. But in England, at least, this inquiry means a long hunt through the archaeological slums of each town in turn. The inquirer must settle himself in one neighbourhood after another, asking perpetually what coins, potsherds, etc., have been found and are preserved there. At first he will be told that there are none; after a while, some one will remember that his great-uncle's great-aunt once had antiquities in a cupboard—even, it may be, inscriptions in an outhouse. In short, he has to worry many folk, and goad them into remembering where things are and where they were found, and make himself a thorough nuisance. Still, the process requires little travelling: once in a town, the enquirer can ferret round it. In war-time we cannot dig up ancient sites, or even cherish hopes that, after peace *has* come, money for digging will be plentiful, and we might fill the gap by excavating museums, and extracting forgotten stores from their cellars, where, as I know from long experience, much can often be found. Many museums deserve to be labelled at once Lethe and Chaos; they resemble the writing-desk of a busy man, who has been away a while.

Under these conditions, I set myself some time ago to write a book on a topic which has never yet been treated with adequate fullness, the ten or twelve real towns of Roman Britain. The following paper was first composed as a chapter for that book. It arose primarily from a visit which I paid in 1917 to Leicester, where a Leicester

architect, who concerned himself much with the antiquities of his town, Mr. Perkins Pick, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A., was good enough to take me round; he showed me facts which clearly called for a reconsideration of current views, particularly in respect to the walls and the area of the Romano-British town, and which raised a problem of some importance to the general history of our English towns. I have also seen one good private collection in Leicester, and have gone carefully through the excellent museum maintained there in admirable order by a most enlightened corporation and a most capable curator. Perhaps I may best begin by summing up my results in a short sketch of Roman Leicester (A), and then proceed to a more detailed survey of its remains (B).

A.

Roman Leicester—*Ratae*, to call it for short by its Roman name—was a town of doubtful, but certainly not inconsiderable size. Possibly it began in pre-Roman days, as market centre of the surrounding British tribe or canton (the Coritāni)—hence its ancient name, *Ratae Coritanorum*. Very early in the Roman occupation of the island, which began in A.D. 43, it became a Roman site, and for a brief span a detachment of Roman infantry lay in it. This, however, seems to have been soon withdrawn and was not replaced; for the rest of the Roman age it was a civilian, not a military, place. Of its Roman buildings little is known. It had, however, numerous good houses, with comfortable Roman fittings and fine mosaics, and many inhabitants, who generally understood how to use the best Roman provincial civilisation; some of them could speak Latin and even write it. Clearly it contained a flourishing, wealthy and well-educated population. In point of administration it was ruled, we may presume, by the tribal magistrates of its canton—the ‘county council,’ as we might say to-day—who probably met here, much as the Justices meet nowadays in English county-towns, and who administered not only law business but various matters concerning the life of the neighbourhood. The whole

condition of Roman Leicester resembled that of our English county-towns a hundred years or more ago, before railways had transformed the modern world—the life of Highbury or Cranford, a quiet, unsensational life, varied only by visits of strolling players or a passing conjurer. Now and again news would be brought by travellers or by couriers, moving along the great roads which connected *Ratae* with London, with York, and with the west and north. But news certainly came seldom and slowly. Emperors rose and fell, and, till each crisis was over, no word of it reached this quiet town. Buried amongst the great woods and pasturages of a far-off island, the citizens of *Ratae* were affected by even the worst wars of the Empire—say, the long struggles of Marcus Aurelius on the Danube—as little as were the characters of Jane Austen by the Napoleonic wars, which show so scantily in her novels.¹ Our world is different. Morning newspapers, afternoon telegrams at the club, excite us twice daily. To us Roman Leicester would have seemed unbearably dull; its citizens, I fancy, would have fled in disgust from our wilder and more savage life.

Nor did military men much disturb or enliven the repose of *Ratae*. The army of the Roman Empire lay chiefly on its frontiers. It is not to be supposed that Roman Leicester (right in the centre of Britain) had a garrison of imperial troops, save for a year or two at the outset of the Roman period (p. 26). In the later Empire, when Saxon seamen and others began to vex Britain, the town must have built itself walls, if it had not done so before; these walls it manned probably with its own citizens, as did many medieval towns. But the imperial troops in Roman Britain were not scattered all over the island: they were mainly gathered in the unruly north, near Hadrian's wall. Now and again, drafts of time-expired legionaries and of recruits may have tramped through

¹ Miss Austen began to write just as the Napoleonic wars grew dangerous; her chief novels came out in 1811–1818. Yet no one would infer from them that she wrote while Britain was fighting for its life. The wars of her day plainly affected our island far less than the war of our

own time. Thackeray's 'Vanity Fair' (issued in 1847–8) has much more flavour of the Napoleonic wars about it than any work of Jane Austen, though she lived in England through them, while Thackeray was born in India and did not come to England till 1817, two years after Waterloo.

Leicester on their way between the Kentish ports and the north, but they would not all traverse Leicester. The shortest 'north road' of Roman times ran from London up the Lea valley, passed a trifle west of Peterborough, reached Lincoln, and continued on to York. Men using this route would not come within some thirty-five miles of Leicester. Moreover, by no means all the troops moving to or from the north went by land. Some drafts seem to have sailed by sea from the Rhine estuary direct to the Tyne.¹

Nor do the general Roman remains of Leicestershire (outside of *Ratae*) indicate the existence of local unrest, such as would need troops. The *castella* or small forts, which were dotted so plentifully over the northern hills of England and which formed, as it were, gendarmerie stations in the unquiet districts, are wanting here. The nearest Roman fort to *Ratae* was twenty-five miles away, at Little Chester, a suburb of Derby.² It is the most southern *castellum* in England, save for the coast-forts of the '*Litus Saxonicum*.'

Instead of *castella*, we find in Leicestershire rather what are called 'villas,' and by that term I do not mean eligible suburban residences, each with its bay windows, lace curtains, and short, tiled path from roadway to front door. What we commonly call Roman 'villas' were quite different from our 'villas'; they were of two kinds; the larger ones corresponded to the country-houses of our landed gentry of to-day, the smaller ones to our better farm-houses. In either case they were substantial dwellings, not mere cottages or huts; they imply a measure of civilised life. No one has yet worked out the Roman 'villas' of Leicestershire. They were certainly rather few in number. The Victoria History, which has dealt with the county in much detail, notes on a map fifteen sites which it labels 'villas, etc.'³ but not more than five of these can be reckoned as proven examples. The adjacent county of Warwickshire was even poorer in 'villas': in it there is nothing at all which can be called the certain

¹ *Eph. Epigr.* ix, 1162-1163.

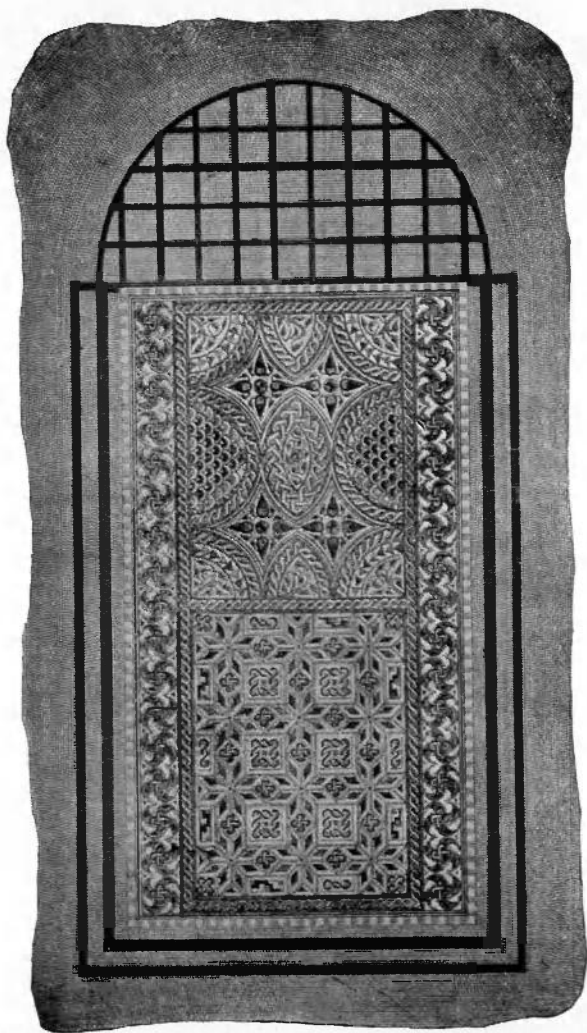
³ *V.C.H. Leicestershire*, i, 179.

² See my account, *V.C.H. Derbyshire*, i, 216-221.

remain of one single Roman 'villa.' Northamptonshire is a good deal richer in this respect, and some of its villas seem to have been large and sumptuous houses, but the truth is that the English 'Midland Plain' was in Roman days thinly inhabited. Covered with chill boulder-clay, and heavily wooded,¹ it attracted few occupants in the Roman age. Still, Leicestershire has at least five clear cases of 'villas'—at Medbourne, Rothley, Sapcote, Mount Sorrel, and at Wymondham (fig. 1)—and no doubt further search will tell us more, both by revealing other instances and by showing how far these 'villas' were large and substantial houses, suited to rich and wealthy land-owners. At present, we know little even of the five cases which I have named. The evidence is adequate to show that the houses in question were 'villas,' but not to show their precise size or splendour. However, we may conclude that Roman Leicestershire contained a number of large estates with their appropriate country-houses, in which there was lived a life not altogether out of touch with the life of the civilised Italian. How far this civilisation spread to the peasantry who dwelt round the 'great houses' cannot at present be guessed. One can see in contemporary England that there is often a broad line between the social life of our great houses and that of even the middle classes of adjacent towns, and I suspect that a similar division exists even in democratic America. The relations which Jane Austen depicts as existing between Mr. Collins, the parish clergyman, and Lady Catherine de Bourgh in her house at Rosings, may not be typical, since neither Mr. Collins nor the great lady are typical specimens of those who hold their respective positions. But it will be plain that a house like Rosings, however it influenced its middle class neighbours, can have spread little civilisation among the Kentish peasantry living near it.

Of industries, in our modern sense of the term, there is no sign. The Leicestershire coalfield was, of course, unknown to the Romans and out of their reach. Agriculture and woodland pasturage probably engaged the best energies of the countryfolk. What is now Leicester-

V.C.H. Warwickshire, i, 228-9, *Northants*, i, 187-201; Vinogradoff, *Growth of Manor*, p. 38, and note 2.



TESSELLATED PAVEMENT FROM A ROMAN VILLA
DISCOVERED AT MEDBOURNE IN 1721.

(From a drawing in Leicester Museum.)

See pp. 6, 15 n. 1.

shire was a rural area, with one considerable market-town as its centre.

B.

(i.) *Site.* We may now examine more closely Roman Leicester itself, the Romano-British *Ratae*.¹ It stands on the right bank of the river Soar, in a broad valley, between the Northamptonshire upland and the high ground of Charnwood forest (fig. 1). In the early English period, the site perhaps owed its importance to its nearness to the head of the navigable channel of the Soar. Those were the days (c. A.D. 875) when the Danes pushed up the midland rivers, and planted their 'Five boroughs' at Derby, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford and Leicester. In the Roman age, *Ratae* was important rather as the *chef-lieu* of a rural district, which was well watered and suited to agriculture and pasturage. Its prosperity, like that of so many towns of the Roman Empire, rested mainly on an agricultural basis, not on any special trade or industry. Whether the site was inhabited before the Roman period, is not clear. The local museum contains a few objects said to have been found here, which are certainly pre-Roman in date; but of some it is doubtful whether they really were of local *provenance*, while others indicate no more than a chance wigwam or two. I see, however, no objection to thinking that there was a pre-Roman Leicester; I wait only for facts. Here, as so often, we must follow the wise, if tiresome, advice, which no archaeologist can neglect; we must 'wait and see.'

(ii.) The *area* of *Ratae* is doubtful. Writers on the subject usually give the area (105 acres) enclosed by the medieval walls. The lines followed by these walls can still be traced. But it is a curious and perhaps important question how far they represent the lines of the Roman walls. Let me briefly set out the facts of the problem, as far as I understand them:—

(1) First, one may affirm that in most English towns which had medieval walls, and which were towns in Roman days, the medieval walls follow the lines of the Roman

¹ For evidence as to the name, see the note on p. 29 below.

walls. That is, of course, natural. However much the medieval town and the Roman differed in character, the existence of substantial foundations and of a substantial ditch (even if silted up) would necessarily influence the choice of a line for the medieval walls. Tactically, medieval warfare resembled Roman more than it does our warfare of to-day, with our high explosives and long-range guns; there would have been no tactical difficulty in adapting the line of a Roman town-wall for medieval use. Actually, the Roman and medieval walls generally coincide. The medieval have almost everywhere been built on Roman foundations. There are exceptions, but they are rare, while cases where Roman and medieval coincide are common and clear. Visitors to Colchester know well the still visible and nearly complete circuit of the Roman walls, which, I understand, formed also the circuit of the medieval defences. Again, at York a public path—well worth following—runs nearly continuously along the top of the medieval wall. Much of the line—at least east of the Ouse—is of Roman origin, and not a little Roman masonry *in situ* can be traced along it. The probability is, then, that the medieval walls of Leicester would follow Roman lines. Here, however, I must confess, that when in the fall of 1917 Mr. Pick took me round many surviving bits of these medieval walls, I saw nothing which to my eye recalled Roman masonry, and much which did not. No doubt an inspection of the remains would not be conclusive without excavation. Still, I came away with a strong feeling that the medieval town-walls of Leicester do not follow any demonstrable Roman line. We cannot adduce them off-hand as indications of the line used by the Romans. In fact, we are practically without any evidence that there were Roman walls.

(2) But it is hardly credible that *Ratae* was unwallled. It lay barely fifty miles from the east coast, and was accessible by a waterway fit for Saxon boats. When, in the later Empire, Saxons and others were attacking eastern Britain, the town must have needed some sort of walls.

(3) Shall we say that these defences were not of stone, but were ramparts of earth? If so, their disappearance would be intelligible. But suitable stone is not so

scarce near Leicester as to make it likely that a largish and wealthy Romano-British town contented itself in dangerous days with ramparts of earth. Besides, in the Roman Empire, the tendency throughout was to replace earthwork by stone walls. Some Romano-British towns had in their early days ramparts of earth—as had Caerwent—but no town of size and wealth seems to have been satisfied throughout with merely earthen ramparts. Caerwent itself—a far smaller town than *Ratae* can have been—adopted at a late date a stately circuit of walls in stone (fig. 4), and that change seems to have been generally made by about A.D. 200, or at least in the course of the third century.¹ We should therefore expect that Roman Leicester was, at any rate in the later Empire, guarded by walls of stone. Unfortunately, no certain vestige of such Roman walls now survives, and in this direction, at any rate, no solution of our problem seems likely.

(4) Nor is it any good to employ an argument adduced by the late Mr. G. E. Fox. He noted that the medieval walls of Leicester enclosed a (rather irregular) oblong, and inferred that this oblong was of Roman origin. Apparently he assumed that Roman walled towns were mostly rectangular in outline. But that is not the case, though it is often asserted. The outlines of many Roman towns in western Europe—in Gaul, Britain, etc.—are known, and few among them have really rectangular outlines; even irregular rectangles are rather uncommon.²

Roman military fortresses were no doubt normally rectangular, but they belong to a type distinct from that of walled civilian towns, such as Leicester was. In this, as in so much else, the Romans sharply distinguished between things 'domi' and things 'militiae.' We cannot argue from one to the other, or contend that, as the military post was usually a more or less strict rectangle, with straight sides and right-angled (though rounded) corners, therefore the walled civilian towns had the same features.

¹ I suspect that even the fortress of Chester began (about A.D. 50) with ramparts of earth, and was walled in stone 100 or 150 years later. An inscription found in Roumania records the re-walling in stone (about A.D. 201) of a military post hitherto defended by earthen ramparts (Dessau,

9179). [But cf. Wheeler and Laver, *Journ. of Roman Studies* ix, 141-4.—M. V. T.]

² See Adrien Blanchet, *Les Enceintes romaines de la Gaule* (Paris, 1907); and the plans in my *Ancient Town-planning* (Oxford, 1913).

(5) Something may be learned, however, from the actual line of Leicester's medieval walls (pl. vi). Their course is fairly certain, save for the west wall. On the north they run parallel to Soar lane and Sanvey gate, on the east parallel to Church gate and Gallowtree gate, on the south to Millstone lane and Horsefair street.¹ Of the west wall no clear trace survives. Its natural line would, no doubt, be a line joining the western ends of the north and south walls, from the west end at Soar lane to near the castle; and, as the Soar flows close in front of this line, it has been thought that the river furnished a water-defence, and made a wall needless in Roman days. I distrust this idea. It is a suggestion which is frequently advanced, wherever the defences of one front of an ancient fortified area have vanished, and some natural defence exists along that front. I do not mean that I disbelieve the tale, which I learnt at school, that at Rome one—very steep—side of the Capitoline hill was unwalled, and that only the geese on the sacred summit saved Rome from a Gaulish surprise. But, though I confess to believing that war offices are sometimes stupid, I should regret to think that military engineers have often put their trust in geese. Moreover, in many cases where this view has been proposed—as at Roman sites like Richborough, Lymne and Pevensey, on our south-east coast, and at Burgh Castle near Yarmouth—excavation has shown that the river-front was once walled, though the wall has since vanished from the surface.² Maybe, it was less strongly walled than the other fronts—if only because ancient siege engines, battering-rams, etc. cannot be brought up against a river-frontage—and the less substantial defences on this side have perished the more easily. But walls are not superfluous along watersides. A river, even a broader and swifter stream than the Soar, makes surprises possible. Before the presence of enemies has been suspected, a small party may swim the river-channel in a fog, land on the unwalled bank, seize a gate close by,

¹ In each case, as Mr. Pick pointed out to me, the medieval line runs thirty-nine or forty feet behind the street-front, which is nearest to the inside of the town. To get at the remains of these walls, one has to thread narrow courts, and to enter gardens behind the houses along the streets.

² At Babylon in Mesopotamia the river-front towards the Euphrates was long held to have been unwalled, but recent excavation has shown that it was actually walled; see my note in *Classical Review*, xxi. (1915), p. 169.

and let their friends into the town. The garrison of a walled town can rarely have trusted in a river, or left the river-front unfortified.

Probably, then, medieval Leicester had walls on all four sides, and probably its river-front, the west wall, ran roughly parallel to the Soar. If so, the medieval town was roughly oblong in shape, and its area was about 105 acres. Can we take this to have been the area of *Ratae*? Evidence which I have not yet quoted, the evidence of burials and mosaics, seems to say 'yes.'

(a) *Burials*. The Romans usually buried their dead outside their towns—though the rule was sometimes broken. At Leicester, many Roman burials have been noted just outside the medieval area, and only a few within it. South of Millstone lane, east of Church gate, Roman cemeteries are known, and though more statistics are needed, the general position seems clear.¹

(b) *Mosaics*. Mosaics have been found in most parts of the medieval area, though the quarter north of High street and east of High Cross street has yielded few (p. 32 foll.). These mosaics suggest that the houses of *Ratae* covered an area not widely differing from the medieval area, and support the belief that the Roman area, however walled, was much the same as the medieval area. Here, however, an important point emerges, respecting the west wall. My statistics show that, of some thirty mosaics, of which the sites are definitely known, nine or ten lie beyond what we have taken to be the probable line of the medieval west wall. That is, on the west, Roman dwellings stood outside the medieval area, and the western limit of *Ratae* must have been nearer the Soar than is generally thought. I note in this connexion that few Roman burials occur near the river; doubts therefore arise whether the strip of land along the Soar bank did not lie within the Roman area—that is, whether the Roman west wall was not quite near

¹ An urn containing burnt bones was dug up some years back, where High Cross street and High street meet. It is of a type sometimes called 'bead-rim,' and probably dates from the first century A.D., possibly from about the middle of that

century. It may go back to a time when the Roman town was hardly formed. I saw it in 1917, in the collection of Mr. Spurway. I would like to hear of other such finds (see list of isolated burials and cemeteries below, pp. 44, 45, pl. vi).

the stream. If so, this wall stood on damp and soft soil; it may have been badly founded and have collapsed easily. I should add, however, that as the river has somewhat changed its course since medieval days, precise argument is difficult.

These various considerations suggest that *Ratae* had Roman walls running (except perhaps on the west) near

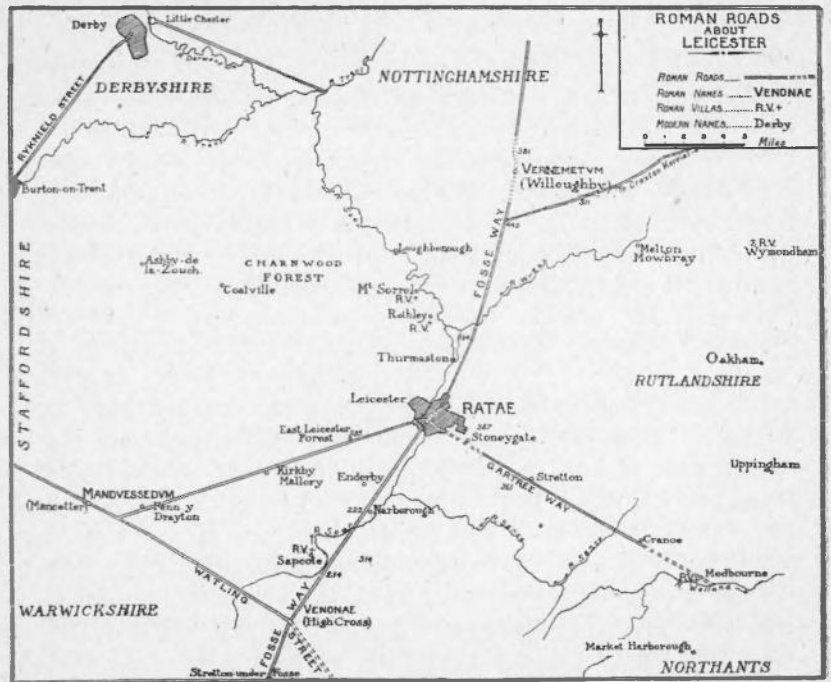


FIG. 1. MAP SHOWING ROMAN ROADS AND SITES OF ROMAN 'VILLAS' IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF LEICESTER.

The numbers refer to O.S. heights.

the line usually assigned to them. Here some one may ask: If so, why make so much fuss? I do it because the old view, however right, rested on imperfect evidence and on bad reasoning, and it is unbusinesslike to accept a view, true or not, on such grounds. For the present I conclude that *Ratae* covered in area about 105 acres, a trifle more than Roman Silchester—though it was not, as the late

Mr. J. R. Green once called it, 'the largest and most important town in Roman Mid-Britain.'¹

(iii.) *Roads.* *Ratae* was also a great road-centre:—

(a) The Fosse highway, coming from Lincoln, fifty miles to the north-east, ran through Leicester from north to south (fig. 1). Its line may survive in that of High street, as far as the intersection of High Cross street. Near the southern part of the town, it seems to have bent somewhat south-westwards (see below). South of Leicester, it can be traced for eleven English miles through Narborough along fairly straight modern tracks to the little hamlet of High Cross (*Venonae*).² A bridge over the Soar near Enderby has been locally taken to be Roman and to belong to the Fosse, but it is, I think, medieval. It will be noted that there is, as it were, a kink in the straight line of the road at Narborough. There is (or was) a similar kink in the road as it traversed the area now occupied by Leicester. The section of the road to the north of the town does not align correctly with the section to the south between Leicester and Narborough. The northern portion, if produced from Thurmaston and Belgrave, would, on the south side of Leicester, run parallel to the Fosse as traceable through Narborough, but its course would lie appreciably to the east of it. We have no evidence to explain this deviation, and the *a priori* reasons which might be suggested are merely *a priori*. The point has, however, puzzled antiquaries, and it may be worth while suggesting two obvious possibilities. First, the Fosse, as it comes from the north past Thurmaston, runs on the east bank of the Soar. South of Leicester, it runs west of that river, and the general lie of the country shows that these are the two most convenient routes. The Fosse had, then, at some point, to cross the water, and to cross sufficiently far to the west of it to get clear of the water-meadows amidst which the river winds. This may account for the turn westwards which seems to be traceable in the course of High street or perhaps in the direction of Silver street and Town Hall lane. Or, possibly the road from *Venonae*

¹ *Making of England* (1885), p. 79. Roman Wroxeter was much larger—about 170 acres; Cirencester had an area of about 240 acres.

² *Itin. Ant.* 470, 477, 479. The name survives only in a locative or ablative case,

Venonis. But Celtic philologists agree in assuming a nominative *Venonae*. The site shows to-day few signs of Roman occupation, but the ancient name seems well attested (*V.C.H. Warwickshire*, i, 232).

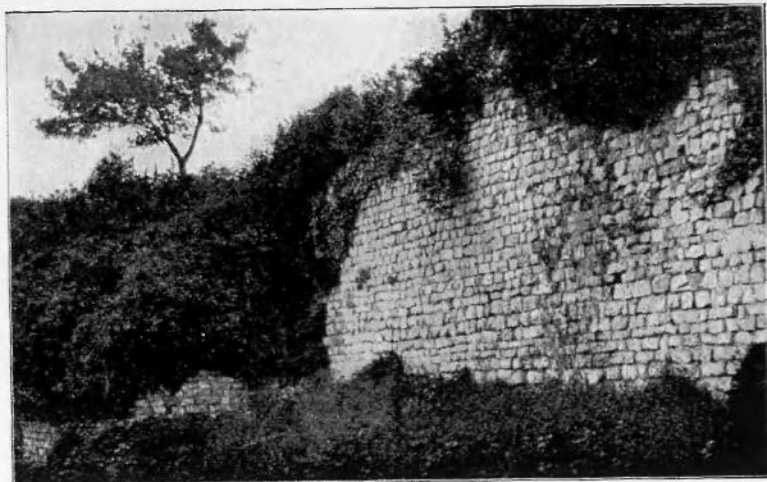
to *Ratae* was laid out before the continuation to Lincoln and, when the time came for an extension, it was found convenient slightly to vary the line while preserving the direction. In any case, the course of the Fosse both north and south of Leicester is well attested, alike by modern roads and by the Thurmaston milestone (p.23, pl. III (1)). I may add that I cannot see that this course supports a view which I have heard expressed, that the Fosse altogether misses Leicester, passing to the west of it. So far as I can judge, it simply made a slight turn in the area which is now Leicester in order to get across the river.

(b) A far less important road is said to have run north-west from Leicester by North Bridge, through Charnwood forest by Coalville and Ashby-de-la-Zouch, to Burton and so to Chester. But the evidence for it is deplorably weak,¹ though I am told that traces of the road exist at Coalville.

(c) A better attested road ran south-east from Leicester, starting by way of Victoria park and the suburb Stonegate, which perhaps drew its name from a paved ancient road.² This road ran south-east for fourteen miles, to a fine Roman country-house at Medbourne (see below), near the Northamptonshire border; its line is clearly traceable along existing roads past Stretton and Cranoe. It can be traced further eastward into and across Northants, but not without gaps: if it ran straight on, where its surviving traces fail, it would in Huntingdonshire (at Alconbury) meet the Ermine street, a Roman main road from London to Lincoln. Hence was access, by Roman roads, alike to Colchester and to London. Indeed, it has been thought that a through route led from Colchester to *Ratae* (ninety miles) and hence (ninety more miles) to Chester (*Deva*); thus Leicester would be half-way on a through route, the so-called 'Via Devana,' from the east to the west of England. But the evidence for this route is unsatisfactory. The fourteen-mile section between Leicester and Medbourne is practically the only certain item in it. This section, I suspect, did not belong to any through route from

¹ In *V.C.H. Leic.* i, 206, I am cited as in favour of this road. Any one who looks up the references given will see that the reverse is the case.

² It was in Early English times and still is called Gartree way; it runs through the hundred and old rural deanery of Gartree.



ROMAN TOWN WALL, CAERWENT.



THE EAST SIDE OF 'JEWRY WALL,' LEICESTER.

The central arch shown here is the more southern of the two central openings shown on fig. 2 : see p. 16.

east to west, but served local traffic and simply connected *Ratae* with the house of a local noble at Medbourne.¹

(d) A fourth fairly certain road ran west from Leicester 15 miles, to the small Roman station Manduessedum (Mancetter) on Watling street.² It can be traced, not without gaps, along modern lanes through Fenny Drayton, Kirkby Mallory, Peckleton and East Leicester forest; near Leicester, its exact line is less clear. It was plainly a short cut for travellers between *Ratae* and the west or north-west, saving a detour through *Venonae*.

Thus, while *Ratae* lay aside from Watling street, much as modern Oxford lies aside from the main G.W.R. line between London and Bristol, it was not side-tracked. The provision of short cuts to it shows that it was the centre of its neighbourhood in Roman days.

(iv.) Its importance is confirmed by its remains. Of its *public buildings*, indeed, little is known. Presumably, it had public baths and a forum. We can hardly suppose that a town of its size and wealth lacked these elements. We have also a hint of an amphitheatre (p. 24). But the only Roman masonry now visible above ground is the Jewry wall, at the west end of St. Nicholas' church.

This wall is a block of masonry 75 feet long and 8 feet thick, standing 25 feet above the present surface (pl. II (2)). It is constructed of rubble and mortar, with rows of bonding tiles; there can be no doubt that it is Roman work. Its chief features are some arched openings, with the arches turned in Roman tiles. Three of these are respectively 10 feet 6 inches, 10 feet 7 inches, and 11 feet wide. A fourth opening is only 6 feet 2 inches wide. Two openings have been built up with Roman material to a width of 7 feet 6 inches, and the two other openings are also blocked

¹ A fine mosaic (pl. I) was found at Medbourne in 1721, and reopened in 1793, and about 1876 (*V.C.H. Leic.* i, 214; *Gentleman's Mag.* 1795, i, 274 and 1801, ii, 1182). Another instance of a road serving a special house is the 'White way' which runs from Cirencester eight miles north to a great villa in the Chedworth Woods (see *Archaeologia*, lix, 166). Yet another example, I think, may be found in the road leading four miles south-east from Winchester to Morestead and Owslebury, to near a villa at Upham. This road has been thought to run on to

Portchester or Fareham, but evidence is wholly lacking (*V.C.H. Hants*, i, 324). A short example occurs also, perhaps, in the road from Droitwich to Elmbridge. There, however, hardly any Roman remains seem to have been found as yet. Similar special roads serving great country-houses exist to-day, as I am told, in Ireland and in Spain; some are twenty miles long. One in Connemara, from Galway towards Ballinahinch, on the former domains of the Martins, is or was (I am assured) forty miles long.

² *V.C.H. Leic.* i, 234.

JEWRY WALL, LEICESTER.

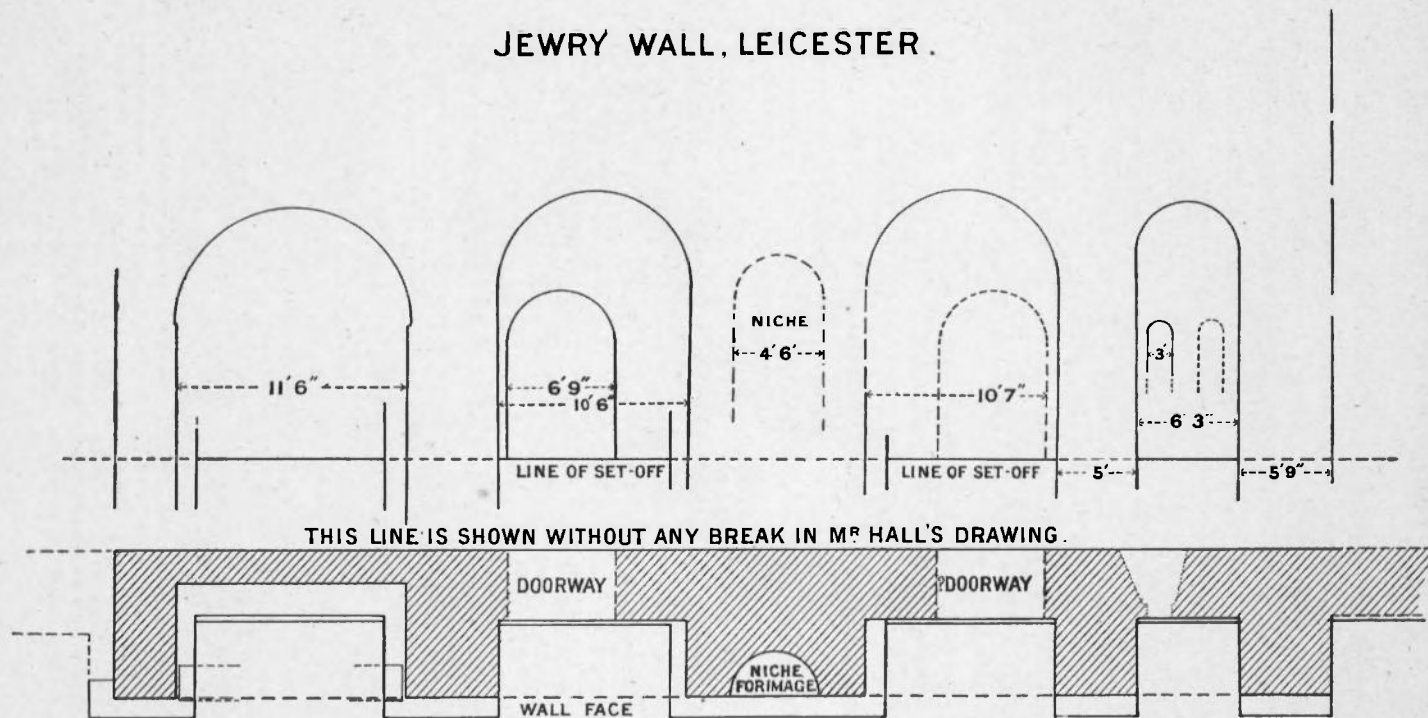


FIG. 2. PLAN FROM SOUTH TO NORTH (TOP OF PAGE) AND ELEVATION OF THE EAST SIDE

(From a rough sketch by the late Sir William St. John Hope. Based on a drawing made by Mr. A. Hall in 1870, now in the possession of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society, and reproduced in vol. viii of the *Transactions* of that Society).

up with Roman masonry. In fact the whole might be described as a row of four arches, planted against a piece of stout wall, two of which arches have been carried through the wall, with reduced width. Between the two middle openings is a round-headed niche, as if for a small statue. The structure has been often noticed in print, and variously explained.

The first writer to mention it seems to be Geoffrey of Monmouth, a medieval antiquary, more a novelist than an historian, who wrote at Oxford about A.D. 1130. He, like others of his time,¹ took note of Roman things and, as Leicester is not far from Oxford (about sixty-five miles), he may easily have seen the wall. But his reference to it is not very clear. He speaks of Cordeilla (Cordelia) as burying King Lear in a *subterraneum* (vault) 'under the Soar,' which must mean, under its bank; he adds that this vault had been built in honour of the god Janus, and that at it the Leicester workmen on a certain day began their yearly labour. Whether by this he refers to the Jewry wall, is plainly a little uncertain. He might be describing some other ruin, visible in A.D. 1130, though now vanished. However, what he describes must have been more or less near the Jewry wall, and, if by 1130 earth had grown up round the wall, its arches would have looked much like vaults. So I incline to think that Geoffrey saw our Jewry wall, and refers to it. What he took it to be is also obscure and, indeed, unimportant. The opinion of a twelfth-century romancer is on such a point of little value to-day. Later writers have styled it either a town-gate or part of the town-baths or town hall (*basilica*), or part of a temple. William Burton, about 1620, thought it a temple, and Stukeley, who was here in 1722, adds that then it was locally called 'Temple of Janus' (as it had been about 1130), but he commits himself to no special theory in his text.² John Throsby, a local historian

¹ Thanks perhaps to Norman influence, the writers of the century after the Norman invasion show considerable interest in Roman antiquities, though it is not easy to see how they knew them to be Roman. Henry of Huntingdon, for instance, who wrote about the same time as Geoffrey and probably borrowed from him, has much to say relating to Roman Britain. It is to him

we owe the idea that Silchester was once called Kair Segent (see my note in *Aibenaum*, 6th April, 1901).

² Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum* (ed. 2, 1776, p. 109). His plate (no. 55) shows the two middle arches as if then open. This may be mere restoration. If he thought the openings to have been originally open, he would not have hesitated to show them so

of about 1790, upheld the gate theory. Others, like Dr. Priestley, connected the ruins with the town-baths of *Ratae*,¹ while others have called it the frontage of a *basilica*, perhaps because at first glance it vaguely resembles the 'Old wall' at Wroxeter, which was part of the *basilica* of that Romano-British town. The late Mr. G. E. Fox, who studied closely the structural remains of *Ratae*,² adopted the gate theory: unfortunately, he nowhere set down his reasons; he seemingly regarded the idea as self-evident. I must confess that, after consideration, I do not find it so:—

(1) The wall, as Fox admitted, has not the normal ground-plan of a Romano-British town-gateway, or of any such Roman gateway in western Europe.³

(2) If the wall was a town-gateway, we ought at each end of it to find the lower courses of the town-wall through which the gateway gave entrance. No such vestiges have been found. While, therefore, it is undeniable that a line drawn from the west end of Soar lane to near the Castle would pass close to the Jewry wall⁴, the fact has the less value because no clear evidence of Roman walling has occurred along this line.

(3) As I said above (p. 11), mosaics occur west of the Jewry wall, between it and the Soar, and suggest that the area of *Ratae* extended west of the wall; in that case the wall is not likely to have been a town-gate. In sum, I incline to think that the Jewry wall was perhaps the frontage of some large Roman building inside *Ratae*, such as town-baths or *basilica*, and I prefer the former, since the position of the wall, near the Soar, with an easy outfall for waste water, is suited to that required for town-baths.⁵ On the other hand, a *basilica* normally occupied a central

on his plate. An artist in 1722 would have seen no more harm in modifying an architectural drawing than some architects see nowadays in modifying churches.

¹ So J. F. Hollings, in a paper read to the Leicester Literary and Philosophical Society, 13th Jan., 1851, printed in its first report, 1855, pp. 313-367.

² *Arch. Journ.* liii (1896), 340; xlvii, 46 foll.

³ In Roman Britain, Roman town gateways have survived in the Newport arch at Lincoln, at Caerwent, and at Silchester.

The gateways in various Roman forts, on the Roman wall, etc. belong to military posts and differ from town-gateways.

⁴ The exact direction given to this line depends on the points near the end of Soar lane and near the castle between which it is drawn. Mr. Fox has, I think, in his plan, *Arch. Journ.* xlvii, 64, rather drawn this line to suit his own theory.

⁵ The existence of a sewer, which ran from near the Jewry wall to the river, and of columns in St. Nicholas street and Holy Bones, supports this view (M.V.T.).

position in a Roman town, while the Jewry wall, whether it was or was not on the line of the Roman town-wall, must in any case have been near the western edge of *Ratae*.

Nothing, however, can be decided till the spade has shown whether foundations exist underground at the spot. Perhaps, if we dug, we should find traces of an adjoining city-wall, and should then have to admit that the wall was once a Roman gateway in the town-wall of *Ratae*. Or we might find close by traces of some other building, to which we could assign the rather numerous bits of Roman columns which have turned up hereabouts. If leave could be got to close for a few days one or two public paths, and to remove their paving, and if labour could be procured, such excavation would, even at the present rate of wages, probably cost only a few pounds. Till then we must 'wait and see.'¹

(v.) Of a *street-plan* little is known at Leicester. Many Roman towns in the Western Empire—in Italy, Africa and elsewhere—were laid out with chessboard plans. Streets ran at right-angles, and enclosed square or oblong blocks (*insulae*) of houses or of houses and gardens. In Britain such town-plans can be traced at Silchester (fig. 3), Caerwent (fig. 4), at Colchester and Cirencester.² Such a scheme of streets may have existed in *Ratae*. But proof is wanting; under our modern thoroughfares nowhere, it seems, has the paving of a Roman street been detected, but rather, under some were Roman buildings. No doubt, part of High Cross street coincides with a Roman road; apart from this, I believe it is agreed that the tortuous modern streets of Leicester do not reproduce Roman lines.

(vi.) Of the *private dwelling-houses* fragments only are known. Mosaics, many and fine, have been detected, and prove that *Ratae* contained numerous comfortable and

¹ I am glad to find that my friend Sir William Hope inclines to think the wall part of the town-baths or of a *basilica*, and to reject the gate theory. I may add that nothing can be argued from the narrow width to which the arched openings were (at some time in the Roman age) reduced. It is true that a 10-foot gate reduced to 7 feet 6 inches wide would cease to serve as a gate for wheeled traffic, but such reduction would

have occurred in the later Empire, when the main need was to exclude barbarians, and when gates almost everywhere were being reduced to narrow widths. At Caerwent, for example, the north gate was walled up to a width of some 2 feet, hardly enough to admit one barbarian at a time.

² See my *Ancient Town-Planning* (Oxford, 1913); for examples of Roman town-plans *Arch. lxxix, 171, pl. xi.*

even luxurious houses. It was clearly a wealthy place. But the recorded finds throw little light on either the dimensions or the plans or the relative positions of these houses. It is not so easy to compile a quite accurate list even of their sites. The best writers are apt to describe the positions of mosaics a little vaguely. 'Under Mrs. Collins's drawing-room' is a not uncommon form of description. It sounds precise. But who will tell us in what house, perhaps in the seventeenth century, Mrs. Collins lived, or in what part of her house she received her callers? When the man who wrote the description lived, perhaps every one in Leicester knew. To-day the locations of the mosaics are tedious and irritating problems, which even the researches of Mr. Fox and of the writers of the *Victoria History*, the two latest attempts at detailed inquiries, have not solved. There is still room here for much local research. I believe, however, that the position of the mosaics described below (p. 32 foll.) and shown on plate vi, are accurate enough for our present purposes. In computing them, I have been greatly aided by Miss M. V. Taylor, M.A., of Somerville College.

(vii.) I pass on to *finds of smaller size*, such as might be called 'movable' as distinct from large structural remains :—

(a) *Inscriptions* are rare. Writing was known in *Ratae*, but the habit of cutting inscriptions was less common. I can quote only six or seven :—

(1) Part of a tombstone was found in 1894 near the Old house in Westcotes, across the Soar, where was a Roman cemetery. The stone now bears only eight and a half letters, but three of these luckily give some one's age, and show that it was a burial stone.¹

(2) Another lettered fragment found near the Jewry wall in 1897 may be part of a column and possibly even of a milestone, but I am not sure that the letters are Roman. I can decipher only something like

MER C
A D ROP²

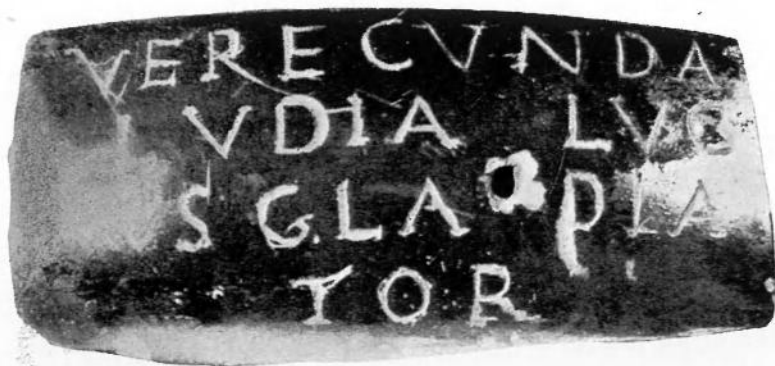
(3) (plate III(1)). A third inscription, certainly Roman,

¹ *Epb. Epigr.* ix, 1110 ; 13th Report of Leicester Museum, p. iii.

² *Epb. Epigr.* ix, 1109. Now in Leicester Museum.



PART OF A ROMAN MILESTONE,
3½ FT. HIGH, FOUND BY THE
FOSSÉ AT THURMASTON, IN 1771
(see p. 23, no. 3).



A FRAGMENT OF SAMIAN POTTERY WITH THE INSCRIPTION SCRATCHED ON IT:
NOW IN LEICESTER MUSEUM (3½ × 1¾ inches). See p. 24, no. 5.

which is part of a milestone of Hadrian (dated A.D. 120-121) was found in 1771, three miles north of Leicester, at Thurmaston by the Fosse; it declares that it stood *two* miles from *Ratae*; possibly the distance was counted from the northern edge of *Ratae*. Some of the letters have been re-cut in recent times, but I think it may be read as follows :—

IMP·CAES
DIV TRAIANI PARH FDIV NER·NEP
TRAIAN HADRIAN AVG PPTRIB
POT IV COS III ARATIS.¹

II

(4) (fig. 6). A small bit of drab-coloured limestone, which (Mr. Keay tells me) is local stone, was found in High



FIG. 6.

Cross street in 1873, and is now in the Leicester Museum. On it is graved in outline a grotesque head of either man or bird. Above are two lines of letters, engraved and reversed like a seal :

CPAL
GRACILIS

That is, *C. Pal(furius) or Pal(pellius) Gracilis*. It is the stamp of some tradesman, maybe of a seller of ointments. *Gracilis* bore a full Roman name, and was probably a Roman citizen.²

¹ *Corpus Inscript. Lat.* vii, 1169; *Epb.* *Epigr.* vii, 1103.

² *Epb. Epigr.* iii, 147, no. 136; Franks,

Proc. Soc. Antiq. Lond. vi (1874), p. 272, with illustration as above; now in Leicester Museum.

(5) (plate III (2)). More noteworthy is a bit of Samian, found about 1855, and scratched with the letters :—

VERECVND A

LVDIA LVC

IVS GLADIA

TOR

‘ Lydia Verecunda (and) Lucius a gladiator.’¹

The Samian potsherd which bears these letters comes from a Roman provincial pottery, perhaps in east Gaul, and belongs to the second century A.D.² The letters record some love passage between a lady of *Ratae*, Lydia Verecunda, and a gladiator Lucius. The two names are put together in the nominative, as are the names in similar modern *graffiti*. Grammatical purists have thought that whoever wrote the letters knew too little Latin to use the dative. That idea is foolish ; the nominative here is quite normal. It seems, then, that in *Ratae* people who wrote or read amorous passages found Latin a natural medium for their emotions. At Silchester a bricklayer, writing about his ‘ best girl ’ on a soft half-baked tile, used the Latin *puellam*. Latin, then, was spoken and written, even by working people and servant maids in *Ratae*, as in other Romano-British towns.

Further, the potsherd shows that, like Dorchester (Dorset), Silchester, Cirencester and Caerwent, so Roman Leicester too, had something which did duty for an amphitheatre. We need not think that Lucius was resident here. Probably he belonged to a company of strolling players, who toured in Britain and hired the Leicester amphitheatre now and again. When he thus came to Leicester, he met Lydia, and this token of their feelings was then devised. It would be wrong to lay stress on her name Verecunda, and translate, as one writer has done, ‘ the blushing Lydia.’ Such a name need no more imply that its bearer was especially coy than Ovid’s name ‘ Naso ’

¹ Prof. Haverfield in a private discussion with Prof. Rostovtseff accepted the latter’s reading of this inscription : ‘ Verecunda, actress [probably pantomime], and Lucius, gladiator.’ It is known that pantomime shows were combined with gladiatorial shows. The inscription was probably made

by some one present at a performance in which Verecunda and Lucius appeared (M.V.T.).

² So I learn from Mr. D. Atkinson, who has examined the fragment more carefully than I have done. *C.I.L.* vii, 1335, 4.



PART OF A GREEN GLASS CUP DECORATED WITH A GLADIATORIAL SCENE ;
FOUND IN BATH LANE, 1874, AND NOW IN LEICESTER MUSEUM.
Height $2\frac{3}{8}$ in., circumference of fragment of rim 4 in. (see page 25, no. 6)

means that that poet had a large nose. No vestige of the structure of the amphitheatre of *Ratae* is known. Possibly it was a wooden affair, put up when needed, but not permanently standing nor likely to leave very substantial traces of itself.

(6) (plate iv). A further sign of interest in gladiatorial shows in *Ratae* is furnished by some bits of a moulded glass cup, found in 1874 in Bath lane, and now in the Museum. These bear on the outside in low relief the figures of three gladiators, and above them, around the rim, four names or parts of names :—

. . . VS, SPICVLVS, COLVMBVS, CALA . . . (the A seems to be half of a broken M). Similar glass cups, found both in Britain and on the continent, bear much the same names.¹ It seems that a type of glass cup, with a set pattern, was manufactured either in Britain (where glass was now and then made in the Roman age) or else on the opposite continent in north Gaul, and showed, when perfect, four pairs of gladiators and their eight names. The more usual names are :—

TETRAITES,² SPICVLVS, GAMVS, CALAMVS, PRVDES (= *Prudens*),
COLVMBVS, MEROPS, HERMES.

But variations occur on various specimens. On the Leicester glass, the fourth name, only partially preserved, was Calamus. The names are those of players who were popular at the date when these cups were fashioned, probably (Kisa thinks) the early part of the second century. Similar ornaments may be seen to-day on many lodging-house mantelpieces, depicting popular racehorses, jockeys or cricketers.

(7) (plate v (1)). Next, I mention an inscribed tile, found in Bath lane or Sarah street in 1855, which bears the stamp

IIIVΛ

that is, LVIII written backwards.³ This tile has caused some trouble to antiquaries. But the legend is clearly to

¹ *Epb. Epigr.* iv, 708; Dessau, 5137, 5138; *C.I.L.* xiii, 10025, 178-184. For the style of glass, see A. Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertume*, iii, 696, 738 (figs. 231-284), and H. Schuermans, *Annales de la Soc. archeologique de Namur*, xx (1893), p. 25.

² The correct form is possibly PETRAITES. See Dessau, 5137.

³ First edited by Wright, *Intellectual Observer*, ii (1863), p. 177, and *B.A.A.* xix, 46; see Watkin, *Archaeological Journal*, xxxiv, p. 142; *Epb. Epigr.* iv, 695, and vii, 1124.

be read as written, *l(egio) octava*; the *l* has a form which vaguely resembles the Greek 'lambda,' such as the Romans not seldom used. Retrograde lettering, too, was common in Roman times, especially where a stamp was used. There is, therefore, no objection whatever to understanding these letters in the way indicated above. That is, the tile denotes that the eighth legion, or rather a draft of it, presumably 500 or 1,000 strong, served in Britain and was posted for a while at *Ratae*. The date of this can be fixed. Two Italian inscriptions record officers of this legion who apparently served in Britain at the time when the emperor Claudius came out personally to be present at the conquest of the island which began in A.D. 43.¹

The lettering on the tile is certain (IIIVΛ, i.e. LVIII retrograde), but trouble has been caused by a suggestion that the true reading is, or should be, IIIVΛ (ninth legion). This is one of Dr. Hübner's many unfortunate errors. He held that the Roman legions in Britain did not make tiles, or stamp them with their own imprints, till as late as A.D. 100; therefore, he concluded, the Leicester stamp must be incomplete or is in some way misstruck, so that a stroke has failed to appear at the end of the legionary numeral. As the Ninth Legion certainly stayed in Britain till after A.D. 100, he suggested that a stroke had actually failed to appear (IIIVΛ instead of IIIVΛ) and that the tile belonged really to the Ninth Legion. But his premiss that legionary tile-stamps were not made in Britain till about A.D. 100 seems quite unfounded. Such stamps were unquestionably made on the Continent years before A.D. 100, and, that being so, it is unlikely they should have been so long unknown in Britain. In fact, a tile of legio ii,

¹ An inscription in honour of one Coedius Candidus, found in Umbria, mentions him as having been decorated by Claudius on the latter's return from a campaign, clearly in A.D. 43, and as an officer of the eighth legion (Dessau, 967). Another inscription in honour of one Gavius Silvanus, also an officer of legio viii, describes him as decorated by Claudius 'bello Britannico' (C.I.L. v, no. 7003; Dessau, 2701). It is conceivable that both men, when they earned their decorations, were serving in some other corps than the eighth legion. But the similarity of the two cases suggests that they both belonged to that

division, when decorated by Claudius, and that both served in Britain in A.D. 43. The eighth legion, just then, was posted on the Danube frontier (Pannonia), and it would therefore seem that, according to a common Roman practice, the troops who fought under Claudius in Britain in 43 were strengthened by a temporary draft or *vexillatio* from the Continent. There is, then, no difficulty in assuming that a part of the eighth legion lay at Leicester in 43, while, as the draft was a temporary arrangement, we can further assume that it soon returned to its headquarters in central Europe, and that its stay in *Ratae* was quite brief.



A TILE INSCRIBED WITH A LEGIONARY STAMP ; FOUND IN BATH LANE 1855, AND
NOW IN LEICESTER MUSEUM.

The letters are about 2 ins. high (see p. 25, no. 7).



A BOX-TILE FOUND IN 1882 AT WYGGESTON SCHOOL, NOW IN LEICESTER
MUSEUM : THE INSCRIPTION HAS BEEN SCRATCHED ON IT BEFORE BAKING.
17 ins. long, 6 ins. wide (see p. 27, no. 8).

found at Seaton and now in Taunton Museum, seems to be datable to about A.D. 43-45.¹ This tile is written like ours in retrograde letters, and bears the same 'lambda' as it does. I have been asked whether the Leicester tile-stamp is not somewhat roughly made. That is the case; many of the earlier legionary tile-stamps are roughly made; and we might expect that the Leicester tile would be (as, indeed, the Seaton tile is) rudely marked. There is, I think, no doubt that the Leicester tile has been duly stamped from a die, though from a less finished die than, for example, most of the tile-stamps in the collections of Roman tiles at Chester and at York.²

We may use the tile as evidence that just in or after A.D. 43, a draft of Roman legionaries was posted in *Ratae*, though only for a year or two, after which the draft presumably returned to its 'headquarters' on the Continent. Thus we obtain a clue to the date when Roman Leicester, *Ratae*, began.

On all this evidence we may assign to *Ratae* both the status of a town and the headship of its neighbourhood, the tribal district of the Coritani. We may assign it also a body of citizens, some of whom understood Latin ways, and could at need use the Latin language.

(8) (plate v (2)). A box-tile found in 1882, 10 ft. deep at Wyggeston School, near High Cross street, tells the same tale. It is now in Leicester Museum, and bears the letters

PRIMVS

FECIT X

'Primus has made ten tiles.'

So a Silchester tile bears the word *satis*, which equally records a workman's pleasure at finishing a part, at least, of his task; and it records this in Latin, which the brick-layer must have been able to read and to write.³ Such

¹ See my paper in *Arch. Journ.* xlix, 180; *Epib. Epigr.* ix, 1268 a.

² Mr. A. B. McDonald of the School of Art in Leicester, who has expert technical knowledge of such stamps, has carefully examined the Leicester specimen, and tells me that, in the matter of technique, he has no doubt that a die was used. I was formerly inclined to doubt this so far as to wonder whether the letters might not mean merely the figure 58. It is plain, however, that a stamp for 58 is not in itself

very probable. Such a number would not recur often in use, and my 'wonder' was somewhat ill-timed. In any case, as the craftsman declares that the stamp is struck from a die, the idea of 58 has to be rejected, and the interpretation *l(egio) octava* accepted instead.

³ *Epib. Epigr.* vii, 1143; *Arch. Journ.* xli, 183; now in Leicester Museum. See also my *Romanization of Roman Britain* (ed. 3, p. 32), for similar tiles.

tiles are not so very rare in Romano-British towns, and those who wrote on them, obviously working-people, must have known Latin, both to read and to write. Probably, indeed, in the Roman Empire the so-called 'lower classes' were better educated than they have been at any subsequent period till a few years ago.

(viii.) Finally, the *history* of *Ratae*. It is naturally hard to trace. The place, of course, is nowhere mentioned in Roman literature. But where literature fails, archaeology helps. The tile of the eighth legion shows that *Ratae* began its Roman life very soon after A.D. 43. So do some Roman potsherds found in it. They are not, indeed, so decisive as those found at Silchester, where stamps occur which show that the spot was inhabited by people who cared to buy and to use good pottery vessels, as early as A.D. 10 or 15. Still, a few of the Samian sherds found at Leicester may be ascribed to the reigns of Claudius and of Nero (roughly A.D. 40-70), while a great many more belong to the period A.D. 70 to 100.¹

The frequency of these potsherds of A.D. 70-100 indicates that the first real development of *Ratae*, as a town, belongs to the last part of the first century. It may be connected with the policy of the Flavian emperors of those years when, as Tacitus says, the governor, Agricola, encouraged the building of Roman temples and *fora*, and of houses of Roman type, as well as the use of the Latin language and dress. The Britons took readily to Roman fashions, not less readily indeed than their kinsmen in northern Gaul.

For the rest, Leicester Museum contains a few pre-Roman brooches, which perhaps date back to 300 or 600 B.C. but these seem to be the results rather of early trade between Britain and the Mediterranean. Not all perhaps were really found in Leicester. For example, the Museum has an interesting *fibula* of a well-known Danubian type, uncommon in Britain, which belongs to the early part of the Christian era. It was given by a Mr. Goddard. He lived much abroad, and is likely to have picked up the *fibula* there.

¹ Examples of Samian pre-Flavian stamps noted by Mr. Donald Atkinson, B.A., of Manchester University, are [OFN]IGRI AND, MATOM/////, shape 18 (the latter marbled); OF MAT-VGE, shape 15 (marbled; probably

pre-Flavian); 1 of Hofheim, shape 8; 1 bit of shape 30 and another bit of shape 29, with decoration of this period. A few coarse pots may be pre-Flavian, though none can be called certainly so.

On the dim period which lies between the Roman and the English, the 'lost centuries' of our history as they have been called, I can throw no light. Coins show that Leicester existed as an inhabited town during the later Roman Empire, and written records and Saxon remains in some of its churches point to its existence as a considerable place during the Saxon period. But of the process by which at Leicester the Roman passed into the English, I at least am profoundly ignorant, and I am not hopeful of ever learning much.

APPENDIX I.

THE ROMAN NAME OF LEICESTER.

The evidence for the Roman name of Leicester is roughly as follows :

(1) Ptolemy, ii, 3, 11 (his manuscripts vary) gives 'Επάται, 'Páτe or 'Pάτe and Λινδον (Lincoln) as the two chief towns of the Κοριταῖοι (Coritani) or Κοριταῖοι (Coritavi) ; Coritani seems to have the better authority ; it was accepted as best by Rhys, *Celtic Britain* (3rd ed., p. 293), and may be supported by the name of the Celtic Caritani (or Caritni) in south-west Germany (Ptol. ii, 11, 6). Rhys thinks that the name Coritani may 'derive from pre-Celtic or Pictish men,' of whom he finds a trace also in the midland name, Pytchley, the 'Picts lea.'

(2) The Antonine Itinerary (477, 4 and 479, 3) mentions 'Ratae' as xii m.p. from High Cross (Venonae) on the road from Venonae to Lincoln. This agrees with the position of Leicester, eleven English miles from High Cross.

(3) The milestone of Hadrian, of A.D. 120 or 121 (p. 23 above) found about 1771 at Thurmaston on Fosse, three miles north of Leicester, declares that it stood 'two miles *a Ratis*,' i.e. from *Ratae* (C.I.L. vii, 1169) ; the lettering of the stone has been a good deal recut in modern times, but there is no reason to think that the letters *a Ratis ii* have been tampered with.

(4) Ravennas (429, 6) names a place 'Rate Corion' or 'Ratecorion,' situated somewhere between Burton and Lichfield. The position suits ill with that of Leicester, but it is possible nevertheless that we should connect the name with that of Leicester, and should read 'Rate Corion' as 'Ratae Coritanorum,' taking Corion to be a much abbreviated form, with a Greek ending such as the Ravennas sometimes uses ; for the contraction, compare 'Doniorum' for 'Dumnoniorum' (Rav. 225, 9).

This evidence seems sufficient to identify Ratae with Leicester and it suggests that the full name was Ratae Coritanorum, a name similar in form to Calleva Atrebatum (Silchester), Venta Belgarum (Winchester), and many other Romano-British place-names ; if so, the name would imply that Leicester was, as its remains and position suggests, chief town of the tribe

of Coritani.¹ Whether we should connect its name Ratae with the modern name of Ratby, a village eleven miles west of Leicester, or with Ratcliff-on-the-Wreak four and a half miles north of Leicester, or with Rothley, I will not decide. The best authorities whom I have been able to consult seem to think any connexion unlikely, and prefer rather the old sixteenth-century guess of Ortelius, that 'Ratae' is connected with the name Rutland. It seems also to be akin to the Irish 'Rath.'

The derivation of the modern name of Leicester is no part of my theme or of the subject of this article. I may say, however, that I do not think that it is connected in any way with any legions, although medieval writers occasionally spelt its first syllable 'lege'—as if it were so connected.

A NOTE ON THE DERIVATION OF THE NAME 'LEICESTER.'

BY W. H. STEVENSON, M.A.

The earliest record of the English name of Leicester is the Latinised *Legorensis civitas* of a contemporary charter of 803 (Birch, *Cartul. Sax.* i, 435; facsimiles in *Ordinance Survey Facs. of Anglo-Saxon MSS.* i, pl. 4; and Palaeographical Society, i, pl. 23). The form may be compared with that of Worcester in the same text *Wegoranensis civitas*. In the latter case we have evidence that the *o* is a parasitic vowel in the archaic *Ueigrinan-caestir* of an early eighth-century charter preserved in Heming's Worcester Chartulary (Birch, i, 240) and in the *in Uuigrinnan-caestre* of another from the same source (ib. i, 308) between 757 and 775. In 789 we have the forms *in Weogorna-caestre* and *Weogrina-caestor* in a Worcester charter (i, 356), the original of which was printed by Hickes, *Linguarum Septent. Thesaurus*, i, 171, and in *Weogorena-leage*, near Worcester, in another of 816 (Birch, i, 497; Hickes, i, 173). These latter forms show Anglian mutation of *i* to *eo*, through *io* (found in later texts), caused by the parasitic *u*, later *o*. The West-Saxon form *Wigora-cester* frequently occurs in late charters, and eventually prevailed and yielded the modern name. It would seem that the *Wegoranensis* of 803 and the *Ueigerna civitas*, *Uuegernensis ecclesia* of a demise of about the same time in Heming (Birch, i, 422) are also due to this Anglian *u*-mutation.

We find the same vacillation between *e* and *i* in the Old English forms of the name of Leicester. Omitting the *-ceaster*, we have of the former *Legra* in MS. B of the Old English Chronicle under 918 and D under 943 (both later MSS.); *Lægre* in E under 1088 and the Norman spelling *Leðecestre* under 1124 (where the ð has the value of *y*; Zachrisson, *Anglo-Norman Influence on English Place-names*, p. 117. The Domesday *Ledecestre* is also to be explained in this way). Of the *i*-forms we have *Ligra* in C

¹ 'Chief town' in the sense that the council of the canton (in modern phrase, the 'county-council') met here, and that it was both the marketing and administrative centre of the cantonal area. *Lindum*, the other town noted by Ptolemy as a town of

the Coritani, was a 'colonia' with an independent local government, and, however important, would hardly be concerned with the cantonal administration, to which it was 'extra-parochial.'

under 918, B 914, *Ligora* in A under 941, *Ligera* in A under 914, 921 (almost contemporary) and in B and C under 941, *Ligere* in D under 914, *Ligre* in C under 914, and *Ligran* in D under 918.

Florence of Worcester has an instance of the name being affected by the *u*-mutation in *civitas Leogera* and *Leogorensium* in his copy of the ancient list of bishops (ed. Thorpe, i, 240, 242).

The *e*-form prevailed, and is represented in the modern name. *Legre*- is retained in some twelfth-century records (*Calendar of Documents in France*, 377; *Ancient Charters*, Pipe Roll Soc., 59, 65, 66, 113) and occurs in the Leicester Borough Records in the early years of the thirteenth century (i, 2, 9, 18). The *Leir*- forms continue until the first quarter of the thirteenth century, but *Leic*- (with loss of *r* before the *s*, written *c*, of the Norman-French *cester* for *chester*) was the more common form: It occurs as early as 1189-1195 (*Ancient Charters*, 101). The Munich Brut., MS. *circ.* 1200, has *Leiecestre*, *Leir-cestre* and *Kaŕr-leir* (ed. Hofmann and Vollmoller, Halle, 1877).

The name has been frequently connected with that of the village of Leire, called *Legre* in Domesday. Thus Nichols, *History of Leicester*, iv, 240, states that Leire or Leare is "so called, for that it standeth on one of the heads of the river of Leire, now known by the name of the Soar." Whether the traditions current in the vicinity that the river bore the same name as the village are based upon this passage I do not know. But we have conclusive evidence that the derivation is correct in the words of William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, §176: "*Legrecestra est civitas antiqua in Mediterraneis Anglis, a Legra fluvio praeterfluente sic vocata.*" But about the same time the lively Geoffrey of Monmouth, in ascribing the foundation of Leircestre to King Leir (in Welsh *Llyr*), says that it is "*super fluvium Soram*" (ii, cc. 11, 14). It is probable that Geoffrey substituted the name of the Soar for Leire in favour of his derivation from the British king.

The name of the French Loire, with which it is natural to compare this river-name, descends through Old French *Leire*, *Legere* from *Ligerem*, the accusative of *Liger*. Intervocalic *g* disappeared very early in British, but it may have existed at the time when the English took over the name, apparently in the form *Lig(e)ra*.

APPENDIX II.

LIST OF ROMAN PAVEMENTS AND OTHER STRUCTURES FOUND IN LEICESTER.

Bibliography.

- Carte, Bickerstaffe, Nichols, in *Nichols' History of County of Leicester*, pt. i, (1795), pp. 11, 12, etc.; pt. ii (1815).
 John Throsby, *History and Antiq. of the town of Leicester* (1791).
 Burton, *Descr. of Leicestershire* (1622 and 1777)—contains very little.
 Jas. Thompson, *History of Leicester* (1849).
Gentleman's Magazine = *G.M.*
Leicester Architectural Soc. Trans. i-x (1855-1912) = *L.A.S.*

British Arch. Assoc. Journal = *B.A.A.*

Assoc. Architectural Reports, vi-xxxiii (1861-1914) = *A.A.R.*

Arch. Journal = *A.J.*

G. E. Fox, *Arch. Journ.* xlv, 46-64 (1889) with plan showing sites marked with capital letters of alphabet and numbers (Roman numerals, up to viii only).

V.C.H. Leicestershire, i, 181-207, with plan on p. 183, from Fox, with later additions of the editors' own, numbered in small alphabet and Roman numerals after viii—hence frequent confusion.

Age uncertain = possibly medieval work, not certainly Roman.

(1) (a) A tessellated floor was found apparently in the eighteenth century in Southgate street (Throsby, p. 20) under the parlour of Mr. King's house, later occupied by one Collier (*L.A.S.* ii, 22); it is marked by Fox (1) almost opposite Castle street.

(b) A coarse floor and part of a stone column (about 2 feet tall and 13 inches diam.) were found Sept. 1860, in the street between Collier's house and Johnson's malt offices (possibly Southgate brewery, north corner of Castle street), about 12 feet below the surface (*L.A.S.* ii, 22; Fox marks it (q), but gives a wrong date of finding; hence *V.C.H.* 190, 206).

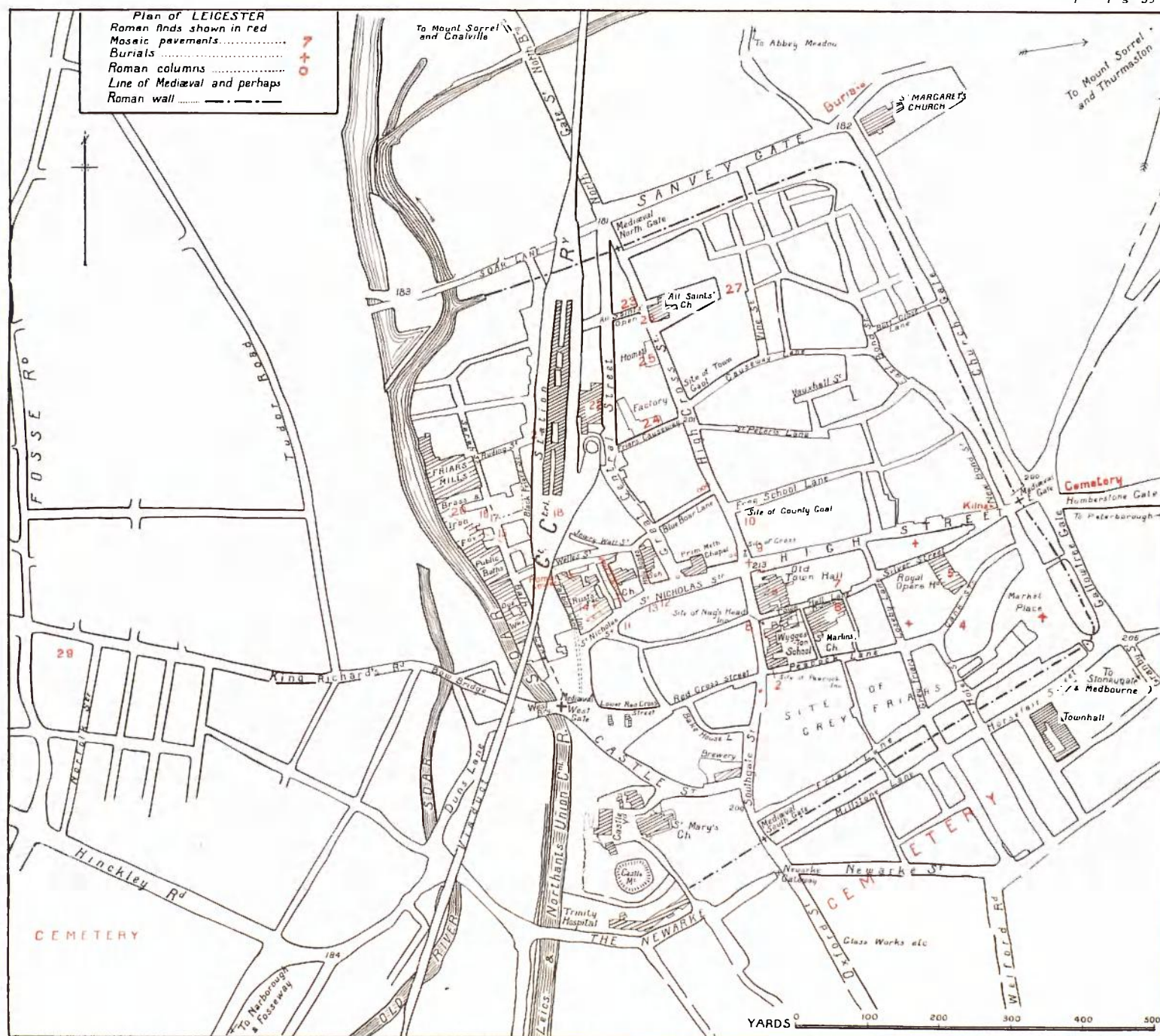
(c) [Age uncertain]. About 1685, between Southgate and the Cross, at the entrance of the lane leading to the castle, a large drain was uncovered. Its bottom, sides and roof were of hewn stone, its cavity about 2 feet diam. It seemed to run westwards from the Friars on the east of Southgate street and pointed towards the river (Carte, Nichols, i, 11; marked by *V.C.H.* 207 at (ddd), a wrong site).

(2) (a) A lime and mortar floor 16 by 14 feet in area, 6-7 ins. thick, was found in 1667-8 in High Cross street, near the Waterhouse (Mr. Johnson's house), in the yard of 'the corner house, where the street grows narrower (on the south side, next the west end of the Friars,' i.e. near the corner of Peacock lane); it lay about 12 feet below the present surface. North of it were found '2 chimnies (? flues), 12 feet apart, as high as the mantle-tree.' Under the room to the north, six or seven loads of gravel were found; under the gravel were oyster-shells. Nearer the street, 1½ feet under the cellar and gravel, were 'large foundations without mortar, of Forest (i.e. Charnwood forest) stone,' which were taken out; water from the cellar drained into the resulting cavity, but it always disappeared (Carte, Nichols, i, 11, and cf. no. 10 (d)).

(b) 'A beautiful floor of mosaic-work' was found, 12 feet deep, in 1667, 'where Mr. Johnson's buildings now stand, formerly the Waterhouse.' The painted side-walls of a room were standing; against one wall was an open 'fire-place' (Throsby, p. 19; Fox marks this a; *V.C.H.* 194).

(c) Near Warren's premises (14 Southgate street, opposite Waterhouse) fragments of deep red plaster from the walls of a room were detected under the street, Sept. 1860 (*L.A.S.* ii, 22. Fox marks the site wrongly (p), too far to the south, and gives a wrong date of discovery; hence *V.C.H.* 190, 205).

(d) [Age uncertain]. The foundations of an extensive building near the north corner of Peacock lane and High Cross street were found a little before 1848. Throsby records the discovery here 16 feet below the surface



PLAN OF LEICESTER SHOWING SITES OF ROMAN BUILDINGS, ETC.

The numbers refer to O.S. heights in feet.

The number '28' in red should be under the new Town Hall in Horsefair street and not under the old one as shown here. But the foundation of a building was discovered in July 1921 to the north of the old Town Hall at the corner of High and High Cross streets (see p. 45).

in 1791 of a 'thick almost impenetrable wall of Forest stone,' running north-west and south-east. It was strongly cemented and lay on successive beds of clayey gravel, marl and sandy gravel, in which, 26 feet deep, was a 'fragment of tile or pottery' (Throsby, *Hist. Leics.* pp. 171, 384 and pl. facing p. 17, fig. 4; hence Thompson, *L.A.S.* i, 215, who also mentions scattered tesserae, as found here, but Throsby does not seem to record tesserae).

(3) In April 1794, in removing earth from the Grey friars to enlarge his house, Mr. Thos. Lomas found part of a Roman floor, 6 feet deep, composed of coloured squares, very small and destitute of design; near, lay much pottery, Samian, etc. The exact site is unknown; the site of the Grey friars extended from Southgate street to Hotel street, and from Peacock lane to Friar lane. *V.C.H.* marks it at '11' (see Throsby, p. 396, and Thompson, p. 447; hence Nichols, i, pt. ii, 619 (1815)). The Grey friars' church was probably opposite St. Martin's and Wyggeston's school in Peacock lane; apparently the buildings were near it; but Lomas's house may have been a little way off.

(4) A small brick pavement was found Nov. 6th, 1723, in the yard of the White Lion Inn (placed by O.S. between Market Place and Cank street) 2½ feet deep, sloping toward its centre. The bricks were 1 in. cubes, nearly all red; at one place, 4 or 5 inches wide, they were white (Carte, Nichols, i, 11, Fox (v); 10 ft. Ordnance Survey Plan, xxxi, 10, 25).

(5) (a) In August-Sept. 1871, an interlaced geometrically patterned pavement, with large tesserae 1 in. square, and also a concrete bed for a floor, were respectively found 30 ins. and 3 to 4 feet deep, on the south side of Silver street. Several Roman coins (among them a Nero and a Hadrian) were also found (*L.A.S.* iv, 106). On *V.C.H.* plan the site is marked (ww), on the wrong side of the street; it should be near where this plan has (r).

(b) In December 1876 a rough tessellated floor c. 20 by 14 feet was found 12 feet below the surface, under the Opera house, Silver street. Pottery and corroded coins lay on it. Further remains uncovered some years earlier, below the contiguous premises of Howcutt and Barwell (apparently on the west side of the Opera house) probably belonged to the above (*L.A.S.* v, 55; *A.A.R.* xiii, p. cii; *V.C.H.* 190; Fox (r)).

(c) [Date of finding, perhaps 1889; uncertain if Roman]. In building operations between High street and Silver street, a wall of Roman work was discovered running due east and west for some distance; it was destroyed before being inspected (*A.A.R.* xx, p. lix; *L.A.S.* vii, 207). *V.C.H.* (qq) adds to this wall a tessellated pavement, and gives a wrong reference to *L.A.S.* The foundations of the wall found in 1902, mentioned as in the same spot by *V.C.H.* (citing *A.A.R.* xxvi, 461), seem connected with no. 5 (b).

(6) (a) 1773. In a grave in the south aisle of St. Martin's a fragment of a mosaic was found, about 'a foot over,' like that at the Waterhouse (Nichols, i, 12, Fox (f); *V.C.H.* 189).

(b) In 1784, when a grave was dug under the steeple (between the nave and the chancel) of the same—St. Martin's—church, many animal bones were found, 5 feet from the surface; near the belfry door, 1 foot below the surface, was a heap of large pebbles 'wedged together' without mortar (? Roman); here also, in the precincts, were foundations, well set in mortar (Bickerstaffe, Nichols, i, 8; *G.M.* 1784, ii, 745).

(c) In 1861, when the north transept of this church (St. Martin's) was built, close to Town Hall lane, a thick sleeper wall was found, 'surmounted by a wrought stone platform, on which were the bases of two Doric columns,' $1\frac{1}{2}$ –2 feet in diam. and 10 feet apart, now in the Museum. Between them were animal bones etc. and two coins (Nero and Constantine). This sleeper wall ran at right-angles with the church wall, but not with Town Hall lane. At right-angles with the sleeper wall was a line of mortar, broken floor tiles, and a pavement; flanged tiles were also found (*L.A.S.* ii, 90 plan; *G.M.* 1861, ii, 141). Fox, *A.J.* xlv, 59 (f), dates the columns as perhaps Constantinian; *V.C.H.* p. 207, nos. 13, 14 (zz) records these as two separate finds and, in one case, gives a wrong find-date. More bones were found in 1822 under the church tower (*B.A.A.* xix, 113; *A.A.R.* vi, 274; *L.A.S.* iv, 273).

(d) In Dec. 1902, remains of an 'ancient (Roman)' wall were found in High street and were thought to be a continuation of (c) (*A.A.R.* xxvi, 461; *Soc. of Antiq. Proc.* xix, 249; wrongly placed by *V.C.H.* 206, (qq)).

(7) (a) In March 1903, two pieces of Roman pavement, 14 feet below the surface, were found on the north side of Town Hall lane, opposite St. Martin's: (i) 3×4 feet, ornamental pattern; (ii) smaller, coloured white, red and blue. Both were similar to that found in 1901 at the corner of High street and High Cross street (no. 11); both were destroyed (*A.A.R.* xxvi, 462; *V.C.H.* 183, 207 (yy), giving wrong place, and 189, giving wrong date).

(b) (Age uncertain). An arched cellar was found, in 1845, under an old house in Town Hall lane, facing the west end of the Town Hall; its floor was 6 feet below the surface; there were four arches, 29–32 inches apart, 22 ins. wide, 44–50 ins. high; they were perhaps splayed windows arched over. The cellar was built of rough irregular stone, mostly local granite, with rows of tile over the arches; the walls were 3 feet 2 inches thick. On the wall opposite to the arches were four square recesses, 15 inches wide, 34 inches above the floor, and 10 inches deep; higher up were three smaller irregular hollows. This cellar measured 29 feet 5 inches from north to south, and 13 feet 8 inches from east to west, and was nearly 9 feet high (*A.J.* i, 390; *V.C.H.* i, 189).

(c) (Age uncertain). *V.C.H.* 207 (bbb) notes a wall and roof of granite and tiles found in 1902 in Town Hall lane, but gives the wrong reference (*A.A.R.* xxvi, 462). This may be a confusion between no. 6 (d) and 7 (b) above. *V.C.H.* also mentions a portion of a pavement from the same place as found in 1884, quoting *Rep. Mus. Com.*, seemingly a wrong reference.

(d) (Roman; site uncertain). A fragment of stone, showing a niche, in which was the upper part of a rude figure in relief, holding a spear in its hand, was found in Town Hall lane in 1882; it is now in the Museum (*Guide to the Museum*, 1889, p. 17; *V.C.H.* 189, 206; Fox (aa)).

(8) In rebuilding Mr. Stephens' house at 18, High Cross street, opposite the Nag's Head, some time in the eighteenth century, part of a tessellated pavement was found; 'at one end of this was also a fire-place' (Throsby, p. 20, hence *L.A.S.* ii, 22; Fox (H), hence *V.C.H.* 192).

(9) Feb. 1901. In digging foundations for a coffee-house at the north corner of High and High Cross streets, three pieces of mosaic pavement

were found, about 10 feet deep, and with them part of a wall about a foot high; the site was strewn over with blocks of granite rubble and sandstone. A large urn and part of a flanged tile were found, also part of a stone column and some plaster—all now in the Museum (*A.A.R.* xxvi, 459; *L.A.S.* ix, 169; *Leic. Mus. Rep.* xiii, p. xvii; *V.C.H.* 192, 206 (ff), 207, ix-xi, pl. vii).

(10) (a) In 1791, a tessellated floor was found in sinking for the front foundations of the new county gaol, near the south corner of High Cross street and Free School lane, 200 yards south of the Town gaol, which stood at the north corner of Causeway lane (Throsby pp. 20, 383; Fox (c), hence *V.C.H.* 192, 205. Marked on O.S. 10 foot Map, xxxi, 10-19).

(b) In Sept. 1859, in Blue Boar lane, at its east end, a wall of Roman tiles was found 5 feet below the surface, running in the same direction as the street; it was exposed to a depth of 5 feet, and proved to be 6 feet long; it was followed to a total depth of 11 feet, but its lowest course was not reached. At one end was a column 33 inches high and 5 feet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches in circumference, resting on a plinth, which was 12 inches deep. At the other end of the wall was a second fragmentary column without a plinth, 17 inches in diameter, 25 inches high; both were of millstone grit (Thompson, *L.A.S.* ii, 23-24; Fox (o)).

In the Museum are some carved impost mouldings and fragments, perhaps from an arch, found at the same time at the corner of this lane and High Cross street (?) (*Mus. Guide*, 1889, p. 15; Fox, *A.J.* xlvi, 50, plan 21-26; hence *V.C.H.* which also marks here (eee), but gives no reference to any find in the text). The site is shown on O.S. 10 foot Map, xxxi, 10-19.

In June 1907 another column was found, 12 feet deep in Blue Boar lane; its base 2 feet sq., its shaft 18 inches in diam. (*V.C.H.* 192, pl. 11).

(c) (Age uncertain). About 1685. In trenching for waterpipes in High Cross street, an old stone wall was uncovered, running from about Red Cross street (south end) to Elm Trees (north end)—a distance of about 500 yards—about 6-7 feet from the houses on the west side of the street; it was well laid, but leaned down towards the houses; many loads of stones were taken from it (Wilkins quoted by Carte, Nichols, i, 11; hence *V.C.H.* (hh)).

(d) (Age uncertain). Sept. 7th, 1716. In High Cross street, near the second house 'beyond Blue Boar lane,' a wall was found below 2 feet of made earth, 'even' with the front of the house; the bottom was not reached, but apparently it was about 12 feet high. It was four feet thick, and built of stone (2 feet high), and of tiles in one and two courses (the tiles measured 12 ins. \times 18 ins. \times $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins.). The upper part was 'cast down and reclining toward the house' near the entrance. The account is confused, but it seems that under the wall (or under the made earth resting on it) was a pavement of stone, as if of a street. It was thought to be the same as 2 (a), but that seems unlikely (Carte, Nichols, i, 11; Fox (c); hence *V.C.H.* pp. 192, 205).

(e) (Age uncertain). In excavating about 1860, a 'walk' of granite and sandstone 5 feet thick was found 4 feet below the surface, running down the middle of High Cross street from near All Saints' church to near the Borough gaol (east side, north of Causeway lane); this may be the same as (c) and (d) (*L.A.S.* ii, 23; *V.C.H.* 206, notes this as if near (mm), which is wrong. *V.C.H.*, citing Carte, Nichols, i, 11, also mentions a stone wall near the

'King's Arms' in High street, p. 206 (hh), but it was only 3 feet deep and very questionably Roman).

(f) Sept. 5th, 1862. At 52, High Cross street, near where it joins St. Nicholas street and opposite no. 9, in excavating for a cellar, a tank was found at a depth of 10 feet, its inner surface lined with pink cement. It is now in the Museum (Fox, *A. J.* xlvi, 51, and no. 12; hence *V.C.H.* 192, pl. ii).

(g) November, 1867. At the north-east corner of St. Nicholas street, abutting on High Cross street, two Roman columns were found, 14-15 feet from the surface, and 10 feet 10½ inches apart, standing on a plinth of wrought stone, 1 foot thick, which in turn rested on a rubble wall or foundation. These columns were 23 ins. in diam. and one was 6 feet 2¾ inches high; both are in the Museum (*L.A.S.* iii, 334; Fox, *A. J.* xlvi, 58, 59, 63, nos. 4-7 (B), and *V.C.H.* 187, 207; *A.A.R.* ix, lxix).

Previously (in 1861) another column had been found in direct line with these (and opposite them); this is also in the Museum (Fox, *A. J.* xlvi, 63, nos. 8-8 (B)). Part of a column shaft was found at the south-west corner of the Methodist chapel, a little to the west (perhaps 10 feet; O.S. Sheet xxxi, 10). This also is in the Museum (1 and 1A), while portions of columns—shafts, bases, plinths and capitals—were found in the street between the chapel and Holy Bones, and are now in the Museum (2-3A, 9-10A): apparently none are now *in situ* (*L.A.S.* iii, 334; *Leic. Museum Guide*, 1899, p. 14; Fox, *A. J.* xlvi, 48, 63, and *V.C.H.* 187, 207). More columns were found in Holy Bones in 1855, and are now in the churchyard (*L.A.S.* vi, 161; *A.A.R.* xviii, lx; Fox, *A. J.* xlvi, 62, V, V). In 1902 in digging foundations for the Foresters' Institute, on the north side of St. Nicholas street, near High Cross street (i.e. where the columns were found), Roman masonry and a first brass of Vespasian were discovered (*A.A.R.* xxvi, 461; *P.S.A.* xix, 248; *V.C.H.* 206 (qq) marks wrong site). See also above.

(11) (a) About 1787. In digging a cellar at the Recruiting Sergeant inn at the corner of St. Nicholas street and square (about 210 feet south of the church), a plain pavement was found 24-29 feet deep, of a 'lightish close grain friable,' by the side of a thick wall of very hard stone like the Jewry Wall and in line with it. About 40 yards away, under the cellar of a house by the churchyard side (on south-west), was a wall running in the same direction as the above. Apparently it continued under the street and was thought to connect the two pieces; the ground here rises towards the north. Another wall of the same hard stone runs west (? from the inn wall) at right-angles to the former wall, and was considered to be 'an old window-place or frame.' A coin of Maximian was found here 24 feet deep, apparently on the floor (Carte, Nichols, i, 12; Fox (1); hence *V.C.H.* Throsby, p. 20, has much the same account as Carte, giving the date about 1787, and declaring the pavement to have been found by the side of a 'thick impenetrable wall' in direct line with Jewry Wall. O.S. xxxi, 10, 24 marks the site; cf. no. 14 (a)).

(b) A wall 2½ feet thick, and running north and south, was found in August 1888 under the north transept of St. Nicholas' church (8 feet from the buttress supporting the tower at the east end of the north aisle). It was struck 4 feet 4 inches below the surface, and was followed to a depth of 12 feet or more. Near was a block of masonry (*L.A.S.* vii, 17; Fox (v)).

An inscribed fragment found near here in 1897 was probably not Roman (*V.C.H.* 206 (ee); *Epb. Ep.* ix, no. 1100, and p. 22 above).

(c) 1889. 'Fragments of a Roman pavement,' found in St. Nicholas street, are now in the Leicester Museum (*A.A.R.* xx, 1x; *L.A.S.* vii, 207, hence *V.C.H.* pp. 188 and 206 (ss), the former giving a wrong reference). Apparently this was not a tessellated pavement, as it was used for the foundation of an anvil. *Thirteenth Mus. Rep.* 39 mentions fragments of tessellated pavements from St. Nicholas street, found in 1891, which may be the same.

(12) and (13) (a). July 1898. Two pavements were found in St. Nicholas street, 50 yards south of the church (opposite it), 8-12 feet below the street, and surrounded by calcined matter. (1) Originally 18 feet square; it now measures 15 feet square. It was of a geometrical pattern, with a peacock in the centre. (2) lay 4 feet west of (1), on a level 6-11½ inches higher; it was plainer and smaller, being 19½ feet \times 5½ or 7 feet: it rested on a slope. The refuse above these floors contained many animal and human bones, oyster-shells, a denarius of Severus Alexander, and a brass of Victorinus, etc., especially on the south side, where the floor was much reddened. Large pieces of granite and slate and other building material lay on the floor. Near was a stone-faced well, 60 feet deep (*Reliq.* v. (1899) 26 foll., figs. 3 and 4). The excavations were salted (see *Thirteenth Mus. Rep.* pp. cclxiv, no. 80). The site was purchased by the town in 1911 and the pavements are *in situ* (*B.A.A.* iv (new series), 289; *L.A.S.* viii, 375, ix, 6, plate; *A.A.R.* xxxi, xxxiii; *A.A.R.* xxiv, xcix (site); *V.C.H.* 188, 206 (bb), pl. 1).

(b) (Age uncertain). Fox (*A.J.* xlvi, 62, n), and *V.C.H.* declare that the Ordnance Survey marks a pavement found in 1839 in St. Nicholas square, opposite the Recruiting Sergeant inn, but it is not on the 25-inch or 10-foot maps. It is evidently a misreading of 11 (a) above. *V.C.H.* in addition gives a reference to Thompson, p. 458, who quotes Nichols as in no. 11 (a).

(c) *V.C.H.* 206 (ss) quotes *Leic. Corp. Mus. Rep.* for a tessellated pavement found in St. Nicholas square in 1853.

(d) (Age uncertain). 1862 or 1863. Foundations of buildings were found under Sarson's premises near St. Nicholas' church (*L.A.S.* ii, 207; *V.C.H.* (nn) with wrong date; noted by Fox, but site not marked on his plan).

(e) (Age uncertain). 1906. During alterations to St. Nicholas' schools, part of a very strongly built wall, 12 feet long and 3 feet thick, was uncovered; near were a horse's skeleton and 3 iron shoes; also animal and perhaps human bones, pottery (Samian), a green glazed jug, etc. (*Leic. Post*, 28th Ap. 1906).

(14) (a) 1793. Throsby saw 'an amazing thick wall' in a cellar of the house at the Talbot; 'the wall was almost impenetrable.' He thought it part of a town wall, connected with the supposed gate at the Jewry Wall; but the Talbot is further west than the Jewry Wall, and is not in line with it (Throsby, pp. 2, 18); cf. no. 11 (a).

Apparently near this, and within a yard of the sewer (e, below), were parts of columns, and 30 yards from them a capital, lying on a bed of fine red clay, 12 feet below the surface. They were said to 'correspond with the columns and bases,' apparently meaning that they were of the same size.

Near the columns were 'two amazing strong foundations of a considerable building made of Forest-stone and grout'; joined to one of them, and adjoining the sewer (and therefore N. or NE. of the 'Talbot'), was a floor of mortar, small pebbles and pounded brick or tile (Throsby, pp. 390, 391, plate p. 388, figs. 2, 3; hence Thompson, *L.A.S.* i, 305, ii, 24; cf. nos. 12 and 13 above). Thompson also (*l.c.*) notes as found 'more recently, the capital of a column of Byzantine character' (plate vii). This (now in the Museum) was found in 1844, and is in fact Corinthian (*Leic. Mus. Guide*, 1899, p. 15, no. 17; hence Fox (κκ) and pp. 50, 51 (no. 17) and *V.C.H.* no. 17 and pl. ii).

In 1887, during excavations for Rust's or Hobson & Co.'s factory, west of Jewry Wall (perhaps Throsby's site above), there was found a deposit of wood ashes, apparently circular, 20 feet across, with a shapeless mass of fused iron in the centre—not burnt buildings. Near here, many years previously, much potter's clay was found (cf. Throsby's bed of fine clay above). This may have been a pottery works—unless it be a trace of burnings of Lollards and witches which took place here and in Holy Bones. During the excavations there was turned up an urn said to contain ashes, a piece of Samian and other pottery, a 'second brass' of Vespasian, a denarius of Domitian and a 'small brass' of Gallienus (*L.A.S.* vi, 311-2).

(b) (Site uncertain). In Sept. 1806, in sinking a cistern at Gardiner's factory, remains of a large building were discovered; the walls were 4 feet thick, built of alternate layers of forest stone and Roman brick, like the Jewry Wall: from this it was about 100 yards distant, and was thought to be part of it (*Gent. Mag.* 1806, ii, 870, may refer either to the above (a) or (c) below or to no. 11 (a)).

(c) During excavations for a factory west of the Jewry Wall long after 1793, the lower courses of a wall were found, lying a little northward of the existing Roman fragment, and running at right-angles to it in the direction of the river (westwards) (*L.A.S.* i, 305-6 (1859); hence *V.C.H.* 206 (mm), with wrong date).

(d) In further excavations for Rust's factory, a southward continuation (as was thought) of the Jewry Wall was laid bare, but was destroyed or used in modern foundations (*L.A.S.* viii, 40-4).

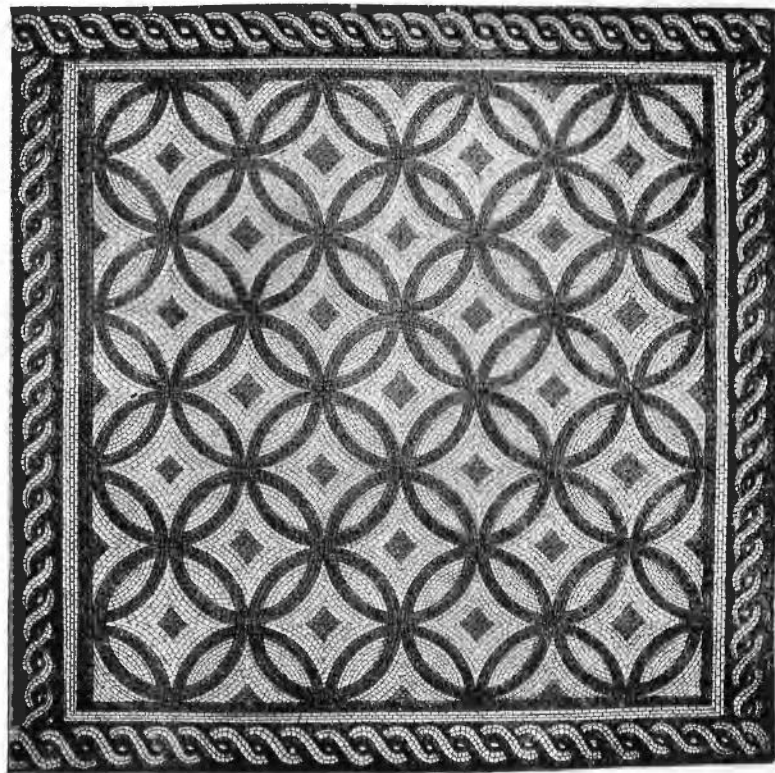
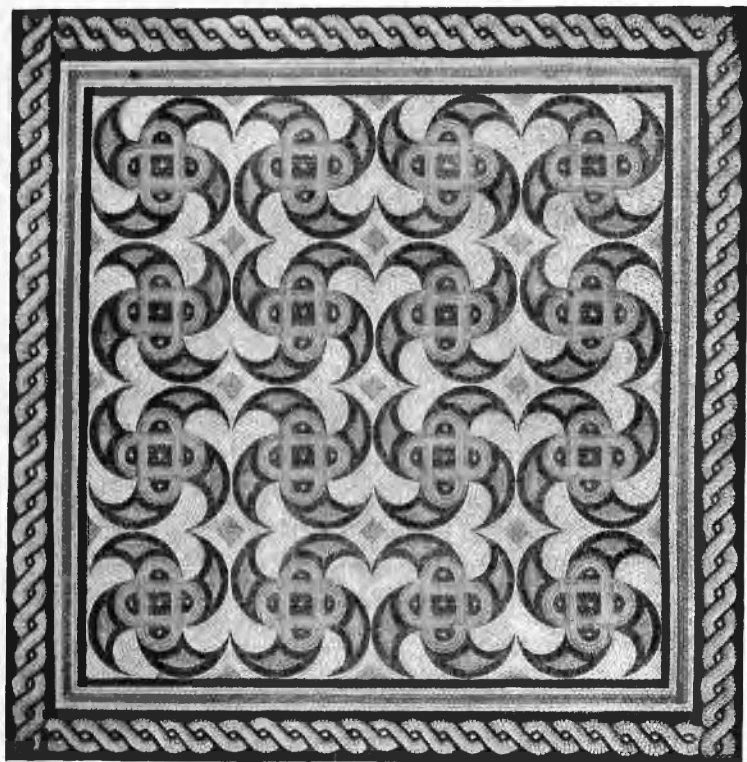
(e) Feb. 1793. Almost half way between the Jewry Wall and the river large blocks of freestone were found, 5 feet from the surface, and weighing half a ton; they were placed over a 'tunnel' 2 feet 'over' and 4 feet deep, the bottom also built of freestone—that is, a sewer. This begins, according to Throsby, near the south end of the Jewry Wall, in the cellar of Mr. Roberts' house, and continues north-west to the river, with a considerable descent; it was full of Roman objects (Throsby, p. 388 seq.; Roberts' house is at the south-east end of Rust's factory; *L.A.S.* viii, 43, and plan showing line of sewer, hence *V.C.H.* 198-9, but making two finds out of one; Fox (z), (κκ)).

In Feb. 1887, in excavations for Rust's or Hobson's factory west of the Jewry Wall, this sewer was opened; it was entirely filled with earth: it was rectangular, about 4 feet deep and 2 feet wide, covered and paved with stone slabs, and apparently ran under Talbot lane, 12 feet below the level of the street. If it continued straight towards the river, it must have emptied just where the old Soar joins the present canal. It seemed to come



CORINTHIAN CAPITAL IN LEICESTER MUSEUM, FOUND IN TALBOT LANE, 1844.
AND NOW IN LEICESTER MUSEUM.

Height 24 inches, diameter at widest point 22 inches (see p. 38, no. 14a).



TESSELLATED PAVEMENTS, EACH ABOUT 9 FT. SQUARE, FOUND AT THE BLACK FRIARS OR 'THE BATH,' IN OCTOBER, 1754.
(From Nichols' *Hist. of Leics.* (1795), i, Plates ix & xii (see p. 39, nos. 16, 17).)

from the Jewry Wall, passing through or under it at right-angles and then bending north-west ; it did not, as Throsby thought, come from further south near St. Nicholas street (i.e. under Roberts' house in Shambles lane, now called St. Nicholas street). There was no sign of any previous opening : it was left as it was found ; part was filled with concrete and used as a foundation (*L.A.S.* vi, 311-2, viii. 40-4 ; see also no. 15).

(15) 1876. Excavations were made 20 feet deep in Bath lane. Made earth, resting on red marl, was dug out to a depth of $10\frac{1}{2}$ -14 feet. Thick walls of coarse masonry, one running parallel to the street (north and south), were uncovered, with two others crossing it at right-angles ; also the angle of a building, with one side curved. At a depth of 9 feet was a fine concrete floor of lime, pounded tile, bits of brick, etc., 20 feet long, extending on both sides of the trench. Beneath it was a conduit leading towards the river apparently containing black mould. Coins were unearthened, pottery (*TITVRONISF*), and a Late Celtic bronze fragment. The site was only a few feet from the Corporation baths, therefore it must have been close to no. 16 (below), and not as far south as Fox marks it (S). Fox also puts at (S) our 19 (find of 1859, p. 41), but that also seems to be nearer to this concrete floor and should be somewhere near his (x) (*L.A.S.* v, 41, note ; hence Fox (S) and *V.C.H.* 195).

An inscribed tile (above, p. 25, no. 7) was found somewhere near here.

(16), (17) (plate viii) Oct. 1754. 'Two very fine mosaics were found in a piece of ground called the Black Friars, belonging to Roger Ruding. They were found adjoining one another, with a fragment of a third pavement ; some others seem to run under the present buildings' (Nichols, i, p. 11, pls. vii, viii, ix ; hence *V.C.H.* pls. iv, v). According to an account sent to the Society of Antiquaries by Ruding and a minute of 17th Nov. 1866 (quoted by *V.C.H.* i, 194), they were found 'under a stable, about 35 yards from the river Soar.' They were each about 9 feet square, in line with one another, and the colours were blue, red, yellow and white, while the patterns were geometrical. They were all destroyed.

Throsby (p. 19, pl. labelled 'Bath') puts the pavement of Nichols, pl. ix (1) (found at the Black Friars 1754) as found at the Bath in 1747 ; but it is the same site, for Nichols (i, 296 and note 8) says that the site of the pavement was the 'ground of the Friary belonging to Roger Ruding of Westcotes' and 'from this spot they were traced under the stables of the Bath, now called Vauxhall' and that 'other pavements seem to run under the present building.' And therefore the find to which he here refers is the same as that on p. 11, where he says that besides the above three pavements 'other pavements have since been found at Cooke's new Vauxhall, in a bathing room near the river, which now rises over and damages them, but must formerly have been considerably lower.' In *Hist. of Hinckley*, p. 10, he describes it as 'the ruins of a bath near St. Nicholas church.' W. Bray (*Tour*. 1778, p. 47) mentions the pavement found a 'few years ago on repairing a house near Richard's Bridge (West Bridge) now used as a bath ; but it was broken in pieces.' The site thus seems to be at the junction of Bath lane, Sarah street and Blackfriars street (formerly Friar's Causeway), near Russell's brass and iron foundry and the Bath hotel. The Vauxhall gardens were at the corner of Jewry Wall street and Friar's Causeway (now G.C.R.—marked on 10 ft. O.S. xxxi, 10, 18), and the Bath

would be between them and the river. The site is certainly not that marked by *V.C.H.* at vv in Ruding street. Fox marks and mentions only the Vauxhall pavement and that too far south at (E); hence *V.C.H.* which thus has two different sites for the one find. They should be marked quite close to Fox's (x) no. 20 below, and are probably part of the same building.

(18) (fig. 7). In 1830 a Roman pavement was found on premises situated at the corner of Jewry Wall lane (lower end) and Friar's Causeway near

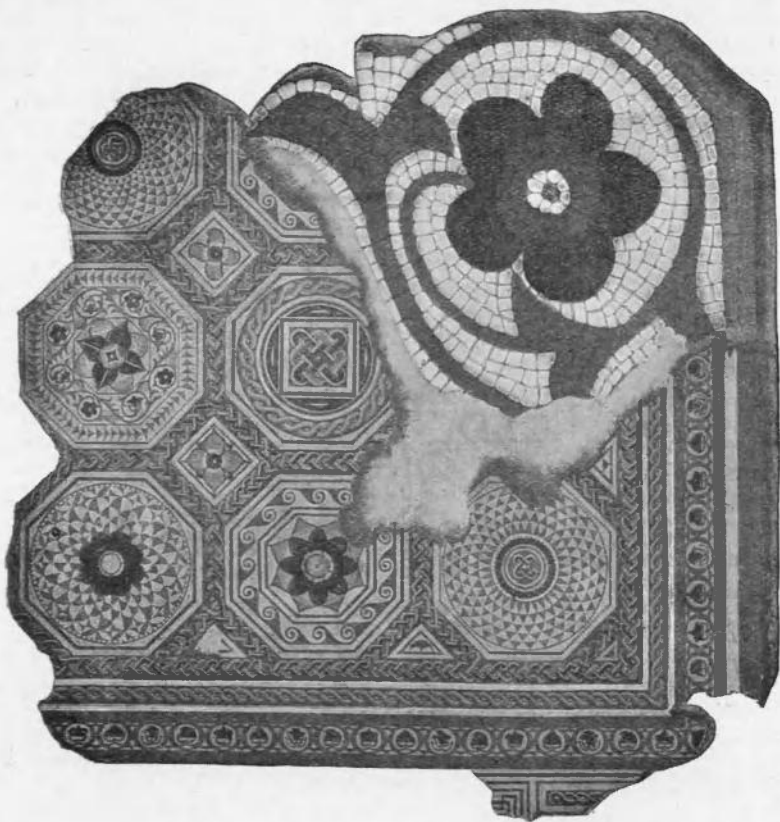


FIG. 7. ROMAN PAVEMENT IN BLACKFRIARS (FORMERLY JEWRY WALL) STREET.

Bath street; it was about 18 feet square and 5 feet below the surface. A cottage was built over it, the floor being 4 feet above the pavement. Early in 1843, in laying foundations of the adjoining house, another piece of tessellated pavement was found about 5 feet below the surface, apparently a continuation of the above; and the whole seemed to extend under the street (Thompson, 1849, p. 445; *Gent. Mag.* 1830, ii, 355). The pavement remains *in situ*; in 1882, the site was bought by the Town Council, and

became 72 Friar's Causeway. Then the pavement was found to continue under the adjoining house and the public street. It measured 23 feet square, and had a geometrical pattern; a fragment of the original wall, plastered, 3 feet high, abutted on the east side. It rested on a strong concrete bed. When the G.C.R. was built, about 1900, the pavement was enclosed in a chamber below it; the site is now 23 Blackfriars street. In making the G.C.R. the ground here was found to have been previously disturbed, and a further piece of pavement occurred under the present entrance steps of the chamber (*The Roman Pavement, Leicester*, pp. 4-8, *Leic. Post*, 14th August, 1900). Fox marks the site at (m), but that seems slightly too far east; *V.C.H.* puts the continuation out of place at (rr) (H. E. Smith, *Lithographic Coloured Prints of Romano-British Tessell. Pavements*, 1851, pl. iv; *Reliq.* v. 1899, 26 foll. fig. 2, and wrong date; Fox, *V.C.H.* 194-5, pl. iii, from H. E. Smith).

In June 1885, in alterations of Jewry Wall or Blackfriars street, another piece of pavement, of the same pattern as the above, was found in line with it, and apparently in continuation of it (*Reliq.* xxvi, 1885, 56; *A.A.R.* xviii, lix; *L.A.S.* vi, 175, 208; Fox marks it at (w), but it should perhaps be nearer (m) *V.C.H.* 195).

(19) In the midsummer of 1859, in laying culverts half-way up Bath street, a wall was discovered, 4-5 feet thick, built of stones laid in cement, running in an oblique direction across the street: on the side of the street opposite to that of the 'well-known pavement' (probably that found in 1830, (18) above) and therefore on the west side, another pavement, of large tesserae and plain, was discovered; the wall belonged to a room, thought to be the room containing the above-mentioned pavement (18), and the plain pavement to belong to its courtyard, but the coloured pavement seems to be rather too far off for that (Thompson, *L.A.S.* ii, 22. Fox marks this at (s), but it should be nearer his (x); from Fox, *V.C.H.*).

(20) In Oct. or Nov. 1885, during excavations for the cellar of Kempson and Howell, Sarah street, a Roman pavement was found, 12-14 feet by 3-4 feet, of rather coarse tesserae, and much plainer than the Jewry Wall pavement (18), also on a considerably lower level, below even the river level; it was supposed to form part of the Roman baths (*Antiq.* xii, 228, *L.A.S.* vi, 210, ix, 175, plate. O.S. marks it where Fox does—at (x), but it may have been a little farther west. It probably belongs to nos. 16 and 17).

Leic. Mus. Guide, p. 15, no. 18, gives a 'small capital, not known where found, perhaps in Sarah street': 'no. 19, portion of a capital found in Sarah street, 10 feet deep, A.D. 1875.' Hence *V.C.H.* mentions two columns and marks the precise site, p. 195 and no. 19.

Thus the sites marked s, e, x, m, w, rr, vv, on the *V.C.H.* map, should be all close together.

(21) In excavations for the piers of the G.C.R. bridge over Ruding street, a large piece of tessellated pavement (brick and limestone in a chessboard pattern) was found. A piece of it was moved to the chamber under the G.C.R. above-mentioned (no. 18) (*Leic. Post*, 14th Aug. 1900).

(22) Under the G.C.R. booking-office in 1900 were discovered solid walls with red plaster, and a concrete floor in which were a few tesserae (*Leic. Post*, 14th Aug. 1900). Near the engine turn-table, two lengths of stone columns were dug up and put in Saint Nicholas churchyard: also many animal bones, a large pot of coarse ware, more than 2 feet deep, and

packed round with stones, and two large stakes driven into the ground, and between them a heap of ashes. Here also were dug up two or three fragments of marble, and potsherds in larger quantities than anywhere else (cf. no. 27) (*Leic. Post.*, 14th Aug. 1900; the turn-table is 100 feet south of the booking office).

(23) On the site of Welch's malting house on the north side of All Saints' Open, between High Cross and Great Central streets, a tessellated pavement of limestone cubes, about 5 feet square, was found (*Leic. Post.*, 14th Aug. 1900).

(24) In excavations for a new factory north of Friar's Causeway, a plain pavement of grey slate was found, 9 feet long by 3 feet wide; on one side was a border $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad of brick tesserae (*Leic. Merc.* 22nd May, 1913, which states that it was to go to the Museum). There are no precise details as to site, but probably it was Morley's factory on the north side of Friars' Causeway. This is not the same as no. 25.

'Along the Friar's Causeway, numerous fragments of tessellated pavements were found in the G.C.R. works' (*Leic. Post.*, 14th Aug. 1900).

(25) In the garden at the back of nos. 130, 132 High Cross street (the Working Boys' Home) in digging the foundations of the factory facing the G.C.R. station, the remains of a Roman pavement were discovered, 6 feet below the surface; it was 18 feet square, and made of brick and stone *tessellae* on concrete (*Leic. Post.*, 24th June, 1913; *L.A.S.* xi, 24, 27). This site is Bryant's factory, about 150 feet north of no. 24.

(26) (plate ix). A pavement was found 'over against the Elm Trees, near All Saints' church, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards under the surface' (Carte, *Phil. Trans.* 1711, xxvii (no. 331), 324, figure). It was discovered about 1675, when the colours were bright; it consists of an octagon surrounded by a guilloche border, with the figure of a young man raising his left hand to his head and fondling with his right hand a stag which turns its head towards him. A Cupid on the right of the stag points his arrow towards the young man; the man is 2 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. high, and the Cupid 2 feet high. The piece was about a yard long; there was much of it in the cellar, but it was destroyed: under it to a great depth were oyster-shells. In 1849 it was still *in situ*, on one side of the road; it is now in the Museum. Mr. Fox in the *V.C.H.* suggested that it represented the story of Cyparissus and his stag, and probably rightly. The subject appears on frescoes at Pompeii, but usually Cyparissus and his stag are seated, and Apollo also is present; see Mau in *Mittheilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, rom. Abtheilung*, xi, p. 19, no. 36; Helbig, *Wandgemälde der rom. verschütteten Städte Campaniens* (1868), nos. 218-9; *Museo Borbonico*, xii, ii (Thompson, 445; Nichols, i, 9-10, pl. vi; Fox, no. 1, *A.ſ.* xlvi, 52-3, gives details of the materials; *V.C.H.* 192-3, and plate iii, reproduced from Fowler's *Mosaic Pavements* (1801). The site is marked on the 10-ft. O.S. Morgan, *Romano-British Mosaic Pavements*, pp. 113, 121; H. E. Smith, *Lithographic Coloured Prints of Romano-British Tessell. Pavements*, 1851, pl. v).

(27) A mosaic pavement 11 feet square was found $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the surface in Vine street, Causeway lane, 1839, east of All Saints' church; the design was geometric and it was showy and effective, but coarse. It is now in the Museum (Fox, *A.ſ.* xlvi, 53, 63, ii-iv; hence *V.C.H.* 196, and plate v from drawing in *Leic. Museum* (Thompson, p. 445)).



PAVEMENT PROBABLY ILLUSTRATING THE STORY OF CYPARISSUS AND HIS STAG,
FOUND NEAR ALL SAINTS' CHURCH ABOUT 1675, NOW IN LEICESTER MUSEUM.

Height of Cyparissus 2 ft. $4\frac{1}{2}$ ins. ; of Cupid, 2 ft (see p. 42).

(Roman origin uncertain). Between the Cross and Eastgate, a 'sewer' was excavated, 'wide enough for a cart, with planks on each side, held up by posts, which stood up about a foot higher than the way.' It was 6-8 feet below the surface, and all burnt black (Carte, Nichols, i, 11; hence Thompson 447, and Fox (B) who place it at Eastgate; hence *V.C.H.*).

Roman kilns were found about 1902, on the site of Lloyds' Bank, High street, near New Bond street, with much pottery (*A.A.R.* xxvi, 462).

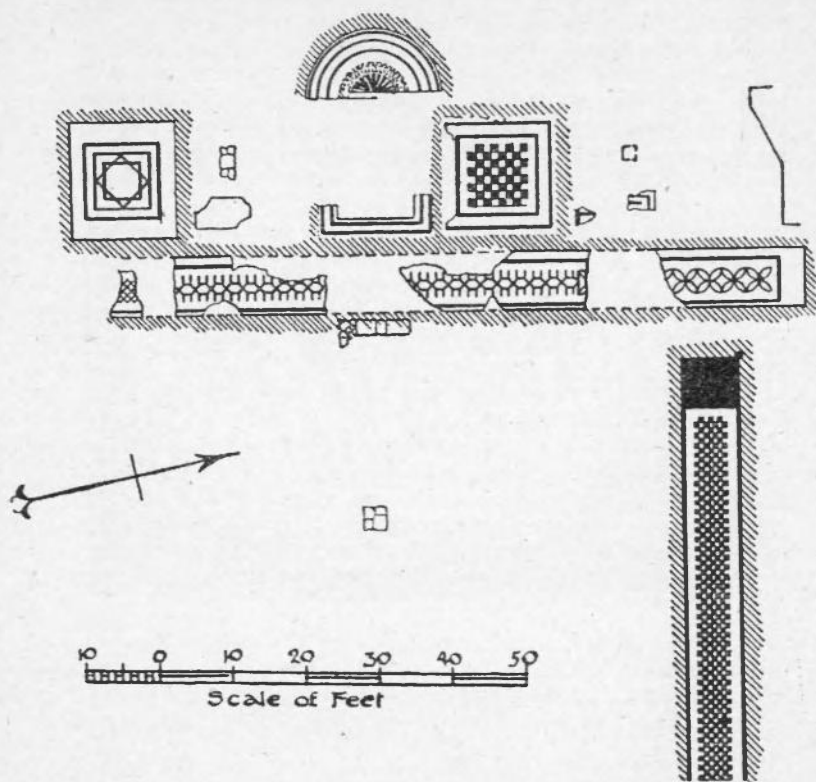


FIG. 8. PAVEMENTS FOUND IN 1850 AND 1851 AT DANNET'S HALL (NOW NEAR NORFOLK STREET, KING RICHARD'S ROAD), FROM DRAWING IN LEICESTER MUSEUM (see p. 44, no. 29).

OUTSIDE THE WALLS.

(28) *Horsefair street*. *V.C.H.* records a pavement from Horsefair street, found in 1875, quoting *Leic. Mus. Rep.* (*V.C.H.* 207, ccc). The Museum Report, however, has the following for 1890: 'Various tesserae from the site of the old cattle market, 12 feet deep when excavating for the new Municipal Buildings, 16th January, 1874.' The tesserae would thus be

near the cemetery and outside the walls (marked by mistake on plan at *old Town Hall*).

(29) *Cherry Orchard (Dannet's Hall)* (fig. 8). In 1782, a geometrically designed pavement was found in Cherry Orchard, about 75 yards east of the Fosse road, and thence continuing northwards (Nichols, *Gent. Mag.* 1786, ii, 825, plate i, hence *Hist. Leic.* i, 12, pl. ix, 2). In 1850 and 1851 excavations were carried on here; more pavements were found, with geometrical patterns, and with dolphin designs. On one was a stone pedestal 3 feet 5 ins. high. One floor measured 28 by 18 feet; another, with a chequered pattern in red and grey measured 14 feet square; another, similar, 56 feet long by 7 feet 8½ ins. wide paved a corridor. Others had interlaced patterns. No foundations were disclosed except 'one of angular shape', north of the main line of the rooms; near it was a hollow pipe filled with concrete, part of a hypocaust pillar. At the south extremity of the last pavement, Nichols' pavement was found; much painted plaster and four coins ('third brass' of later Empire) were also found (*B.A.A.* vii, 440-2, plan in *Leic. Mus. Rep.* reproduced in *V.C.H.* 197, y-viii. Parts of the pavements are in Leicester Museum). By 1867 much had been destroyed (*A.A.R.* ix, lxix-lxx). In Dec. 1868, 25 feet from King Richard's road (Watt's Causeway), opposite Newfoundpool inn, a pavement of geometrical pattern resembling one of the above was found; it measured 15 by 9½ feet. Part of it is now in the Museum (*A.A.R.* ix, cxvii; *L.A.S.* iii, 387).

In the same year a bronze Jupiter, 4 ins. high, was found beneath 12 feet of made earth (see above, and *P.S.A.* 2nd s., iv, 183-5). The coins found here were mostly of the third and fourth centuries (to Valens), but included a 'second brass' of Vespasian and two 'first brasses' (Trajan and Nero) (*L.A.S.* ii, 200).

The site of this 'villa' is marked on the 10 ft. O.S. plan (xxxii, 10, 22) on the west side of Norfolk street, 50 yards south of King Richard's road. It is now built over and the pavements gone, save for one fragment (*Leic. Post*, 12th Oct. 1908).

Some tesserae were found in destroying the west end of Trinity hospital outside the south-west corner of the town in 1897, but they may have been carried there with building stone (*L.A.S.* viii, 254).

CEMETERIES :—

(i.) On the west side, across the Soar, close to the site of Westcotes, but on the east side of Fosse road and not far from Dannet's Hall, Saxon and Roman burial finds have occurred. Here also was the inscription no. 1 above (p. 22) (*L.A.S.* vi, 339).

(ii.) On the south side, at Millstone lane, just outside the town wall, and in Newarke street, lead coffins were discovered, one with a coin of Hadrian near it (*L.A.S.* ix, 15; iv, 242 foll.) and a glass urn with bones in Oxford street (*A.J.* xxiii, 70).

(iii.) Outside the east gate were cinerary and inhumation burials (see Nichols, i, 5, note 9; Throsby, p. 21, and *V.C.H.* 201). A lead coffin was found in Humberstone gate.

(iv.) On the north side, outside Sanvey gate, was an inhumation burial, while a glass urn with bones and other burials have occurred in the Abbey

grounds (see *L.A.S.* iv, 185; *A.J.* xxiii, 70, and Thompson, *Hist. of Leics.* p. 447).

Burials inside the Walls.

(i.) *V.C.H.* i, 201, quotes *Leic. Mus. Rep.*, apparently in mistake, for cinerary urn with bones, found in Horsefair street, near the line of the south wall, in 1876.

(ii.) The same authority records a cinerary urn (? bones in it) in Butt Close lane, near the east wall, found 1854-5.

(iii.) The ten foot O.S. plan (xxxi, 10, 24) marks a Roman cinerary urn as found at the east corner of Loseby lane and Peacock lane or St. Martin's street.

(iv.) Between High street and Silver street in excavating for the Royal Arcade, June 1877, burnt bones and cinerary urns (*L.A.S.* v, 197).

(v.) Cinerary urn containing charcoal and ashes was found in the Market place, 1873 (*L.A.S.* iv, 243).

(vi.) An urn containing ashes was found west of Jewry Wall (see no. 14 (a) above).

(vii.) see p. 11, note 1.

WELLS.

Outside the north-east angle of the town were found two wells or pits with Roman potsherds, etc. A third was lined with wicker work and contained a mass of rushes, weed, etc., with snail-shells at the bottom; then, animal bones, two bits of iron, etc.; 2 feet above the well-rim were fragments of a flint celt and bone implements, while 4 feet above them was a Roman layer with a pair of shears and a second Roman level with potsherds 4 feet higher still and 4 feet below the present surface. At the supposed Roman level was evidence of charred matter (see *V.C.H.* 199 and refs. *P.S.A.* (ser. 2) i, 243).

COINS.

A gold coin of Trajan was found in 1793 (perhaps Cohen, 281, A.D. 114; *Gent. Mag.* 1793, ii, 787). For a list of coins from Leicester, see *L.A.S.* x, 35, which includes 1 Julia (39 B.C.-A.D. 14), and coins from Claudius to Florian (A.D. 276); also Throsby, pp. 20, 21, who carries the date down to Honorius.

NOTE.

Addendum to no. 8, p. 34.

In July 1921, when digging for foundations of a new bank at the south-east corner of High and High Cross streets, just north of the old Town Hall, a plain pavement of red brick tesserae was found 11 feet below the surface, running north-west and south-east, in a rather more easterly direction than High Cross street. It was 10 ft. 3 ins. wide, and on each side of it was a rubble wall 2 ft. thick, while another wall of the same width diverged at right angles from the west wall towards High Cross street, and therefore its end could not be traced. No Roman remains were found below it. It has the appearance of a corridor of a house, part of which lies beneath High

Cross street or even High street—but how much it would be enlightening to know. In any case it shows that the direction of the building is more in line with the part of High Cross street to the north of High street than that to the south. It may be that if the north part of High Cross street represents a Roman street, it continued to the south in the same direction (not turning south as the modern street), and this building lay to the west of it.

For information concerning this important find I am indebted to Mr. S. H. Skillington, and for a plan and details to Mr. T. H. Fosbrooke and Mr. Keay, who, I trust, will publish a short notice of it in the Annual Report of the Leicester Archaeological Society.

M. V. T.