

PART II. THE ROMAN OCCUPATION

I. INTRODUCTORY NOTE

Modern knowledge of Roman Lincolnshire both begins and ends with Lincoln itself. As a legionary fortress, *Lindum* was founded some four years after Claudius' invasion of Britain in A.D. 43, and as a chartered city or *colonia* thereafter, it may well have preserved a civic entity even after Roman rule had ended.¹ With Roman Lincoln, then, Dr. Richmond here deals in two major articles (embodying his lectures given during the Institute's Meeting and at other times), first in its archaeological detail (p. 26), and secondly (p. 57) in a consideration of all the four *coloniae* of Britain. The remains of the Roman occupation in the county at large are numerous, and in 1934 were listed, discussed and mapped in this *Journal* by Mr. C. W. Phillips, F.S.A.² At the Meeting a distribution-map bringing his record up to 1946 was shown in the Exhibition; and the exhibits included material here to be briefly noticed both from Lincoln and from other sites, of which the three visited by the Institute, namely Ancaster, Horncastle, and Caistor, are discussed in a further brief section, prepared with Dr. Richmond's help (p. 17). Lastly, the Lincoln Archaeological Research Committee's Report 'Roman Lincoln, 1945-46', on the recent excavations illustrated in the Exhibition and in part inspected by the Institute, is reviewed on p. 84 by Dr. V. E. Nash-Williams, Keeper of Archaeology in the National Museum of Wales, a leading excavator of the Roman legionary fortress at Caerleon and town at Caerwent in Monmouthshire.

2. THE EXHIBITION: ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

(Numbers in brackets are those of the Catalogue.)

BM=British Museum. GM=Grantham Museum. HM=Hull Museum.
LM=Lincoln Museum. SM=Scunthorpe Museum.

A. FROM LINCOLN

With the sculptured stones illustrated below, pl. viia (61: lent by Mrs. G. R. C. Harding), pl. viii (62: LM), and pl. ixa (63: the Dean and Chapter), were exhibited the inscribed fragment from Jellicoe Avenue (82: LM; p. 50), the bronze horse-foreleg from an equestrian statue (70: Society of Antiquaries; p. 54), and finds from the Research Committee's excavations. The Roman antiquities in the Museum itself were also supplemented in the Exhibition by photographs of some in the British Museum.

Attention is also drawn to the half of an unusual *mould of hard-baked clay* which was kindly lent by Mrs. G. R. C. Harding for examination at the British Museum and illustration here (pl. ix, b). It has clearly been made by impression, from a Roman bronze steelyard-weight in the shape of a female bust (with characteristic foliate ornament at the breast), the effigy of which could thus be reproduced in terracotta, or any plastic material, for any convenient ornamental purpose.

¹ See pp. 85-88 (Mr. Myres).

² *Arch. Journ.*, xci, 110-36 (with map pl. xxiii), 154; *Gazetteer*, 155-87.

Mrs. Harding has confirmed that she had it from her father, Mr. George Allis, of Lincoln, who was deeply interested in the work in the Bailgate in 1878 that brought to light the colonnade described on p. 37: it was found during the work, close to the base of one of the columns, and has ever since remained, with this information, in family possession.

B. FROM ELSEWHERE

The well-known chariot-race mosaic pavement³ from the Roman villa at Horkstow (BM) was illustrated on the cover of the Catalogue from a photograph by Mr. T. D. Kendrick, and by an impressive enlargement in the Exhibition. North Lincolnshire was represented also by an Aucissa (78) and enamelled (77) brooches (HM) from the early site at South Ferriby (p. 23); by a trumpet-brooch from Dragonby (76: Mrs. Rudkin); by a photograph of one of two cremation urns of coarse local fabric from Brumby Common (BM); and by one of the pair of bronze bucket-escutcheons, in the form of an ox-head surmounted by a bird-head, from the native habitation-site at Thealby near Scunthorpe (71: SM), published with other material therefrom by Mr. H. E. Dudley in 1935 (*Antiq. Journ.* xv, 457-60) and datable about or soon after A.D. 100.

A bronze statuette of Mercury came from Broughton Common (80: LM); another bronze figure, iron-mounted, from Tallington churchyard (81: Mr. H. F. Traylen), and from the 'Black End' villa-site on the Willoughton-Blyborough boundary (Mrs. Rudkin) a Roman lead-filled bronze weight inscribed in Greek (73; *Antiq. Journ.*, xiii, 57; *J.R.S.*, xxii, 227), a lead weight (75) and a bronze bell (74). From the Wolds came a lamp found at Walesby (72: Mr. L. W. Pye; *Lincs. Notes & Queries*, viii, 193); part of a hoard of silver coins found in a pot at Swaby near Louth, 1934 (108: LM); and the remarkable find, made in 1807 at Bayons Manor, Tealby, of a carinated urn of hard grey Roman ware containing nearly 6,000 silver pennies of Henry II (84: Mrs. R. Tennyson D'Eyncourt).

The Roman agricultural exploitation of the Fens was illustrated by air-photographs supplied by the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (taken by the late Major G. W. G. Allen), and by Mr. D. N. Riley, D.F.C.; the iron industry of the Grantham district, by a model and fragments of the Colsterworth blast-furnace published in 1932 (69: GM; *Antiq. Journ.*, xii, 262). From that district there were shown (GM) also seal-boxes (86: one finely enamelled from Threkingham), brooches from Saltersford (79: some enamelled; and one from Syston), and from Saltersford too a coarse potsherd (85) with the graffito *diccus fecit*.

Lastly, there were shown (also GM) the inscribed milestone of Constantine I from near Ancaster (67: *C.I.L.*, vii, 1170), and the altar with its column-pedestal (66, 68) and slab sculptured with the Mother-Goddesses (65; pl. iv, a) from Ancaster itself, the site next to be described.

3. ROMAN ANCASTER, HORNCastle, AND CAISTOR

By C. F. C. HAWKES

Ancaster (fig. 1), with *Honington Camp*. The natural gap in the Lincoln Edge at Ancaster, through which originally the river Witham, before its deflection to

³ R. P. Hinks, *Catalogue of the Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Paintings and Mosaics in the British Museum* (1933), 101-9 (no. 36), figs. 112-124.

the more northerly gap at Lincoln, flowed eastward as what is now the Slea, has since at least the Early Bronze Age been a controlling feature in the human geography of the region, forming an avenue, between the sea and the Grantham district inland, across the oolitic ridge of the Edge and its ancient north-south trackway.⁴

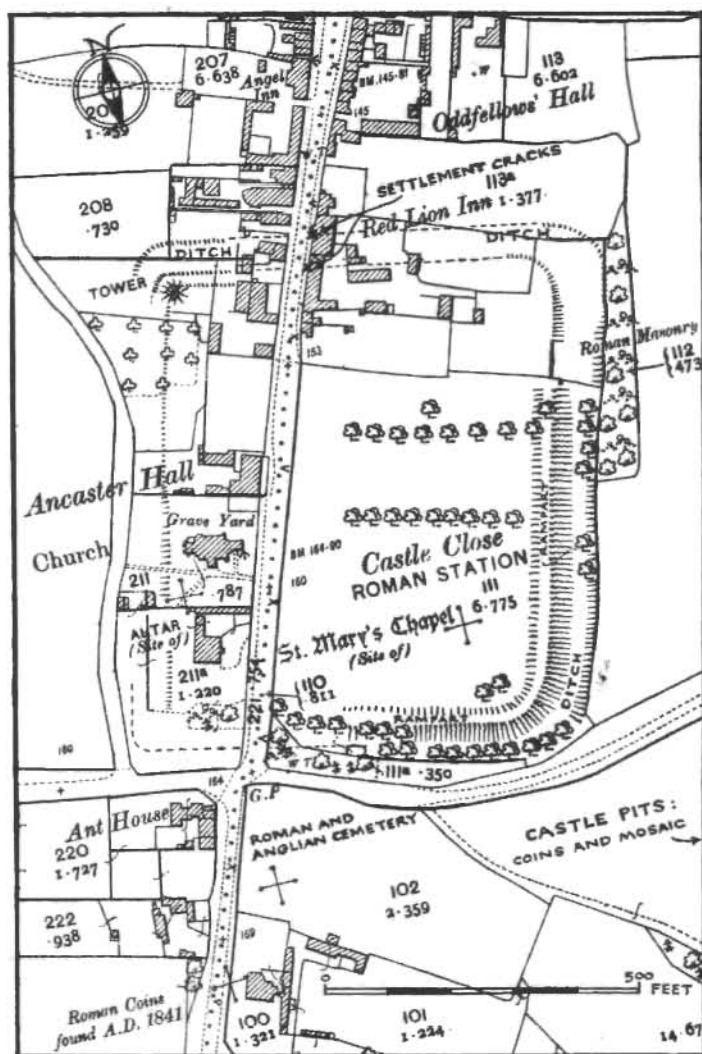


FIG. I. PLAN OF ANCASTER, SHOWING ROMAN REMAINS (1946).

Based on the 1/2500 Ordnance Map by permission of the Director-General, Ordnance Survey

In the pre-Roman Iron Age the gap was commanded by the small but strong multiple-ramparted hill-fort known as Honington Camp, on the high ground of the Edge south-west of Ancaster.⁵ This still awaits excavation; but the 'bits

⁴ Phillips, *Arch. Journ.*, xc, 108-10, 124, 132, 140, 146, with maps.

⁵ Trollope, *Arch. Journ.*, xxvii (1870), 10-11, with plan; Phillips, *ibid.*, xci, 101-2, with air-photo; 169, refs.

of weapons and bridles' found in 1691^{5a} sound like a hoard of contemporary British metalwork, and the place may well have been an intermediate objective of the Roman advance from Caistor on the Nene along the Edge to Lincoln, in at latest A.D. 17 (p. 27).

The two Roman road-lines of Ermine Street and King Street, diverging at the Nene, are joined again just south of Ancaster at Copper Hill, and one would expect an early Roman camp-site⁶ thereabouts, or at Ancaster itself, where the site-finds of Roman coins are numerous and begin with Republic, Germanicus, and Claudius.⁷ But it is with civilian occupation, whether or not beginning with the *canabae* of such a semi-permanent camp or fort, that the existing archaeology of Roman Ancaster has most to do, beginning apparently in the later first century.⁸ It shows us a small but substantial rural township or village, serving evidently as a posting-station on the main Roman route to Lincoln and the north. From Horsley⁹ onwards the site has usually been made the *Causennae* of the Antonine Itinerary (Iter V), though this identification requires the Itinerary figure of 'xxvi' Roman miles to Lincoln to be altered, presumably either to 'xx' (Horsley) or 'xvi' (Trollope). The actual distance is seventeen and a half English or about nineteen Roman miles.¹⁰

From Trollope's and the older antiquaries' accounts it is evident that the buildings of the place included well-appointed houses: we hear of vaults and other foundations, and of tessellated pavements, one mosaic being located south-east of the village at 'Castle Pits', one of the neighbourhood's many groups of old quarry-diggings for the excellent Ancaster oolitic limestone, the medieval and later popularity of which,¹¹ it seems, was anticipated in Roman times. For of this stone was built the potter's kiln found in 1864-5 on the north of the village just south of the railway; this and its pottery remains were associated with coins of the later Roman period. Unlike so many of the smaller civil sites of Roman Britain, Ancaster has produced an interesting piece of stone sculpture, found in the south-eastern part of the churchyard in 1831 along with a small stone altar and a small column (p. 17), namely the slab carved with the figures of the *Deae Matres*, or Mother

^{5a} Camden's *Britannia*, ed. Gough (1789), ii, 250.

⁶ Like that at Caistor: *Antiquity*, xiii (1939), 178ff, 455ff; on the problem of these roads esp. 182-7, 455-8, and (on the same, with also that of roads to and along the Wolds) Phillips, *ibid.*, v (1931), 355-9; vi (1932), 342-8, and *Arch. Journ.*, xci, 110-14, with map.

⁷ A Roman coin-list for Ancaster (and also one for Saltersford, which lies off the Ermine Street nearer to Grantham) was last published in the *Grantham Journal* newspaper of 13th May, 1911, in the report of a lecture given at Grantham by the late Henry Preston, F.G.S., an active local coin-collector. The reference has been supplied through the kindness of Mr. C. E. Stevens and Miss M. V. Taylor, who has a cutting in the Haverfield Library, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. The Ancaster list actually begins with Ptolemy IV of Egypt (222-204 B.C.), but on general grounds it may be unwise to accept this entry as an unquestionably genuine site-find. The same reservation may be made regarding the last two Ancaster entries, following after Arcadius and Honorius (end of fourth

century): these are the Byzantine Emperors Mauricius Tiberius (A.D. 582-602) and Heraclius I (610-641), coins of whom, however, could perhaps conceivably have found their way to the site during its Anglian occupation (p. 89).

⁸ The fullest account is still that of Trollope, *Arch. Journ.*, xxvii (1870), 1-15; see also Phillips, *ibid.*, xci, 157-8, refs.

⁹ *Britannia Romana* (1732), 432-3, with 427.

¹⁰ Horsley, *op. cit.*, 426ff; Trollope, *op. cit.* 1-2; *V.C.H. Hunts*, i, 262-3.

¹¹ e.g. Mr. Hill points out that quarries of Ancaster stone were the main interest of the medieval lordship of Wilsford, which included the part of Ancaster east of the Ermine Street or 'High Dyke' (see note 21) and belonged in the fifteenth century to the Cromwells of Tattershall: stone came from Wilsford for Tattershall Castle (p. 190) in 1434-5, and from Ancaster and Wilsford for Tattershall College (p. 188) in 1480 and 1482 (*Hist. MSS. Comm. Lord De L'Isle and Dudley*, i, 198-9, 209, 213), cf. its use also e.g. in Louth church spire (Dudding, *First Churchwardens' Book of Louth*, 1500-24 (1941), 21, 64).

Goddesses, illustrated in pl. iv, a.¹² From the west of the Ermine Street $\frac{1}{4}$ mile farther north, also, comes the upper portion of an inscribed milestone of Constantine I (p. 17; C.I.L. vii, 1170).¹³

A good number of the coins recorded from the site in general are of the third and fourth centuries; and for the third, it is of interest as one of three Lincolnshire sites, the others being Bottesford and (p. 47) Lincoln itself, which have produced clay moulds for the production of Roman coins by casting. These moulds belong to the time of the Severi, and of the two from Ancaster (LM) one combines an obverse of Septimius Severus (193-211) with a reverse of Elagabalus (218-222), the other a reverse of Caracalla (211-217) with an obverse of Severus Alexander (222-235).¹⁴ The site's most important coin-find is of the later third century, namely the hoard found in 1841 at the east edge of the main road on the south of the village: this is of the reign of Aurelian (270-275), and represents both Roman and Gallic emperors of the third quarter of the century, with perhaps abnormally few of Victorinus and Tetricus.¹⁵ A presumably late-Roman stone coffin comes from the field south-west of the village, and what seems the chief cemetery, south of it on the east of the Ermine Street, has produced both cremation and inhumation graves, and was used still later also by Anglian settlers (p. 90). Finally, the rectangle of fortification still traceable round the central village area appears most probably to be late Roman work.

These defences may indeed possibly have taken their alinements from those of an early Roman fort; for, though the existence of a fort is quite hypothetical, this rectangle is not alined on the Ermine Street, and the case of Margidunum on the Foss Way in Nottinghamshire¹⁶ shows how, after the early military phase was over, such a trunk road can have been re-laid slantwise across the defences of a pre-existing fort then abandoned to make way for a civilian occupation. Alternatively, the defences in their original form may belong, as at Alchester in Oxfordshire¹⁷, to the civilian township itself, with the line of the road deflected to pass axially through them.¹⁸ The facts can only be revealed by the spade; and there is ample room at Ancaster for its arbitrament. But while Trollope's plan is in great part inferential only, the defences as now traceable certainly suggest the fourth century (when Margidunum was re-walled in stone likewise), above all in the presence at their north-western corner of a projecting tower or bastion of the solid circular type to be noticed below in the late-Roman fortifications of Horncastle and Caistor. The round mound still attesting this is remembered in Ancaster to have been found internally solid with stone when dug into by a party of inquiring residents about 1934,¹⁹ and the former existence of the others inferred by Trollope may reasonably be accepted. The last recorded exposure of the curtain-wall was

¹² 1848 *Meeting Volume*, xxviii; C. Roach Smith, *Collectanea Antiqua*, v, 149; Trollope, op. cit., 8-9, with figs.

¹³ Trollope, op. cit., 13-14, with figs.

¹⁴ *A.A.S.R.*, xli (1932), 1ff, 3-4, with two plates, after A. E. Robinson in *Journ. Antiquarian Assoc. Brit. Isles*, ii, 3, 97ff, pl. xvi; ii, 4, 171ff, 181; iii, 1, 3ff; cf. C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain* (1937), 42-8.

¹⁵ *Num. Chron.*,ⁱ v (1843), 157; Sutherland op. cit., 54, 161.

¹⁶ See Kendrick and Hawkes, *Archaeology in England & Wales 1914-31*, 215-16 for plan (fig. 80), summary, and bibliography (to which now add *J.R.S.*, xxxi, 32-62).

¹⁷ *V.C.H. Oxon.*, i, 281-8.

¹⁸ And then approximately straightened out by use in post-Roman times.

¹⁹ Verbal information from two of them, obtained on the spot during the Institute's visit.

on the east side in 1885;²⁰ what is still visible, especially in the field called 'Castle Close' south of this, suggests an earth rampart behind it, with a broad ditch in front. No further precision is possible without excavation; but Dr. Richmond and Mr. Corder observed, during the Institute's visit, two places where modern walls at the Red Lion Inn show cracks due to settlement over the edges of

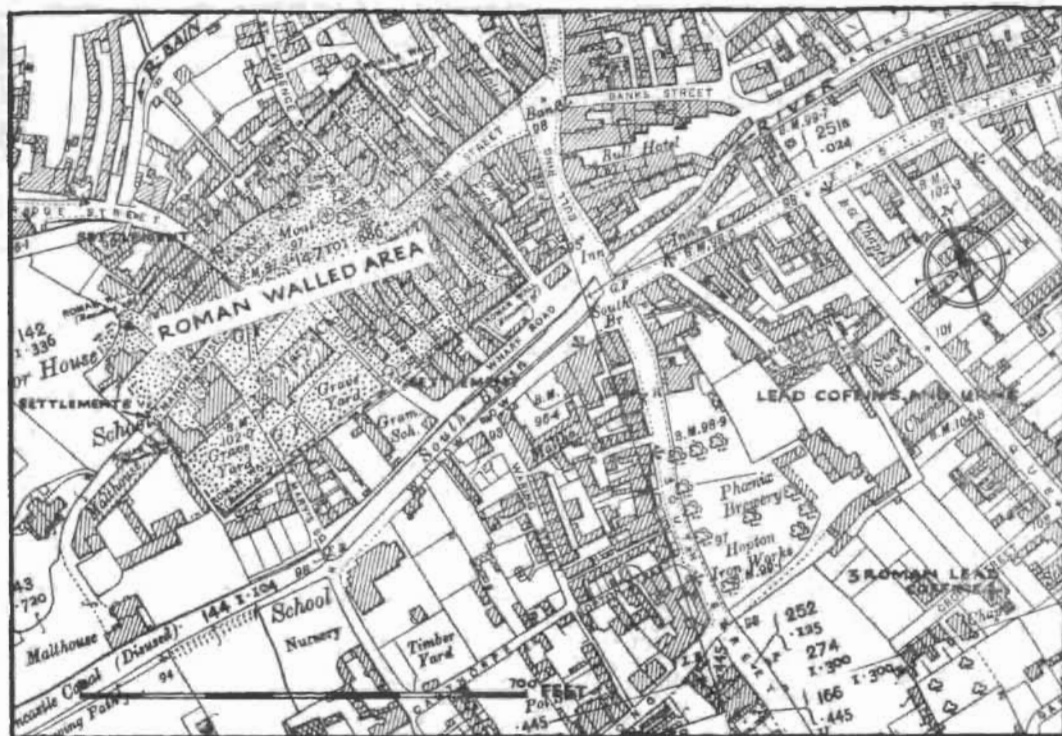


FIG. 2. PLAN OF HORNCASTLE, SHOWING ROMAN REMAINS (1946)

THE ROMAN WALLED AREA IS STIPPLED

Based on the 1/2500 Ordnance Survey Map by permission of the Director-General, Ordnance Survey

the northern sector of the same ditch (fig. 1). The area so enclosed is of about 700 by 580 feet, or about 9 acres.

²⁰ 1/2500 O.S. map Lincs cv, 11: 'Roman masonry' (see here fig. 1) 'found A.D. 1885'. For those earlier recorded by Leland (*Itin.*, i, 27-8) and Stukeley (*Itin. Cur.*, 81), see Trollope's article above cited.

²¹ That this name (which is mentioned by Stukeley) and that of 'Castle Pits' (see above) should refer the defences to a medieval instead of a Roman origin seems out of the question. Mr. Hill writes: 'As to medieval Ancaster, I can find no indication that there was a castle or any other secular building of note. It seems not to have been a community at all. The High Dyke (Ermine Street) served throughout the Middle Ages as a boundary. It bounded the wapentakes, three of which, Loveden, Flaxwell, and Winnibriggs with Threo, met at

Ancaster. The road also divided lordships. That part of Ancaster to the east of it was of the lordship of Wilsford, which in the fifteenth century belonged to the Cromwells of Tattershall (see above, footnote 11); the part to the west belonged to the Vescys, later to the Beaumonts, whose seat was at Caythorpe, three miles to the north.' He adds the reminder that the title of Duke of Ancaster and Kesteven dates only from 1715, when it was taken, on his elevation to the dukedom, by Robert Bertie, Lord Willoughby de Eresby and Earl of Lindsey—the choice apparently reflecting only the antiquarian prestige which the site by then enjoyed (cf. the case argued by Stukeley in 1728 for instituting here biennial meetings of the Spalding Gentlemen's Society: Trollope, *op. cit.*, 9-10).

where settlement-cracks in modern building betray the presence of the unyielding mass of wall-foundation. The area so defended is of rhomboid shape, owing evidently to the conformation of the ground between the converging rivers; the sides measure approximately 825, 500, 825, and 400 feet. Of the four corners only the western is not now visible, and at the northern there remains the solid rubble-concrete core of a projecting circular bastion, such as were usual in later Roman fortifications for the mounting of artillery. The masonry seems nowhere to contain re-used building-material; but it is all of one type, wholly consistent with the late-Roman date attested by the general design. The occasion and purpose of this and of the similar work at Caistor are briefly considered below.

Caistor. Early Roman military occupation in north Lincolnshire is attested, if at all, by finds only at South Ferriby, possibly the site of a fort at the crossing of the Humber from the north Wolds.²⁵ The significance of Caistor as a fortified site,²⁶ high on their western escarpment nineteen miles from the Humber, seems wholly an affair of the later Roman age, to which belong most entries in the recorded coin-list (it starts with Vespasian, but is sparse for the next two centuries), and also, as at Horncastle, the fortifications.

Their masonry, in every way like that at Horncastle, is now visible only in a stretch on the south side, with a semi-circular bastion of the solid-cored projecting type, as again at Horncastle, and a shorter stretch on the west, next the grounds of the Grammar School. This last was observed by Dr. Richmond and Mr. Corder when surveying the whole ground-evidence during the week of the Institute's Meeting; the resulting plan (fig. 3) remains in part conjectural, but restores the shape of the fortified area as an irregular rhomboid, indicated by the abrupt ground-shelf discernible both on the south and west and round the north of the Grammar School and Cemetery. The sides so determined would measure about 530, 370, 370, and 400 feet; however, the site has to some extent been undermined by springs, and Mr. Phillips, distrusting the ground-shelf evidence for that reason, conjectured that the area was originally rectangular. Perhaps its exact original limits can never now be traced completely; at all events the work was clearly in general similar to that at Horncastle, though somewhat smaller.

The most probable date of both works would seem to be the years about A.D. 300 when the defences of Britain were re-organized by Constantius Chlorus:²⁷ from these two bases a barbarian pirate landing-party, whether raiding north-east or south-east Lincolnshire, could quickly be cut off ashore by mobile garrison cavalry. They might be supposed either forts or small fortified towns; in fact, the character of many fourth-century fort-garrisons, of *limitanei* who were both soldiers and cultivators permanently settled with their women and families, can have differed little from that of a contemporary civilian community holding a fortified rural township, such as we appear to have at Ancaster (pp. 19-20). Perhaps, indeed, the character of all three sites in this period was the same.

Finds of the period at Caistor have been few; but opportunity is here taken to re-publish the remarkable *lead casket* inscribed CVNOBARRVS FECIT VIVAS,²⁸

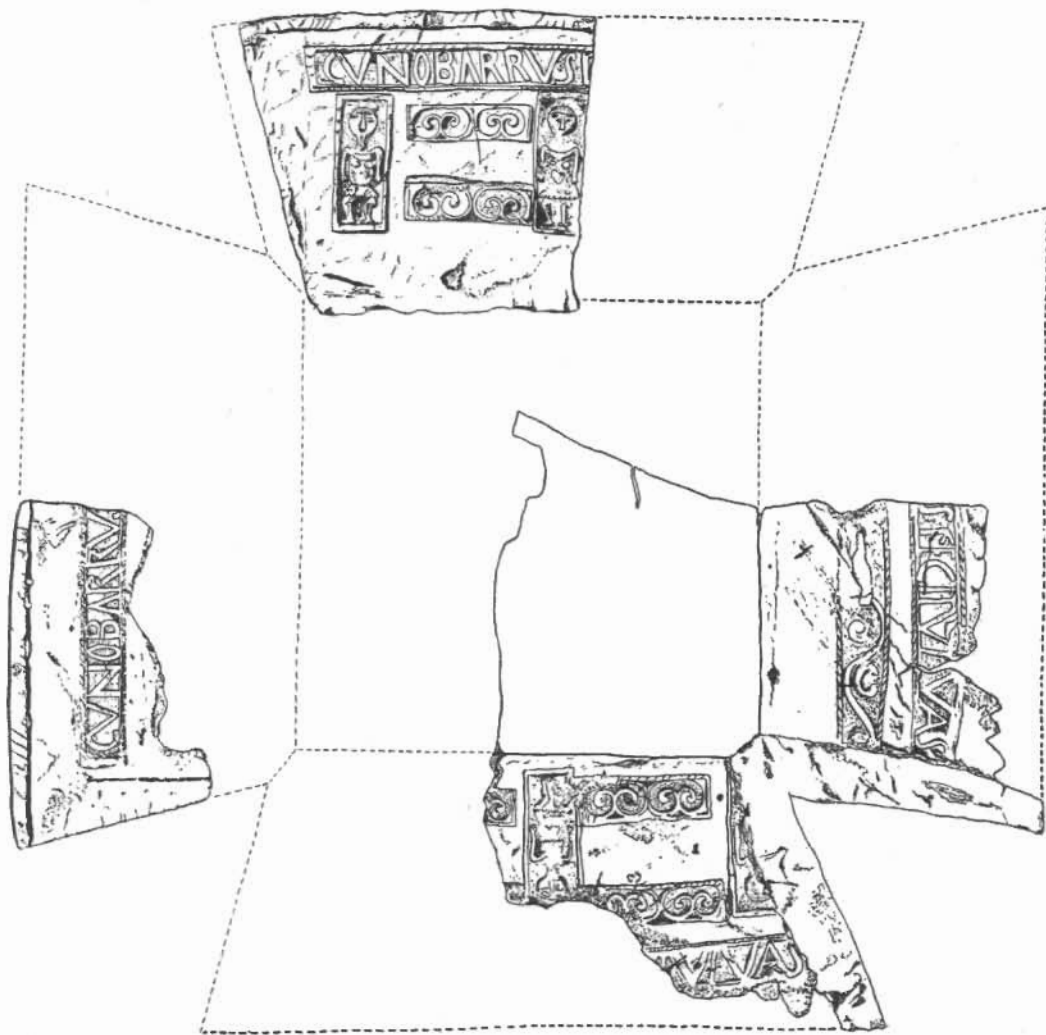
²⁵ *Hull Museum Publications*, nos. 28, 38, 64, 65, 80; Phillips, *Arch. Journ.*, xci, 133.

²⁶ Phillips, *ibid.*, 162-3 (bibliography), 129-33 (discussion, with plan: cf. fig. 3 here).

²⁷ Phillips, *ibid.*, 131-2.

²⁸ *C.I.L.* vii, 1267 (site wrongly given as in Northants). The maker's name Cunobarrus is of course latinized Celtic, but seems less probably of British than of Irish origin (verbal communication from Mr. C. E. Stevens, F.S.A.).

three pieces of which were found in a crumpled mass, weighing over 50 lb., when a drain was dug beneath the road west of the churchyard in 1863.²⁹ The larger surviving piece, nearly a quarter of the whole, is in the British Museum, and perplexing as this has seemed by itself,³⁰ it can be combined with the smaller, in



(British and Lincoln Museums)

FIG. 4. CAISTOR: REMAINS OF LEAD CASKET. $\frac{1}{8}$

Lincoln Museum,³¹ in a measured drawing³² which allows a just estimation of the entire thing (fig. 4). It was made of a square sheet of $\frac{1}{4}$ -in. lead, so cut at the angles that the four sides could be bent up and their edges soldered into slots in

²⁹ *A.A.S.R.*, vii (for 1863), p. xci, with figs. 1-3; *Gent. Mag.*, 1866, 38.

³⁰ 'It is difficult to determine its use or century': *B.M. Guide to Roman Britain* (1922), 31.

³¹ Phillips, *Arch. Journ.*, xci, pl. xxv.

³² Executed by Dr. Richmond from full-scale original rubbings by Mr. R. P. Wright, and from photographs and a half-scale restoration drawing by Mr. Hawkes.

four outplayed corner-posts of solid lead bar (one extant at the British Museum) to form a casket 24 in. square at the base, about 30 in. square at the rim, and about 14 in. high. (The stout corner-posts would take the weight of a lid of similar construction, but no trace of this survives.) Each pair of opposite sides was embellished with reliefs cast in shallow wooden strip-moulds, one pair with two horizontal bands of running plant-scroll, the other with two pairs of horizontal panels of twin palmette-scroll, set between three repetitions of a male figure standing to front in a vertical panel. Above these, all four sides carried the inscription, similarly cast in relief, but on one side turned upside down.

As A. W. Franks was quick to see,³³ the work is evidently late. The scroll-motives come straight from the standard repertory of late-antique ornament; the figure also, lozenge-eyed, wedge-nosed, and stumpy-limbed in the barbaric manner of later Romano-British sculpture,³⁴ shows in his imitation-classical moulded cuirass and scalloped tunic, his rigid position niched in his panel, and the 'structural' effect of his triplication on the whole design, that it is really a rustic essay in late-antique monumental style. For that style in its full splendour of design and ornament on a casket of the same outplayed type, but in aristocratic silver, we have only to turn to the famous bridal casket of Projecta, in the late fourth-century Esquiline Treasure from Rome.³⁵ Moreover, the formula *vivatis in Deo*, inscribed to the bridal couple on that casket, at once recalls the *vivas* of the Caistor inscription: here, this good-luck wish may or may not have been addressed to a bride, but any owner might welcome it on a casket intended, as this distinctive and ponderous type clearly was, for the treasuring of precious possessions.

The interest of the Caistor site does not end with the fourth century; for its continuation into the Sub-Roman and Anglian age, see pp. 89, 91, 95 below.

³³ *Proc. Soc. Antiq.*,² iii (1865), 93.

³⁴ Cf. T. D. Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art* (1938), 19 ff., with e.g. pl. ix, 3 (head from Corbridge); also for scroll-motives, *ibid.*, 42-6.

³⁵ O. M. Dalton, *Catalogue of Early Christian Antiquities in the British Museum*, 61 (no. 304), pls. *Early Christian Guide* (1921), 74, pl. vi; E. Kitzinger, *Early Medieval Art* (1940), pl. 10. The Caistor casket doubtless resembled this also in its lid: see above.

4. THE ROMAN CITY OF LINCOLN.

By I. A. RICHMOND

INTRODUCTION

A general sketch of Roman Lincoln, in comparison with the three other *coloniae* of Roman Britain, follows this paper in a study of 'The Four Coloniae of Roman Britain' (p. 57). Here an attempt is made to put down what is known about the site in detail; for it is upon such details that a general estimate must depend.

Lindum, as Roman Lincoln was called, is a Latinized neuter place-name¹ formed from the British *lindos*, meaning 'marsh' or 'lake', and the name is obviously derived from the wide marshes and meres of the Witham which still exist, if in reduced form, in full sight of the town. But while the place thus owes its name to the marshes, its fame is due to the fact that here they could best be crossed. This is the point where the Witham, skirting the west side of the Jurassic ridge from the south, passed through it eastwards by means of a glacial channel, and where its wide and marshy valley is narrowed to negotiable limits. So valuable a crossing must early have been noted by man: and important Bronze Age and Iron Age relics dredged from the river-channel hereabouts do in fact indicate that the narrowing was in Roman times already an ancient point of transit. Further, this traffic route was not simply a local highway, but one which stretched from Somerset to Yorkshire, forming one of the oldest and longest prehistoric routes² in the British Isles. The Romans esteemed it as the main communication behind their first frontier³ in Britain, established behind Severn and Trent in A.D. 47-48: and when it came to choosing a position for a legion at the north-east end of that frontier, *Lindum* was the site selected for the fortress. The position would be a justifiable choice on several grounds. First, because it blocked the main access to the province from the north at a natural obstacle sufficiently far behind the front line on the Humber to enable the legion effectively to function as a reserve force, within striking distance of the allied, but factious, Brigantes. Secondly, because it lay sufficiently near the lowest crossing of the Trent, at Littleborough (*Segelocum*), to supervise and block this important secondary route from the north. Thirdly, because it was within easy reach of the south and the south-west, and was therefore well placed for casting a watchful backward glance on adjacent allied tribes, namely, the Coritani of Lincolnshire and Leicestershire, in whose territory it lay, and the Iceni of Norfolk.

I. THE LEGIONARY FORTRESS

If these, however, were the reasons which prompted the choice of site, the proof that *Lindum* was garrisoned by a legion rests upon the solid evidence of six

¹ Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz*, s.v. *Lindon*. The name occurs as *Lind(ensis)* on C.I.L., vii, 189, and in ablative form *Lindo* on the stones C.I.L., xiii, 6679 and viii, 21669, the last-named commemorating *M. Iunius Capito Lindo*, a soldier of Legio X Gemina, at Albulae in Mauretania Caesariensis.

² Fox, *The Personality of Britain* (ed. 4), 35.

³ Collingwood, *J.R.S.*, xiv, 254 seq., developed from Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 31: *cunctaque cis Trisantonam et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere parat*, Bradley's emendation of the manuscript reading *castris Antonam* (*Academy*, xxiii, 1883, 295-6).



(a) ANCASTER: PANEL OF THE MATRES, FOUND
TO SOUTH OF THE CHURCH, 1831 (p. 19)

By I. A. Richmond



(b) LINCOLN: DITCH AND RAMPART OF LEGIONARY FORTRESS, AT WESTGATE
THE RANGING-POLES MARK POST-HOLES FOR UPRIGHTS IN THE PALISADE-TRENCH: THE WHITE-
TOPPED STAKES MARK POST-HOLES OF THE LATER TOWER (ALSO VISIBLE CUTTING THE DITCH IN THE
FOREGROUND): THE CANES MARK IRON AGE (PRE-ROMAN) POST-HOLES

By I. A. Richmond



(a) LINCOLN : NEWPORT ARCH FROM THE SOUTH
THE NORTH GATE OF THE COLONIA (p. 32). ONLY THE LARGE MASONRY IS ROMAN
By I. A. Richmond



(b) LINCOLN : EAST JAMB OF MAIN ARCH OF THE SOUTH GATE OF THE COLONIA
(p. 32), LEOPARD TAVERN, STEEP HILL (BY J. C. NATTES, 1789)
By S. J. Harrop



(a) LINCOLN : NEWPORT ARCH FROM THE NORTH. SHOWING ROMAN ARCH-RING WITH VOUSSOIRS UNWEATHERED EXCEPT CLOSE TO THE EXTRADOS

By I. A. Richmond



(b) LINCOLN : DETAIL OF E. FOOTWAY, NEWPORT ARCH. SHOWING VOUSSOIRS AND ADJACENT MASONRY UNWEATHERED. FROM THE NORTH

By I. A. Richmond



(c) LINCOLN : DETAIL OF W. JAMB OF MAIN ARCHWAY, NEWPORT ARCH. SHOWING RETURN OF ROMAN PASSAGE-WALL SCREENED BY MEDIEVAL PILASTER. FROM THE NORTH

By I. A. Richmond



(a) LINCOLN: FIGURE OF YOUTH STANDING IN A CHARIOT,
CARVED IN LOCAL STONE. REPRODUCED BY KIND PERMISSION
OF MRS. G. R. C. HARDING (p. 54)

By I. A. Richmond



(b) LINCOLN: DOUBLE PHALLUS IN A MOULDED
FRAME CROWNED BY A PEDIMENT, WALLED
INTO THE COTTAGE E. OF NEWPORT ARCH (p. 52)

By F. T. Baker



(c) LINCOLN: WALLING WITH CHAMFERED
PLINTH, AT THE ROMAN EAST GATE (p. 34)

By F. T. Baker



(a) LINCOLN: PILASTER FOUND
AT THE SCHOOL OF ART, 1884,
RIGHT-HAND SIDE (p. 54)

By the Warburg Institute



(b) LINCOLN: PILASTER FOUND AT THE
SCHOOL OF ART, 1884, FIGURE OF
GENIUS (p. 54)

By I. A. Richmond



(c) LINCOLN: PILASTER FOUND
AT THE SCHOOL OF ART, 1884
LEFT-HAND SIDE (p. 54)

By the Warburg Institute



(a) LINCOLN: TOMBSTONE OF YOUTH HOLDING A HARE, FROM ST. SWITHIN'S, 1881 (p. 55)



(b) LINCOLN: ROMAN MOULD OF HARD-BAKED CLAY, ORIGINALLY FORMED FROM A STEELYARD WEIGHT, FOUND AT THE BAILGATE COLONNADE (p. 16)

By S. J. Harrop

By S. J. Harrop



(c) LINCOLN: SCULPTURED BASE FROM NEWLAND, SHOWING FEMALE DEITY WITH CORNUCOPIA

By S. J. Harrop



(d) LINCOLN: SCULPTURED BASE FROM NEWLAND, SHOWING MALE DEITY WITH CORNUCOPIA

By I. A. Richmond



(e) LINCOLN: SCULPTURED BASE FROM NEWLAND, SHOWING FEMALE DEITY

By S. J. Harrop

tombstones,⁴ four of the Ninth Legion and two of the Second Legion *Adiutrix*. Again, since one of the legions is the Ninth, the occupation must unquestionably be dated to the years before A.D. 71-74, when the Ninth was transferred to York⁵ by Petilius Cerealis, its former legate. Until recently, however, the most telling evidence for a Claudian occupation was the large number of locally-issued bronze coins⁶ of Claudius from Lincoln, such as the locality of the early legionary fortress at Gloucester has also produced in abundance. But Haverfield, with characteristic thoroughness, had noted some Claudian Samian ware, found in 1910 during the building of the Water Tower north of the Castle, and along with this were found not only Claudian coins, but small objects including a brooch of Aucissa type and bronze military equipment (crest-mount, strap-buckle, etc.), the first-century date of which was noted in their publication by Arthur Smith; the British Museum, too, from the Lincoln collection acquired in 1866 from Captain Arthur Trollope presently published an equally early lozenge-plated thistle-brooch, and a faceted bronze spear-butt.⁷ Only in 1945-6, however, was structural evidence forthcoming in the form of the military defences themselves, associated in turn with plentiful deposits of Claudian pottery (for the excavation-report, see review on p. 84). It then became certain that the military occupation of *Lindum* on a large scale began under Claudius, no doubt in 47-48, when Ostorius Scapula laid out the Severn-Trent frontier. *Lindum* may accordingly also be recognized as the *castra* upon which the Ninth Legion's cavalry retired in haste after the disastrous defeat of the unit by the rebellious Iceni in 61; and the occupation by the Ninth Legion may be presumed to have lasted until the transfer of that legion to York in 71-74.

Remains of the military defences have been found up to date at two points, and further excavations will doubtless reveal them elsewhere. The site of the first discovery is in the grounds of Westgate School, the second at North Row, and in both places the line of the rampart as found is the same as that of the Roman town-wall in due course planted on the site. Further work will show whether the fortress and town are everywhere coincident or not. Meanwhile, it may be observed that the area of the town, 41 acres, is a little small for that of a legionary fortress, for which, as at Caerleon (51 acres), Chester (59 acres) and Inchtuthill (56 acres), a minimum size of 50 acres appears to be required: and that, if the legionary fortress covered

⁴ *C.I.L.*, vii, 183, 184, 188; *E.E.*, ix, 1111 (Ninth Legion); *C.I.L.*, vii, 185, 186 (Second Legion *Adiutrix*).

⁵ Miller, *J.R.S.*, xv, 183-5. On the road-plan from Lincoln to and beyond York, in relation to the river-system, see E. Kitson Clark in *Arch. Journ.*, lxxviii, 391-6, with maps.

⁶ First observed by Mattingly, *Num. Chron.*, ser. 5, xi (1931), 313, and pl. xii, 1-8: the question is fully dealt with by Sutherland, *Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain*, 10 seq.; *American Numismatic Society Notes and Monographs*, no. 65, on 'Romano-British imitations of bronze coins of Claudius I'; and in publishing the closely-dated equivalent series from Colchester in Hawkes and Hull, *Camulodunum* (Soc. Antiq., 1947), 156-159.

⁷ Professor Haverfield was preparing an account of Roman Lincoln for this Institute in

1909, and gave a lecture on the subject during the Institute's visit. A larger work was in preparation by him for the Victoria County History, but never got beyond a collection of manuscript notes. To these I have had access, thanks to Mr. Salzmann, and found them particularly valuable for the mosaic pavements, but incomplete elsewhere. The Claudian pottery is there noted; it is, of course, supplemented by Davies Pryce, *Antiq. Journal*, xviii, 33. For all the finds from the Water Tower site, including the military equipment, see *Lincoln City & County Museum Publications*, no. 14 (1912); for the Trollope pieces, *B. M. Guide to Roman Britain* (1922), figs. 66 (brooch), 103 (spear-butt). For three other early brooches from Lincoln see *Antiq. Journ.*, xxv, 154-8, nos. 3, 4; and Wheeler, *Lydney* (Soc. Antiq., 1932), 70 ff., 'Langton Down' list no. 32: cf. Hawkes and Hull, *Camulodunum*, 317.

more ground, it will probably be found to have extended further towards the east, where there is a convenient expanse of flat ground, the south side being, as is well known, very steep. The defences⁸ themselves were of two kinds, clearly erected in two stages (pl. iv, b). The primary stage is represented by a small ditch, six feet deep and originally some fifteen feet wide; of which the scale suggests that it may have been one of a multiple system cut in the rock, though its outer edge, and any further ditches that may have existed beyond it, have been obliterated by the great fosse of the Roman town. To the primary stage also belongs a foundation-trench running behind the ditch and still exhibiting the holes for uprights fixed to a horizontal beam at approximately five-foot intervals. The trench lies so close to the ditch that it must have held a vertical timber front; and while the rampart thus contained is at Westgate reduced to a few inches in height, it is clear that it was composed of clayey material resting upon a layer of brash, or broken rock, and that the brash layer still retains the impressions of a log corduroy set at right-angles to the rampart front and extending backwards for ten feet. These elements, whether we have all or not, appear to form the first Roman work on the site, comprising a timber-faced clay rampart resting upon a corduroy and fronted by at least one ditch. The secondary stage of development is marked by filling up the ditch and adding a large wooden tower, 10½ feet wide by 18 feet from back to front, of which the six main uprights were contained in large holes a foot square, formed by packing the uprights tight in a great pit. The two front pits cut right through the inner slope of the filled ditch and fall just short of removing its central channel; the middle pair coincides with the line of the old rampart front, while the rearward pair lies 10 feet behind them. It would look as if the old rampart had been maintained but was now furnished with a new fireproof sloping front, extending between the front and middle uprights of the tower, and was perhaps heightened at the same time. As to the tower itself, it is impossible to say whether it was a timber-framed structure sheathed in boarding or a mere fighting-platform carried aloft upon unenclosed posts, like the towers of Quintus Cicero, described by Caesar,⁹ or those so frequently illustrated¹⁰ upon Trajan's Column. But it is clear that the change was designed to strengthen the defences by adding towers, and equally evident that it was not long in coming; for the amount of silt or rubbish in the ditch was so small as to suggest that the ditch cannot have remained open very long. The new ditch, or ditches, which may be presumed to have taken the place of the filled one, have been removed by the great *colonia* fosse; and it is the building of the *colonia* wall which seems to mark the next stage in construction.

Historically, however, another episode must be interjected between the transfer of the Ninth Legion and its *caisse* to York and the foundation of the *colonia*. This is indicated by the discovery in Lincoln of two tombstones of serving soldiers from the Second Legion *Adiutrix*, a new corps raised during the Civil War of 69-70. This unit¹¹ came to Britain with Petilius Cerealis in A.D. 71, in place of the Fourteenth Legion *Gemina Martia Victrix*, already on the Continent. Other and many more tombstones show that the principal station of this legion was unquestionably

⁸ J.R.S., xxxvi, 140, and 139, fig. 11.

⁹ B.G., v, 48: and my comment in *Papers of the British School at Rome*, xiii, 28, note 4 on B.G., viii, 9.

¹⁰ P.B.S.R., xiii, 28.

¹¹ Ritterling, *Pauly-Wissowa R.E.*, xii, 2, 1440-1441, s.v. *legio*: cf. Haverfield, *Catalogue of the Roman inscribed and sculptured stones in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester* (1900), 9-10, and Richmond, J.R.S., xxxiv, 36.

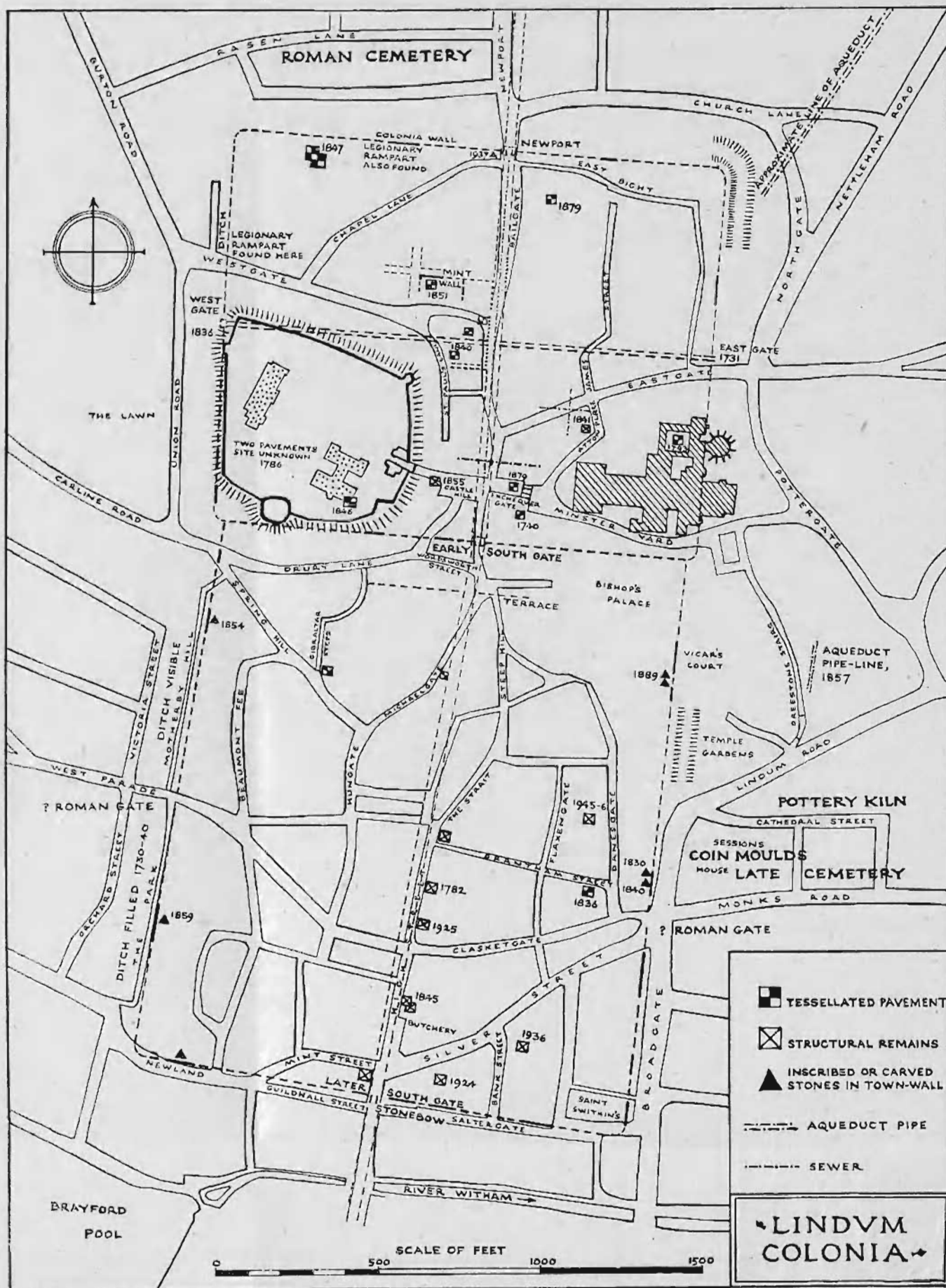


FIG. 5. ROMAN LINCOLN, FORTRESS AND COLONIA

Chester; and it may be conjectured¹² that the transfer from Lincoln thither took place under Agricola, who will have used his old Twentieth Legion as the spearhead of his advance, just as Cerealis had employed his own old Legion, the Ninth. In that case, the newly-raised Second *Adiutrix* would always be serving as a reserve force, a function entirely appropriate to its recent formation and its lack of tradition and training. The sojourn at Lincoln came first, under Cerealis and Frontinus.

II. THE EARLY COLONIA

Exactly how soon the foundation of the *colonia* followed is as yet not evident; but that it occurred in Domitian's reign seems certain, on the evidence of an inscription¹³ from Mainz, commemorating a senior centurion (*primus pilus*) of the Twenty-second Legion. This officer, M. Minicius Marcellinus, is assigned to *Lindo* as his town of origin, and to the voting tribe *Quirina*. The tribe was that of the Flavian House, and, since Vespasian and Titus are too early for the foundation, the compliment must refer to Domitian. But, if the foundation occurred under Domitian, it can hardly have fallen early in the reign, when active campaigning was not yet over. It may rather be considered the first act in the policy which actuated the foundation of Glevum under Nerva. It should further be observed that the connexion with Gloucester wins support from the close resemblance between the two *coloniae* in size and position. (See below, p. 70; and with the plan of Lincoln, fig. 5 here, compare that of Gloucester, fig. 9, p. 69).

A. DEFENCES. *Lindum colonia*, whose official title, corresponding to the *Colonia Victricensis* of Camulodunum, is not known, was $41\frac{1}{2}$ acres in size, measuring 1,200 by 1,500 feet. It is perched on an almost flat plateau, and comes right to its edge on the south side, overlooking the Witham, leaving considerable room to spare on east, north and west. There is no doubt that it was from the first surrounded by a wall, which, as previously observed, took the line of the legionary rampart on north and west. In front of the wall lay a very large rock-cut fosse, 80 feet wide, and of a depth nowhere as yet precisely ascertained. Primary silting upon the east side of this fosse at Westgate contained minute fragments of Flavian pottery. The best visible stretch of the fosse is in the gardens of Fosse House in Church Lane, where it is rounding the north-east angle and extending for some 300 feet southwards towards Eastgate. It is here about 100 feet wide and from 20 to 25 feet deep. The lengths to east and south of the north-west angle are now much obscured, but there is a fine view of them in the Usher Art Gallery at Lincoln by Grimm. It is, however, clear that the fosse extended on the east and west sides as well as the north side. Whether it existed on the south is less certain; Sympton¹⁴ thought

¹² J.R.S., xxxiv, 38, note 32.

¹³ C.I.L., xiii, 6679, M. Minicius M. fil. Quir(ina) Lindo Marcellinus: for the significance of the tribe Quirina, see Mommsen, *Tribus imperatoriae*, E.E., iii, 230f. Riese, 1163, thought that *Lindo* stood for Lindos in Rhodes, but this is virtually impossible. The identification with Lincoln is accepted by Haverfield, Dessau and von Domaszewski (*Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, xiv, 40).

¹⁴ Sympton, *Lindum, or the History and*

Antiquities of the City of Lincoln, a folio tract at the back of *Adversaria*, Bodl. Lib. Western MS. 17999, paged both independently in ink and in sequence with *Adversaria*, from which it is derived. The reference here is p. 4 (578) 'a deep trench without it on all sides but the south; where the wall still standing on the very edge of the hill, wanted no other defence than the natural steepness'. For a biography of Sympton, who hailed from Cumberland, see *Lincs. Notes & Queries*, ix, 65-90, as Mr. Hill has kindly informed me.

not, owing to the steepness of the hill. The north wall is visible in East Bight, east of Newport Arch, in gardens to south of the Police Office of the Lincolnshire Constabulary. All facing stones have been removed and the remaining core is 10 feet 3 inches thick, composed of much lime mortar and small slabs of limestone, laid slanting in regular 10-inch layers and occasionally almost herring-bone-wise. It is generally supposed that this is rebuilt¹⁵ walling, and it will be observed that, allowing for the missing facing stones, it corresponds well to the portion recorded¹⁶ just west of Newport Arch in 1937, as 12 feet thick, with worked stones in the core. The core of the east wall in the garden of Eastgate Court is now slighter, being some 6 feet thick. The material is fresh broken stone and a little tile. Further south the east wall, observed in 1890 while constructing a heating chamber for the Cathedral Library, had a stone plinth at its base, a feature not uncommon in itself, but not recorded elsewhere on the Lincoln circuit, except at the East Gate. The south wall coincided with the ancient wall between the Cathedral Close and the Old Episcopal Palace: but no part of the visible work appears to be Roman. An authentic Roman wall on the south was, however, observed in 1899, in building houses¹⁷ on the north side of Wordsworth Street, at the mouth of Drury Lane, 60 yards west of the south gate. Here the wall was found to be 8 feet thick, faced in small ashlar work, with a core of lime cement and rubble in layers. Another portion has been recorded¹⁸ in the Castle mound, at its south-east angle. The layered core of the west wall is visible in the garden of Hilton House at the NE corner of Drury Lane and Union Road, for a time the home of Peter De Wint, just north of the south-west angle, and can also be seen a little further north, peeping out of the west mound at the foot of the twelfth-century Castle wall, behind cottages on the east side of Union Road. Finally, the north wall was observed¹⁹ some distance west of the Newport Arch, with ashlar facing and core arranged herring-bone-wise. The portion immediately west of Newport Arch has already been noted.

The whole impression gained is of a tolerably uniform structure, except on either side of Newport Arch, where the abnormal thickness of the core suggests reconstruction. It has also been suggested²⁰ that proof of reconstruction west of Newport Arch was provided by the discovery here, before 1806, of coins and of an inscription later identified as a tombstone. But neither the circumstances of discovery nor the date of the stone are sufficiently precise to establish the point, and no argument whatever can be based upon the tombstone of Flavius Helius, found 10 feet south of the wall in 1785, just west of Newport Arch. More conclusive evidence for reconstruction was observed by Mr. F. T. Baker in 1936, when the 12-foot wall immediately west of Newport Arch was by him seen to embody 'moulded stones of Roman workmanship' in its core. These were, as Mr. Baker informs the writer, small fragments of rather small-scale mouldings.

¹⁵ See Camden's *Britannia*, ed. Gough (1806) ii, 363, where coins are cited as 'found among the rammel or loose stones which fill the middle of the wall', of Vespasian, Nero, Carausius and Julian. An inscribed stone (*C.I.L.*, vii, 192) is also mentioned, which was probably a tombstone.

¹⁶ *J.R.S.*, xxviii, 182: a more detailed account by Mr. F. T. Baker is in *Discovery*, February, 1938.

¹⁷ Mansel Sympton, *Lincs. Notes & Queries*, vii, 129, describes and illustrates the wall.

¹⁸ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xlii, plan facing p. 8.

¹⁹ Mansel Sympton, *Lincs. Notes & Queries*, ix, 33, with illustrations.

²⁰ See note 15. The notes of discovery were made by the son of T. Sympton, the author of *Adversaria*, and clerk of works to the Chapter. For the stone of Flavius Helius, see Camden's *Britannia*, ed. Gough (1806), ii, 392.

Nothing certain is known of towers at the angles or at intermediate positions. The late Mansel Sympton²¹ thought he saw foundations of a circular external bastion, 9 feet in internal diameter, at the north-east angle, on the spot now covered by a summer-house in the garden of Fosse House. But nothing is now visible and it should be observed, by way of comparison, that the angle-towers at Gloucester²² are internal and almost rectangular.

There were four main gates in the circuit. Nothing is known of posterns ;

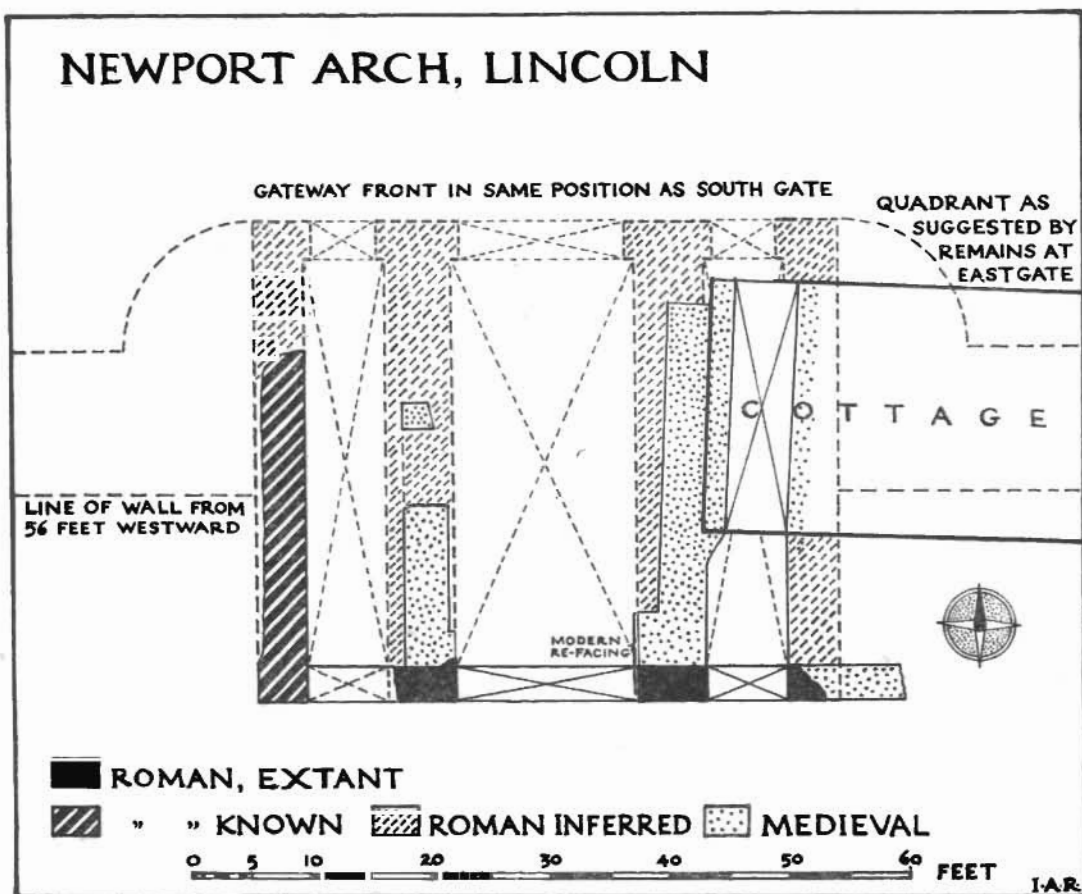


FIG. 6. ROMAN LINCOLN, NORTH GATE (NEWPORT ARCH)

indeed, the unbroken line of the great fosse on the north and west sides and on the north half of the east side strongly suggests that in fact none existed. The most famous main gate is Newport Arch (pl. v, a ; pl. vi, and plan, fig. 6), which, as now remaining, comprises a large central arch, for a 16-foot carriage way, a small eastern arch for a 7-foot footway and the haunch of a small western arch of corresponding dimensions. The arches are separated by 6-foot piers, and are formed of large voussoirs without a keystone. Those of the main arch form a ring 2 feet 3 inches high, from extrados to intrados, and 3 feet 9 inches thick. In the east side

²¹ E. Mansel Sympton, *Lincoln*, 26.

²² *J.R.S.*, xxii, 215, fig. 26.

arch these dimensions are 2 feet and 3 feet respectively. There is no doubt that the arches formed the back of the great gateway to which they belonged, since they lie well behind the line of the town wall. The front of the gate, long since removed, may well have been destroyed when the mediaeval gateway was built. A more detailed study of the gate, however, discloses further evidence as to its ancient form. The external, or southern, face of the rearward arches (pl. v, *a*) is so heavily weathered that the Roman tooling has disappeared and the impost moulds, which could still be measured as late as the eighteenth century, are reduced to shapeless lumps. The internal or northern face, on the other hand, retains its Roman tooling (except on a much-exposed surface in the ruined eastern passage) almost as fresh as the day when the stones were cut (pl. vi, *a, b, c*). The preservation is no doubt due in part to the protection afforded by the medieval gateway. But a still closer inspection reveals that this is by no means the whole story. The inner faces of both remaining arches exhibit a clear semi-circle of heavily weathered surface immediately above the extrados, indicating that at one time only this small portion of the surface was exposed; and this can only mean that the well-preserved surface at one time butted against vaults while the rest did not. But such vaulting did not belong to the medieval gate,²³ of which the upper floor was carried on still extant corner piers at a far higher level. It must therefore be classed as pre-mediaeval and so as Roman. Another significant feature, confirming the presence of vaults, is a mass of rough masonry, behind the western pier of the central arch, which can be seen projecting beyond the limits of the medieval passage-wall and gives the position of the corresponding Roman feature. It is thus possible to state that passage-walls necessary to carry the three vaults certainly existed. In short the Roman gate of which Newport Arch formed the rear was not a courtyard gate, but a vaulted structure carrying an upper storey.

There is no evidence at Newport as to the position of the front of the gate. The back lay $17\frac{1}{2}$ feet behind the south face of the 12-foot town wall; so that, if the front of the gate were flush with the wall front, the gate would measure $29\frac{1}{2}$ feet from back to front. But at the south gate and at the west gate there is evidence that the gate projected beyond the wall front, and this question is further considered below.

The south gate, corresponding to Newport Arch, existed until the eighteenth century.²⁴ It spanned the Steep Hill at the Leopard Tavern, now Mr. R. G. Toogood's antique shop, where the eastern haunch of the large arch for a carriage-way was described by Sympson in 1739-40 and could be seen as late as 1789 (pl. v, *b*), though the arch itself had been removed (about 1709-1710) nearly a century before. It is reported that a small side-arch could also be seen as late as 1841; and the east

²³ *Lincs. Notes & Queries*, x, 129, reproduces an engraving by B. Howlett from a drawing by R. D. Poilicy entitled 'Roman Gate, Lincoln'. This is a view of the Newport Arch from the north with the two medieval arch-rings still standing and the Roman arch, at the rear of the gate, peeping out behind them. Views in Camden's *Britannia*, ed. Gough (1806), ii, pl. vii, 14, and Stukeley, *Itin. Cur.* (ed. 1), pl. 54, show the flat edge of a cross-brace or tympanum in the outer (north) medieval arch: cf. Pennant, *Tours in Scotland*, (3rd. ed., 1769), 15.

²⁴ Sympson, *Lindum*, 5 (579): 'the south gate stood a little above the present Bailgate upon the edge of the hill: the foundation stones appear on both sides of the street; and on the east, one jamb of it stands between the houses, with two or three stones of the great arch itself springing from it. Within the adjoining house upstairs is the east postern, 7 feet diameter; but the correspondent one on the other side is gone. About thirty years ago, when the neighbouring houses were rebuilt, this gate was pulled down'. Sympson was writing in 1740: cf. Stukeley, *Itin. Cur.*, 89.

passage-wall of this arch still exists in a coal-store immediately behind the front room of Mr. Toogood's shop. These remains must therefore be added to the western walling of the carriage-way, still visible on the west side of the street. In contrast with Newport Arch two points may be observed (plan, fig. 7). This gateway structure is not deeply buried, for the natural rock lies just below the existing surface of the street, instructive sections²⁵ being visible in Mr. Toogood's cellars. Secondly, while the remains at Newport comprise the rear-arch of the gate, the

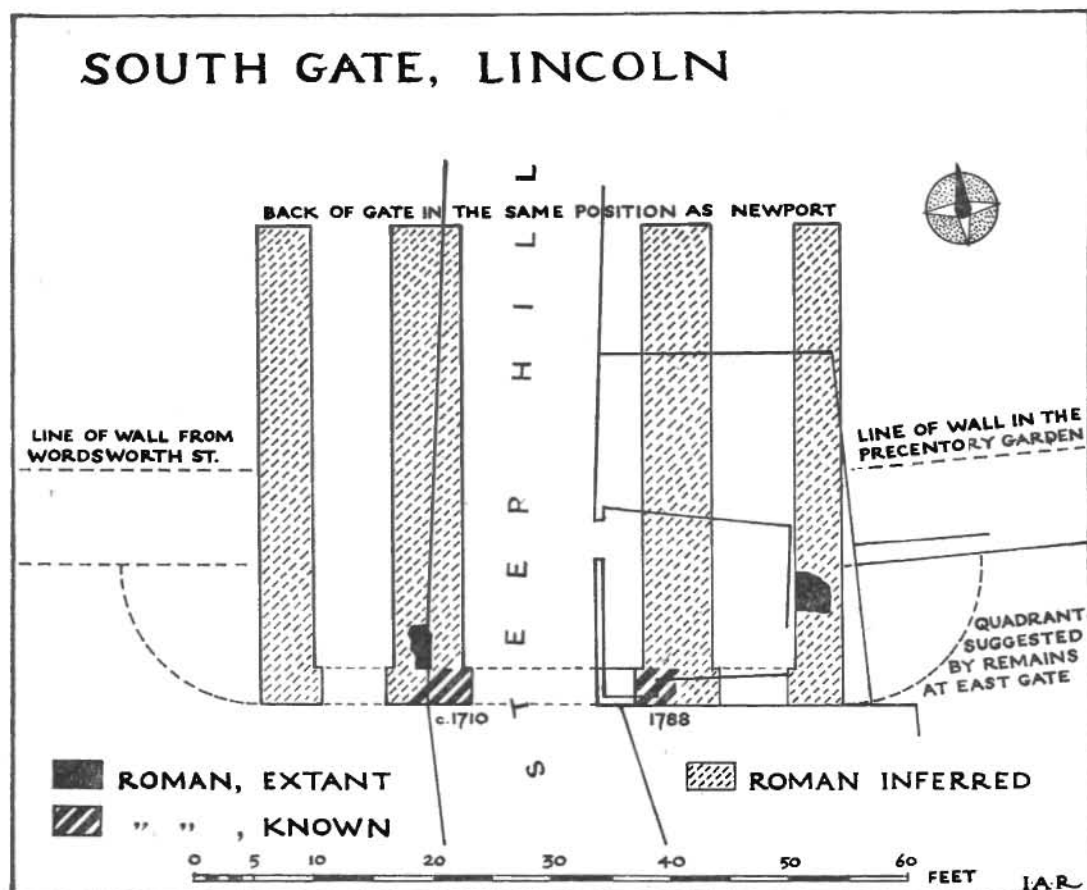


FIG. 7. ROMAN LINCOLN, SOUTH GATE

remains here belong to the front archway, projecting about 14 feet in front of the line of the town wall.

The east gate, which lay somewhat to north of its medieval successor, was laid open to view in 1731 and continued visible until about 1781, its back forming part of the gabled end of a dwelling house, upon which abutted a stable. It does not

²⁵ This rock, which fractures vertically and horizontally not unlike coursed masonry, has

been examined at my request by Professor Swinnerton, to establish its authenticity.

appear that any views of it are known, but, according to Stukeley²⁶ and Sympson²⁷ it resembled Newport Arch, except for the fact that its great arch had a huge key-stone. Sympson adds that the passage was 15 feet wide. In 1946, however, the south-east face of a curved structure,²⁸ discussed below, was discovered between Eastgate Court and the modern road (pl. VII, c). Five courses of small blockwork remained, standing upon a chamfered stone plinth. Sympson²⁹ was of the opinion that there had been two side-arches as well as a carriage-way, but he did not see them, and no one mentions specifically that they existed.

The front of the west gate was revealed³⁰ in 1836, buried in the mound of the Norman Castle, north of the west gateway, but south of the north-west angle of the Castle. But the great arch collapsed almost on discovery; and the whole structure was buried, because further collapse was feared. As the contemporary drawing³¹ by Samuel Tuke reveals, there was a carriage-way arched with massive voussoirs without a keystone, which was crowned by an upper storey in small blockwork exhibiting remains of three arched windows at the back and at least one lateral doorway. The drawing further shows that the upper storey terminated in true corners to north and south at a point which leaves no room for side-arches, and also that the large masonry associated with side-arches, as at Newport Arch, is absent. It may, therefore, be inferred that this gate had no footways. Ross³² records the important point that there were 'angular piers or buttresses whose front and lateral dimensions differed', and this explains the broken edges of the lower storey clearly shown by Tuke, and indicates that this gate also projected beyond the town-wall.

It is thus evident that there was a general similarity between the gates of *Lindum colonia*, even if they were not all of quite uniform plan. The north gate, or Newport Arch, had a triple entrance and vaulted passage-ways, and was matched by the corresponding gateway on the south. Combining the two, it becomes evident that both gates projected externally as well as internally beyond the wall in which they were set, and that they were massive blockhouse gates, resembling the Balkerne Gate at Colchester and harking back to such prototypes as the Herculaneum Gate³³ at Pompeii. At Colchester, however, the external angles between wall and gate

²⁶ Stukeley, *Itin. Cur.* (ed. 2), 91, note: 'Sept. 2, 1731, I accompanied Mr. Roger Gale, in his journey to Yorkshire, as far as Lincoln . . . just before they had dug up the foundation of the Roman east gate toward Banovallum: the stones exceeding large, cramped with iron. Lord Burlington was present.' Cf. Camden's *Britannia*, ed. Gough (1806), ii, 362.

²⁷ *Lindum*, 4 (578), 'The east gate is standing entire but walled up; and makes part of the gable end of a dwelling house built against it on the one side, as is a stable on the other. The arch measures fifteen foot diameter: it is a semicircle of large stones of a coarse grit, with a huge keystone in the crown. I make no question but that there was a postern or footway on both sides; but they are quite buried out of sight by the heightening of the ground, which is raised at least twelve feet . . .'

²⁸ *Roman Lincoln, Report of the Lincoln Archaeological Research Committee*, 1946, 17, plate 6.

²⁹ See note 27 above.

³⁰ *Gent. Mag.*, 1836 (i), 583, with an excellent engraving showing the relationship to the Castle wall. The great arch collapsed five days after discovery.

³¹ Now in Lincoln City Museum, no. 9295/06. The drawing was the basis for a coloured engraving of *The Western Entrance in Roman Lindum*, 1836, also by Samuel Tuke, reproduced in my *Roman Britain*, Britain in Pictures series, as a coloured plate; and (in black-and-white) by F. T. Baker, *Roman Lincoln* (1938), pl. 1v.

³² *Annales Lincolnensis*, a manuscript now with Lord Monson at Burton Hall, where I have seen it, i, 28: 'it stood somewhat in advance of the line of wall, was strengthened by angular piers or buttresses whose front and lateral dimensions differed'.

³³ Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii, its life and art* (1904), 243.

were occupied³⁴ by quadrant-shaped guard-chambers in order to eliminate the vulnerable re-entrant angle. This may well be the explanation of the curved foundation observed on the south side of the east gate, and John Ross evidently perceived features of the kind at the west gate, although this was a minor entrance with single carriage-way and no side-ways. As at the Porta Ostiensis, or Porta di San Paolo, in Rome,³⁵ these features need not have risen above rampart-walk level, and in this respect probably differed from the quadrants at Colchester. The east and west gates differed much in importance. The west gate, leading nowhere except the marshlands of West Common, with perhaps a minor road along the line of Burton Road, was the back gate. Equally certainly the east gate, with its eastward local road towards Greetwell and its north-eastward main road towards the Wolds, is a principal gate, if not the principal gate, of the *colonia*. All the gates except the west therefore received an imposing design, since through them lay access to the *colonia* and its territory. To the successful ex-serviceman they would appear as visible and imposing reminders of the civil dignity and advancement which had crowned a dutiful career; and their design is sufficiently reminiscent of the military pattern to remind us of the function of a *colonia* as a 'reinforcement against revolt' or an 'advance-post of Rome', to quote the phrases³⁶ of Tacitus and Cicero.

B. STREETS AND SEWERS (plan, fig. 5, p. 29). The street-system of the *colonia* is ill known. But it is virtually certain that the four main streets crossed one another without any central interruption, as in many Roman colonies³⁷ whose major edifices are subordinated to a chessboard plan. The north-south street, in fact, lies east of the axis, as if leaving room for main buildings to the west; and if the surveyors who laid out the town were thinking at all upon military lines this would mean that the *colonia* faced eastwards. The street³⁸ itself, now irregularly followed by the Bailgate, was over 25 feet wide, and its central portion was bordered on the west by a stone colonnade, 275 feet long, while on the east a Doric portico of stone and tile, doubtless originally stuccoed, is known to have extended for 62 feet, starting from the north end of the stone-built colonnade. The colonnade of stone was not, however, continuous; being broken into a central group of seven columns, divided from two flanking groups of six by two elaborate openings—the northern flanked by triple inosculating columns, the southern by double columns of the same kind. The southern opening serves the main west street and carried a street 15 feet wide, including side-walks. Here was found the milestone³⁹ of Victorinus. At the south end of the colonnade came a 17-foot roadway, beyond which occurred a bold

³⁴ J.R.S., ix, 142, fig. 13: see *Archaeologia Aeliana*, ser. 4, xx, 150 seq. for further remarks on the type.

³⁵ Richmond, *The City Wall of Imperial Rome*, III, fig. 19, and 116 for the description. The reason for the existence of the features is not the same; it is the treatment of their tops which is here at issue.

³⁶ Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 32, *subsidiū adversus rebelles*, there having already been movement among the Icenī and *circumiectae nationes* (ibid., 31). Cicero, *pro Fonteio*, 5, 13, *Est in eadem provincia Narbo Martius, colonia nostrorum civium, specula populi Romani ac propugnaculum istis ipsis nationibus oppositum et obiectum*.

³⁷ Turin, Bendinelli, *Torino Romana*, folding plan; Verona, P.B.S.R., xiii, 73; Aosta, Haverfield, *Ancient Town-planning*, 90, fig. 16; P. Barocelli, *Ricerche e studi sui monumenti romani della Val d'Aosta* (Ivrea, 1934), fig. 56.

³⁸ See *Archaeologia*, liii, 233ff. for full account and lvi, 371 for a plan, which should, however, be corrected in light of plans in *Arch. Journ.*, xxxv, facing p. 397, and *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxv, 314. An independent account of the discoveries is in *Arch. Journ.*, xl, 317. See also P.S.A.L.², vii, 433, for the earlier stage.

³⁹ See *Archaeologia*, lvi, 371, for site marked on plan.

chamfered base of stone, showing that the colonnade here ceased, while a monumental building of another kind began. The north end of the colonnade coincides with the Mint Wall (see p. 37), now about 190 feet to west at its nearest point, but once known to have extended considerably nearer. The two southern openings in the colonnade thus indicate a westward street-plan in part composed of *insulae* 75 to 85 feet wide, reminiscent of the 70-foot square house-blocks at Timgad.⁴⁰ But it would be wholly rash to assume from this that the entire *colonia* was so divided into such small units. It is, for example, quite uncertain whether the northern opening in the colonnade is a street or an entrance.

Under the Bailgate ran a north-to-south main sewer. This was traced in 1883 for 100 yards. It was $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and $2\frac{1}{3}$ feet wide, built in small blockwork and covered with flat slabs.⁴¹ Lateral sewers joined it, and house-drains 14 inches square ran into all. South of the intersection of the main streets it was larger, 5 feet high and 4 feet wide, when discovered⁴² opposite the White Hart in 1838, and here too lateral house-drains were also noted. At intervals were man-holes or shafts (*putei*), to facilitate inspection and cleaning⁴³ by municipal slaves or by criminals. One of these was noted in 1879, opposite the northern block⁴⁴ of the western colonnade; a second in 1883, opposite the south section⁴⁵ of the portico; a third⁴⁶ was found in Eastgate, in October, 1884, about 20 yards west of James Street, and a fourth⁴⁷ to north of Eastgate outside the *colonia* wall. The third and fourth examples clearly belong to different sewers, running east and west; and yet another⁴⁸ of these east-to-west sewers, branching from that found in the Bailgate in 1838, was described in 1844 as aiming for the NW. tower of the Minster. Much information would obviously reward a systematic exploration of this Roman sewerage system, which appears to offer a unique opportunity in the study of Romano-British town-planning.

C. AN AQUEDUCT (cf. plan, fig. 5, p. 29). The aqueduct of Roman Lincoln seems first to have been observed by Stukeley.⁴⁹ The city lies on a hill, nowhere less than 40 feet above the water-table. It was accordingly impossible conveniently to secure a gravitational supply of water and to convey it either above or below

⁴⁰ Haverfield, *Ancient Town-planning*, III but it would be rash to assume a norm, see Haverfield's remarks, *ibid.*, 78-79.

⁴¹ *Arch. Journ.*, xl, 319, and xli, 320. For contemporary newspaper accounts, see *Lincs. Chronicle*, July 20th, 1838; *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, July 20th, 1838 and February 23rd, 1844; *Lincoln Standard*, April 26th, 1843 and May 3rd, 1843.

For a contemporary illustration, see *Gent. Mag.* (1852), 235; Wright, *Celt. Roman and Saxon*, 214: a modern illustration, Haverfield, *Ancient Town-planning*, 118, fig. 28.

⁴² *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, July 20th, 1838; *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, July 20th, 1838; *Lincoln, Boston, Gainsborough and Newark Gazette*, July 17th, 1838.

⁴³ Pliny, *Ep. ad Traianum*, xxxii, 2, where Trajan observes, of elderly or long-term convicts, 'solent enim eiusmodi ad balineam, ad purgationes cloacarum, item munitiones viarum et vicorum dari.'

⁴⁴ See *Archaeologia*, lvi, plan opposite p. 317, for position.

⁴⁵ *Arch. Journ.*, xl, 319.

⁴⁶ *Assoc. Arch. Soc. Rep.*, xxii (1893), 65.

⁴⁷ *Arch. Journ.*, xix, 170.

⁴⁸ *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, February 23rd, 1844. This sewer was open to public view for about a year. When first discovered, in April, 1843, it appears to have been associated with a westward branch towards the Castle, see *Lincoln Standard*, April 26th, 1843, and May 3rd, 1843.

⁴⁹ Stukeley's *Diaries*, *Surtees Soc.*, i, 255, in a letter from the antiquary De la Pryme (cf. *Surtees Soc.*, 1869, p. 235), dated August 3rd, 1700. There is a description by Sympton, *Adversaria*, 281. The first printed description is in Gough's (1806) *Camden*, ii, 366, with a map of the course. Allen, *Hist. Lincs.*, i, 106, mentions a building at the source. There is an early sketch of the work showing a stone-built enclosing conduit in the Monson MS., ccxiv, no. 22, at Burton. Later discoveries are in *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, December 2nd, 1853, and *Lincoln Gazette*, January 29th, 1859; and a portion of pipe exhibited to this Institute (*Arch. Inst. Report* (1848), p. xxx) is in the Museum.

ground. An unusual form of pressure supply was therefore devised which derived from a copious spring, known as 'Roaring Meg', some three miles away on the Nettleham Road. The water was pumped into a high-level cistern or water-tower⁵⁰ at the spring and thence conveyed to the city in socketed tile pipes, heavily sheathed in concrete, of which two samples are shown in the City and County Museum. It has been suggested that on arrival in the city the pipe-line discharged into the so-called 'Blind Well'. But the Blind Well is a deep excavation intended to touch the local natural water-level, 45 feet below ground, whereas the normal Roman method of distribution⁵¹ would be through a tank at ground-level, whence pipes would convey the water primarily to public buildings and perhaps secondarily to private houses. Traces of such a system have yet to be discovered, but it seems likely that the first distribution-tank lay outside the town-wall. In 1857, during the building of Greestone House, on the east side of Greestone Stairs, part of a pipe-line, sheathed in concrete and 'similar to the piping in Nettleham Road', was found running down the hill, some fifty yards east of the defences. This, as the contemporary notice⁵² observes, suggests a branch supply serving the extended *colonia*: for, if the lower town were the goal of the main channel, there was no need to have taken the water on an uphill course. Clearly, however, the most interesting part of the known arrangement must have been the water-tower at the source and the machinery employed for lifting the water to the top. The simplest arrangement would have been an endless chain with buckets, driven by water-power from the spring itself; but water-screws or water-wheels in series, or even force-pumps, were means⁵³ of lifting water also known to the Romans. Excavation may some day indicate what method was in fact in use.

D. INTERNAL BUILDINGS (cf. plan, fig. 5, p. 29). The Bailgate colonnade, the most distinctive of Roman Lincoln's monumental remains, has already been discussed in relation to the street-plan of the town. It is plain that it formed part of a range of monumental buildings, but their nature is obscure and it is doubtful whether they formed a single unit. The southern end of the colonnade was certainly separated from the central and northern portions by the main westward street, at the junction of which the milestone of Victorinus was found. The colonnade, however, was unquestionably uniform in design. It had Attic bases, moulded cushion caps and an inserted balustrade or railings towards the north end at least. The north limit of the colonnaded area is bounded by the Mint Wall,⁵⁴ an impressive fragment, regrettably hidden since 1851 by the old North District School, now devoted to backward children. It is 70 feet long, 3 feet thick, and 18 feet high;

⁵⁰ No structural analogy is as yet forthcoming, but the principle was understood, see Ashby, *Aqueducts of Ancient Rome*, 46-7. The existence of such a structure is, however, attested by the *turrim ad aquam tolendam* at Gardun, Dalmatia; see *Annee Epigraphique*, 1940, no. 176, to which my attention is d. wn by Mr. Eric Birley. It is of Antonine date.

⁵¹ Ashby, *op. cit.*, 45.

⁵² *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, November 6th, 1857.

⁵³ Vitruvius, x, 4, describes such a device, 'in eiusdem rotae axe involuta duplex ferrea catena . . . habens situlos pendentes aereos', for a castellum aquae. For an actual example, see Ucelli, *Le navi di Nemi* (Roma, 1939), 179. See

also Vitruvius, x, 6, on water-screws; x, 4, on water-wheels; x, 7, force-pump: for an actual force-pump, see *Archaeologia*, lv, 422-4. The use of these devices for keeping caissons dry is explained by Vitruvius, v, 12, 5, *tunc coeleis rotis tympanis collocatis locus . . . exinamiat siccaturque*.

⁵⁴ Stukeley, *Itin. Cur.* (ed. 1), 84: Gough's (1806), Camden, ii, 363, pl. vii, 15: Sympton, *Adversaria*, 315: Venables, *Arch. Journ.*, xl, 318. Other accounts are derivative. The southward turn at the west end of the wall was visible until about 1890 according to verbal information supplied by Allis, who first excavated the Bailgate colonnade, to Haverfield.

and all but the very top is Roman work, faced in small limestone blocks, $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches high by 6 to 10 inches long, and laced every fourteen courses with three courses of sesquipedal tiles associated with putlog-holes which go right through the wall. Traces of a southward return were visible at its west end until about 1890, and excavation in 1878 revealed⁵⁵ a similar wall, $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, running at right angles, 95 feet west of the colonnade. This second wall was bordered on the east by a quarter-round moulding and a cement floor, suggestive of Baths. Other features cannot be so accurately placed. The erection of the old North District Schools disclosed⁵⁶ 'several pieces of beautiful Roman pavement' south of the Mint Wall. The rebuilding⁵⁷ of St. Paul's Church brought to light a tessellated pavement of plain white cubes, in the area behind the central group of seven columns; and at the north end⁵⁸ of the same columns an elaborate pavement, including a roundel containing a head of Mercury, was found in March, 1897, and is now in the City and County Museum. It is thus plain that the colonnade north of the west road formed the street front of massive buildings, equipped with numerous and sometimes elaborate tessellated pavements and with waterproofed flooring. In the area south of the westward road, behind the southern six columns, a black and red pavement was found in 1840 below outbuildings at the back of the Plough Inn.⁵⁹ Here also, if not in the next block further south, will have lain the south-west angle of a building again resembling the Mint Wall in structure, noted by Sympson⁶⁰ as found under the Falcon and Crown alehouse. The site of this alehouse, otherwise unknown, lay 100 yards south of the west end of the Mint Wall.

Unfortunately, these varied remains offer little clue to the character of the buildings. They do, however, preclude the idea that the colonnade enclosed an open space like a *forum*, and it seems difficult to fit them into the plan of a normal *basilica*. Only further discoveries will explain the real meaning of these notable remains.

Hardly more satisfactory is the record of another monumental building in the old Judge's lodgings at Atton Place, on the south side of Eastgate and east of the White Hart Hotel. In 1841 it was observed⁶¹ that 'interesting fragments of pillars, etc., probably Roman, indicating the site of some building of some importance' had recently been dug out under the kitchen, facing the north-west corner of the Cathedral. But, apart from monumental buildings, there is a goodly record of mosaic pavements which have been found in four distinct areas, covering between them the whole extent of the *colonia* in fairly representative fashion.

The first group belongs to the Cathedral Precincts. In 1793, there was discovered in the *Cloisters* a geometric mosaic⁶² comprising a bordered panel enclosed within a main border, illustrated by Fowler and more fully by the Ellen Carter drawing in the Bodleian Library. But no record is preserved of the type of building

⁵⁵ Mayhew, *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxv, 314, with plan and section. The drawings were used by Lohr for the detailed drawing of the whole Bailgate colonnade, in *Archaeologia*, lvi, pl. XIX, section A¹-A, but most unfortunately misunderstood and turned through a right angle. Ever since then the truth has been thus obscured.

⁵⁶ *Lincolnshire Times*, October 21st, 1851.

⁵⁷ *Arch. Journ.*, xlix, 134.

⁵⁸ *Nottingham Guardian*, March 10th, 1897.

⁵⁹ *Lincoln, Boston, Gainsborough and Newark Gazette*, November 3rd, 1840. For the position

of the Plough Hotel see *Assoc. Arch. Soc. Report*, 1891, folding plan of Roman colonnade.

⁶⁰ *Adversaria*, 315. The exact site of the 'Falcon and Crown' ale-house in 1740 is unknown and inquiries among Lincoln topographers have so far failed to reveal it.

⁶¹ W. and B. Brooke, *Survey of the antiquities of the City of Lincoln* (1840-1848), 33.

⁶² *Gent. Mag.*, 1794, i, 274: W. Fowler, *Mosaic Pavements*, no. 4. Gough Maps, *Bibl. Bodl. Summary Cat. of Western MSS.*, 17513, fol. 13B, drawing by Ellen Carter. All other accounts are derivative.

with which the pavement is connected. In 1739-40, however, a hypocaust⁶³ was discovered at the *Precentor's House*, associated with a plain white tessellated floor, while an adjoining room was also found with white tessellated floor and walls plastered in blue and red. Finally, at the *Exchequer Gate*, in the road west of the Cathedral Close archway, drainage work in 1879 revealed⁶⁴ a Roman house with walls still standing 3 to 4 feet high, stuccoed in imitation of marble veneering, and a pavement decorated with a central star within a roundel, surrounded by four semi-circular panels containing dolphins or fish, all enclosed in guilloche borders, while the pavement terminated in a Greek key pattern.

The second group belongs to the Castle. On *Castle Hill*, opposite the Exchequer Gate, remains of an arched hypocaust were found⁶⁵ in digging a cellar in 1855. In the *Castle* itself, at the south-east corner of the prison, building operations in 1846 revealed a mosaic⁶⁶ covering a floor, 11½ by 13½ feet square, with an outfall pipe, evidently part of a bath. In 1786, 'two handsome pavements' had also been found,⁶⁷ again associated with a bath and both coins and Samian ware not further particularized. A rough plan⁶⁸ of these pavements is contained in the Monson Library at Burton Hall, which specifies the pavements as 9 feet 9 inches from east to west, by 4 feet 5 inches from north to south, with an oblong 4 feet north to south by 6 feet east to west, opening off the south side of the first.

The third group belongs to the Bailgate. On the east side of that street, in 1878-9, under the east end of the *Wesleyan Methodist Chapel*, some 100 feet away from the street, building operations revealed an elaborate pavement⁶⁹ of geometric patterns. Pavements found in rebuilding *St. Paul's Church* and in excavating the Colonnade to north-east of the church have already been described, together with the pavement found behind the *Plough Inn*.

The fourth group was found in making the Upper Reservoir, in the north-west corner of the *colonia*, near the present water tower. They comprised tessellated pavements⁷⁰ designed 'in plain squares with borders'.

The tale of structures within the *colonia* is thus a sorry one. All too many opportunities have been missed, as on so many urban sites of Roman Britain. But, apart from the Bailgate colonnade and the Mint Wall, and perhaps buildings in Atton Place, the remains are suggestive of domestic establishments, well-appointed houses of well-to-do colonists.

The quality of the mosaic pavements is worth note. There is little figure work beyond conventional patterns, and there is considerable resemblance between the different pavements in colouring and design. The volume of material is hardly sufficient to justify the recognition of a Lincoln group of pavement workers, but

⁶³ T. Sympton, *Phil. Trans.*, xli, 855, pl. viii: *Vetusta Monumenta*, i, pl. 57. Stukeley's *Diaries*, ii, 279, 315. Other accounts are derivative.

⁶⁴ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxv, 308: cf. *Arch. Journ.*, xxxvi, 276, and Morgan, *Roman-British Mosaics*, 138. There is a large and beautiful drawing by B. Hewitt in the Chapter Library at Lincoln.

⁶⁵ *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, October 12th, 1855. There were five sets of flues in a hypocaust below it and they were arched.

⁶⁶ *Lincs. Notes & Queries*, i, 162, with drawing in colours by C. J. Wigley; *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, February 20th, 1846; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, ii, 186. The pavement was exhibited to the Institute in 1848, *Arch. Inst. Rep.*, p. xxx.

⁶⁷ *Gent. Mag.*, 1786 (ii), 540.

⁶⁸ *Monson MS.*, ccxiv. The sketch is unnumbered.

⁶⁹ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xxxv, 308, with figure: the pattern is geometric, with dolphins or fish in panels.

⁷⁰ *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, September 24th, 1847.

the impression conveyed by the existing pavements is of homogeneity, while the keynote is comfort rather than elegance.

For the future, the sewers, the Mint Wall and the large amount of open ground seem to offer bright prospects for a fresh approach to the problem.

III. THE ENLARGED COLONIA

(plan, fig. 5, p. 29)

It need not be doubted that from the first there was ribbon-development along the roads leading out of the fortress, and particularly along that leading towards the south. If proof is wanted, it is furnished by the great distance between the fortress and early burials in the southern cemetery (see p. 48). What happened to these *canabae* on the foundation of the *colonia* is unknown. But it must again be regarded as certain that outside the *colonia* itself ribbon-development in the south would be intense. Evidence of the existence of such buildings, ante-dating a systematic arrangement of terraces, was recently obtained at Flaxengate.⁷¹ It is further clear that these suburbs became so essential a part of the town that in due time, the precise period being as yet unknown, they were rationalized and enclosed in an extension of the town defences, raising the acreage of the walled town from 41 acres to 97 acres.

A. DEFENCES (cf. plan, fig. 5, p. 29). The new wall left the older circuit at its southern angles, and extended almost as far as the Stonebow. Like the original wall, it was accompanied by a large ditch, now visible in Temple Gardens as a great fosse 80 feet wide, perhaps on the line of a natural fault.⁷² It was known as the Weredyke⁷³ in Sympton's day, but is now much filled up. It is seen again on the west side on Motherby Hill, where it is overlaid by cottage gardens behind the east side of Victoria Street, while below the hill in the Park it was converted⁷⁴ from a rubbish tip to gardens in Sympton's time. The sole surviving piece of wall is seen at the north-east corner of Temple Gardens, where it separates the lower garden of the Bishop's Palace from the terraced garden of the Vicar's Court. This is a bold mass of core, over 10 feet thick and 14 feet high, very like the core of the rebuilt *colonia* wall on either side of Newport Arch. Its foundations have been examined a little further southwards in Temple Gardens, by Mr. Webster, and found to be over 10 feet thick, the rearward face being inaccessible. Otherwise, the record of the circuit depends upon numerous chance discoveries.

From Temple Gardens to Clasketgate the wall was everywhere visible⁷⁵ in Sympton's day, 'miserably peeled and excoriated': and it was found in 1830, in building houses⁷⁶ opposite the City Gaol, nos. 17 and 18 Lindum Road. It was

⁷¹ *J.R.S.*, xxxvi, 140.

⁷² Mr. F. T. Baker informs me that the line of the fosse, which is not quite parallel with that of the wall, follows the line of a fault, also continued at Canwick Hill on the other side of the rift.

⁷³ *Lindum*, 6 (580), 'Part of the old ditch toward the upper end is still deep and broad, and is called the Weredyke'.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 'On the other side Newland gate it lies buried under a fine airy walk, made upon it lately for the recreation of the citizens; and the ditch, which was many years a common laystall, is now much better employed as a garden.'

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶ *Gent. Mag.*, N.S. xviii, 350.

again found in building the Constitutional Club,⁷⁷ on the south corner of Silver Street and Broadgate, and in erecting the Drill Hall⁷⁸ half way down Broadgate. At the Duke of Wellington Hotel,⁷⁹ also in Broadgate, excavations for cellarage, in September, 1932, revealed the wall 12 feet thick, while close behind it, at a depth of 10 feet, occurred a small altar, dedicated to Mars. Hereabouts, 'south of Clasketgate'. Stukeley⁸⁰ had seen two noble fragments of core in 1722, one 80 feet long by 18 feet high, the other 12 feet long and 18 feet high, and Sympton mentions 'several pieces' while J. Ross⁸¹ makes a drawing of a fragment 'in Broadgate' with facing stones in position. Stukeley's second fragment cannot have lain far from the south-east angle, for the wall is soon recorded running east and west, along the north side of Saltergate, when it was discovered in making the Sheep-market⁸² and again when this ground was used for the south porch⁸³ of St. Swithin's Church. In Old St. Swithin's Churchyard, west of Free School Lane, it was found⁸⁴ in 1868 to be 7 feet thick, and lay 8 feet 9 inches to north of the south wall of the churchyard. The wall, faced in ashlar, was next discovered⁸⁵ in building the New Falcon Hotel, on the north side of Saltergate. It was 11 feet thick at the footing and stood some 10 feet high. The rearward face was battered at an angle of ten degrees for the first four feet, and then followed five offsets which reduced its upper width to 7 feet. To east of the Stonebow it was seen by Nicholson⁸⁶ in 1841, with foundations of unhewn stones in clay, later repaired in mortared hewn stone. Its line continued slightly north of the north front of the Stonebow and not quite parallel. Immediately west of the Stonebow it was found in worse condition under Mr. Waddington the ironmonger's premises⁸⁷ at 3 Guildhall Street, and yet again in building the Independent Methodist Chapel,⁸⁸ in Newland.

The wall then turned northwards and was found in a Besom Park paddock⁸⁹ in 1845, where part of it had been dug up for stone in Sympton's day. It was again found in the Park⁹⁰ in 1847 and 1853, between Newland and West Parade: here was a public walk, made in Sympton's time⁹¹ by levelling the wall. A great mass of core was removed⁹² on Motherby Hill in February, 1853, but not before it had been marked on Padley's map of 1842 and on this Institute's plan of 1848. Finally, the foundations of the wall were seen⁹³ at the junction of Asylum Road, now Spring Hill, and Drury Lane by Drury, though not further described.

Nothing is known of towers or gates. But the Roman street-lines indicate the certainty of a south gate at the Stonebow, while the mediaeval town-plan

⁷⁷ E. Mansel Sympton, *Lincoln* (1906), 33: the Wall was also observed close by, at the Broadgate end of Butchery Street (Clasketgate), see *Lincoln, Rulland and Stamford Mercury*, November 6th, 1863.

⁷⁸ Drury MS., *Remains of Roman Occupancy*, 4, no. 3. The MS. is in Lincoln Museum.

⁷⁹ *Lincs. Notes & Queries*, xxiii, 2; *J.R.S.*, xxiii, 215, also notes an altar found behind the Wall, which was once inscribed but is now almost illegible.

⁸⁰ *Itin. Cur.* (ed. 2), 90.

⁸¹ *Annales Lincolnensis*, i, 26.

⁸² *Lincolnshire Topographical Society*, 1841-2, 88.

⁸³ *Lincs. Notes & Queries*, i, 144.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

⁸⁵ *Lincolnshire Echo*, July 5th, 1937.

⁸⁶ *Lincolnshire Topographical Society*, 1841-2, pp. 89-90.

⁸⁷ Nicholson, loc. cit.: the address of the premises is given in a contemporary directory.

⁸⁸ Nicholson, loc. cit.

⁸⁹ *Lincoln, Rulland and Stamford Mercury*, February 28th, 1845.

⁹⁰ *Op. cit.*, April 8th, 1847; September 2nd, 1853.

⁹¹ See note 74, above.

⁹² *Lincoln, Rulland and Stamford Mercury*, February 4th, 1853. Also 1854; see n. 100, p. 42.

⁹³ Drury MS., fol. 12 *recto*. 'At the junction of Asylum Road with Drury Lane the trenches . . . crossed the foundations of a Wall which once extended from the south-west angle of the Castle down the Hill declivity towards Brayford.'

strongly suggests an east gate at the later Clasketgate, opposite which West Parade would be the symmetrical position for a west gate. Within the enclosure, however nothing is known of street lines, excepting the north-to-south road, which was found⁹⁴ in 1838 in digging a drain from the Butchery to the river. It was about a yard below the existing surface and about 20 inches thick, and made of hard cement containing rubbish such as iron and leather. It was again found in 1839, while digging a cellar for Mr. Kirk, on the site of the present emporium⁹⁵ of Messrs. Mawer and Collingham. A sample of its concrete was exhibited to this Institute⁹⁶ in 1848, by Mr. P. N. Brockedon.

Although the date of construction of the extension wall is not clear, it is evident that many tombstones were used as building material for it, as not uncommonly in later Roman fortifications. The early tombstone of L. Sempronius Flavinus, serving soldier of the Ninth Legion, was found in its foundations⁹⁷ in 1830, when building the house of Mr. Padley (now 17 Lindum Road), opposite the Gaol, the present City Sessions House. Another tombstone, with inscription 'wholly effaced', was found in the south wall, close to the south-west angle, in Newland.⁹⁸ The civilian tombstone of Volusia Faustina was also found in the wall in February, 1859, during building operations in the Park, north of this angle.⁹⁹ Finally, Roach Smith¹⁰⁰ records carved stones as visible in 1889 in a fragment of the same wall in 'Mr. Coningham's grounds', close to its junction with the south-east angle of the older wall. These gardens now form the public park surrounding the Usher Art Gallery. One of the stones, exhibiting 'the mutilated figure of a Roman horse-soldier riding over and spearing a prostrate foe', was indubitably a tombstone, whatever may have been the nature of the 'other apparently sepulchral stones', of which there is no other record. These examples are certainly associated with the wall. The tombstone¹⁰¹ of the nonagenarian Claudia Crysis, found in Alderman Colton's house, next to Mr. Padley's, no doubt belongs to the same series.

B. INTERNAL BUILDINGS (cf. plan, fig. 5, p. 29). Internal buildings are recorded at various points in the lower town, and on the line of the main street from north to south, in particular, the discoveries are suggestive of substantial and important structures.

(i) *St. Michael's*. On Steep Hill, opposite St. Michael's Churchyard, about sixty yards below the south gate of the *colonia*, Drury¹⁰² observed in sewerage works a Roman 'wall of concrete 15 feet thick' and, 9 feet further north, 'another wall 4 feet thick', a space of 60 yards to north 'being filled in with a kind of rubble made soil', which these walls retained. Drury elsewhere¹⁰³ recorded his opinion that this retaining wall would have been not less than 40 feet high. The remains thus described lay to east of the main north-south street, and the whole

⁹⁴ *Gent. Mag.*, 1838, ii, 181.

⁹⁵ *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, March 1st, 1839.

⁹⁶ *Arch. Inst. Report*, 1848, p. xxx.

⁹⁷ *Gent. Mag.*, N.S. xviii, 350.

⁹⁸ *Arch. Journ.*, xvii, 20.

⁹⁹ *Op. cit.*, 20. The find-spot, in the Park, is given by the *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, April 25th, 1862.

¹⁰⁰ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xlv, 53: in this account 'Coningham' is a misprint for 'Collingham', the alderman whose house was

demolished to make way for the Usher Art Gallery. A carved stone was also found in demolishing the West Wall on Motherby Hill, *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, December 15th, 1854.

¹⁰¹ *C.I.L.*, vii, 193; *Arch. Journ.*, xvii, 8; *Gent. Mag.*, 1840 (i), 79: for the vicissitudes of the stone, see Smith, *Cat. of R. inscribed stones*, p. 12, no. 8. The house is untraced.

¹⁰² Drury MS., fol. 17 *recto*, with a detailed drawing on the *verso* side.

¹⁰³ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xlv, 223.

arrangement is plainly part of a great double terrace wall, reminiscent of the lower town of Tarraco,¹⁰⁴ the modern Tarragona, into which subsequent terraces and modern streets cut and carve at will. The line of this terrace is in fact still marked by the top of Beaumont Fee, Gibraltar Steps, St. Michael's, and the lower garden of the ancient Bishop's Palace. Lower down the hill, on the east side of the Strait, at the City Arms, there were discovered¹⁰⁵ in 1847 many early medieval decorative details, but Roman 'sepulchral urns' are also mentioned, and, if this is what the vessels really were, they must have belonged to early burials entirely dissociated from any intramural buildings.

(ii) *Grantham Street*. Monumental buildings were observed by Drury¹⁰⁶ at the north corner of the junction of Grantham Street and High Street, comprising 'two stones moulded on the faces with mitred angles'.

(iii) *King's Arms*. The hill now becomes less steep, and discoveries on the flatter surface have been numerous. In 1782, under a house¹⁰⁷ adjoining the King's Arms, on the east side of the High Street, a hypocaust 20 feet square was found, in association with further walls. The nature of this establishment is uncertain. Nor is there any proof that it was connected with the adjacent remains discovered¹⁰⁸ during the building of *Messrs. Boots'* emporium on the north-west corner of High Street, and Clasketgate. These comprised another large hypocaust and a wall covered with red plaster; and three arched flues were also noted, of which one can still be seen, parallel with the street. This building looks like part of a Bath.

(iv) *Messrs. Ruddock's*. Further structures were discovered¹⁰⁹ in 1845, on the site now occupied by Messrs. Ruddock's stationery shop, on the east side of the street. They comprised 'several bases of pillars . . . huge worked stones . . . evidently . . . plinths to some pillars supporting a Roman building. On one an inscription which as well as it could be traced consists of the following letters: VIC HRAPO MERCURESIUM. Most probably this is incomplete, as in all likelihood it was continued along the fellow plinth'. This important building is more interesting than has sometimes been realized. As Hübner¹¹⁰ observed, its inscribed 'plinth', perhaps really an architrave, must be connected with another inscribed moulding, found¹¹¹ in making Lindum Road in 1785, consisting of the word [A]POLLINES . . . , and the stones can then be recognized as commemorating guilds of worshippers of Mercury and Apollo respectively. But the High Street stone adds the valuable point that these guilds were attached to *vici*, or town wards, the worshippers of Mercury belonging to a *vicus*. The name of this *vicus* is not now recoverable from the obviously corrupt HRAPO. But it may be compared¹¹² with the *vicus Apollinensis* or *vicus Salutaris* at Moguntiacum (Mainz), the *vicus Fortunae* at Poetovio (Pettau), the numerous *vici* at the colony of Antioch in Pisidia or the *Septem vici* at Ariminum. Such *vici* were often named¹¹³ after

¹⁰⁴ This is very plain in the so-called Gymnasium, in Calle del Gasómetro, and in the Circus, at Plazas de la Fuente and Cedazos and Calles Triquet and Cos del Bou. Personal observation.

¹⁰⁵ *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, November 5th and 26th, 1847.

¹⁰⁶ Drury MS., fol. 10: 'apparently *in situ*, at a 'depth of 10 feet'.

¹⁰⁷ Gough's (1806) Camden, ii, 367, with plan.

¹⁰⁸ *J.R.S.*, xiv, 224.

¹⁰⁹ *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, July 18th, 1845: copied in *Athenaeum*, August 9th, 1845.

¹¹⁰ *E.E.*, iii, p. 312, no. 179.

¹¹¹ *C.I.L.*, vii, 179, figured in Gough's (1806) Camden, ii, pl. xii, fig. 4.

¹¹² Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.* 7082, 7083 (Mainz), *R.-G.M. Bericht*, xv, 217 (Poetovio), *I.L.S.* 5081 (Antioch), 6664 (Ariminum).

¹¹³ *I.L.S.* 6322, 6323 (Puteoli), 7071 (Cologne), 8351 (Aversa).

distinguished members of the community, most probably *aediles*, like the *vicus Calpurnianus*, *Vestorianus* or *Lartidianus* at Puteoli, the *vicus Lucretius* at Cologne, or the *vicus Spurianus* on an inscription from the modern Aversa in Campania. The inscriptions upon an important architectural moulding or plinth can accordingly be connected with the tutelary shrine of the *vicus* or of one of its guilds, like the shrine of *Fortuna*¹¹⁴ connected with the *vicus Fortunae* at Poetovio.

(v) *High Street*. Slightly south of the same site, on the same side, Nicholson¹¹⁵ records 'in the house occupied by Mr. Jackson, Chemist, in High Street north of the Butterhouse' was found 'a very singular work of an octagonal form, built with Roman bricks'. This seems like the base of a monument, such as would go well with an urban cult centre.

(vi) *Mint Street*. Drury¹¹⁶ records below the Bank at the south side of the junction of Mint Street and High Street, 'several Roman remains—one a base of pillar apparently *in situ*, on a sandy basis 12 feet below the existing surface'. Drury sketched these remains, but the sketches are not with his papers, and appear to have been lost.

(vii) *Clasketgate*. Near the north end of the Wesleyan Chapel in Clasketgate remains¹¹⁷ consisting of 'part of a pillar' and 'tesserae' are noted by Brummitt, and are further specified as 'extensive remains of a Roman bath, with the hypocaust and paving of very perfect tesserae' by Nicholson. The pavement must have been a fine one, for it is described in a contemporary newspaper¹¹⁸ as like 'a splendid carpet'.

(viii) *Bank Street*. Rebuilding of the Solicitors' office of Messrs. Danby, Epton and Griffith, south of the Lincoln Co-operative Society's premises on the east side of Bank Street, in 1936 disclosed¹¹⁹ three piers built of Roman tiles running east and west and to east of them stone walling faced in red plaster. Whether this is connected with a concrete wall 4 feet thick, noted by Drury¹²⁰ not far away in a sewer at the north end of the street, is uncertain.

(ix) *Silver Street*. In September, 1924, walling¹²¹ was discovered south of Silver Street, between the premises occupied by R. W. Doughty, tobacconist, and Mr. F. E. Bradbury, ironmonger, and the Falcon Hotel. The walling lay 12 feet deep and was traced for 50 feet. It ran from east to west, and included in its length an arch with a span of about 12 feet. In the contemporary illustration the walling looks Roman and the depth is that at which Roman remains are normally found in this part of the City. It will have belonged to the first group of buildings inside the south wall, which has been found below the Falcon Hotel, but its purpose is unknown.

(x) *Flaxengate*. Excavations were conducted in 1945 by the Lincoln Archaeological Research Committee between Flaxengate and Danesgate. Without trespassing upon ground to be covered in a full report,¹²² it can be stated that

¹¹⁴ See note 112.

¹¹⁵ *Lincolnshire Topographical Society*, 1841-2, 88.

¹¹⁶ Drury MS., *Remains of Roman Occupancy*, 4, no. 5.

¹¹⁷ Brummitt, *Illustrated Guide through Lincoln*, 3; *Lincolnshire Topographical Society*, 1841-2, 88.

¹¹⁸ *Lincolnshire Chronicle*, June 3rd, 1836.

¹¹⁹ *J.R.S.*, xxvii, 234: a detailed plan of the remains was made by Mr. F. T. Baker and is at the City Museum.

¹²⁰ Drury MS., *Remains of Roman Occupancy*, 5, no. 8.

¹²¹ *Leader*, September 27th, 1924, with illustration.

¹²² *J.R.S.*, xxxvi, 140.

Roman terrace walls, probably of third-century date, were discovered to overlie at least two earlier series of stone buildings. Several fragments of mouldings or panels of imported marble were recovered, including Luna and Siena marble, *verde antico* and *cipollino*. This must indicate that important and sumptuous buildings of a wealthy community lay not far away.

(xi) *Spring Hill*. On Spring Hill, then called Asylum Road, Drury¹²³ observed, near the foot of Gibraltar Hill, 'a laborer deliberately picking at a piece of tessellated pavement and with difficulty persuaded him to desist. What was left was carefully gathered together and is now in the possession of the then Mayor, P. P. Dickinson, Esq. The pavement was only about 15 inches below the surface . . . set true with the cardinal points'. The site is marked by Drury as on the north side of Spring Hill, almost midway between Gibraltar Steps and Michaelgate.

(xii) *Chestnut House, Steep Hill*. According to verbal information from the late Mr. Arthur Smith, a pavement¹²⁴ was found when a man-hole was dug in the garden behind Chestnut House on Steep Hill. This man-hole is just inside the large back-gate leading out into Michaelgate. No other record or detail of the discovery is available.

EXTRA-MURAL STRUCTURES

(cf. plan, fig. 5, p. 29)

A. High Street

The structure of the great southward road was noted by Drury¹²⁵ at numerous points from Shakespeare Street, north of St. Botolph's, to the L.M.S. Station, St. Mark's, St. Mary's, and the Cornhill. The thickness varied much. At Shakespeare Street the Roman surfacing, 2½ feet below the then road, was 8 inches thick, on top of 15 inches of 'rough-made soil', and a 3-inch layer of ash (or fascines?) covering peaty mud on clean river sand. At the Midland Railway crossing, the Roman causeway, about 4½ feet below the nineteenth-century road, was a mass of concrete 5 feet thick, on 3 to 4 feet of muddy soil covering clean river sand. At St. Mark's, the 5-foot mass of Roman road material was again encountered at much the same depth, but at St. Mary's it had decreased to 2 feet in thickness, on top of 5 feet of mud and silt. At the Cornhill the ground was consolidated with six rows of piles, one row at every 12 feet, but the Roman road-surface appeared to have been removed. This would be readily explicable if the road was here mounting a ramped bridge approach,¹²⁶ well above flood level. The Witham in Roman times is not likely to have been confined within the narrow limits of High Bridge, and a longer bridge, with flood-arches in ramped approaches, is what may be expected. The remains observed¹²⁷ in August, 1839, in a cellar near High Bridge, comprising stones and tiles set herring-bone-wise and red cement, are more suggestive of foundations at the roadside than road material; and roadside structures were certainly

¹²³ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xlv, 224: the quoted account is in Drury MS., fol. 11 *recto* and *verso*. The position is given in the printed volume.

¹²⁴ I owe this information to Mr. F. T. Baker.

¹²⁵ Drury MS., fols. 1-9.

¹²⁶ Cf. Merida, *Arch. Journ.*, lxxxvii, 104-5.

¹²⁷ *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, August 23rd, 1839.

noted by Drury,¹²⁸ who observed massive stonework and concrete flooring at St. Benedict's Lane, covered by much Roman rubbish and then by a thirteenth-century graveyard, and also 'extensive Roman remains'¹²⁹ under the National Provincial Bank, at the south side of the junction of Guildhall Street and High Street.

Other roadside remains lay further south. In Monson Street, Mr. Smith's house, on the north side of the street, east of the High Street Unitarian Chapel, produced a fine tessellated pavement.¹³⁰ It is an eight-pointed flower with a guilloche border in red, white and black, set in a square of plain white and red stripes. The find-spot¹³¹ is settled by contemporary notices, by Drury's map and by a contemporary directory as no. 2 Monson Street. Further pavements are recorded¹³² in the same vicinity and described as if forming part of the same building, 'a very extensive Roman suburban villa'. Finally, on the west side of High Street, at the south corner of Alfred Street, Drury¹³³ records 'a confused collection of extremely large stones, having the appearance of a mason's stoneyard'. This reads like the remains of an important monumental tomb scattered by mediaeval stone-robbers.

EXTERNAL INDUSTRIES

(a) Potteries.

Roman Lincoln was a large community and one of its most constant of everyday requirements in manufactured goods must have been hardware, for kitchen and table use. It is therefore not surprising to find that numbers of potters' kilns are grouped about the city.

The earliest group¹³⁴ to be recorded was brought to light in Boultham, about a mile west of Ermine Street at Bracebridge and about two miles south-east of the Stonebow, while constructing the Midland Railway in 1847, including many wasters. The kilns, which lay 4 to 5 feet deep, were never described in detail, but much of the ware which they produced of darkish grey hue and third-century forms is in the British Museum (Arthur Trollope collection) and the Lincoln City and County Museum. It appears,¹³⁵ however, that more ornamental wares, such as the first-century vessel by CAMARO, now in the British Museum, were also made here, and that wares of the Castor type with scroll work and hunting scenes in barbotine were also among the wasters. The site was evidently a large one, for further numerous wasters have been found¹³⁶ in digging graves in the cemetery behind St. Helen's church, in Boultham Park.

¹²⁸ Drury MS., drawing on fol. 4 verso. In 1930 an example of the stamped tile L.V.L.F. (C.I.L., vii, 1251) was found in St. Benedict's Square and presented to the City Museum (no. 208/31). The three initial letters are presumably the *tria nomina* of a private manufacturer.

¹²⁹ Drury MS., fol. 8, verso, without further specification.

¹³⁰ E. Trollope, *Handbook of Excursions made by the Lincoln Architectural Soc., May, 1857* (Sleaford, 1857).

¹³¹ *Arch. Journ.*, xvii, 16; *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, May 15th, 1845; *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xlii, 224. Mr. Smith's

house is given in Kelly's Directory as no. 2 Monson Street, on the north side of the street, immediately east of the High Street Unitarian Chapel.

¹³² *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, January 23rd, 1846.

¹³³ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xlii, 225.

¹³⁴ *P.S.A.L.*, iii, 439: as the wasters, etc., were found in making a railway cutting this must be the site as it is the only cutting on the line near Lincoln, the rest being embanked or bridged. This is confirmed by the wasters in St. Helen's cemetery (see n. 136).

¹³⁵ *Arch. Journ.*, xlii, 173.

¹³⁶ F. T. Baker, *Roman Lincoln* (Lincoln Branch of Historical Assoc., 1938), 24.

The second pottery kiln¹³⁷ was discovered in 1936, and excavated by Mr. F. T. Baker, while extending the Technical College in Cathedral Street, north of Monks Road. This was a well-built rectangular through-draught kiln, producing *mortaria*, or mixing-bowls, of coarse creamy-white clay, for the potter Vitalis who stamped them. The *mortaria* are of second-century type. Whether production was intense is unknown, but the kiln had broken down and had been abandoned while loaded with pots.

A third group of two kilns¹³⁸ was excavated in 1942 by Mr. Graham Webster between Burton and South Carlton, three miles north-west of the *colonia*. The kilns were of up-draught type and were mostly devoted to the production of *mortaria*, stamped VOROLAS, with six different varieties, and CRIC-F, the latter stamp being known from Newstead and Balmuildy, both Antonine forts in Scotland. But in addition to *mortaria* this establishment also made flagons, small rough-cast beakers, painted ware, plates, bowls and *tazze*.

Finally, in 1945, excavations¹³⁹ by the Lincoln Archaeological Research Committee at Hartsholme Farm, Swanpool, one and a half miles south-west of the *colonia*, disclosed another set of kilns, engaged in producing wares of the late third and earlier fourth century. These include cooking-pots, dishes, flagons and beakers, many of them painted with scroll patterns.

(b) Coin casting.

The earliest hint that Roman coins were moulded in Lincoln is from a manuscript entry by Gough, in his interleaved copy¹⁴⁰ of his edition of Camden, now in the Bodleian Library, which states, 'Near that part of the east wall of the town which extends down the steep to the river was found *anno* 1793 an urn full of moulds for counterfeiting coins which seemed of Severus and Geta'. This was based upon a statement¹⁴¹ by Pownall at the Society of Antiquaries.

A further discovery of the same kind is noted by Nicholson¹⁴² who refers to 'very many Roman coins, together with the brick matrices in which they were cast, on the site of the Tread-wheel of the City Gaol'. The date of this discovery is not certain, but it must have fallen between 1827 and 1842: it is also mentioned by Brummitt.¹⁴³ Finally, in January, 1852, more moulds¹⁴⁴ came to light: 'Above hill, just outside the Roman wall, where there existed a place of Roman interment, some matrixes for casting Roman coins have been discovered. They are formed of a kind of composition and are not unlike the casts used by false coiners of the present day. The impressions are those of Heliogabalus, Severus Alexander and the Empress Sallustia Barbia Orbiana, the second wife of Severus Alexander. They are in possession of Mr. Durance, junior'.

Four coin moulds¹⁴⁵ in the City and County Museum are mules, of Caracalla (obverse) and Severus (reverse), and of Plautilla (obverse) and Julia Domna (reverse).

¹³⁷ *Lincs. Mag.*, iii, 187; *J.R.S.*, xxvii, 233.

¹³⁸ *J.R.S.*, xxxiii, 73, figs. 12, 13.

¹³⁹ *J.R.S.*, xxxvi, 140; *Antiq. Journ.*, xxvii, 59-79.

¹⁴⁰ *Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts*, 17661, p. 254.

¹⁴¹ Gough, *op. cit.*, adds Pownall's name to the statement.

¹⁴² *Lincs. Topographical Soc.*, 1841-2, 88.

¹⁴³ Brummitt, *Illustrated Guide through Lincoln*, 3.

¹⁴⁴ *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, January 30th, 1852. Moulds of Elagabalus, Orbiana, Caracalla and Plautilla are mentioned in *Assoc. Soc. Rep.*, viii, 1, pl. xi (1865) and *Num. Chron.*, xi (1871), 32.

¹⁴⁵ Museum nos. 19-22, 07.

They came from near the Old Gaol, now the City Sessions House, on the east side of the Lindum Road and north of Monks Road.

The quantity of coin-moulds found, though few survive for exhibition, is obviously considerable, and it seems highly unlikely that the manufacture, so closely associated with the Roman town, can have been surreptitious, as might be alleged¹⁴⁶ of the remote and isolated contemporary seats of manufacture at the Polden Marshes in Somerset or Lingwell Gate in Yorkshire. The moulds are of good quality and may well represent a local issue of small change, at a time of dearth or inflation. The site chosen lies close to the second-century pottery of Vitalis in Cathedral Street.

THE CEMETERIES

(cf. plan, fig. 5, p. 29)

The cemeteries of Roman Lincoln, in accordance with Roman law, lay outside the town and, as in all Roman communities, tended to line the roads. They have been observed to be most strongly associated in Lincoln with the roads on the south, east and north sides of the town.

The southern cemetery is well attested to have lined both sides of Ermine Street, the modern High Street, and it is evident that many legionaries of the early military occupation were buried there. Monson Street, 830 yards south of the Stonebow, on the east side of High Street, yielded the tombstones¹⁴⁷ of Titus Valerius Pudens and Lucius Licinius, both of the Second Legion *Adiutrix*, and that of the freedman M. Aurelius, whose heir was apparently a veteran of the Fourteenth Legion. The two first stones, which must belong to the decade 71-81, were found¹⁴⁸ on the south side of Monson Street at its junction with High Street. The third stone, which is equally early, came from no. 64, a little further eastwards¹⁴⁹ on the same side. The stone of Licinius had been broken, while that of Pudens had not only been broken¹⁵⁰ but buried in a pit, presumably when the cemetery was superseded by the buildings found on the north side of the same street, as described above (see p. 46). 'Many other fragments of inscriptions' came from the same locality, but are otherwise unrecorded.¹⁵¹

Salthouse Lane, 1,035 yards south of the Stonebow on the west side of High Street, produced at the junction of the two streets, the inscription¹⁵² of Gaius Saufeius of the Ninth Legion.

South Common cricket pitch (laid in concrete), on the east side of High Street, produced in 1909 the fragmentary tombstone¹⁵³ of Gaius Valerius of the Ninth Legion. The stone has found¹⁵⁴ 'west of the first of the two pitches in shaving

¹⁴⁶ Haverfield, *V.C.H. Somerset*, i, 352-353.

¹⁴⁷ *C.I.L.*, vii, 185 (Pudens), 186 (Licinius), 187 (Aurelius).

¹⁴⁸ *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.*, xlii, 244; *Arch. Journ.*, xvii, 17-18.

¹⁴⁹ *Arch. Journ.*, xvii, 19, notes that the find-spot was Mr. Seely's biscuit factory, of which the bakery still exists at no. 64 Monson Street, as I found by personal reconnaissance, in company with Mr. F. T. Baker.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 18 (Licinius), 17 (Pudens).

¹⁵¹ *Arch. Journ.*, xvii, 19: they presumably

include the tombstones of Fortunata (*C.I.L.*, vii, 194) and of Marcus from Pisaurum (*C.I.L.*, vii, 188; to which should be added *C.I.L.*, vii, 196, see *E.E.*, ix, p. 557).

¹⁵² *C.I.L.*, vii, 183: for the find-spot, see *Gent. Mag.*, 1866, p. 816, where, however, 'west' should read 'east'.

¹⁵³ *E.E.*, ix, 1111; *Lincs. Notes & Queries*, x, 193-6.

¹⁵⁴ *Nott. Guardian*, February 16th, 1909.

¹⁵⁵ Smith, *Catalogue of Roman inscribed stones found in the City of Lincoln*, p. 10-11.

off the outfield': it was smashed when it was still freshly cut, and it has been suggested¹⁵⁵ that the stone was first found in making the adjacent railway cutting, and broken and thrown aside then. This, however, hardly accounts for the freshness of the lettering, and it is easier to compare the destruction with that of the stones in Monson Street, evidently due to Roman clearing of the ground. At least two other inscriptions come from nearer the town. A fragmentary stone,¹⁵⁶ set up to an individual in the thirties, was found in 1722 behind St. Mary's Guild Hall, or John of Gaunt's Stables, on the north corner of Sibthorp Street and High Street, about 850 yards south of the Stonebow; and hence came a rustic jar¹⁵⁷, two small beakers,¹⁵⁸ and an early third-century cooking-pot¹⁵⁹ from Gaunt Street. It may also reasonably be concluded that the civilian tombstone¹⁵⁹ of Sacer the Senonian and his wife Carssouna, which is walled into the tower of St. Mary-le-Wigford, was found not far away. Its pediment served to carry an Old English dedicatory inscription, discussed below.¹⁶⁰ A third inscription¹⁶¹ from the same locality was described to Roger Gale, apparently distinct from that seen by Horsley.

In addition to inscriptions, however, the area has yielded plentiful evidence of burials. On South Common, at the football pitch, now disused, north of the eastern pond, an interesting cremation burial,¹⁶² enclosed in a stone cist and contained in a grey rustic jar of Flavian-Trajanic date, was found in 1911 together with a bronze mirror. On the other hand, the tweezers and an ear-pick, found on Canwick Common in 1865, recall the toilet sets from inhumations¹⁶³ at York. At South Park, on the north edge of South Common, were found¹⁶⁴ in 1909 a little reddish jar and three phials of glass. Monson Street, too, yielded a bronze chain¹⁶⁵ and at least six¹⁶⁶ inhumation burials, each accompanied by a small Roman earthenware vase, of which one, a little black beaker, is in the Museum. But there were also many cremations. In November, 1855, an interesting pinkish mica-dusted urn,¹⁶⁷ embellished with seven rows of knobs and of local manufacture by the potter CAMARO in the Boultham kilns, had been discovered; while in 1856 a complete Samian bowl,¹⁶⁸ of Dragendorff's shape 29, was found: it is recognizably akin to vessels by Passienus, and belongs to about A.D. 70. Three years later, in 1858, further building¹⁶⁹ in the same street was to yield two urns containing ashes, a flagon and four glass phials, not to mention 'foundations of some building'. It is evident that modern developments were disturbing a large cemetery. In the same area, at Gowts Bridge, 1,135 yards south of the Stonebow, two skeletons, two cremation burials¹⁷⁰ in jars, and various complete vessels from grave-groups¹⁷¹

¹⁵⁶ Stukeley, *Itin. Cur.*, ed. 1, 85, ed. 2, 91; Horsley, *Brit. Rom.*, 319.

¹⁵⁷ Museum nos. 9272-4, 06.

¹⁵⁸ Museum no. 439, 13.

¹⁵⁹ *C.I.L.*, vii, 191. The stone is surmounted by a steep pediment set between two terminals like antefixes in profile, a very common design in Roman Lincoln. The text, contained within a moulded border, runs *Dis Manibus nomini Sacri, Brusci fili civis Senoni, et Carssounae coniugis eius et Quinti f(ili)* . . . The erection of a stone for the *nomen* of the deceased is unusual; see A. Brelich, *Dissertationes Pan-nonicae*, ser. I, fasc. 7 (1937), 71.

¹⁶⁰ See p. 163 below.

¹⁶¹ *Reliquiae Galesanae*, 70, pl. iii, fig. 13.

¹⁶² *Lines. Notes & Queries*, xi, 225-6: the mirror is Museum no. 36, 11.

¹⁶³ *Arch. Journ.*, xxiii, 304, Museum nos. 56-7, 30: *Handbook to the York Museum*, 104, m and n.

¹⁶⁴ Museum nos. 1011-14, 10.

¹⁶⁵ Museum no. 75-30.

¹⁶⁶ *Arch. Journ.*, xvii, 16: the vessel is Museum no. 9278, 06.

¹⁶⁷ *Arch. Journ.*, xiii, 173.

¹⁶⁸ *Arch. Journ.*, xvii, 21, fig. 14. I owe identification and dating to Mr. Eric Birley.

¹⁶⁹ *Arch. Journ.*, xvi, 208.

¹⁷⁰ *Lincoln, Rulland and Stamford Mercury*, September 16th, 1836.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*

had been found while digging foundations in September, 1836. In 1887, a pink two-handled jar¹⁷² came from a trench for vestry foundations at St. Peter-at-Gowts. Again, at the George and Dragon Inn, on the south corner of Foster Street and High Street, 1,000 yards south of the Stonebow, Castor ware and a cremation burial were observed¹⁷³ by O'Neill before 1893.

The Eastern Cemetery has yielded fewer inscriptions and none of these *in situ*. But the inscription¹⁷⁴ of Valerius Victorinus, built into a medieval wall at the north-east corner of the back garden of Greestone House, now part of the Lincoln Girls' High School, is likely to have come from this area. An inscription¹⁷⁵ from the Cathedral area, of fragmentary text and unknown provenance, is less certainly to be included. Eastgate, however, has long been famous for Roman burials, which are certainly the source of many scattered finds no more specifically recorded than as from the parish of St. Peter's, Eastgate. Three areas can be identified. The first area, to north of Greetwellgate, lay immediately outside the East Gate, in the grounds of no. 18 Eastgate. These grounds evidently covered a large cemetery, in which were many burials, two fine vessels for ashes¹⁷⁶ being figured by Trollope, and seven¹⁷⁷ more, together with two *tazze* and a Castor hunt cup, being on view in the Museum. But the quantities of small objects also recorded,¹⁷⁸ comprising 'enamelled *fibulae*, buckles, hair-pins, *armillae*, rings, bells, styli, etc.', and coins¹⁷⁹ ranging from Tiberius to Magnentius, indicate the presence of inhumations as well; as is borne out by the discovery of a tile-built tomb¹⁸⁰ containing a female skeleton with bronze bracelets. The second area is that of eighteenth-century quarry pits half a mile due eastwards, north of the present County Hospital on the Greetwell Road. The westernmost finds,¹⁸¹ made between 1790 and 1795, comprised two stone cists, one containing a globular glass urn with burnt bones and ashes, the other empty; and they were soon followed by a large square glass bottle or decanter used to contain bones, and five other urns with ashes. These are manifestly cremation burials, but inhumations are also recorded at the same period about 100 yards nearer the east gate. Two of these lay on the floor of a room 20 feet by 16, on either side of a 'large stone trough capable of holding a man, not deep enough for a coffin but raised at the edge like a sink'. This was hardly, as the finders thought, an embalmer's table or the like; the shape suggests a base for an elaborate catafalque or sarcophagus, built in sections, while the adjacent skeletons may be conceived to have lain in wooden coffins which had perished. Further inhumation and cremation burials were found in quarry pits immediately east of the first, in 1795. There were two inhumations, at a depth of 5½ feet, both lying east and west. The first, apparently male, had at its right arm a vase containing bones, at its left a glass jar with a spoon; also two small pots at head and feet. The character of these wares suggests the second century, and their function was evidently to hold food and drink for the dead. The second skeleton was thought to be female, and was accompanied by a flagon standing in an urn and a glass jar

¹⁷² Museum no. 390, o8.

¹⁷³ *Assoc. Arch. Soc. Rep.*, xxii, 67-8.

¹⁷⁴ *E.E.*, ix, 112.

¹⁷⁵ *E.E.*, ix, 1113, an epitaph to a female, in verse: another versified epitaph was found on a rockery at no. 29 Jellicoe Avenue, in August, 1932, see *J.R.S.*, xxiii, 215.

¹⁷⁶ *Arch. Journ.*, xvii, 12, figs. 7, 8: cf. *Arch. Journ.*, xiii, 100.

¹⁷⁷ Museum nos. 22-3, 35 (*tazze*), 9280, o6 (Hunt cup).

¹⁷⁸ *Arch. Journ.*, xvii, 12.

¹⁷⁹ Loc. cit.

¹⁸⁰ *Arch. Inst. Rep.*, 1848, p. xxx.

¹⁸¹ *Archaeologia*, x, 345ff.

at the feet. The cremation burials seem to have lain at a higher level. One overlay the head of the second inhumation, and comprised an urn full of ashes, bones and nails. The other was a large pot filled with ashes contained inside the body of a great *dolium*. Finally, a third cist, composed of four upright slabs of stone and a cover-slab, was found further west. Two rather similar cists¹⁸² had been discovered hereabouts in May, 1731. The first formed a tomb¹⁸³ some 9 feet by 3 feet in size, which contained a skull and thigh bones, and many 6-inch nails from a massive but perished wooden coffin. There was also 'an urn of fine red clay' with 'a sort of scroll running round it', placed on the right side of the body, towards the head. The second, described as similar and parallel, was found the next day. In 1736 an urn¹⁸⁴ containing ashes yielded a *dupondius* of Hadrian. In 1739 yet another stone coffin¹⁸⁵ was found, containing a flagon and several vases filled with bones, presumably food for the dead. These tombs are also repetitively described¹⁸⁶ in Gough's *Camden*. Hereabouts, 'in Greetwell Fields' was later found¹⁸⁷ the plain sarcophagus now in the Museum, which is said to have contained remains of two children. Even as far east as Monks Manor Estate, numerous jars¹⁸⁸ have been unearthed. The third area came to light when ground for the cemetery of St. Peter-in-Eastgate and St. Margaret was being levelled: 'skeletons accompanied by nails of large size and traces of decayed wood' were observed and recorded¹⁸⁹ by Trollope. The position is about 100 yards north-east of the church of St. Peter-in-Eastgate and north of the parish hall. Well-preserved brooches and a small padlock, as of a trinket box, from this area are also most easily explained¹⁹⁰ as derived from burials. Further north still, a 'screw-neck' flagon and a jar with stabbed pattern came¹⁹¹ respectively from nos. 45 and 101 Wragby Road; a rustic jar¹⁹² from the junction of Wragby Road and Lee Road in May, 1932, a late flagon¹⁹³ from Massey Road in 1893 and a cremation in a two-handled jar¹⁹⁴, with a little dish as its lid, from Stonefield, north of Church Lane.

Further down the hill, a quite distinct second cemetery appears to have lain outside Clasketgate, to north of Monks Road. When new houses were being built in Lindum Road, between the Usher Art Gallery and Greestone Stairs, numerous cremation burials were found.¹⁹⁵ Many more, now in the City and County Museum,¹⁹⁶ come from the north side of the Monks Road, where, on the site of the School of Art and the adjacent Baptist Chapel, many inhumation burials,¹⁹⁷ including four coffins, were also recorded. It may have been an elaborate tomb in this cemetery area that yielded the remarkable figure¹⁹⁸ with turreted crown and *cornucopia*, found at the School of Art in 1885. But the area also had other uses.

¹⁸² Cf. *Reliquiae Galeanae*, 165; Sympson, *Adversaria*, 274, gives a long first-hand account and dates the discovery to May 14th, 1731.

¹⁸³ *Arch. Journ.*, xvii, 9-10; cf. *Surtees Soc.*, 76, 268, letter from Pownall to Gale, and Sympson, *Adversaria*, 274.

¹⁸⁴ Sympson, *Adversaria*, 273; from the description the coin can be identified as probably Mattingly, *B.M.C.*, iii, p. 1491.

¹⁸⁵ *Reliquiae Galeanae*, 184, pl. iv.

¹⁸⁶ ii, 375.

¹⁸⁷ *Lincs. Chronicle*, December, 1907.

¹⁸⁸ Museum nos. 667-70, 701, 13.

¹⁸⁹ *Arch. Journ.*, xvii, 3. Sympson,

Adversaria, 274, notes 'prodigious strong coffins as may be judged from the great iron cramps and nails, six, seven, eight and nine inches long'.

¹⁹⁰ *Arch. Journ.*, xvi, 209; xix, 278; xxiii, 304.

¹⁹¹ Museum nos. 56, 36 and 11, 35.

¹⁹² Museum no. 40, 32.

¹⁹³ Museum no. 356, 27.

¹⁹⁴ Museum no. 36-37, 07.

¹⁹⁵ *Lincs. Gazette*, October 15th, 1859.

¹⁹⁶ Museum nos. 223-8, 07; 275, 12.

¹⁹⁷ *Assoc. Arch. Soc. Rep.*, xxii, 66.

¹⁹⁸ *Arch. Journ.*, xlii, 261.

The kiln of the potter Vitalis, who manufactured *mortaria* of Antonine date, was discovered on the site of the Technical College, while the moulds for locally-cast coins were found under the Old Gaol, now the City Sessions. We are reminded of another¹⁹⁹ and more notorious 'potter's field' which became a cemetery, or of the mould for Samian ware and the wasters from a jet manufactory which came from the area later used as a cemetery²⁰⁰ on the New Station site at York.

The North Cemetery lay outside Newport Arch, lining Ermine Street. No inscriptions specifically associated with burials have been noted, but a small carved stone walled into the east end of the south wall of the cottage on the east side of Newport Arch may be considered as almost certainly thence derived. It is a gable-topped, 11½ inches high by 15 inches wide, and below the gable is a sunk die, with moulded and ansate border, framing a double *phallus* in high relief (pl. VII, b). Single or multiple *phalli* of this kind are frequent²⁰¹ in the Roman world, and particularly among the military, as charms intended to bring good luck and to ward off the evil eye. The stone is thus representative of a thoroughly Roman circle of ideas. Next to it are walled up three small moulded fragments, two of borders and one of a bolster, of about the same scale, but not necessarily from the same monument. Equally Roman is the structure found in 1877 to north of Newport Arch, in the middle of the modern road which lies to west of the direct northward line of Ermine Street. This is recorded²⁰² as 'a narrow straight trench, bordered by rows of *loculi* or pigeon-holes, each of which contained a stone coffin. The *loculi* were constructed of flags or slab stones, some of which were placed upright to form partitions, and others were laid in positions to form roofs and floors'. No note was taken of the contents of the *loculi*, and it is therefore uncertain whether they contained cremation or inhumation burials, though the application of coffin to the description of the *loculi* rather implies the latter. But the style of tomb exactly reproduces the large and tightly-packed household or collegiate tomb-chambers²⁰³ in Rome, in which such partitions as are here described flank narrow corridors in tiers and normally contain ashes. It is hardly to be doubted that chance has here revealed a similar structure outside the *colonia*, of which there is also evidence in the inscription of Antistius Frontinus, described below (p. 56).

There is, however, no doubt as to the existence of inhumations in this area. In Rasen Lane, which lies some 150 yards north of Newport Arch, on the west side of Ermine Street, a skeleton was discovered²⁰⁴ about 1855 with eight bronze bracelets, of which four are figured²⁰⁵ by Trollope and closely match examples from the fourth-century cemetery on the site of the New Station in York. Fifty dark-blue glass beads were found at the same time and bone objects, with bronze tips and fastenings, which were thought to be bracelets. This is a clear case of an inhumation of late-Roman date, and the find-spot lay on the north side of Rasen Lane, about 150 yards west of Ermine Street. Rasen Lane, however, also yielded a cremation urn²⁰⁶

¹⁹⁹ Gospel of St. Matthew, xxvii, 7.

²⁰⁰ Handbook to the Antiquities . . . of the York Philosophical Society (1891), 118 (Samian mould), 127 (unworked jet).

²⁰¹ For the special connexion with graves, see Pauly-Wissowa, R.E., xix, 2, 1728-1733; for double *phalli*, see Abramič, Poetovio (1925), 158, Abb. 112, or Siebourg, Bonner Jahrbucher,

cxxxv, 92ff. In the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, there is a stone with two such double *phalli* from the legionary workshops at Holt.

²⁰² Assoc. Arch. Soc. Rep., xxii, 57.

²⁰³ Lanciani, Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome, 334-335.

²⁰⁴ Arch. Journ., xiii, 85.

²⁰⁵ Op. cit., xvii, 3, fig. 2.

²⁰⁶ Museum no. 270, 12.

in 1895; and a cream-coloured early jar, flagon, and bead-rimmed jar, of Belgic tradition, from the Newport Drill Hall²⁰⁷ also seem indicative of cremation groups, as does a bell-mouthed flagon²⁰⁸ found 50 yards southwards on the west side of the road.

The 'many small fragments of Roman glass' brought to light by sewerage operations on the edge of Ermine Street, in 1855 and recorded²⁰⁹ in these terms by Trollope, are no doubt associated with burials, but their date and character is uncertain. Two notable glass bottles, one square and the other long and tapering (now in the Museum), are believed²¹⁰ to have come from hereabouts. On the other hand, a two-gallon glass vessel, once in the collection of Dr. Primrose, which is associated²¹¹ with the locality by Trollope, is assigned by Sympson²¹² to the Eastgate area.

Traces of burials to west of the town are much slighter. The inscription of Julius Galenus, from the west end of the town, was found in ground²¹³ belonging to a Mr. Cooper 'about a furlong distant outside the wall'. It is an interesting tablet, 2 feet high by 2½ feet long, which must have come from a built tomb. Newland County Office, in the same area, yielded in 1934 an indented beaker,²¹⁴ with scale pattern on the shoulder; and a two-handled jar²¹⁵ with ashes also came from Newland in 1904. The Institute Report of 1848 mentions²¹⁶ 'a small urn of fictile ware' from near the Lawn Asylum, outside the south-west angle of the original *colonia*; to which may be added two late painted jars²¹⁷ from the same Asylum now in the Museum. A cremation burial group,²¹⁸ found in 1884 on the north side of West Parade, while levelling a mound²¹⁹ for building, comprises a grey bead-rimmed rouletted jar, a carinated bowl, with ashes, and two screw-necked flagons, and belongs to the late first century. So also do three screw-necked flagons²²⁰ from Orchard Street.

Finally, some tombstones must be mentioned which cannot be connected with any locality. Those used as building-stones in the town wall have already been described. In addition, there is the tombstone²²¹ of Flavius Helius, the Greek husband of Flavia Ingenua, which was found 4 feet deep and 10 feet behind the north wall of the *colonia*, west of Newport Arch; and the tombstone²²² of a septuagenarian ex-decurion of the second *ala* of Asturians, found in 1882 in Newland. The provenance of the upper part of a female figure in a niche occupying the surviving portion of a gabled tombstone, is quite uncertain; but the figure, though now much worn, is of some interest, as Roach Smith observed,²²³ for its representation of a jet necklace, formed of large long beads arranged in vertical and horizontal rows. Perhaps more interesting and indubitably more attractive, however, is the boy with Polyclitan hair, who stands in a niche flanked by columns on a gabled tombstone and cuddles a pet hare. This stone²²⁴ was found at St. Swithin's, behind

²⁰⁷ Museum nos. 20-1, 38.

²⁰⁸ Museum no. 19, 38.

²⁰⁹ *Arch. Journ.*, xvii, 3.

²¹⁰ *Loc. cit.*, fig. 1.

²¹¹ *Arch. Journ.*, xvii, 2-3, fig. 1.

²¹² *Adversaria*, 274. 'The late Dr. Primros had an entire glass urn dug up here many years ago; it held about two gallons as I have been informed.'

²¹³ *C.I.L.*, vii, 182; *Arch. Journ.*, xvii, 19; Ross, *Ann. Linc.*, i, 66.

²¹⁴ Museum no. 91, 35.

²¹⁵ Museum no. 677, 09.

²¹⁶ *Arch. Inst. Rep.*, p. xxx.

²¹⁷ Museum nos. 520, 23.

²¹⁸ Museum nos. 271-4, 12.

²¹⁹ *Leader*, September 14th, 1912.

²²⁰ Museum nos. 662-4, 06.

²²¹ *C.I.L.*, vii, 190; find-spot, Gough's (1806) Camden, ii, 392.

²²² *E.E.*, vii, 917; *Arch. Journ.*, xl, 139. The true find-spot, just outside the S.W. angle of the extended *colonia*, is given by Venables, *ibid.* 106.

²²³ *Collectanea Antiqua*, v, pl. xv.

²²⁴ *Arch. Journ.*, xxviii, 244.

the town wall, with some fragments of mouldings, in 1871 (see below, p. 55, with pl. ix, a).

Notable relics.

Apart from the normal series of finds associated with a Romano-British urban site, Lincoln has from time to time yielded some exceptionally notable relics, which, while unconnected with any particular site or institution, nevertheless supplement in valuable fashion our knowledge of the cultural attainment of the *colonia*.

Rare indeed in Britain is the bronze fore-leg²²⁵ of a life-size horse. Its find-spot is unknown, but it was described to the Society of Antiquaries of London as coming from Lincoln when presented to that body by Sir Joseph Banks in 1800, and has recently been studied in the *Antiquaries Journal*. There are good reasons for thinking that the horse belonged to an equestrian statue and that it embellished a great public building ultimately burnt over its head: but the status of the rider, whether Emperor or local official, is unknown.

The second notable piece²²⁶ is of stone, a small figure of a boy carved in relief, now in possession of Mrs. G. R. C. Harding (pl. vii, a). The find-spot is, however, unknown. The boy is engaged in driving a chariot in a race, and the scene is almost certainly one of the games organized by the *iuventus* of the *colonia*. As evidence for the activities and organization of the aristocracy of the town the piece is therefore of prime importance. It is, however, carved in the local Lincolnshire oolite, and is therefore a local production, standing high in artistic merit, quite apart from its significance in relation to social organization. Few Romano-British towns have yielded a more excellent piece of local sculpture.

Another notable piece in stone is a figure²²⁷ found below the School of Art in February, 1885, lying at random 'in made soil'. This (pl. viii, b) is a boldly sculptured draped figure of half life size, attached, in the manner of a Caryatid, to a pilaster itself enriched at the sides (pl. viii, a, c) with crisp but overgrown acanthus foliage and capped with a belt of leaves. The figure wears a turreted crown, which protruded beyond the cap and has been heavily abraded. The face also has suffered so severely that hardly any of the original features are left, but the treatment of the hair in rich braided tresses shows that the figure is female. The body is draped in a heavy dress, with a cloak draped over the right shoulder back and left shoulder and round the waist like a girdle, with the end looped over the front. The left hand carries a *cornucopia*, of which the top is broken away, and the right a much weathered object like a *patera* or bunch of produce. The weight of the figure is on the left foot, and the shape of the legs from the knee downwards is sensitively rendered through the heavy drapery. The feet are missing. The identity of the personification is not clear. The *cornucopia* is suggestive of Abundantia, goddess of plenty: but this goddess does not normally wear a turreted crown, which is the attribute²²⁸ of personifications of cities or administrative entities. Perhaps the Tutela of the city itself is intended, such as would not be out of place as the flanking figure for a scene of commercial activity on a rich man's

²²⁵ *Antiq. Journ.*, xxiv, 5-7, pl. III.

²²⁶ *Roman Lincoln 1945-6 (Report of the Lincoln Archaeological Research Committee, 1946)*, 19, pl. vii.

²²⁷ *Arch. Journ.*, xlii, 261; Drury MS., *Remains of Roman Occupancy*, 4 v., adds the detail as to made soil, showing that the figure was not *in situ*.

²²⁸ *J.R.S.*, xxxv, 27, note 106.

tomb. Once again, the piece is of local stone and is quite out of the ordinary run of Romano-British sculptures.

Yet another stone, sadly mutilated and weathered, is the upper part of a free-standing monument, comprising a four-sided base with figures in niches, of which only three are now preserved and these not well (pl. IX, *c*, *d*, *e*). The piece²²⁹ was found in Newland, near the Stonebow, and may have been re-used in the town wall. The figure on what was once either the front or back (*d*) is a half-naked laureate youth, draped from the thighs downwards, who carries in his left hand a *cornucopia* and in his right a bulky but compact object, weathered beyond recognition. The sides of this niche are carved with a bold pattern of curly leaves and blossom, checked by a margin at the top of the stone. The sinister side is occupied by a rather similar female figure (*c*), draped in much the same way, but apparently not wreathed: she may, however, have been carrying a *cornucopia*, to judge from the broken and weathered shapes. The niche in which she stands is bordered by a bold cable moulding. The figure on the dexter side (*e*) is still worse damaged, but it is recognizable as female by the strands of hair which fall over both shoulders. It looks, then, as if the original stone had been decorated with male figures at back or front and female figures at the side. One at least of the male figures is a sort of *genius*, perhaps Bonus Eventus, while one of the female figures, bearing a *cornucopia*, may well have been Fortune. But the identity of the others is hardly to be divined from the surviving remains. If the figures were not so damaged, there is no doubt that the piece, once again of local stone, would rank as notable, and even now the bold surety of the modelling commands respect.

A fifth notable piece is also sculpture, carved in local oolite. When St. Swithin's new church was being built in 1871, on the site of the Sheepmarket and the Roman town wall, a gable-topped tombstone²³⁰ with niche was found, containing a young man (pl. IX, *a*). The youth is clean-shaven, with crisp curling hair, and is clothed in a tunic and mantle. Clasped to his bosom is a pet hare. The niche is flanked by columns decorated in scale pattern. Not only is the execution of this piece better than the normal Romano-British carving, but the treatment of the hair is strongly reminiscent of a bronze head in Polyclitan style. Such a connexion is not impossible, even in Britain: for there is no doubt that bronzes²³¹ of Greek inspiration reached the province, an excellent example being the Eros from Cirencester. Although the piece was found close behind the town wall, it was not built into it, but lay behind it, in association with some fragments of moulding. Coins of Constantius II were also found, but it is not clear that these were in association with the monument, which is perhaps more readily explained as evidence for a demolished cemetery.

Three inscriptions also deserve special note. The first is an altar²³² to the *Parcae*, discovered face downwards at a depth of 13 feet while building the tower of St. Swithin's in 1884. Dedications to the *Parcae*, or Fates, are relatively rare²³³ in the Roman world, but the connexion of these grim sisters with life and death

²²⁹ *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, December 22nd, 1843.

²³⁰ *Arch. Journ.*, xxviii, 243.

²³¹ *Archaeologia*, lxi, 202 and pl. XII: cf.

R.C.H.M., London, vol. iii, *Roman London*, pls. 66, 68.

²³² *E.E.*, vii, 916; find-spot, *Arch. Journ.*, xli, 313.

²³³ Cf. Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*, 3765-3769, 4414, 5213, 6068, 7759.

is well known, and the common Roman belief in their powers is exemplified in the *Apocolocyntosis*.²³⁴ In the Lincoln dedication they are coupled with the *numina Augustorum*, and the dedicator is a Roman citizen, C. Antistius Frontinus, who describes himself as *curator ter*. Both the office of *curator* and its repetition are a regular feature²³⁵ of *collegia*, or guilds, in which the *curator* acted as treasurer or comptroller of guild funds. The altar is thus a useful testimony to the existence of a guild; and it may further be observed that a guild, of which a *curator*, in his official capacity, makes a dedication to the *Parcae* whose arbitrament determined the length of a man's days and the hour of his death, can only have been a funeral guild. The altar will thus have belonged to the official premises of a burial-club, the type of organization which would erect a large communal tomb or institute a common burial-ground and keep the memory of its members green by regular commemorations. That the stone had always been indoors until it came to be buried seems to follow from the excellent state of its lettering: and it may well be that the erection of the defences cost the collegiate premises their existence.

The second and third inscriptions are milestones. The first²³⁶ of these was found in 1879, at the south-west corner of the junction of the main north and west streets of the first *colonia*. It is a flattened cylinder of stone over 7 feet high and bears in rough pecked lettering, clumsily placed on the stone, an inscription of Victorinus, of A.D. 268-70, and a figure of fourteen miles *A L(indo) S(egelocum)*, the distance along the main north-west post-road to the Trent crossing at Littleborough (*Segelocum*). The ill-favoured lettering and crude finish of the stone are somewhat surprising in view of its position, at the principal cross-roads of the old town, and do not speak well for standards at the time when it was erected. The second milestone, of which the inscribed fragment²³⁷ is only the upper portion, is of Valerianus. It was found in High Street, not far from Sibthorp Street, during the last half of the nineteenth century and seems to have marked the first mile on the south-west post-road to Leicester.

²³⁴ *Apocolocyntosis*, 3-4.

²³⁵ Dessau, *op. cit.*, 3440, 3805, 5246, 6163, 7351, 7888a, 7893.

²³⁶ *E.E.*, vii, 1097.

²³⁷ *E.E.*, ix, 1251: the history of the stone

and circumstances of discovery are worked out by A. Smith, *Catalogue of Roman Inscribed Stones found in the City of Lincoln* (1929), 3-4. The lettering is of considerably higher standard than that of the stone of Victorinus.

5. THE FOUR COLONIAE OF ROMAN BRITAIN

By I. A. RICHMOND

The four Roman *coloniae* in Britain, at Colchester, Lincoln, Gloucester and York, have all been the subject of detailed individual studies,¹ though the quality of the studies varies. But no collective treatment of the group exists, and it is worth undertaking for the following reason. [During the first century B.C., the *colonia*² had been the regular form of settlement for discharged legionaries. Then a system of discharge gratuities³ took the place of land-grants as the normal recompense, leaving the foundation of *coloniae* as an exceptional measure, at the disposal of the Imperial government. The *coloniae* could now be used as an instrument of Imperial policy, to foster loyalty or to reinforce and propagate Roman culture. The establishment and manipulation of *coloniae* takes its place among the *arcana imperii*, acts of high policy whose effects were everywhere but whose motives were secret and outside discussion. In short, these chartered towns form the specific contribution to the civilization or organization of provinces by the Roman government. Otherwise, the initiative in acquiring Roman culture was expected to come from within the province itself, from native communities or from unofficial Roman groups. Thus, the chartered towns are worth collective attention and comparison as the focal centres of Romanization. The circumstances of their foundation are not the same and their subsequent development is markedly different. These differences are in themselves a sort of yard-stick by which to measure the success or failure of Romanization in the province.

I. COLCHESTER—COLONIA VICTRICENSIS (fig. 8)

By a fortunate chance, the first of the four *coloniae*, Colchester, offers most details concerning its early history and foundation. It was planned⁴ in A.D. 49 and differed from the others in the sense that it was deliberately designed⁵ as the religious and cultural centre of the province. No one now doubts that the great substructure⁶ and associated foundations⁷ below the Castle keep represent the *podium* of the Temple of Claudius and an Altar in front of it, the very heart and

¹ Colchester, J.R.S., ix, 139-69; Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, Essex (North-east), pp. xxv-xxvii, 20-32. A full plan of Colchester is given in both those sources, on which fig. 8 here is based.

Lincoln, for bibliography and details see article preceding in this volume.

Gloucester, L. E. W. O. Fullbrook-Leggatt, *Trans. Bristol & Glos. Archaeological Soc.*, lv (1933), 55-104; published, abridged and adapted as *Roman Gloucester* (Gloucester, 1946).

York, C. Wellbeloved, *Eboracum, or York under the Romans* (1842); G. Benson, *York, from its origin until the end of the eleventh century* (1911); Gordon Home, *Roman York, the legionary headquarters and colonia of Eboracum* (1924).

² Cf. T. Frank, *Economic History of Rome*, 292-3.

³ Dio, iv, 23, 1: the sum as fixed by Augustus was 12,000 sesterces.

⁴ Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 32, where the event is placed in the governorship of Ostorius, immediately before the war against the Silures and Caratacus: perhaps more correctly, then, in the winter 48-49.

⁵ Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 32, describes the objective in general terms as *imbuendis sociis ad officia legum*: what these legally defined duties were is clear from *Annals*, xiv, 31, which describes how *delectique sacerdotes, specie religionis, omnes fortunas effundebant*.

⁶ J.R.S., ix, 146-8. The best published plan of the substructure is in R.C.H.M. Essex (North-east), 24, where the shuttering slots are clearly marked.

⁷ For associated foundations see J.R.S., xxiv, 211.

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focus of the new plan. The function of the Temple, and of the Roman chartered community in which it was set, was to imbue the *élite* of the native aristocracy with the Roman conception of duty to gods and state and with the laws and culture to which these ideas were indissolubly attached. So much is expressly stated⁸ by Tacitus. But of the extremist nature of the cult as established there is more to say. It evidently included the worship of the living Claudius, a development the more remarkable in an official cult-centre now that we know, in the Emperor's own words, his attitude towards the offer of such honours by the Alexandrians. 'I deprecate', wrote⁹ Claudius categorically, 'my high priest and temple establishments, not wishing to be embarrassing to mortals like myself and judging that worship and the like are defined for all time as reserved for the gods alone.' But it must also be recalled that this forthright and honourable declaration did not deflect the provincial prefect¹⁰ who published the very document from referring, in common with prose writers, poets and courtiers, to Claudius as 'our God Caesar'. Worship was in fact the result not of personal desire but general consent: and it may well therefore be supposed that in Britain Roman zeal and native inexperience combined to overstep the mark in a fashion recognizable and perhaps even regretted as extreme, but at the same time impolitic to revoke. Alternatively, Claudius may have believed that he was conforming to native custom, a principle which he accepts¹¹ as a ground for acquiescing in certain Alexandrian proposals. Only circumstances such as these will adequately explain an arrangement now known to be so emphatically opposed to the Emperor's personal feelings and to the Julio-Claudian tradition in the matter of Emperor-worship. Time, of course, set the anomaly right: it is implicit in the jeers of Neronian circles¹² that the cult was not applied to the living Emperor by name after the apotheosis of Claudius. Nero would have the opportunity to correct the tendency, without compromising or denigrating in the province the cult of *Divus Claudius*.

The contrast in treatment of the cult is reflected clearly enough in the architectural remains. In Lugdunum, the *Ara Galliarum* lay¹³ quite outside and detached from the *colonia*, at Condate, in the tongue of land between Rhône and Saône. It was a broad and stately altar, flanked by statues of victory on pedestals and loaded with votive gifts or ritual equipment, its form¹⁴ being broadcast throughout the West by means of the bronze coinage of the Lugdunum mint. Actual fragments¹⁵ of its inscribed marble front, dedicated to Rome and Augustus and decorated with oak swags, still exist at Lyons. Colchester has produced¹⁶ the base of a similar monumental altar, and of twin statues flanking it. The resemblance to the Gallic scheme is so far striking. But in the British centre a totally different setting was provided by the Temple of Claudius, an immense octastyle building,¹⁷ if its intercolumniation

⁸ See note 5 above.

⁹ M. P. Charlesworth, *Documents illustrating the reigns of Claudius and Nero*, no. 2, p. 4.

¹⁰ Ibid., no. 1, p. 3: for other writers see Charlesworth, *Class. Rev.*, xxix, 114-15.

¹¹ Ibid., no. 2, p. 4: ἀλλοτρίαν τε κατὰ νόμον παρέιναι τῆς Αἰγύπτου.

¹² *Apocolocyntosis*, 8: 'deus fieri vult: parum est quod templum in Britannia habet, quod hunc barbari colunt et ut deum orant μωροὶ ἐδιδάκτον τυχεῖν.'

¹³ A. Grenier, in Dechelette, *Manuel d'Archéologie*, v, 329ff., with plan on p. 330.

¹⁴ Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* (1923), i, p. cxvii-cxviii, pls. 20, no. 20; 21, nos. 1, 2, 4, 5.

¹⁵ Esperandieu, *Recueil des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine*, iii, 1758, illustrating parts of an oak-swig and the first letters of the dedication *Rof[mae] et Augusto*.

¹⁶ *J.R.S.*, xxiv, 211.

¹⁷ The size is 105 feet long and 80 feet wide, thus allowing for eight columns with about 11-foot intercolumniations.

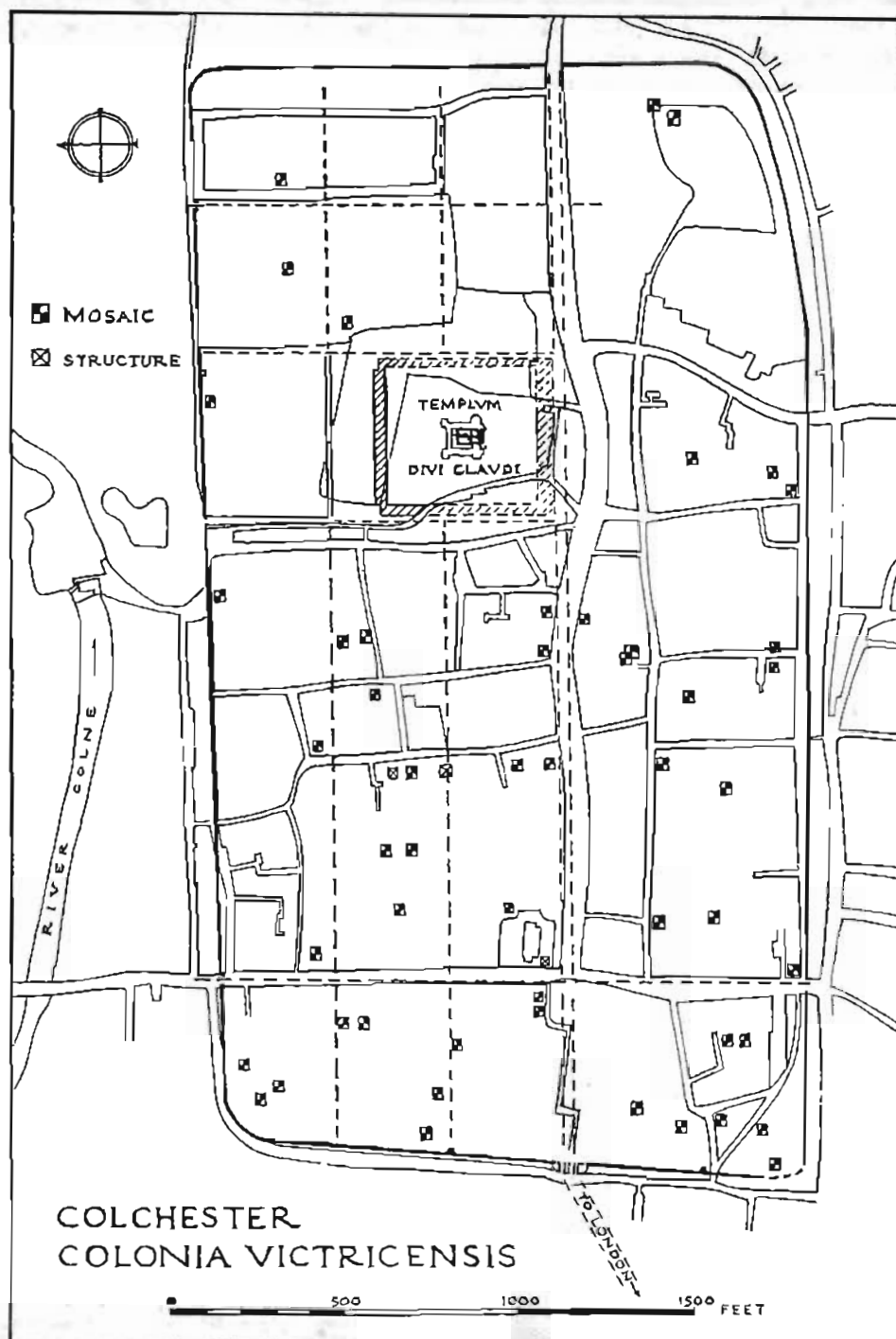


FIG. 8. ROMAN COLCHESTER

was normal, looming immediately behind them. In short, at Camulodunum there are two architectural schemes, the Altar and the Temple, united in the cult of a living Emperor. It is a fusion which accentuates the novelty of treatment and the ambitious nature of the cult, and a fusion rarely matched. The temple¹⁸ of Divus Julius and his commemorative altar in the Forum Romanum provide the readiest parallel.

PURPOSE
STRATEGIC
& CULTURAL

The scale and importance of the cult give the strongest support to the testimony of other sources. Tacitus, for dramatic effect, gives first place amongst reasons for the foundation of the *colonia* to its strategic purpose, as a reinforcement against revolt (*subsidiū adversus rebelles*). But he makes it abundantly clear that the actual founders gave all priority to its cultural function. This was not surprising: so many allied communities, the Icenī, Coritani, Catuvellauni, Dobunni and Dumnonii, stood in immediate need of a pattern in Romanization and of a unifying cult. So the amenities came first, showy buildings¹⁹ like a local senate-house and theatre, apart from the temple. It is with edifices such as these, rather than with the cult-statue of the Temple of Claudius, that must be connected the well-known head of Claudius²⁰ from the river Alde. This head, of which the front view is almost grotesque and the side view so correct and so obviously inspired by the coinage, is no bigger than life size. The cult statue, in a temple of the Colchester scale, must have been vastly bigger, if not colossal, and, to judge from analogies, would more probably be rendered²¹ in heroic style. The bronze statue to which this head belonged falls into its place as a significant furnishing of a smaller scale, intended to recall the Emperor's person rather than his divinity or majesty: and this would suit a Senate House or theatre. Comparison may be made, though probably not for attitude, with the standing Tiberius²² from the Theatre at Vaison.

In the expansive mood attendant upon the new foundation, much depended upon tact. The ex-legionaries turned emissaries of culture were not the best exponents of that virtue, which was, generally speaking, by no means in the forefront of Roman qualifications. But it is clear that they could at least, with a pawky humour, laugh at themselves. A remarkable group of pipe-clay figurines,²³ the counterpart in Roman art of Horace or Petronius in literature, give a caricaturist's version of the hard-faced, flap-eared Italian types engaged in the banquets and recitals that were the hall-mark²⁴ of Roman cultivated society. No one will miss the resemblance between these tough old veterans and Marcus Favonius Facilis, the centurion of the Twentieth Legion, whose tombstone²⁵ is an ornament of Colchester Museum, and whose image attests the reality of the type. The change seems startling and even comic, but such a metamorphosis must nevertheless not surprise us. Ex-centurions, who were the leading men of the *colonia*, could well approve of literature for their families. With such stock may well be

¹⁸ For a convenient reconstruction, see Hulsen, *The Roman Forum* (1906), 149, fig. 79.

¹⁹ Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv, 32 mentions *fremitus in curia eorum auditos*, and observes *consonuisse ululatus theatrum*: Dio Cassius, lxii, i, mentions the same buildings, with slightly more circumstantial accounts of the omens.

²⁰ *J.R.S.*, xvi, 3-7, pls. II-III.

²¹ This criticism was first made by Professor H. M. Last, *J.R.S.*, xvi, 6, note 2. Its power is reinforced by a consideration of the Vatican

statues of Tiberius and Claudius (cf. Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraiture*, 176a, 180a).

²² Esperandieu, *Recueil des bas-reliefs de la Gaule romaine*, ix (1925), no. 6772.

²³ May, *Catalogue of Roman Pottery in the Colchester & Essex Museum*, 252, nos. 1129-32, 1133-36, pl. LXXV, 3b.

²⁴ Tacitus, *Agricola*, 21: 'conviviorum elegantiam'.

²⁵ For a convenient illustration, see *Legacy of Rome*, 423, fig. 54.

associated the sole *equus Romanus*²⁶ known in Britain, whose tombstone comes from Colchester.

Life in the capital might thus be fair, and even acceptable to wealthy British potentates. It was on the adjacent countryside that the Roman hand fell heaviest, in the *agros captivos*, as Tacitus calls²⁷ the terrain. It is worth recalling that the *agrimensores* specifically exempt one class of *agri captivi*²⁸ from systematic occupation, regulated by a plan demarcated once and for all and engraved upon a bronze tablet in perpetuity. They indicate that land from which enemies had been driven could be treated as territory wherein an authorized Roman might grab as much as he pleased and develop as much as he could grab. Giving the imperfect tense its full force, that very closely fits the treatment of the Trinovantes by the veterans as described²⁹ by Tacitus: 'they kept on driving men from their homes, calling them captives and slaves'. But if this was indeed the procedure followed it has another corollary: it means that in these *agri captivi* we shall look in vain³⁰ for systematic allotment, at this date, of cultivated lands on a grid-scheme, such as has sometimes been sought in the area. The veterans' allotments, of the first *colonia* at least, will have been distributed haphazard and without reference to schematized centuriation.

The *agri captivi* were no doubt the estates of the hostile sons of Cunobelinus and their supporters. What happened to the whole territory of the Trinovantes is not clear. But it is nowhere evident that it was assigned to the *colonia* as cantonal capital. It is possible, as Mr. C. E. Stevens³¹ has pointed out, that its administrative centre was Caesaromagus (Widford, at Chelmsford).

The early foundation, however, perished in fire and slaughter when Nemesis took a hand in affairs in A.D. 61. But official policy in relation to the *colonia*, if perhaps wavering³² for a moment, in fact continued unshaken and unrevised. In the town as rebuilt after the Boudiccan revolt, the Temple remained the dominant feature, an *arx aeternae dominationis*³³ as of old. Roman policy in fact remained unchanged—*sacra deosque dabo*—and the Temple continued to be the centre of the Imperial cult for the province. This was justified: for the majority of the allied communities had in fact remained loyal, even at the most critical moment. The size of the rebuilt town, 108 acres, is still large by the standards of chartered towns. By way of comparison it may be recalled that Augusta Praetoria (Aosta), which was about 100 acres in size, was planned³⁴ for three thousand ex-guardsmen and their

²⁶ E.E., ix, 1007. I owe this reference to Mr. Eric Birley.

²⁷ *Annals*, xii, 32: *colonia Camulodunum . . . deducitur in agros captivos*.

²⁸ Siculus Flaccus, *de condicionibus agrorum*, Lachmann, *Gromatici veteres* (1848), i, p. 138: 'occupatorii agri . . . quibus . . . victor populus occupando nomen dedit. Bellis enim gestis victores populi terras omnes ex quibus victos eiecerunt publicavere . . . Horum ergo agrorum nullum est aes, nulla forma, quae publicae fidei possessoribus testimonium reddat, quoniam non ex mensuris actis unus quisque miles modum accepit, sed quod aut excoluit aut in spem colendi occupavit.'

²⁹ Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv, 31: 'pellebant domibus, exturbabant agris, captivos, servos appellando.'

³⁰ Haverfield, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xxxiii, 289-96, has observed some facts suggestive of parallel roads, but hardly of centuriation.

³¹ *English Hist. Rev.*, lii, 198.

³² Suetonius, *Nero*, 18, records that Nero 'etiam ex Britannia deducere exercitum cogitavit, nec nisi verecundia, ne obtretere parentis gloriae, destitit.' The episode must surely belong to this moment.

³³ It will be recalled that *arx* is a second-hand correction in the manuscript of Tacitus for *ara*, and that the latter is equally possible and equally pointed as a reading, granting that the phrase is in any case a strained one.

³⁴ For the size and planning see Haverfield, *Ancient Town-planning*, 89-90.

families. But at Camulodunum so large a number as three thousand seems an excessive drain upon the legions or legion which supplied them, and it must be assumed that there were also *incolae*, or native members of the community, as at the slightly larger Turin³⁵ (Augusta Taurinorum; 127 acres), though here without the town's necessarily becoming the cantonal capital. If *incolae* are to be included, a population of three thousand *patres familiarum*, representing a total of not less than fifteen thousand souls, is easier to envisage. As for the original foundation, it is recorded³⁶ to have been strong: and here there were certainly *incolae*, for Tacitus indicates their presence by his reference³⁷ to those inhabitants who darkened counsel because they knew of the hidden intention to revolt (*occulti rebellionis conscii*). A population comparable with that implied by the area of the later foundation also stands as reasonable in the face of comparison with the total casualties³⁸ of the revolt, namely, seventy thousand Romans and friendly Britons. Once again, then, a constancy in Roman policy seems to emerge, and the assumption that the rebuilt *colonia* contained *incolae*, or non-Roman inhabitants, is justified by the description³⁹ of a second-century census-official as *censitor civium Romanorum coloniae Victricensis quae est in Britannia Camaloduni*; for this implies the existence of *peregrini* as well, subject to a different system of taxation and assessed by a different official. Architecturally, too, the presence of Britons and their cults in the immediate environs of the town is well attested by the early temples⁴⁰ of native style at Sheepen and Cheshunt Field, both large buildings of their kind, set in roomy park-like enclosures.

The strategic function of the *colonia*, however, was never again neglected after the first grim lesson. Impressive fortifications were soon provided. These comprise⁴¹ a massive wall, some 8½ feet thick, with rearward bank and internal interval towers closely related to the chess-board town-plan. All the known gates, except one, have single portals, set back from the line of the wall in recesses formed by convex curves and crowned by towers with triple arched windows. The exception is the famous Balcerne Gate, through which the first London road entered the colony. Since the discovery of the main gates at Verulamium, this cannot rank as the finest town gateway in Britain: but it will always be among the most interesting. For the notable feature, which characterizes all the gateways at Colchester, is the close connexion of the architectural form with military structures of the earthwork tradition. Only an earthwork form⁴² will explain the curved recesses at the minor gates, and it is the development of their plan, in projecting instead of recessed form, which produces the Balcerne Gate. There the awkward and tactically unwelcome re-entrant between quadruple projecting portals and the town-wall

³⁵ Ibid., 86-87; for *incolae*, see P. Barocelli, *Ricerche e studi sui monumenti romani della Val d'Aosta* (Ivrea, 1934), 80, citing an inscription of 23 B.C. mentioning *Salassi incol(ae) qui initio se in colon(iam) con[tulerant]*.

³⁶ Tacitus, *Annals*, xii, 32, 'valida veteranorum manu.'

³⁷ Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv, 32: 'impedientibus qui occulti rebellionis conscii consilia turbabant.'

³⁸ Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv, 33: 'ad septuaginta milia civium et sociorum iis quae memoravi locis cecidisse constitit': i.e. at Colchester, London and St. Albans.

³⁹ C.I.L., xiv, 3955 = I.L.S., 2740.

⁴⁰ Sheepen, *J.R.S.*, xxvi, 252, pl. xx; Cheshunt, op. cit., xxvii, 240.

⁴¹ R.C.H.M., *Essex (North-east)*, 20; for internal towers, see *J.R.S.*, ix, 154; xxix, 215; xxx, 173.

⁴² As at Haltwhistle Burn, *Archaeologia Aeliana*, ser. 3, v, 236, and Elslack, *Y.A.J.*, xxi, 122, pl. v, 124, pl. vi. In town gateways the Silchester West gate belongs to the same tradition (Ward, *Romano-British Buildings and Earthworks*, 69, fig. 22); and the stone fort gateway at Old Penrith is of the same class (*C.W.*, xiii, 179).

is filled by quadrant-shaped guard-chambers, intended to carry, not towers, as the unequal thickness of their walling shows, but the curving sides of a first-floor gatehouse⁴³ covering the whole gate. The result is a highly interesting fusion of the old-fashioned monumental town gateway with contemporary military practice in earth work. It becomes evident that the designers of the defences were military architects or engineers—these terms in the Roman world were synonymous—little in love with embellishments and much devoted to the practicalities of defence. The tile-faced Balcerne Gate probably had an arcaded front, executed in the restrained manner of the Porta Palatina at Turin⁴⁴ or the gates of Castra Praetoria in Rome.⁴⁵ This much at least is suggested by the pilaster-like projections, which not only occur in the scant remains of the original front but are repeated in a reconstruction. But this flat and unostentatious decoration and the monumental quadruple portals are the only concession to the fact that the *colonia Victricensis* was the premier chartered town in the province. The austerity declares the military flavour of the foundation: like the folk of Lugdunum,⁴⁶ the Victricensis could call themselves '*coloniam Romanam et partem exercitus*', and the style of their defences proclaimed the fact to the world at large.

Within the walls the solid and enduring comfort of the new town and its dwellings is widely manifest in its mosaic pavements. Over forty of these are recorded,⁴⁷ nearly all from the western two-thirds of the town, that is, west of the main group of public buildings. This is an astonishing yield when it is recalled that it is due almost entirely to chance discoveries. Among Romano-British towns, Cirencester⁴⁸ has, indeed, yielded as many, but its area is virtually three times as large. At Colchester the pavements are concentrated so densely as to suggest a crowded urban life. Indeed, the town always seems to have remained packed within its fortifications rather than to have spread beyond them. It has been suggested⁴⁹ that this is because it became a backwater, eclipsed by London, whither the centre of official religious worship for the province was in due time transferred. But positive evidence for this suggestion is wholly lacking, just as it remains quite uncertain⁵⁰ whether Camulodunum is represented by the initial C which occurs as a mint-mark upon coins of Carausius and Allectus. One geographical fact, however, must give pause to those who would postulate decay. Just as Harwich now absorbs much direct trade from the Low Countries and Northern Europe, so in pre-Roman and Roman times Colchester was the gateway⁵¹ by which much commerce from Gallia Belgica and Lower Germany entered the British province. This is a constant factor which ought to have operated steadily: and it is significant that, in the second century, the town was chosen as the site of a branch manufactory⁵² of East Gaulish Samian ware, and was also a centre of glass⁵³ production. Whether it was the same factor of overseas connexions that was instrumental in bringing

⁴³ For the plan cf. *J.R.S.*, ix, 142, fig. 13, or *R.C.H.M., Essex (North-east)*, 22 (reproduced also in Kendrick and Hawkes, *Archaeology in England and Wales*, 1914-31 (1932), 253, fig. 94).

⁴⁴ *P.B.S.R.*, xii, 56, figs. 6, 7.

⁴⁵ *P.B.S.R.*, x, pl. vi.

⁴⁶ Tacitus, *Hist.*, i, 65.

⁴⁷ *J.R.S.*, ix, 157. *R.C.H.M. Essex (North-east)*, 22-29.

⁴⁸ *Archaeologia*, lxix, 174-8.

⁴⁹ *R.C.H.M., Roman London*, 56-57.

⁵⁰ Mattingly, *Antiquity*, xix, 122, adduces, however, some powerful arguments against Camulodunum.

⁵¹ Fox, *Personality of Britain* (4th edn.), 13, fig. 2 (beaker culture), and 17, fig. 4 (pedestal urns).

⁵² *J.R.S.*, xxiv, 210: *Germania*, xviii (1934), 271.

⁵³ Hawkes and Hull, *Camulodunum*, 288.

to Colchester a rare type of outlander is less certain, but of the identity of the man in question there is no doubt. In A.D. 222-235, a Caledonian⁵⁴ named Lossio Veda set up in an extramural shrine at Colchester an offering to his own god, Mars Medocius Campesium, and to the Emperor Alexander's victory. There are outlandish touches about the form and spelling of the dedication fully consonant with the origin of its dedicator. But what was such a person from outside the Empire doing in Camulodunum? The dedication evinces⁵⁵ both military and philo-Roman feeling, and it is natural to recall that the port of Colchester is on the direct route from Britain to the middle Rhine, where *Brittones gentiles*⁵⁶ were quartered at this period. It is by no means inconceivable that Lossio Veda had to do with this movement, for he proclaims his genealogy with all the pride of a barbarian chief. Official trooping of this kind might well be connected with an old and reliable Roman colony.

Finally, there is good reason to think that Camulodunum may have become a Christian bishopric. *Colonia Camulodunensium* is much the easiest reading of the corrupt place-name that follows London in the list⁵⁷ of British bishops at the Council of Arles in A.D. 314. If this is so, it is noteworthy that the bishop from this place took with him a priest and a deacon, whereas the other bishops went without attendant clerics. It suggests that he may have been the most important, and at the same time prompts the question whether, in view of Camulodunum's old importance as a cult centre, this bishop was the primate of Britain.

II. LINCOLN—LINDUM COLONIA (plan, fig. 5, p. 29)

While the foundation date for Camulodunum is given by literature, that of Lindum is afforded by epigraphy. A Mainz stone,⁵⁸ commemorating a senior centurion from Lindum, gives his voting-tribe as Quirina. This tribe was that of the Flavian dynasty, and their urban foundations were assigned to it out of compliment and glorification. But of the three possible dynasts, Vespasian and Titus appear to be too early, since *Legio II Adiutrix* can hardly have left the site before Agricola's governorship,⁵⁹ during which the legions were too active for a discharge of veterans. It is therefore to the later part of Domitian's reign that the foundation of Lindum must be assigned.

The purpose of the foundation is reasonably clear. Lindum lies on the northward fringe of the territory of the Coritani, friendly allies⁶⁰ of Rome. Beyond it lay communities of much more doubtful value in the body politic of the province, namely, the Parisi of East Yorkshire, whose cantonal organization⁶¹ was at first

⁵⁴ E.E., ix, 1005, cf. Haverfield, *Arch. Journ.*, xlix, 188.

⁵⁵ As the choice of Mars and the Victory of the Emperor Alexander sufficiently show.

⁵⁶ C.I.L., xiii, 6592: see *Yale Classical Studies*, vi, 87-108, where H. T. Rowell discusses the origin and status of these Britons.

⁵⁷ Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, i, 7. Haverfield, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xl, 419, and Miller, *ibid.*, xlii, 79, choose Colchester.

⁵⁸ C.I.L., xiii, 6679. See p. 29 above.

⁵⁹ J.R.S., xxxiv, 36. This is a case in which an argumentum ex silentio may be of value. Had the *colonia* been founded as part of Agricola's schemes of urbanization, Tacitus could hardly have failed to mention it.

⁶⁰ The inference of friendliness is to be drawn from the quantities of Claudian material—and some possibly pre-Claudian—at Leicester (*Antiq. Journ.*, xviii, 33-4), and the relationship of the tribe to the friendly Parisi (*ibid.*, xxi, 323-32).

⁶¹ As implied by the status of its capital as a *vicus* and its name, *Petuaria*, indicating a tribal centre: E. Birley, J.R.S., xxviii, 199.

more decentralized than that of most British tribes, and the turbulent Brigantes whose Pennine dalesfolk⁶² were in large part too poor to absorb the settled urban life of Roman civilization. *Lindum colonia* is a bastion *istis ipsis nationibus oppositum et objectum*, as Cicero⁶³ described a Roman colony in similar borderlands. It is thus understandable that in the territory of the Coritani the *colonia* should have formed an independent enclave. The Coritani retained and developed⁶⁴ their own capital town at *Ratae Coritanorum* (Leicester), while the *colonia* remained a distinct and separate Roman institution within their borders. This relationship no doubt had much to do with the choice of site. The *colonia* was planted in a spot which had already been placed at the disposal of the Roman government by agreement or requisition for a legionary fortress and its *prata*. The area had thus been already acquired from the Coritani by early terms of alliance; and, in substituting the *colonia* for the legionary fortress, the Roman government, while in effect making permanent their acquisition of territory, did so with as little fresh disturbance as possible. Indeed, when Domitian's policy⁶⁵ on the Rhine frontier of paying for disturbance of crops is recalled, it will not seem inconceivable that compensation may have been offered for the land upon which the *colonia* was planted. At all events, the foundation of the *colonia* will not have deprived the Coritani of much land not already lost. Nor is the policy without parallel. The Pannonian colonies of Siscia, founded by Vespasian, and Poetovio, founded by Trajan, similarly occupy⁶⁶ territory formerly allotted to legionary fortresses.

At Lincoln, the physical substitution of the legionary fortress by the *colonia* is now attested by actual remains (see pl. iv b, above). Fortress and town actually occupied successively the same site, though they are not yet proved to have covered precisely the same area, nor is there need for them to have done so. But socially as well as topographically the town and fortress were intimately connected. The official name of Roman Lincoln, matching *colonia Victricensis* at Colchester, is unknown, but there is no doubt that Lincoln was founded for veterans of the Ninth Legion, whose station the fortress had been for long years. And the decision to convert the old quarters into a town was doubtless welcome to many of the veterans, who as a class became genuinely attached to the provinces and districts in which they served, as Tacitus expressly states⁶⁷ on several occasions. It was, in fact, a colony in what Tacitus⁶⁸ would have called 'the old style', forming a community animated *consensu et caritate*—'with mutual feeling and regard'.

But while the choice of site for a legionary fortress is governed by strategic considerations, that for a *colonia* must adjoin fertile lands. The Lincoln area, apart from the narrow and irregular Jurassic ridge, which is deficient in water on its flat crest, is low-lying marsh-land, which in Roman times was probably all still wanting development. North of the Witham, where the *colonia* was situated,

⁶² e.g. the folk of Wharfedale, *Antiquity*, iii, 165-81, or North-East Yorkshire, Elgee, *Early man in N.E. Yorkshire*, 139, fig. 45.

⁶³ *Pro Fonteio*, 5, 13.

⁶⁴ See Haverfield, *Arch. Journ.*, lxxv, 1-46.

⁶⁵ Erontinus, *Strategemata*, ii, 11, 7, 'Imperator Caesar Domitianus Augustus Germanicus eo bello, quo victis hostibus cognomen Germanici meruit, cum in finibus Cattorum castella

poneret, pro fructibus locorum, quae vallo comprehendebat, pretium solvi iussit.'

⁶⁶ P.W., iii, A1, 362, for Siscia—and Abramč, *Poetovio* (Vienna, 1925), 6-7, 17.

⁶⁷ Tacitus, *Hist.*, ii, 80: 'militibus vetustate stipendiorum nota et familiaria castra in modum penatium diligebantur'; *Annals*, xiv, 27: 'dilapsis pluribus in provincias in quibus stipendia expleverant'.

⁶⁸ Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv, 27.

this applies to the valleys of the Langworth and Ancholme northwards and north-eastwards and of the Till westwards or north-westwards. Thus, while it would be possible to make some few allocations along the shoulders of the Jurassic ridge, it may be regarded as certain that the bulk of the chess-board allocation of regular plots extended into the marshes; for an area of not less than 100 square miles of cultivated land may be contemplated, to judge from Italian centurial allotments⁶⁹ which survive, and even then it is not quite clear how much uncultivated land might be included. The *colonia* would certainly receive⁷⁰ public grazing land (*pascua*) and probably woodlands (*silvae*) as well. There can be little doubt that, physically considered, Lindum was one of the sites which veteran soldiers could stigmatize⁷¹ as *uligines paludum*, though such marshy lands were in fact richly responsive to hard work, and especially attractive⁷² in Mediterranean eyes. It is not land likely to have been already developed by the Coritani, except on the ridge, and its permanent segregation would be the less felt.

No authentic trace⁷³ now survives of the land allotment, but the town upon which it was based is well known. It comprises an early town perched on the hill-top and a later extension, downhill, to the Witham at its feet. The site of the first *colonia* is 41 acres, which, on the Aosta⁷⁴ scale, would accommodate some 1,200 colonists, representing a population of about 6,000 souls. But this estimate may well be too large. The Timgad⁷⁵ scale is about twice as generous, and 600 colonists or 3,000 souls might be nearer the original figure. The figures can most usefully be regarded as maximum and minimum. There was no doubt about the rôle of this *colonia* from the first. Its fortifications mark it as a *subsidiium adversus rebelles*, the *propugnaculum istis ipsis nationibus oppositum et obiectum*: the stout walls and massive utilitarian town-gates, projecting monumentally and forcefully from them, are an architect's expression of the Ciceronian phrase. Little is known of the buildings within this early circuit. But the impressive series of well-built sewers points to a regular and systematic lay-out. There were imposing buildings towards the centre, as is attested by the monumental colonnade in Bailgate and the adjacent Mint Wall; and comfortable houses are indicated by the discovery of over a dozen mosaic pavements. The water-supply was cared for by a remarkable aqueduct, a tile pipe-line encased in concrete and masonry which brought water under pressure from a water-tower at springs three miles north-east of the town. Both building and exploration within the area of the upper town at Lincoln have, however, been static for a long time, and the yield of discoveries has therefore been smaller than in Colchester. But the impression is clear, of an orderly and comfortable town, quite different in its compact and business-like plan from the sprawling native capitals. It compares not with them but with 29-acre Timgad, where the liberal

⁶⁹ F. Frigerio, *Antichi strumenti tecnici* (Como, 1933), 50, pl. v, figuring centurial grids at Padua, Cesena and Lugo.

⁷⁰ Cf. Frontinus, *de controversiis agrorum*, in *Gromatici veteres*, i, 55, 16ff, on *silvae* and *pascua*.

⁷¹ Tacitus, *Annals*, i, 17: 'trahi adhuc diversas in terras ubi per nomen agrorum uligines paludum vel inculta montium accipiant': for the meaning of *uligo*, as ground always waterlogged, see *Gromatici veteres*, i, 369, 'uliginosus ager est semper umidus'.

⁷² E. C. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean region*, 450-53.

⁷³ An attempt made to recognize this in fields and parish boundaries related to Ermine Street appears to break down upon the available evidence, see *Lincs. Mag.*, iii, 41, 91, 153.

⁷⁴ See note 34, above.

⁷⁵ Haverfield, *Ancient Town-planning*, 112: the figures there given do not agree with those of Aosta, as he suggests.

and comfortable provision made for a smaller number of veterans indicates what such a centre might be.

It is clear, however, that from the first there was ribbon development outside the *colonia*. The early cemeteries lie close outside the fortifications on the north, but on the south, where the riverside and its possibilities of trade and transport naturally attracted extramural dwellers, they lie almost two miles away from the hill-top town. The extramural settlement grew in importance and wealth until it fused with the older town and was embraced by a new fortification. The new extension covered 56 acres, making an enlarged *colonia* of 97 acres, almost equal to Flavian Camulodunum in size and perhaps in importance. At all events it is clear that Lincoln grew, while Camulodunum did not.

The outstanding feature of Lindum, however, is its continuing Romanity. It may be that the life-size bronze leg⁷⁶ of a horse, from an equestrian statue, belongs to the earlier stage, that is, exclusively to the upper and older town. There the compact planning, stately colonnades, well-engineered aqueduct and well-planned sewerage system all attest in their different ways the hand of Rome, while the burial groups in *loculi* and the phallic panel in the Newport area represent Roman habits and beliefs. But it is the later town which has produced guilds of worshippers, *Mercurenses* and *Apollinenses*, the former connected with a *vicus* or urban district; or the altar set up to the Parcae by a *curator* in his third term of office, almost certainly as treasurer of a burial club. Similarly, the noble column-base with four Roman deities and the stately figure of a *genius* with turreted crown, belong to the lower area. Not a town in Roman Britain has yielded a more elegant tombstone, or one more dependent upon Mediterranean inspiration, than that of the youth clasping a hare from St. Swithin's. Architecturally, too, it is evident that the lower town contained some stately buildings whose walls were veneered in foreign marbles, and whose sites on the steep hillside were secured by massive and costly terracing.

In these circumstances, it is not surprising that the town evinces traces of corporate life. The guilds of worshippers devoted to the Roman deities Mercury and Apollo have already been mentioned. But the Bordeaux inscription⁷⁷ of Marcus Aurelius Lunaris, who was a *sevir Augustalis* of both Lincoln and York and who fared far afield to Aquitania, presumably in connexion with the wine trade, affords a glimpse of another section of the community. The *seviri Augustales* were drawn from the wealthy freedman class, charged with the local Emperor-worship and sustaining it with the pomp and circumstance rendered possible by their wealth and evoked by their ambition. In this case, some of the trade ramifications of Lunaris are revealed; the fact that he was a *sevir* both at Lincoln and York indicates that his wealth was based upon both *coloniae*, and its connexion with York and Aquitaine must be due to wine importation for the army. The suggestion conveyed⁷⁸ is that the man was an army contractor, doing business in low-grade wines for rations and high-grade vintages for better-class clients in both *coloniae*. His whole enterprise was no doubt based upon the easy connexions between York and Lincoln made possible by the Fossdyke linking Witham and Trent. A third type of corporate organization is suggested by the remarkable fragment of a relief representing an

⁷⁶ *Antiq. Journ.*, xxiv, 5-7, pl. III.

⁷⁷ *J.R.S.*, xi, 102.

⁷⁸ *Antiq. Journ.*, xxvi, 9.

aristocratic boy driving a chariot. This, like the Horkstow pavement⁷⁹ with its combined chariot-race and horse-race, the *desultores* of Roman aristocratic tradition, points unmistakably to a Youth organization, one of the *collegia iuvenum*⁸⁰ which are typical of Roman *coloniae* and *municipia*.

There is thus no lack of evidence for the Romanity of the *colonia* at Lincoln. The greatest lack, as at Colchester, is information as to its ultimate fate. Nothing is known of its devolution, very little of its fourth-century history. But late and sumptuous inhumation burials⁸¹ in the northern quarters of the town suggest continued prosperity, as at York. This is, however, a chapter in the history of Roman Lincoln for which material has yet to be gathered. As it is, the *colonia* provides highly interesting information as to its early days and the circumstances of its foundation. From modest but well-conceived and mature beginnings, it prospered and grew in a fashion indicative of vitality and resource. It always remained a separate community. No attempt was made to absorb the local tribesfolk, as in the *coloniae* of Northern Italy; there was room in the territory of the Coritani for both this *colonia* and an equally large and prosperous tribal capital (*Ratae*) to exist side by side. It is an interesting question to ask, if at the moment impossible to answer, how much in culture and outlook the tribal capital borrowed⁸² from the more exclusive chartered town. For Roman Lincoln itself offers a glimpse of flourishing Roman urban culture in imported purity, such as has not yet emerged anywhere else on British provincial soil. That this should seem exceptional is plainly due in part to chance. At Colchester, the lapidary material, which forms so valuable a part of the Lincoln evidence, is largely lacking, owing to the great local scarcity of stone. Every available block will have long ago been re-used in later buildings. At York static conditions and past neglect bear heavily upon the site of the *colonia*. At Gloucester, on the other hand, the picture is rather different, for it is evident that in Roman times the *colonia* itself grew very little; and to Gloucester we must now turn, with this question in mind.

III. GLOUCESTER—COLONIA NERVIA GLEVENSIVM (fig. 9).

As Hübner⁸³ long ago conjectured, *Glevum colonia* was originally the fortress of *Legio II Augusta*, and proof of this has recently been obtained by Mr. C. Green's analysis⁸⁴ of finds from Kingsholm. The fortress site lies north north-west of the *colonia*, and was manifestly the first objective of the main road from London, which is sighted upon it in a straight line and had to throw off a branch at Wotton in order to reach the north-east gate of the *colonia* when established. Thus, at Gloucester the circumstances are not quite the same as at Lincoln. The *colonia* occupies the same district as the legionary fortress but not the same site. The reason for this is clear. The Kingsholm site is somewhat lower than that of the *colonia*, but neither lies high above flood-level. The Roman city lay about 50 feet above sea-level, on a low sandy rise. Kingsholm lies on gravel, some 15 feet lower, though still above flood-level. It is however more water-logged, and, while suitable for the

⁷⁹ For a convenient illustration, see Hinks, *Cat. of Greek, Etruscan and Roman paintings and mosaics in the B.M.* (1933), fig. 124; also Collingwood, *Roman Britain* (1924), 8.

⁸⁰ E. N. Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, 125.

⁸¹ See pp. 50 and 52.

⁸² The resemblance between Leicester and Lincoln columns is noted by Fox, *Arch. Journ.*, xlv, 49; mosaic pavements in Leicester are of higher standard (*V.C.H. Leics.*, i, pls. I, III, IV, v).

⁸³ *Rom. Herrsch in Westeuropa* (1890), 27.

⁸⁴ *J.R.S.*, xxxii, 39-52; xxxiii, 15-28.

lighter wooden buildings of an early legionary fortress, is less suited to the heavy buildings of masonry which urban civilization demands. Civil engineers would be influenced by the extra height to be gained, rather than by the closer command of the river crossing, obtainable at Kingsholm, which would commend itself to the

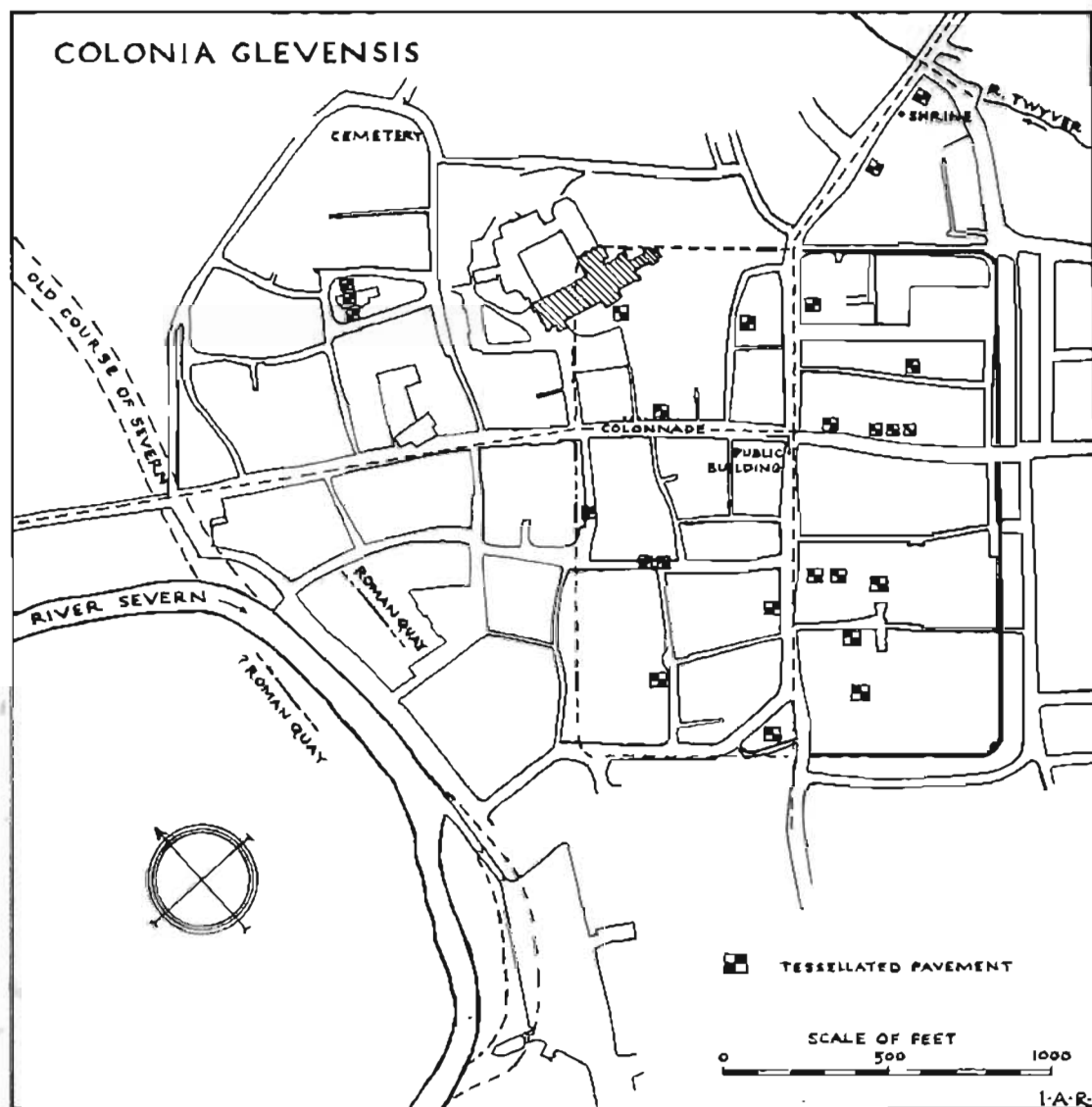


FIG. 9. ROMAN GLOUCESTER

military. The site, however, was not empty; Flavian pottery and pre-colonial structures⁸⁵ suggest that *canabae*⁸⁶ had begun to grow there, at the port and ferry

⁸⁵ *J.R.S.*, xxxii, 50.

⁸⁶ *Canaba* means a hut or shelter, and is used

for a guardian's hut: Bruns, *Fontes iuris romani* (edn. 7), 343, 'permissum sit aedificare loco canabae a solo iuris sui pecunia sua'.

across the river. It was, in fact, the *canabae* and not the legionary fortress that were here selected as the site of the town.

The purpose of the foundation is clear. Like Lincoln, it lay on the borderline between half-pacified country and friendly tribesfolk, where a focus of trustworthy citizens would secure peace and prosperity. Nor is the date of foundation in doubt. It is afforded by a Rome tombstone⁸⁷ of a *frumentarius* of the Sixth Legion, who is styled as *M. Ulpio Ner. Quinto Glevi*. As Mommsen observed,⁸⁸ this means that Glevum, like Scylacium and other colonies which were founded or refounded by Nerva, was called *Nervia* or *Nerviana*. The habit, however, of using an honorary epithet of the domicile as alternative to the tribal epithet had grown up since Augustan times: thus, there occur⁸⁹ *Iulia Karthagine*, *Flavia Nemes*, *Flavia Philippopoli*, *Ulpia Sarmizegethusa*, *Ulpia Hadrumeto*, *Ulpia Trimontio*, *Aelia Scupis*, and so forth. *Nervia Glevi* thus fixes the foundation of Glevum very closely, to A.D. 96-98. It falls over twenty years after the transfer⁹⁰ of the Second Legion from Gloucester to Caerleon, about A.D. 75, and just before the reconstruction⁹¹ of the Caerleon fortress in stone, in A.D. 99-100.

The territory in which the *colonia* was founded was, it seems certain, that of the Dobunni,⁹² whose capital, *Corinium Dobunorum*, lay only seventeen miles away across the Cotswolds, on their eastern fringe. Like Lincoln, Gloucester occupies a low and marshy terrain, relieved only by the western slopes of the Cotswolds at some distance from the town. Much of its *territorium* will have covered land as little likely to have been previously exploited as the Lincoln area. The encroachment upon tribal territory will accordingly have been the less resented.

The walled area of the *colonia* is well known, and the wall has itself been excavated.⁹³ There is no doubt that it belongs to the age of Nerva, and it can therefore be accepted as contemporary with the foundation of the colony. It encloses an area of 46 acres, very slightly larger than that of Lindum. Structurally also it has much in common with the Lincoln wall. It is 6 feet thick and is faced in small ashlar in 5-inch courses, with grouted rubble core.⁹⁴ The foundations, however, differ. Whereas in Lincoln the wall of the early *colonia* rests everywhere upon clay or solid rock, in Gloucester the subsoil⁹⁵ is sand or waterlogged clay. The precaution was therefore taken of laying two or even three deep courses⁹⁶ of large masonry to act as a solid raft for the grouted superstructure, and it may be regarded as probable that there was piling below this stonework. Nothing is known of gates, though suspicion will attach to the 'solid mass of hewn stones', exposed somewhat south of Eastgate Street.⁹⁷ On the line of this street itself no Roman street has been recorded, but Northgate and Southgate have both yielded⁹⁸ Roman street surfaces or foot-walks, and Westgate a great colonnade⁹⁹ suggestive of an important street frontage, a shade north of the modern line. Thus, while one axial

⁸⁷ *C.I.L.*, vi, 3346—*I.L.S.*, 2365.

⁸⁸ *C.I.L.*, x, p. 12, where Mommsen deals fully with Scylacium and cites Sitifis and Glevum as parallels.

⁸⁹ *I.L.S.*, iii, p. 591, for a list.

⁹⁰ V. E. Nash-Williams, *The Roman Legionary Fortress at Caerleon, Monmouthshire* (Cardiff, 1940), 12.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁹² For this spelling, see *C.I.L.*, xvi, 49, 10.

⁹³ *T.B.G.A.S.*, liii, 267-83.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 277.

⁹⁵ *T.B.G.A.S.*, lv, 58.

⁹⁶ *T.B.G.A.S.*, liii, 272, pl. v, vi, xi.

⁹⁷ *T.B.G.A.S.*, lv, 69.

⁹⁸ Fosbrooke, *History of the City of Gloucester* (1819), 27: it is interesting to observe that the foundations of the foot-ways were piled.

⁹⁹ *T.B.G.A.S.*, lv, 82, quoting from J. Clarke, *The Architectural History of Gloucester* (1850), 5, and G. W. Counsel, *History and description of the City of Gloucester* (1829), 207.

through street, represented by Northgate and Southgate, is clear, it is not clear that a continuous line ran through from Westgate to Eastgate. It is, indeed, not evident that the modern Eastgate lies upon Roman lines at all, so far removed is it from a strictly straight line. The lines of minor streets are quite uncertain. There is no proof that any of the medieval side streets follow Roman lines, although their direction is, of course, determined¹⁰⁰ by the survival of the Roman main streets and the Roman town wall. On the other hand, it may be regarded as certain that within the Roman area the ancient street-system followed a rectilinear chess-board plan, and in support of this may be cited the observation¹⁰¹ by John Clarke, author of the *Architectural History of Gloucester*, that the tessellated pavements are 'all . . . parallel with the present streets'. A regular street-plan may thus be assumed, without concluding that the modern street-plan reproduces even all its main features.

Within the walled area two large buildings are known. In Westgate a colonnade¹⁰² with Corinthian capitals extended on the north side of the street for nearly 200 feet. This is reminiscent of the stately Bailgate colonnade at Lincoln, though it is not recorded to have been so extensive. At the Cross, or central cross-roads of the modern town, a part of an important building¹⁰³ was discovered in the angle between Westgate and Southgate. This has been interpreted as belonging to a *forum*, but, while its massive masonry suggests a public building, not enough is known of its plan to justify the interpretation. The most interesting associated discovery was a quantity of grapes¹⁰⁴ in a Roman rubbish pit, suggesting that vines were grown locally in Roman as well as mediaeval times.

Domestic buildings are denoted by mosaic pavements. Over twenty distinct sites where such discoveries have been made are recorded. Nearly all the pavements are of geometric pattern, though some, as at Lincoln, run to figures of fish or sea-monsters. The contrast with the elaborately figured pavements¹⁰⁵ of the rich *villa*-owners in the Cotswolds and south-west is notable. It suggests that the economic resources of the *colonia* would run to comfort rather than luxury: and this is precisely what might be expected in a community of veterans, among whom none were poor but wealth would be represented initially by ex-centurions of the equestrian order. Other classes of wealthy folk would arrive only if the town attracted trade and grew.

The epigraphic record from Roman Gloucester is small, and its principal pieces belong to the period of the legionary fortress and not to the *colonia*. They are tombstones¹⁰⁶ of an auxiliary trooper and a serving soldier from the Wotton area. But there is enough to attest the existence of official corporate life, and the evidence takes an interesting form. A Bath tombstone,¹⁰⁷ long since lost, indicates that a decurion of the colony died there, at the ripe age of eighty-six, while either on holiday or under medical treatment. But the bulk of the evidence is of another kind. Glevum possessed a tilery under public ownership which stamped its tiles¹⁰⁸ with the

¹⁰⁰ As, for example, at Chester: *Trans. Chester Archaeological Soc.*, xxvii, pl. xxvii.

¹⁰¹ *T.B.G.A.S.*, lv, 62.

¹⁰² See note 99, above. A capital now in the Museum exhibits two rows of leaves and cauliculi and has a scale decoration on the shaft, one foot in diameter.

¹⁰³ *T.B.G.A.S.*, xix, 154ff.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 155.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Buckman and Newmarch, *Illustrations of the Remains of Roman Art in Cirencester*, pls. II-VII. See also n. 82, p. 68.

¹⁰⁶ *C.I.L.*, vii, 67, 1339.

¹⁰⁷ *C.I.L.*, vii, 54.

¹⁰⁸ *E.E.*, ix, 1284.

letters R P G, for *R(ei) P(ublicae) G(levensium)* and there is a variant¹⁰⁹ S O G, perhaps for *S(plendidissimi) O(rdinis) G(levensium)*, though parallels for this particular abbreviation are to seek. Some of the stamps, however, mention not only the *respublica* but its principal magistrates. Sometimes there are the *duoviri aediles*, or annual magistrates concerned with public works, of which at least two examples¹¹⁰ are known, mentioning *M et P G* and *P A et F I* Once they are the *duoviri quinquennales*,¹¹¹ specified as *Iul(ius) Flor(us) et C R S M*. These are the magistrates charged with the revision of the census of taxable property, every five years. The tiles are found¹¹² in Glevum itself and occur also at Barnwood cemetery, Hucclecote villa, Ifold and Dry Hill, near Cheltenham. This is a useful indicator of the extent and direction of the *territorium* of the *colonia*, within which the market for such products may be presumed to have lain. The stamping by magistracies indicates careful accounting of the produce of the tiler during the period in question. The public ownership is reminiscent of the regulation¹¹³ attached in 44 B.C. to the *colonia Iulia Genetiva*, in Further Spain, that no one should have tileries of a capacity greater than three hundred tiles and there should be none at all in the town itself. Such regulations imply that tileries, with their clay-pits and furnaces, were to be rigidly controlled. But they do not wholly exclude private enterprise and it was not absent in the Gloucester area. The tile stamps¹¹⁴ L H S, T C M, T P F, T P F A and T P L F cannot readily be brought within the orbit of official stamps and the initials in one case suggest the *tria nomina* of a Roman citizen. But it would fit with chartered control of such matters, if privately-owned concerns were required to stamp their products, with a view to accounting for output.

The art of Glevum, so far as it is known, is in blatant contrast with that of Roman Lincoln. The most notable small pieces are two terracottas¹¹⁵ from the Cross, depicting Cupid and a young veiled goddess. In stone the most remarkable piece, found in 1934, is a curious head, nearly life-size,¹¹⁶ painted in reddish tones. It is highly stylized, with long and tapering chin, straight tight mouth, beak-like nose, enormous bulging lentoid eyeballs, scant hair, arranged in formal straggling locks, and ears whose frontal lobes are conventionalized into a pattern. The impression is half-barbaric, like a Romanized version of the dead warrior¹¹⁷ on the Aylesford bucket, and the native treatment of the eyes in particular leaves no doubt that we have here one of the rarer hybrids¹¹⁸ of Romano-British art. The other stones are mediocre in quality, though interesting in subject. Both are votive panels. The first, found in 1934, represents¹¹⁹ Fortune, with *cornucopia*, rudder and globe, accompanied by Rosmerta in Romano-Gaulish costume and Mercury in Roman guise, with winged *petasus*, *patera* and *caduceus*. The second, found in 1850,

¹⁰⁹ *T.B.G.A.S.*, xix, 154 : this tile appears now to have vanished.

¹¹⁰ *T.B.G.A.S.*, lv, 351 : the reading, however, may be *P. Ael. Fi* The ligatures are complicated.

¹¹¹ *E.E.*, ix, 1284 a and b.

¹¹² *T.B.G.A.S.*, lv, 352.

¹¹³ *Bruns, Fontes Iuris Romani* (ed. 7, 1909), p. 128, lex Ursonensis, sect. lxxvi, *figlinas teglarias maiores tegularum CCC tegulariumque in oppido colonia Iulia ne quis habeto*.

¹¹⁴ *C.I.L.*, vii, 1242 b-g : 1242a : note also TPFC, TPFP at Cirencester, in addition to

these types: Haverfield (*Archaeologia*, lxix, 197) calls this a Cotswold industry.

¹¹⁵ *T.B.G.A.S.*, xix, 158, pl. ix.

¹¹⁶ *J.R.S.*, xxv, 218, pl. xxvii, 2 : the illustration in Kendrick, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, pl. iv, disguises the sharp outline and wrongly describes the material as chalk : but the remarks (p. 13) are important. The height is 8 inches.

¹¹⁷ Kendrick, op. cit., pl. ii, 3 ; cf. Jacquetta Hawkes, *Early Britain*, 35, for a larger version.

¹¹⁸ For other hybrids cf. Kendrick, op. cit., pl. vi, i, vii, i, ix, i, xi, 2, xii, 2.

¹¹⁹ *J.R.S.*, xxv, 218, pl. xxvii, 1.

represents¹²⁰ Mercury and perhaps Rosmertā alone. Both portray gods favoured by traders, and it is no doubt to gratitude for gain that their erection is due. But the quality of the art indicates that the donors were neither wealthy nor tasteful. The stones best compare with the legionary art¹²¹ produced across the Bristol Channel at Caerleon. It must, however, be stressed that the traders for whom they were ordered do not necessarily represent the highest resources or best patronage in ancient Glevum. It is rather as if we were to suppose that Charing Cross Road exhibited the best art in London, forgetting the National Gallery round the corner.

What remains certain is that outside the walls of Glevum there is little evidence for extensive spread or growth. Immediately north of St. Aldate's, which is on the line of the north wall, a building¹²² of some pretensions has yielded column-bases and capitals which are now in the Gloucester Museum. The remains suggest an extramural shrine of importance. There is, again, some evidence¹²³ for ribbon development along the London road, in the same area, and for rubbish deposits, as if a small suburb had grown up there. Finally, between the town and the old adjacent channel of the Severn there is also evidence¹²⁴ for occupation; and the east bank of the channel seems ultimately to have been provided with a quay¹²⁵ built in massive masonry derived from the Forest of Dean. At first there was an open creek,¹²⁶ aside from the main channel and so sheltered from its spates and formidable tidal wave.

The picture of social and artistic life in Glevum has, it is evident, few high tones. All the evidence suggests that the *colonia* remained an efficient going concern, but did not grow and did not attract to itself expensive enterprise or expensive art. This is symptomatic, and the cause is not far to seek. It has already been observed that the capital of the Dobunni, out of whose territory the *colonia* was carved, lay only seventeen miles away across the Cotswolds. Of all the Romano-British tribal capitals Corinium Dobunorum was quite the most successful.¹²⁷ It was not only the largest, 240 acres in size, but it was plainly the wealthiest and most sumptuous. The art of its mosaic pavements and the architecture of its public buildings would not disgrace any of the western provinces, and it seems to have become in the fourth century the capital of Britannia Prima. It is plain that this native capital not merely eclipsed the *colonia Nervia* but drew away from it the enterprise and trade that might have produced from the same beginnings another Lincoln. The proximity of the two centres was manifestly unfortunate, but blame for this must not fall upon the founders of Glevum. The potentialities of Corinium can hardly have been fully apparent¹²⁸ when the *colonia* was founded. Certainly, too, the *colonia* performed its immediate task, to provide a civic community whose complete loyalty could be taken for granted and whose urbanity would serve as a pattern to surrounding tribes. In the matter of urbanity Glevum perhaps taught

¹²⁰ A convenient illustration is in Haverfield, *The Romanization of Roman Britain* (4th ed. 1923), 73, fig. 27: for the discovery, see *T.B.G.A.S.*, xiii, 77. The piece is not without graceful poise.

¹²¹ Cf. *Catalogue of inscribed and sculptured stones found at Caerleon, Monmouthshire*, pls. vi, 29, xv, 82.

¹²² *T.B.G.A.S.*, lv, 68.

¹²³ *Ibid.*

¹²⁴ *J.R.S.*, xxxii, 48.

¹²⁵ *T.B.G.A.S.*, lv, 94-95.

¹²⁶ *J.R.S.*, xxxii, 48.

¹²⁷ Haverfield, *Archaeologia*, lxi, 197, and Haverfield-Macdonald, *The Roman Occupation of Britain*, 215.

¹²⁸ Haverfield, *Archaeologia*, lxi, 195, was inclined to ascribe the maturer development of Corinium to Vespasian. Leicester evidence suggests that this may be a generation too early.

at her own expense. For the Dobunni absorbed Roman culture so avidly that they plainly came to surpass those who were politically their superiors, but economically their inferiors; as in Gaul, the rich native *peregrini* eclipsed the *cives Romani* of moderate means. It would be interesting to know the stages by which this state of affairs developed. Did the magnetism extend to robbing Glevum of its potentially wealthy mercantile class? Was Glevum the source of a group of *cives Romani consistentes* who found life more profitable at Corinium than at the *colonia* on the Severn shore? These are questions which must be posed before they can be answered and the key to their solution is buried not in Glevum but in Corinium.

IV. YORK—COLONIA EBORACENSIS (fig. 10).

Unlike the *coloniae* at Lincoln or Gloucester, the *colonia* at York did not supersede a legionary fortress. At York fortress and *colonia* grew up side by side (see fig. 10). This type of development was a familiar phenomenon in the Roman military world. At Vetera, the *canabae*, or extramural settlement, had developed¹²⁹ in *modum municipii* by A.D. 69, and became the *colonia Ulpia Traianensium* under Trajan. Moguntiacum became a *municipium* early, but a *colonia* only in the late third century.¹³⁰ At Carnuntum and Aquincum the *canabae*¹³¹ received municipal status from Hadrian, and a colonial charter from Severus. At Apulum¹³² legionary fortress and *colonia* lay side by side, and the latter had come into being by the time of Marcus Aurelius.

The date of the creation of the *colonia Eboracensium*, as it was called,¹³³ is obscure. The *colonia* is first mentioned, in connexion with a date, in A.D. 237 on the Bordeaux stone¹³⁴ of Marcus Aurelius Lunaris, already described in connexion with Lincoln. The Emperors Severus and Antoninus, if not the Empress and the whole court, resided at York¹³⁵ for the duration of the British war between 208 and 211, just as Marcus Aurelius and Faustina had resided¹³⁶ during the Marcomannic war at Carnuntum; and in the Severan reorganization¹³⁷ of the British province Eboracum had become the capital of Britannia Inferior. It might thus be thought that the Severan epoch was the suitable moment for conferment of a colonial charter, as at Carnuntum and Aquincum. But, whenever this upgrading occurred, such upgradings in general were not the occasion for a new land settlement. They are a titular¹³⁸ award of the highest urban status to an existing community, and do not mark a completely new foundation. It is thus unwise to accept, without specific evidence, the suggestion¹³⁹ that an obscure reference by Pausanias, to a punitive curtailment¹⁴⁰ of Brigantian territory by Antoninus Pius, means that this land, wherever and whatever it was, was used for the York *colonia*. There were

¹²⁹ Tacitus, *Hist.*, iv, 22: *longae pacis opera, haud procul castris in modum municipii extructa.*

¹³⁰ *C.I.L.*, xiii, 6727.

¹³¹ *C.A.H.*, xii, 19.

¹³² C. Daicoviciu, *La Transylvanie dans l'Antiquité*, 128, n. 4.

¹³³ *Col. Ebor.*, *C.I.L.*, vii, 248; *col. Eboracens.*, *E.E.*, iii, 80; *col. Ebor.*, *J.R.S.*, xi, 102.

¹³⁴ *J.R.S.*, loc. cit.

¹³⁵ Cf. *Cod. Iust.*, 3, 32, 1 of May 5th, 210. The Empress was certainly in Britain, as follows from the retort of the wife of Argentocoxus (*Dio Cass.*, lxxvi, 16, 5).

¹³⁶ *C.A.H.*, xi, 358 and 362.

¹³⁷ *Cambridge Ancient History*, xii, 37: the identification of the capital with York depends upon *C.I.L.*, xiii, 3162, where the legate's headquarters are *ad legionem sex am.*

¹³⁸ Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, 216-18: the desire for such distinction is noted by Hadrian, *Noctes Atticae*, xvi, 13, 4, and reflected in Tacitus, *Annals*, xiv, 33, *cognomento quidem coloniae non insigne.* Cf. *C.A.H.*, xi, 454.

¹³⁹ Collingwood and Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, 171.

¹⁴⁰ Pausanias, *Descr. Graeciae*, viii, 43, ἀπετέμετο δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν Βρεττανίᾳ Βριγάντων τὴν πολλήν . . .

many other ways in which such land might have been treated, and a land grant is not required either by analogy or by any facts at our disposal from York itself.

The legionary fortress at York, like those at Lincoln or Gloucester, commands an important river crossing.¹⁴¹ Like them, it occupies a ridge traversing the marshes, the natural highway between the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire and the only passage across the wide and waterlogged valley of the Ouse. From York, and from York alone, is it possible to dominate both East Yorkshire, the Pennines and the routes to the North while maintaining contact with the sea. Successive generations have confirmed the Roman choice by retaining York sometimes as the capital and always as the strategic centre of the North. The fortress lies east of the river, on a spur between the rivers Ouse and Foss. There is considerable room for expansion towards the Foss, and a tessellated pavement¹⁴² and other architectural remains¹⁴³ come from this quarter. In other directions ribbon development¹⁴⁴ was possible, particularly for cemeteries, along the north-westward road to Clifton and the north-eastward road to Malton. But it was towards the south-west, across the Ouse, that the biggest expansion took place. The process seems first to have taken the form of ribbon development of cemeteries along the south-westward road to Tadcaster. This is well attested by remains associated with the Ninth Legion, which must fall before its replacement by the Sixth Legion in A.D. 122. There are the tombstones¹⁴⁵ of Duccius Rufinus, the standard-bearer, from Trinity Gardens, and a serving soldier from the Mount, and graves¹⁴⁶ built with stamped tiles of the Legion from the same locality. To these must be added the early tombstone¹⁴⁷ of Decimina from the Mount, and a dedication¹⁴⁸ to Silvanus from the same area by a *cornicen* of the Ninth, which indicates that there were shrines as well as grave-plots. Nearer the bridgehead building development had begun. Excavations in 1939, on the site of the Old Station, brought to light substantial timber buildings in association with abundant pottery of the late first and early second centuries (fig. 11).

The arrival¹⁴⁹ of the Sixth Legion, in company with the new legate Platorius Nepos in A.D. 122, began a new era in the history of York. It is noteworthy that many graves¹⁵⁰ built with this legion's stamped tiles lie well to the south-east of the Tadcaster road, near the Old Baile, where various groups were found in building development of the last century. Two inscribed tombstones¹⁵¹ of the Legion are unattached to definite find-spots, though there are reasons for thinking that both came from the Mount district. How soon elaborate buildings began to be erected is not clear, but it is evident that by the third century they abounded. A large set of important public Baths, with the biggest *caldarium* in Britain, had been established on the Old Station site (fig. 11), which has also yielded a dedication¹⁵² to Fortune

¹⁴¹ E. Kitson Clark, *Arch. Journ.*, lxxviii, 394.

¹⁴² Under St. Mary's Castlegate, Benson, *op. cit.*, 18.

¹⁴³ e.g. *C.I.L.*, vii, 236, recording a shrine of Hercules, and *C.I.L.*, cii, 239, dedicated to the *numina Augustorum*: two Corinthian capitals are now in the Museum and pillars were found *in situ* (*Handbook to the York Museum*, 1891, 71, no. 90a).

¹⁴⁴ From the Malton road comes *C.I.L.*, vii, 1342, from a shrine to the Matres.

¹⁴⁵ *C.I.L.*, vii, 243 (Rufinus), 244 (soldier's tombstone).

¹⁴⁶ *Handbook to York Museum*, 1891, p. 66, no. 71: *Archaeologia*, ii, 177, pl. x.

¹⁴⁷ *C.I.L.*, vii, 251, from St. Mary's convent.

¹⁴⁸ *E.E.*, vii, 928.

¹⁴⁹ *J.R.S.*, xii, 65.

¹⁵⁰ *Handbook to York Museum*, 1891, 67-8, nos. 73a-d.

¹⁵¹ *C.I.L.*, vii, 245, used as a cover for a later sarcophagus.

¹⁵² *C.I.L.*, vii, 233: the stone shows signs of having been trimmed down, as if for use in a reconstruction. The Baths, it is clear, were extensively rebuilt.

by the wife of a legionary legate. An important building with a double colonnade¹⁵³ of very large columns lay just south of the main road, nearer the bridge-head, and other columns¹⁵⁴ are known from the same roadside further south-west. A shrine¹⁵⁵ of Serapis, built by the legionary legate Claudius Hieronymianus, and a Mithraeum,¹⁵⁶

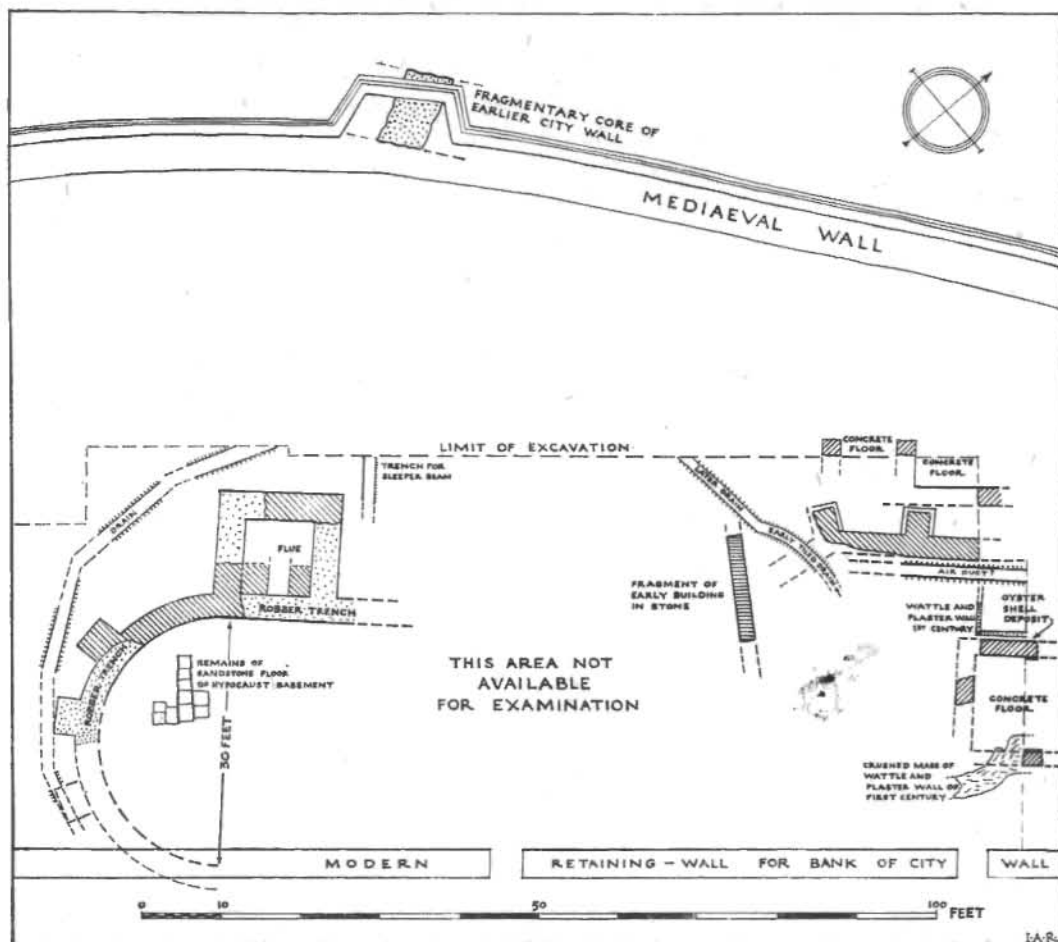


FIG. II. ROMAN BATHS AND EARLIER REMAINS AT THE OLD STATION, YORK, 1939

with a notable scene of bull-killing, betoken the usual collection of cult-centres associated with an active urban life, though these are appropriately tinged with a military flavour. From north of the road come tessellated pavements,¹⁵⁷ one with the

¹⁵³ The sole record is that of G. Benson, *York*, 18, and fig. 20. The columns were three feet in diameter.

¹⁵⁴ *Handbook to York Museum*, 1891, 71, no. 91.

¹⁵⁵ *C.I.L.*, vii, 240: for the discovery, see *Archaeologia*, iii, 151. As Koethe remarks, the shrine was probably apsidal rather than round (*Bericht xxiii der R.-G. Kommission*, 97, no. 53): the inscription is bordered by some notable cult-standards.

¹⁵⁶ *Handbook to York Museum*, 1891, 40, no. 19.

¹⁵⁷ Three pavements were found in Tanner Row in 1846 and March, 1853, a plan being contained in the manuscript notes of James Raine, of which his son, the Rev. Angelo Raine, F.S.A., has kindly permitted me to take a copy: these are nos. 4 and 5 in *Handbook to York Museum*, 1891, 94. A fourth was found in Tanner Row in 1846.

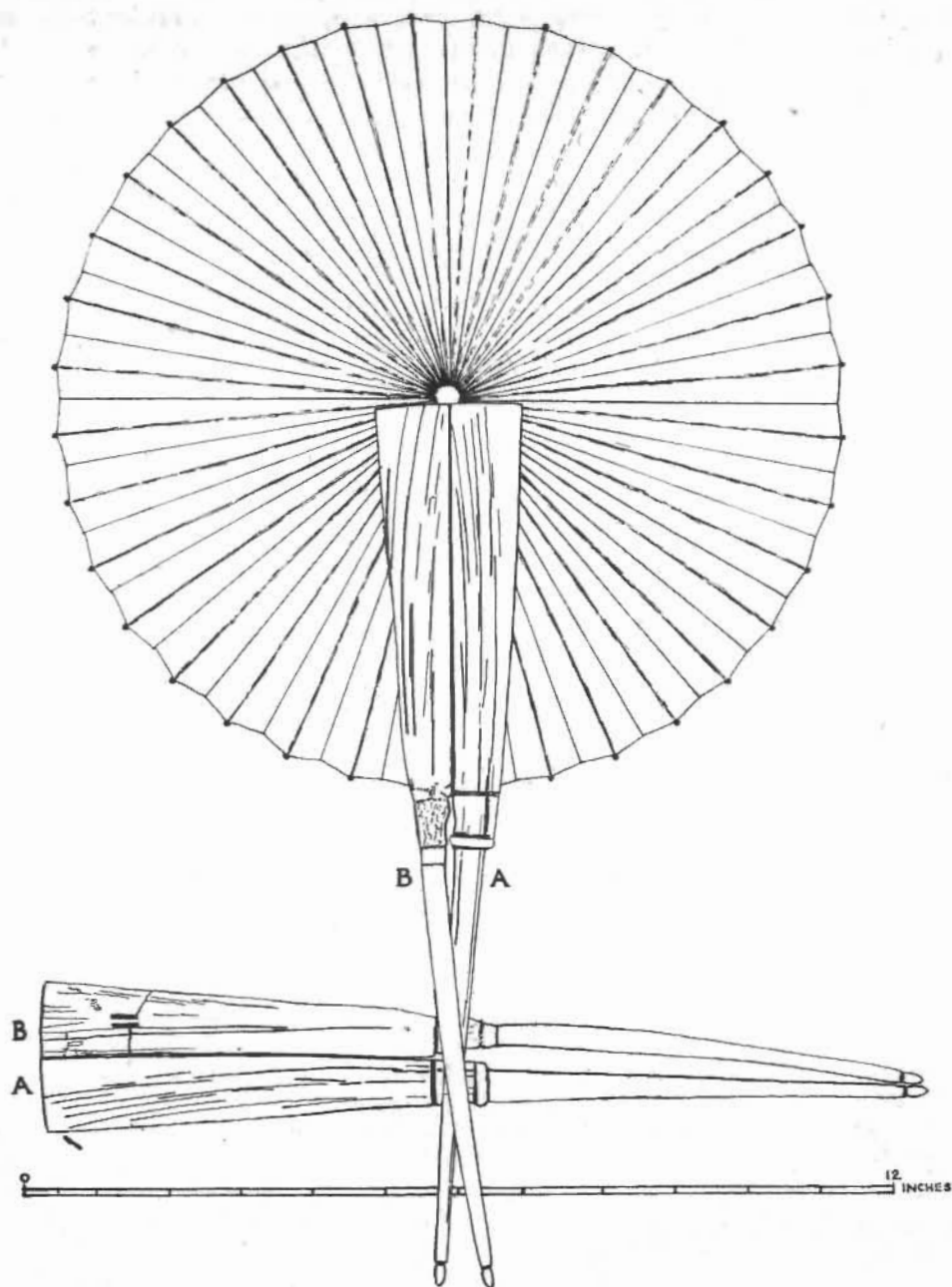


FIG. 12. IVORY HANDLES OF A FOLDING CIRCULAR FAN, FROM A LADY'S SARCOPHAGUS, YORK, SHOWING OPEN AND CLOSED POSITIONS

unusual, bizarre decoration of haunches of venison, spoils of the chase. Further south lie domestic baths,¹⁵⁸ but in this southern part of the site building development has long been static and no discoveries are reported. Finally, when the medieval bridge¹⁵⁹ across the Ouse was re-built in 1819, many Roman architectural fragments were built into its foundations and lie there yet. Those which have been rescued¹⁶⁰ are stately and interesting fragments from ornate arches or façades.

To north-west of this built-up area, on the site of the existing Railway Station and its hotel, lay a vast cemetery. It seems clear that this covered, in part at least, waste ground, where industries had been established, including a Samian ware¹⁶¹ pottery, a workshop for bone pins¹⁶² and a manufactory¹⁶³ of decorative objects in jet. This last industry was a speciality of Eboracum, based upon the Whitby jet obtainable some forty miles away to the north-east. The objects range from plain bangles to carved bracelets and necklaces composed of intricate interlocking units, from plain hair-pins to elaborate spindles, and from Gorgon-pendants to portrait-medallions imitative of the metropolitan family-portrait groups in painted glass in gold leaf. These relics of a truly hybrid Romano-British industry are derived largely from grave groups belonging to the third and fourth-century inhumation cemetery, which superseded an earlier cemetery of cremated remains.

The inhumation cemetery, on the site of the Station, is one of the most remarkable in Britain. The corpses were inhumed either in large stone sarcophagi,¹⁶⁴ in stone or tile-built cists,¹⁶⁵ or in wooden iron-bound coffins,¹⁶⁶ into many of which liquefied gypsum was poured. This relatively rare mineral, hydrous calcium sulphate, is available¹⁶⁷ in quantity at Hiliam, near Fryston, and its preservative power has contributed much to the remarkable yield of objects from the York cemetery. Casts of five bodies,¹⁶⁸ including that of a child and those of a mother and child together, and a complete head¹⁶⁹ of auburn hair are preserved in the Museum. There must have been many more. Toilet and trinket sets,¹⁷⁰ with remains of the bronze-bound dressing-cases which contained them, a folding fan¹⁷¹ and parts of a parasol,¹⁷² both in ivory, are among the notable products of the site (figs. 12, 14; fig. 13). The range of bronze bangles and armlets is remarkable. The York ladies went to their last resting-place in solemn expectation of an after-life no less pleasant than the existence they had known. This is true even of the lady of Sycamore

¹⁵⁸ G. Benson, *op. cit.*, 19.

¹⁵⁹ *Handbook to York Museum* (1891), 70-1, nos. 88-90: the circumstances of the find, apparent in August, 1819, are described in J. & G. Todd, *A Description of York* (1823), 5.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* Two figures are of eagles, the third is part of the architrave of an elaborate arch. All might well have been spoils from a triumphal arch, but this identification clearly goes far beyond the evidence available.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 118, *d*.

¹⁶² *Handbook to York Museum*, 1891, 130, items *p*, *q*.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, 127, item *q*.

¹⁶⁴ e.g. *C.I.L.*, vii, 247, 246, 248, 249, 253; *E.E.*, iii, 80, 183: fourteen more uninscribed examples are in St. Leonard's Hospital; *Handbook to York Museum* (1891), 11-14: see also nos. 65-6, *p*, 64, and two more, *p*, 25.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 66, nos. 70, 71, 72, 73 *a-d* (tiles): 13, no. 1 (stone).

¹⁶⁶ *Cf. Ibid.*, 65, no. 69.

¹⁶⁷ *Mineral Resource Memoir, Geological Survey*, iii, *Gypsum and anhydrite* (3rd ed., 1938), 61.

¹⁶⁸ *Handbook to York Museum* (1891), 110 (mother and child, from Skeldergate Postern), 114 (single body, railway excavations, 1848), 116 (female, Heslington Field), 117 (single personage, New Station Hotel, 1877), 117 (child, Railway Station, 1876).

¹⁶⁹ *Comm. Yorks Phil. Soc.* (App. to *Annual Report*), 1875, 5-8, for the record of another head of hair, dressed in curls.

Handbook to York Museum, 65, 138.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 104, items *m* and *n*.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 128, item *e*: according to James Raine's notes, the discovery was made in March, 1874.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 129, item *j*: James Raine notes the find in November, 1874, at the north-west corner of the old Cholera cemetery.

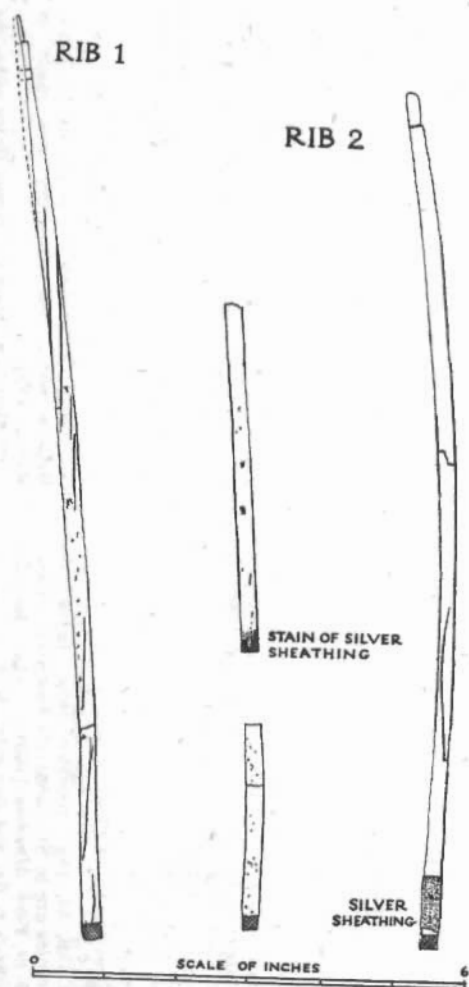


FIG. 13. IVORY RIBS OF A PARASOL FROM
A LADY'S SARCOPHAGUS, YORK

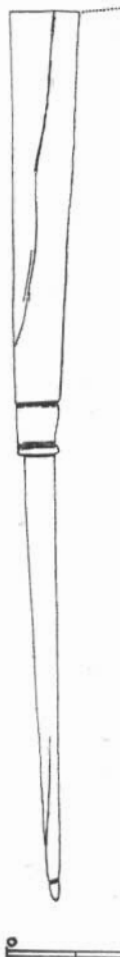
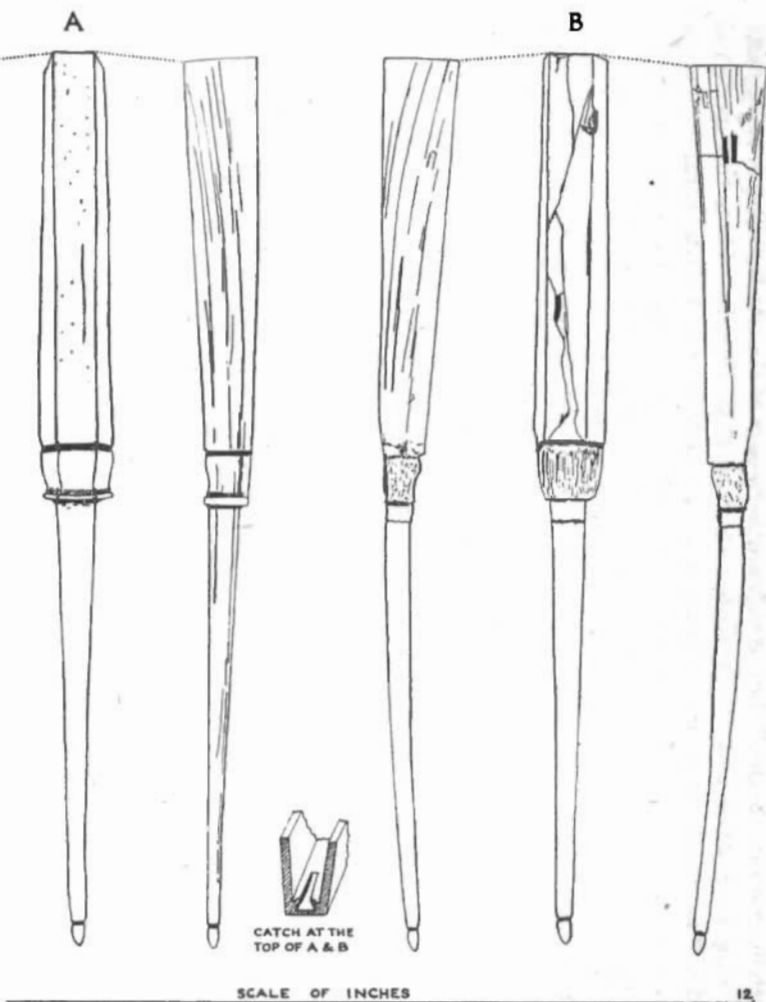


FIG. 14.



IVORY HANDLES OF A FOLDING FAN, YORK, SHOWING DETAILS OF EACH HANDLE (cf. fig. 12)

Terrace, who was equipped¹⁷³ with a Christian open-work motto in bone, reading SOROR AVE VIVAS IN DEO, and with lavish jewellery and glass vessels for food and drink. In some cases there exists the all too rare possibility of connecting informative inscriptions with skeletal remains, an opportunity of great interest to the social historian. From the Castle area, south of the legionary fortress, come the inscribed stone coffins¹⁷⁴ of a centurion and the uninscribed companion coffin of his widow, together with their skulls. The Railway Station cemetery has yielded the sarcophagus¹⁷⁵ of Flavius Bellator, a decurion of the *colonia Eboracensis*, with his skull and official gold ring,¹⁷⁶ set with a ruby. Nearby lay the coffin¹⁷⁷ of Julia Fortunata, from Sardinia, whose fine skull is also preserved. But the fates were less kind to Marcus Verecundus Diogenes, her husband, who was a *sevir* of the *colonia* and whose remains, found in the same area in 1579-80, were dispersed, his inscribed stone coffin¹⁷⁸ being last observed in use as a horse-trough in Hull during the eighteenth century. All these important burials must have been associated with fine monuments. But these¹⁷⁹ have almost all perished. Only on the Mount is there preserved a single example of a vaulted tomb-chamber.¹⁸⁰

Of the sculpture associated with these monuments and graves little remains. There is a very competent female head,¹⁸¹ in early third-century coiffure, and part of the shaft of a monumental stone candelabrum,¹⁸² interesting for the subject rather than the manner of its decoration with funerary motifs. Another interesting fragment is that of a stone chair,¹⁸³ like the *subsellium* from a magistrate's tomb. There is also a noteworthy figure¹⁸⁴ of a harpy, which would rival the famous Colchester sphinx, were it better known. But the two most notable sculptures from York are not funerary. One is a life-size statue¹⁸⁵ of the youthful Mars in panoply, a notable cult statue which deserves to be better known. This came from a mixed *cache* of Roman stones on the Mount. The second is the noble head¹⁸⁶ of the young Emperor or Caesar Constantine from the legionary fortress, which has recently been discussed elsewhere. It may here be added that we have not now to go so far away as the Ostia mint for analogies. The travelling mint of Constantius I in Britain, whose productions have recently been revealed by the Fyfield hoard, provides¹⁸⁷ a striking parallel. This cannot but remind us that the York *colonia* had the special stimulus of the closest possible connexion with both military and civil administration.

There can be no doubt that the *colonia* would, ultimately at least, be walled. But the identification of these walls is a vexed question, definable as follows. The

¹⁷³ For an illustration of this notable group, see Gordon Home, *Roman York*, 190; for the discovery, *Yorks. Phil. Soc. Report*, 1901, 104, pl. vii. *E.E.* ix, 1345 misses SOROR.

¹⁷⁴ *C.I.L.*, vii, 246: the name of the widow was Aurelia Censorina.

¹⁷⁵ *E.E.*, iii, 80.

¹⁷⁶ For the skull, see *Handbook to York Museum*, 241, and the ring, *ibid.*, 54, note.

¹⁷⁷ *E.E.*, iii, 83.

¹⁷⁸ *C.I.L.*, vii, 248: see Stukeley's Letters, *Surtees Soc.*, vol. iii, 300.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. sculptured fragments cited in *Handbook to York Museum*, 1891, p. 69, no. 79, p. 70, nos. 83, 87, p. 71, nos. 92, 94a.

¹⁸⁰ *Archaeologia*, xvi, 340, pl. XLVII: the site

of discovery is 104, The Mount, where the vault still exists. It is planned by G. Benson, *op. cit.*, 17.

¹⁸¹ Probably *Handbook to York Museum* 1891, p. 68, no. 75, the fourth example, from Fishergate.

¹⁸² *Antiq. Journ.*, xxvi, 1.

¹⁸³ *Handbook to York Museum*, 71, no. 94a: illustrated Gordon Home, *Roman York*, 165.

¹⁸⁴ *Handbook to York Museum*, 70, no. 84.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 36-37.

¹⁸⁶ *Antiq. Journ.*, xxiv, 1-5, pl. 1.

¹⁸⁷ Leeds, *A hoard of Roman folles, from Diocletian's reform to Constantine Caesar, found at Fyfield, Berks* (Oxford, 1946), pl. VIII, nos. 92-3: for the conclusion as to mint, see p. 33.

north-west and north-east walls of the legionary fortress lie buried¹⁸⁸ below an early mediaeval bank, which is in turn crowned by the Plantagenet town walls. The area occupied by the *colonia* is surrounded by a similar bank, crowned by a similar mediaeval wall; and there are specific nineteenth-century descriptions¹⁸⁹ of an ashlar-faced wall, with rubble core laid herring-bone-wise, buried by the bank, and found when it was breached for the railway in 1840, at the Old Station. It is tempting to think that this may be the Roman town wall. But no accurate archaeological examination has been made, and it remains an enigma for the present and an objective for the future. Should the buried wall turn out to be Roman, then the *colonia* will have embraced about 100 acres, while the whole inhabited site, including the fortress and its extramural settlement, will have covered about double this area, making Eboracum one of the larger provincial centres, a civil and military administrative unit of great significance and importance. It is natural enough that it should have become in the early fourth century the seat of a bishop, who attended the Council of Arles¹⁹⁰ in 314. But the name of the bishop, Eborius of Eboracum, is worth note, for it suggests a native.

There is no doubt that within the *colonia* civilized life and prosperity continued throughout the fourth century. Indeed, this may well have been the peak period of prosperity. In this respect York is matched by the cantonal capital of the Brigantes at Isurium, where fourth-century remains¹⁹¹ abound, and by the general prosperity¹⁹² of the countryside. As in the Moselle valley, under the protection afforded by the seat of government at Trier, so in the Ouse valley, under the aegis of York, Roman prosperity lasted long and late. It may be doubted whether it faded rapidly. The early Saxon cremation burials from the Mount and from Heworth, which comprise some of the earliest Anglian urns in the country, need not be taken to imply that Romano-British life had abruptly ceased and been replaced by something new. It is easier to assume that these cemeteries belong to *foederati*, hired to replace the garrisons which Rome could no longer organize after the disruption of Western Europe in the early fifth century. In that case there is no reason why the York community should not have lasted for some generations after the opening of the fifth century, in gradual devolution.

This concludes a sketch of the four *coloniae*. It is evident that there are many gaps in the story which cannot yet be filled. At the same time some useful general points emerge. The history and development of the four turns out to have been very different. Camulodunum, having once paid the price of forceful exuberance, nevertheless endured as a remarkable testimony to Roman constancy and tenacity. No element in the early cultural programme was in reality abandoned; all remained in reinforced form. Despite all assertions, it has yet to be demonstrated that the

¹⁸⁸ J.R.S., xviii, 61.

¹⁸⁹ Wellbeloved, *Eboracum*, 48, mentions the discovery, on the site of the railway arch through the wall to north of Micklegate Bar, of a wall 'having a double facing of worked stone, and the interior filled with zig-zag masonry'. He did not, however, consider the work Roman. The structure was seen again below the bank, but not recorded in detail, during emergency operations at the Old Station in 1939.

¹⁹⁰ Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, 7, quoting Mansi, *Concilia*, ii, 466-7: the text reads *Eborius episcopus, de civitate Eboracensi, provincia Britannia*.

¹⁹¹ J.R.S., xxix, 204, for fourth-century remains on the rampart; and the rich series of late mosaics figured by Eckroyd Smith, *Reliquiae Isurianae*, pls. xi-xviii.

¹⁹² See M. Kitson Clark, *A Gazetteer of Roman remains in East Yorkshire*, 31.

Imperial cult was later transferred elsewhere: the fact is certainly not proved by the occurrence of Imperial worship or of provincial slaves in London. There is no reason to think that this *colonia* decayed early, and good reason to suppose that it remained a gateway of Continental influences. It always remained the largest among the *coloniae* in Britain, and, if *colonia Camulodunensium* is the correct reading in the corrupt list of British bishops at the Council of Arles, it should be noted that the bishop of this place went, like his Continental brethren, with more attendants than others, more than even the bishop of London. Lindum began on an altogether smaller scale than Camulodunum, somewhat less than half its size. It is an excellent example of an outpost of civilization founded in territory betwixt a loyal canton, which eagerly embraced Romanization, and the wilder Brigantes of the Pennines, whose plain-land folk alone had the means and inclination to assume Roman ways of life, and whose loyalty and capacity to absorb Roman culture was for long in doubt. But as Romanization proceeded, and as local developments in trade and agriculture came about, Lindum grew in size and wealth until it almost equalled Camulodunum in size, and developed a well-organized social life and admirable public taste. The foundation was plainly a success, greater perhaps than its founder had intended. At Glevum it was otherwise. The *colonia* was plainly founded with much the same intention as at Lincoln. Behind it lay the loyal and prosperous canton of the Dobunni, before it the land of the Silures, where opposition to Rome had burnt fierce and long. In this border land an indubitably loyal community could foster Romanization and at the same time dissuade from revolt. This was unquestionably the primary function of Roman Gloucester, and there is no doubt that it fulfilled it well. In the hinterland the wealthy tribesfolk of the Dobunni embraced civilization so enthusiastically that their principal town far outstripped Glevum in size and in wealth and splendour, becoming the capital of a fourth-century province. In the forward territory the mines of the Forest of Dean prospered, and the philo-Romans among the Silures built up a miniature cantonal capital which reflects as much of Roman manners and ways¹⁹³ as their modest economic resources would permit. At Glevum, however, there was no secondary development, rich in performance and affluent in trade, as at Roman Lincoln. The town did not outgrow the limits prescribed by its founders. Finally, at York totally different conditions are in operation. There the *colonia* is not a specific and deliberate foundation, as are the three other *coloniae* of the province. The charter is an elevation in urban rank, a titular promotion conferred upon the *canabae* of the legionary fortress when these had grown sufficiently important to be selected as the administrative capital of *Britannia Inferior*. The creation marks an advance in dignity, but it is a token of achievement rather than expectation. There is no doubt that Roman York, though the size of the town requires confirmation, remained a flourishing centre of government and enterprise, even after the official withdrawal in the fifth century, so long as any society organized upon the Roman basis continued to exist.

It can, then, be claimed that the *coloniae* were a success, in the sense that all of them fulfilled the purpose for which they would appear to have been founded. To claim that not all increased and that this spells failure, is to misunderstand

¹⁹³ Haverfield and Macdonald, *Roman Occupation of Britain*, 199, fig. 37, 210-12.

the limited scope of such foundations and the deliberate economy with which they were planned. While to cavil at the paucity of their remains or of the evidence upon which their history must be reconstructed, is to forget that all four have remained inhabited sites ever since Roman times and are still flourishing urban centres. Not a few of the contemporary native capitals are covered only by ploughed fields or insignificant villages.

6. REVIEW

ROMAN LINCOLN, 1945-46. Report of the Lincoln Archaeological Research Committee, 1946. 27 pp., 7 plates, 1 text-figure. Price 1s. 8d. post free from the City and County Museum, Lincoln.

This Report summarizes the results achieved to date by the Lincoln Archaeological Research Committee, which came into being in January, 1945, and already has a useful record of work to its credit. Taking advantage of opportunities presented by slum-clearance, the Committee is wisely directing its initial efforts to elucidating the first-beginnings of Lincoln in the Roman period. Founded before A.D. 50 as a Roman legionary camp and later transformed and extended into a privileged town (*colonia*), Lincoln ranks as one of the key sites of Roman Britain. The potentialities of the place are set forth by Dr. Ian Richmond in a brief but masterly introduction to the Report; as there soberly and authoritatively stated they are calculated to catch the imagination and kindle the enthusiasm of layman and specialist alike.

Up to date eight sites in and around the city have been investigated—four within the presumed area of the original legionary camp, one within the *colonia* extension, and the others in the environs. The main result of the investigations has been to establish the line of the Roman *enceinte* and its construction on three sides—west, north, and east—where, as it now appears, legionary *castra* and *colonia* coincided; on the south there was a rectangular extension of the *colonia*, more than doubling the original camp area. Pre-Roman post-holes and a scatter of Early Iron Age pottery found at one point showed that there had been some incidental occupation of the site prior to the conquest.

On the west and north sides (Westgate and North Row) the primary defences were found to have comprised (1) an outer ditch (or ditches), (2) a 10-ft. thick earthen rampart, laced and reveted with timber, (3) an open space behind the rampart occupied by ovens or cook-houses, and (4) the inner rampart-roadway. On the west side these initial defences had quickly been modified by the addition of a timber tower straddling the earthen rampart and projecting into the ditch, which was now filled in. The excavator interprets the tower as an interval tower, and suggests that the timber-fronted rampart was at the same time, possibly as a precaution against fire, reinforced with a battered facing of clay, bringing its alignment forward to that of the tower. This explanation, though ingenious, is admittedly precariously based, and, in default of parallels from legionary practice elsewhere, should before final acceptance be tested against the evidence from other sites. Subsequently, on this and apparently also on the north side, the legionary defences had been superseded by the stone wall and U-shaped ditch of the *colonia*. On the latter side massive concrete footings found at the back of the rampart had been added about the close of the second century A.D., but their significance is as yet unexplained.

Excavations on the other sites were mainly in the nature of trial-pits. That on the Eastgate site yielded part of a curved wall of good coursed rubble bedded on a chamfered plinth, interpreted tentatively as part of a bastion attached to the Roman east gate. Within the *colonia* extension the Flaxengate pit was carried down over 12 feet to the earliest Roman level and, besides a late Roman revetment wall, revealed seven successive phases of occupation, the first three Roman, the others mediaeval and later. Discoveries made outside the Roman *enceinte* include part of a complex of rooms with tessellated pavements, presumably of a Roman house, occupied from the second to the fourth century (Monks Tower Estate), remains of pottery-kilns apparently active in the third and fourth centuries (Swanpool), and a crouched burial of uncertain period (Middleton's Field).

The Report is well illustrated with a sketch-plan and good photographs. In future reports a scale-plan and drawn sections would still further enhance their value.

Despite heavy difficulties the Research Committee, under the guidance of Dr. Richmond and Professor Hawkes, has made an excellent beginning, and a warm tribute of praise and encouragement is due to the excavator, Mr. Graham Webster, and his fellow-workers.

V. E. NASH-WILLIAMS.