FOUR ERAS IN THE MIDDLESEX AREA

The Presidential Address

by

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at the 79th Annual Meeting of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, 26th February, 1935.¹

On this occasion I propose briefly to review four eras in the existence of the small but important area known as the Geographical County of Middlesex.

They consist of: The Prehistoric Age, The Roman Period, At the time of Domesday Book, and At the end of the Nineteenth Century, with explanatory maps drawn for this address.

The Prehistoric Age.

On the map will be seen that Middlesex is bounded on the north by a range of hills rising to 400 feet and elsewhere by the rivers Lea (Liza), Thames (Tamesis) and the Colne (Ux). Within the county there are many small streams of which the most important are the Brent and Crane.

The dark irregular line from east to west marks the division between the clay soil covering the uplands in the northern half of the County, and the loam and gravel soils along its southern side in the Thames valley.

The letter "P" denotes parishes in which have been discovered various implements in stone and bronze. It will be observed that they have been found in the southern portion of Middlesex, which was evidently considered to be the more fertile and attractive district for habitation. These implements consist chiefly of axes, knives, celts, spearheads, daggers, shields, swords, drinking cups, bowls, brooches, rings, an axle cap,

bronze figures of boars, coins, pottery vessels, cinerary urns, etc. Some of these specimens were dredged from the bed of the Thames, and their number would have been increased if those recovered from the Surrey half of the river had been included.² Further specimens have been brought to light, but are unrecorded being in private hands.

The dotted lines mark suggested routes of British trackways, for lines of communication existed between Silchester (Calleva), Colchester (Camulodunum), St. Albans (Verulamium), and the south-east ports by the trackways through Kent.

A primeval forest embracing a line of hills rising from three to four hundred feet spread across the northern face of the county. These are mentioned by Cæsar in describing his route to Verulamium, as "places difficult of access and wooded." Along this hilly ground are to be found lengths of Grims dyke, an ancient line of earthwork, but by whom made, when, and for what object is a subject of controversy. A recent suggestion is, that since it stretched between the known wild beasts' parks at Enfield and Ruislip, it was utilised for hunting and keeping down the numerous wild and destructive animals, in heading off their escape by this barrier. The sites of four British camps can be identified.

(a) In a wood at Hadley are the lines of a circular enclosure, though now divided by a railway and is supposed to have been used mainly as a cattle enclosure. Herodian when writing about the Britons, says:—

"Having enclosed an ample space with felled trees, here they make themselves huts and lodge their cattle though not for long continuance."³

(b) At Enfield in Bush Hill Park two-thirds of a circular earthen rampart are still visible. It presumably guarded the ford across the Lea from which ran the Ridgway.

(c) An early camp is generally considered to have

stood on the top of Brockley Hill on the Edgware Road (Watling Street) before the Romans came and built a station at Sulloniacae.

(d) In Brentford, immediately above the great ford of the Thames, there formerly stood a circular camp. It had a diameter of 170 yards and the semi-circular course which the road now takes from the Butts northwards, indicates its ancient outline.

This prehistoric ford was of great importance, being the gateway into the Midlands from the Kentish ports. It was defended by numerous heavy palisades of oak, which in recent times have been extracted from both the *bed* and the Middlesex *bank* of the river, just as Cæsar describes the ford, adding that "the river could be crossed in one place and that with difficulty." Dion Cassius gives a similar description.⁴

The approach to the north end of the ford is known as Old England, "which has yielded such an amazing quantity of weapons of war and other relics from the Neolithic period downwards, that it may be regarded as the cradle of Middlesex history.⁵" It is certainly one of the most historic sites in England. Here ancient tribesmen fought for the possession of the ford way, through which two emperors crossed with their armies. Cæsar on his march to Verulamium and Claudius to Camulodunum.⁶

THE ROMAN LAND SURVEY.

Before proceeding to review the Roman era in the Middlesex district, it is essential to refer to the regulations under which the Romans parcelled out the countryside, prior to establishing pioneer settlements upon which much of their system of rural economy was based.

The first steps were taken by the *agrimensores* (a corps of trained land surveyors), whose duties were to survey conquered territories, and therein lay out sites for camps, towns and rural settlements.

On the map is shown the lines of their work in Thanet

and Sheppey. Other Romanised districts furnish similar indications.

Hygimus (a gromaticus) writes that a possessa of land contained 1300 jugera⁷ and the jugerum, a wellknown measure, is equal to 5/8ths of a statute acre. A side of a possessa, in shape a square, was 612 Roman poles, equal to 1980 yards, or 9 furlongs in length. For the development for cultivation of suitable portions in a possessa the agrimensor divided it by four parallel lines, each way, 396 yards apart, into 25 parts (centuriae). In Saxon times these were known as virgates, in Middlesex, equal to $31\cdot15$ acres: the overplus was assigned for roadways and paths.

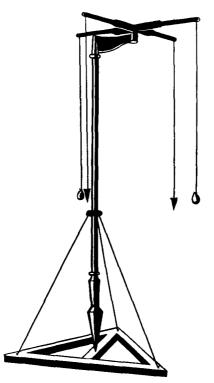
The boundary lines of a *possessa* (*limites quintarii*) indicated the course for required roads (*viae*): the inner cross lines for requisite bye-ways and cattle tracts (*actus*), from which would diverge footways (*iter*) to enable all the cultivators to reach their plots of land. From whence we derive our three classes of rights of way.

A group of *possessae* constituted a *pagus* (the later Hundred) and the oddments of land beyond its surveyed bounds was known as *ager extra clausus*, which in Roman Middlesex consisted of about 39,140 acres.

On the position being selected for a village settlement adjoining a quintarial road, the agrimensor or other official would indicate at a cross-way the site for the *compitum*, a little village chapel, perhaps indicating the position by planting a tree with its foliage differing from that of the surrounding forest growth, such as yew, ilex or fir (*peregrina*).

"Compita are places at cross-ways where rustics perform sacrifices when the labour of the field is complete."⁸ From this passage," says Warde Fowler, "we gather that where cross-roads met, or where in the parcelling out of agricultural allotments one way crossed another, some kind of altar was erected and the place held sacred."⁸ It is clear that the Romano-British compitum, like its successor the early English church, held an important position in the simple self-contained life of a rural community.

In a letter dated 17th June, A.D. 601, Gregory the Great directed Mellitus to "tell Bishop Augustine, what upon mature deliberation I have determined on the



The Groma, the principal instrument of land measures of ancient Rome for town and camp planning. It has been reconstructed in the Science Museum from remains discovered at Pompeii. from The Times.

affairs of the English. That the temples of the idols of that nation ought not to be destroyed, that they be converted from the worship of devils to the service of the true God. That the nation seeing that their temples are not destroyed may resort to the places to which they have been accustomed."¹⁰ "A well-grounded plan for turning the *religio loci* to account was acted on by all missionaries."¹¹

Such appears to be the origin of the sites of many mother churches of parishes, which will be dealt with later on. Is it from accident or by design that in Romanised areas many church sites have so originated? If the latter, then they afford a valuable aid in recovering the lines of the ancient Roman survey, of which further evidence will be given when reviewing the Roman era in Middlesex.

THE GROMA.

This illustration represents the groma, a simple Roman instrument for land surveying, of which a model can be seen in the Science Museum, South Kensington. It would be used, after a clear passage had been cut for some distance through the undergrowth, by an agrimensor, who when sighting along one arm of his instrument would direct a straight line (decumanus) to be staked out. Then advancing along this line, at each distance of 122 Roman poles (396 yards) he would, by means of the cross-arm, lay out at right angles to it a succession of similar distant cross-lines (cardo), which was not a difficult task for a trained man.

THE ROMAN ERA.

The lines of the Roman land survey can be traced in Middlesex by means of upwards of 93 marks or indications which at present have been discovered. These consist of sites of *compita* represented by mother churches, survey mounds, boundary stones, divisions of agricultural land, and a few boundary tree sites. The surveyed portions appear to have extended over about 142,560 st. acres, or 176 *possessae*; the remainder was *ager extra clausus* or land outside the limits of the survey.

Forty-eight parish churches on survey lines (indicated

by a +) preserve the sites of pagan *compita* at cross-ways, and most of them possess an adjoining yew tree, and it will be noticed that on the parts adjacent in Bucks and Essex, churches are similarly situated.

Twenty-four survey mounds, *botontini* or *monticelli* (shown by a black triangle) have been traced, but only seven are still in existence.¹² According to the textbook, they should contain broken earthenware, charcoal, or some distinguishing matter by which they could be identified,¹³ should a boundary dispute arise. Trees will be found on some of the mounds.

The positions of eighteen boundary stones have been located, but only four are *in situ*, and these are here indicated by a rectangular black mark. The old-time curse about removing a boundary stone evidently has not been feared!

There were two classes of boundary trees. Those of stately forest growth, either blazed or intact (*arbores antemissae*), and others foreign to the locality (*peregrinae*) such as yews and firs.

The sites of two Gospel oaks out of at least three in Middlesex are at Hanwell and Uxbridge, and are preserved for posterity through the laudable action of the respective local councils. Two burnt or blazed boundary oaks are also shown on the map. The oak was held to be a sacred tree (being so frequently struck by fire from heaven) and so probably marked an ancient place of visitation along the paginal boundary, where the *magister* during the rural festival of *ambarvalia* invoked blessings on the coming fruits of the earth. Here in medieval times on "gang days" the priest halted to say a gospel, when, with his flock, the parish bounds were beaten.

Various indications of Roman habitation have been found in at least twenty-four places in our County. They consist of antique bronzes, amphorae, baths, burial urns, coins in gold, silver and copper, bracelets, rings, lamps, tesselated pavements, etc.¹⁴ Three important military roads passed through Middlesex, of which two and a portion of the third are still lines of route: The Edgware Road section of Watling Street (Dover to Uriconium in Shropshire); Tamesis Street along the valley of the Thames from Silchester (Calleva) through Staines and Brentford¹⁵ on to Colchester (Camulodunum); Ermine Street from London via Enfield and on to Lincoln (Lindum).

The wild beasts' parks at Enfield and Ruislip mentioned in Domesday Book may date from Roman times, for a State hunting establishment was then existing with a *Procurator cynegi in Britannis* as master of hounds, and his official residence was likely to have been in Londinium. Wealthy Romans often kept stags, boars, and roe deer in large parks. Oppian describes how prized were the small British hounds (Agassei) whose joyful whimpers when working through the undergrowth charmed the huntsmen's ears.

It is possible that twenty-four rural ways, still called "streets"¹⁶ mostly among the uplands of Middlesex, are of Roman origin and when constructed had a surface of hard material (*strata*), though after the Roman era, all ways fell into a deplorable condition which lasted up to the nineteenth century.

By the close of the first century A.D. a wall enclosing 325 acres had been built round Londinium, thus creating one of the largest city areas in the Empire. In a recent lecture, Mr. Cotrill of the British Museum mentioned that within Londinium "around its forum of civic centre have been discovered the foundations of ranges of buildings, massive bases of a colonnade, and other large and solidly constructed buildings adjoining the basilica. The whole complex might be supposed to represent a group of market stalls or other structures for the representation of business." This being so, since the Romans were great agriculturists, is it not absurd to suppose that method and care had not been equally bestowed upon the preparation and cultivation of fertile lands near to this city along the Lea and Brent valleys, from whence supplies of corn and food could be obtained?

The High street of Tottenham and Edmonton originally a rural road branching from Ermine Street, furnishes evidence of the divisions of a *possessa*. This map is based on the Ordnance Survey of 1868, before the street was lined with houses, and it shows that large fields had been laid out for cultivation. This was doubtless in common farm as directed by Hyginus, a system which has lasted in England for upwards of eighteen centuries, until extinguished under local Enclosure Acts of Parliament. In the parish of Laxton (Lexington) in Nottinghamshire, it is stated that this ancient method of cultivation is still observed.

Hyginus, the gromaticus already mentioned, dealing with plots marked out in new fields, directs their distribution by ballot among the prospective plotholders. "When the field measurements are complete, tickets should be distributed bearing the names of the men in groups of ten (decuria). On the tickets should be inscribed the plots of land measured by the rod. The men will then draw lots. This method is necessary so that no one can complain that he should have chanced upon a better lot all having equal claim."¹⁷

Along this road through Tottenham is a succession of eight cross-sections, each 396 yards apart, marking the divisions of a *possessa*, while in Edmonton eight similar divisions can be counted.

In A.D. 895, King Alfred's troops guarded the cornfields here while the people reaped their crops about the city before destroying the Danish ships on the river Lea.

A century later than Domesday Book, FitzStephen writes¹⁸ "that on the north side of London the tilled lands of the city are flat plains that make crops luxurious and fill the tillers' barns with Ceres' sheaves."

Here is another example from the Brent valley in

Ealing and Hanwell, showing five similar intervals along the road and of the Brent towards Perivale Church. This *possessa* on its west side was bordered by a Roman way (Cuckoo Lane) which formerly continued over the Brent river into Greenford.

But the Roman agricultural system was continuing "when the land was occupied by the Angles, the Jutes, and others, the acre and good strips existing as such long before their coming, would be distributed according to their way of counting."¹⁹ This is shown by a law of King Ine of Wessex, *circa* A.D. 688. "If ceorls (husbandmen) have *common meadows*, or other land divided in strips to fence, and some have fenced their strips and some have not, and cattle eat their common acres or grass, let those who own the gap compensate the others who fenced their strips."

In A.D. 1086, Domesday Book for Middlesex gives the acreage of the common field farms and of the strips therein.

Lastly, Rocque in his large map of the County in 1754 shows the situation of these fields in its various parishes; but this ancient system of farming was then drawing to its close after an existence of upwards of eighteen hundred years.

The evidence of Roman occupation in Middlesex (excluding the streets) may thus be summarised:—

92 indications of the survey,

24 instances of habitation,

6 camps,

3 military roads, and so far, 2 for agricultural purposes.

In all 127, which number would be larger if all discoveries had been recorded, for the Roman occupation lasted during three and a half centuries.

Domesday Book.

On the map of Middlesex in A.D. 1086 only the approximate bounds of the Vills can be given, though

assistance is afforded from rivers, Roman roads and the acreage of the Vills from Domesday Book, and which in some instances has hardly changed. The Book also gives details of the extent of the common farms of the plots therein, and the number of agriculturists in each Vill, altogether about 2168 men. But this figure does not include carpenters, craftsmen, smiths, traders, etc., who with their families raised the population to some 7200 persons. But even this is not the total, for nearly one-fifth of the county having been previously seized by King William was not included in the return of dues belonging to him, and so the population in A.D. 1086 for the whole of Middlesex may be reckoned at between eight and nine thousand persons.

During the Saxon era, in the eighteen Vills marked "P," glebeland had been piously given for the support of a priest in amounts varying from one hide (125 st. acres) in Harrow, down to 15 st. acres in Shepperton.

The names of nearly all our parishes can be recognised with those in Domesday Book, and in those 48 parishes marked with a +, the mother church stands, it is believed, upon the site of a former Romano-British *compitum*.

The conversion of pagan *sacra* to Christian usage commenced early in the seventh century when Mellitus became bishop of London in A.D. 604, though after the death of Sebbe, King of the East Saxons in A.D. 616, progress was hindered. His two pagan sons then drove the bishop away, and permitted a return to the worship of the old gods, until Cedd filled the vacant see of London in A.D. 653. Ten years later, owing to the terror inspired by a pestilence, attempts were made to revert to pagan practices, but this movement was checked when the overlord Wulphere of Mercia sent Bishop German to bring the people back to Christianity.²⁰

The reference in early Saxon charters to vills and hamlets by name only, indicates that they were already places of repute with metes and bounds, and were therefore in existence at a date perhaps long anterior to that of the charter. Twickenham was thus mentioned in a charter of A.D. 706.²¹

Domesday Book further records that there were thirty-three and a half water mills. The half represented the portion of one at Uxbridge, where the mill extended across the Colne into Bucks upon a pier erected on an ait mid-stream, and this contrivance lasted until the present century. There were eighteen fish weirs or fisheries mostly on the Colne, Stanwell possessing three at an annual rental of 1000 eels. Another valuable fishery existed at "Old England" by the mouth of the Brent, one half belonging to the Abbot of St. Peters, the other to the Bishop of London, and records show that this division so continued during the Middle Ages. There were situated seven vineyards in various parts of the county.

In the eleventh century the northern portion of Middlesex lay mostly within an extensive forest, which is shown by the pannage it afforded for swine. In Harefield and Ruislip there was forest feed for a herd of 2700 swine, and in the Hundred of Edmonton for 9620, which contrasts with a head of 620 in the fertile southern Hundreds of Hounslow and Spelethorne. Domesday Book returned Middlesex as having six Hundreds, which to some extent corresponded with the previous Roman pagi, and these Hundreds bearing their Saxon names have continued for County purposes nearly to the close of the last century. The Elders for the Ossulvestane Hundred met around Oswulf's Stone, which stood on the high ground between the Tiburne and Westbourne streams close to the Marble Arch, as it is shown in an engraving. For Hounslow, they assembled at the old botontinus, known as "Honeslau," the "Hundred mound." It stood where the main road (Roman) makes a bend near the County School. The place of meeting for Gara was either at Raed Hill (place of council) on the Edgware Road, or in a triangular field called "Gara," near Kenton hamlet. Where the

monthly councils met for Adelmetone, Helethorne and Spelethorne Hundreds is not now known.

The Book mentions the wild beast park at Enfield,²² later known as Enfield Chase, covering when deforested 8340 acres, and another park at Ruislip. They probably continued as hunting centres after the departure of the *Procurator Cynegi*, for the Saxon nobility "think it the highest form of worldly felicity to spend their whole time in hunting",²³"... wolves, boars, wild cattle and deer had little rest when the Saxon ruled the land."

Middlesex in A.D. 1086 bore an assessment of 880 geld hides, but the value received varied from $\pounds 900$ T.R.Ed. down to $\pounds 649$ in King William's reign. This diminution may be attributed to the unsettled state of the county following on the Norman Conquest.

The late Dr. Horace Round, in his learned analysis of Domesday Book, points out that "the five hide unit is brought into startling prominence by the singular number of manors in the hidated portion of the realm which are entered as five hides or some multiple of five hides." He gives instances of this in Middlesex, and traces the existence of the system either to the Romans, or to the Britons, or to the English invaders.

In Middlesex, this unit or its multiples appears in the assessments in thirty-seven out of its forty-four vills, and if trifling adjustments are made with those remaining, the total of 880 is then made up. A good example will be found in the Sunbury-Laleham *pagus* with six *possessae*, a geld of thirty, and fifty-six out of sixty land holders. But this constant unit—*tributum solis*—placed upon the division of territory into *possessae* for pioneer settlements could only have been carried out by trained officials, and it is submitted that each *possessa* was to be assessed (*census*) at five, and to be credited with a *decuria* of husbandmen. Does not this show that both the Saxon geldage and tythings were based on the Roman *tributum solis* and the *decaniae*, and that the Saxon invaders merely continued the customs of the countryside in which they had settled down. But this is a subject for a future address.

Upwards of 19,800 st. acres marked "Late St. Alban's" stretching from Herts almost to London,²⁴ was not included in Domesday Book for the Norman Conqueror had confiscated them on account of the opposition to his troops from Abbot Fretheric. Said the King: "The lands given to St. Alban's were taken from the soldiers, and that is why the Saxons could not resist me. If the Danish King war against me, I cannot defend the realm. Therefore I begin with you and take for the support of my knights some of your superabundant lands."²⁵

This explains the omission of the St. Alban's lands from Domesday Book, and what was due from it to the king, since they had then been his possession for some years. It is no wonder that William was angry for in A.D. 1086, ecclesiastical corporations held over 86,000 st. acres of land in Middlesex, nearly one-half of the County, thus causing a considerable loss of men for his fyrd (militia).²⁶

Three surveys of the county area present considerable differences, viz.:--

| uniciciices, viz | St. acres. |
|--|------------|
| (1) The Modern Ordnance Survey $=$ | 181,700 |
| (2) The Roman pioneer settlement $(176 \text{ possessae})^{27} \dots \dots$ | 142,560 |
| Outlying land (extra clausus) | 39,140 |
| | 181,700 |
| (3) Domesday Manors and Vills: land only | 147,700 |
| The addition for road surface, $\frac{1}{25}$ Outlands annexed by Manor lords and not | 5,908 |
| gelded | 8,292 |
| St. Alban's former lands | 19,800 |
| | 181,700 |
| | |

At the End of the Nineteenth Century.

The last map shows that no considerable changes had taken place in the County during the eight centuries since the Domesday Book returns were compiled in A.D. 1086, and prior to the transfer of parishes (marked with a dark outline) to the new Administrative County of London north of the Thames.

The population of the Domesday Comitatus was about 7200 persons, and during the centuries up to 1886 it had increased to about three millions, but after the transfer of parishes in 1889 to the new County, it fell to 500,000. Since then in forty-five years the population has risen to 1,700,000 and this number will go higher as the charming old-time rural features of Middlesex are obliterated by monotonous urbanisation. The wise old Romans kept a *pomerium* or open space round the buildings of a town, and now at the eleventh hour there is a movement for a green belt of open land around the outskirts of the metropolis. Our administrators should have been warned by the failure of Elizabeth, James and Charles I to check the westward growth of London town.

In conclusion, what vestiges of bygone Middlesex can be enumerated?

From prehistoric times. Portions of Grims dyke and of two enclosures, and numerous articles in stone and bronze to be seen in the British and the Brentford Museums and in private cabinets.

From the Roman occupation. Traces of the ancient land survey, indicated by the position of mounds, stones, and sites of churches, hitherto unexplained. Military ways, rural roads, with field divisions, numerous instances of habitation, and the location of a few small camps.

The Saxon era. This is illustrated by a collection of forty-five charters relating to places in the County. The names of parishes, Domesday Book, with its returns

FOUR ERAS IN

as to population, the acreage and assessments of vills, their common farms with other agricultural details, showing the continuance of the rural economic system from the previous age.

NOTES.

1. As the Address was an oral one, a few notes are now included.

2. The Archaeology of Middlesex and London, Vulliamy.

3. Mon. Hist. Brit., VII.

4. D. B. G., Ch. XVIII, and Mon. Hist. Brit., LIII.

5. Middx. Old. and New., Briggs, 246.

6. It may be mentioned that here centuries later young Edmund Ironsides drove the defeated Danes into Surrey. Still later along the adjacent high street was fought the battle of Brentford between the Parliament and the King whose cannon from Syon sank barges with soldiers passing down the river.

7. Hygimus was one of the *gromatici* or professors of surveying whose writings are extant. *Gromatici Veteres*, Lachman.

8. Scholiast on Persius, IV, 20.

9. Roman Essays, "Roman Festivals," W Fowler.

10. Eccl. His. Bede, I, 30.

11. The Saxons in England, Kemble, XI, ch. 9.

12. In Dryham Park, Ruislip, Lynesholme, Hampstead Heath, Syon Park, Wyke House and Berkeley (which lies just north of Cranford Bridge on the Bath Road). The rib of charcoal in the Hampstead mound indicated the direction of the decumanal survey line.

13. Et intra ipsis carbones et cinus et testa fusa co-opervimus...Grom. Vet., 308.

14. For the places where these have been found see Middlesex in British Roman and Saxon times, 2nd edn., Methuen & Co.

15. This appears to have been the earliest military road constructed by the Roman army in Britain. The Emperor Claudius, after his victory at Camulodunum in A.D. 43, ordered his general Plautius (under whom was serving Vespasian to be Emperior in A.D. 74) to subdue the south-west portion of the country. The first section to be opened would run from his base camp at Brentford to Staines (Pontes).

16. Bury Street, Cheney Street, Page Street, Baker Street, Turkey Street, etc.

17. Grom. Vet., 246 and 152.

18. Fitz Stephen, ob. 1195, Clerk to Thomas à Becket.

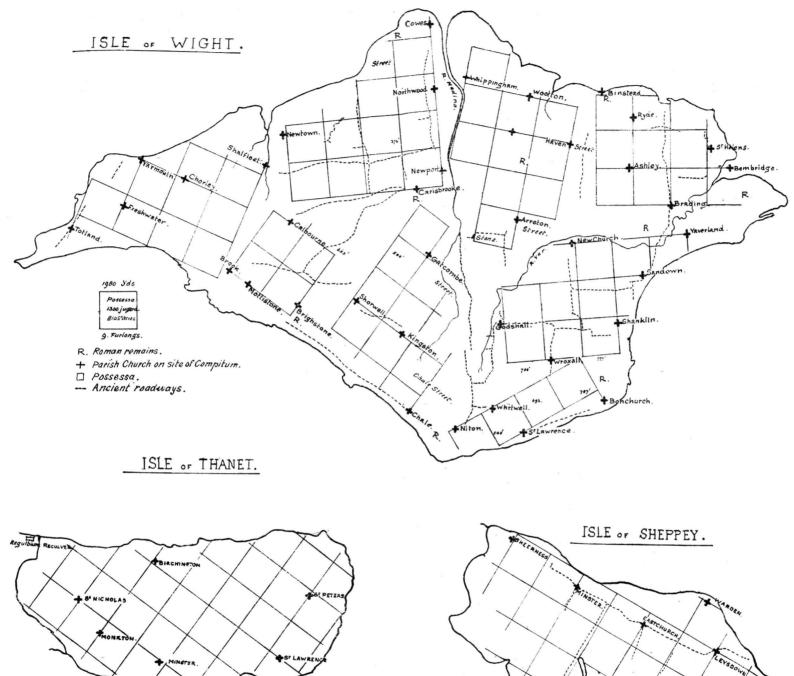
19. Domesday Studies, I, 33.

20. The churches at Acton, Chiswick, and Ealing also indicate a former site for pagan observances. These vills are not mentioned by name in Domesday Book, but are included as sub-manors of Fulham. This also applies to Norwood in Hayes Manor and to Pinner in that of Harrow.

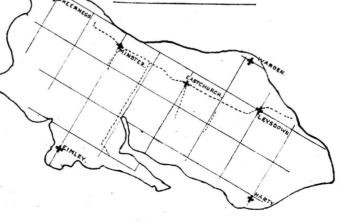
21. The hamlets mentioned in charters are dated A.D. Yedding 716, Botwell 831, Roxeth 845, Preston 941, and Halliford 969.

22. "Parcus est ibi ferarum silvaticarum" in Ruislip, "Parcus est ibi," in Enfield.

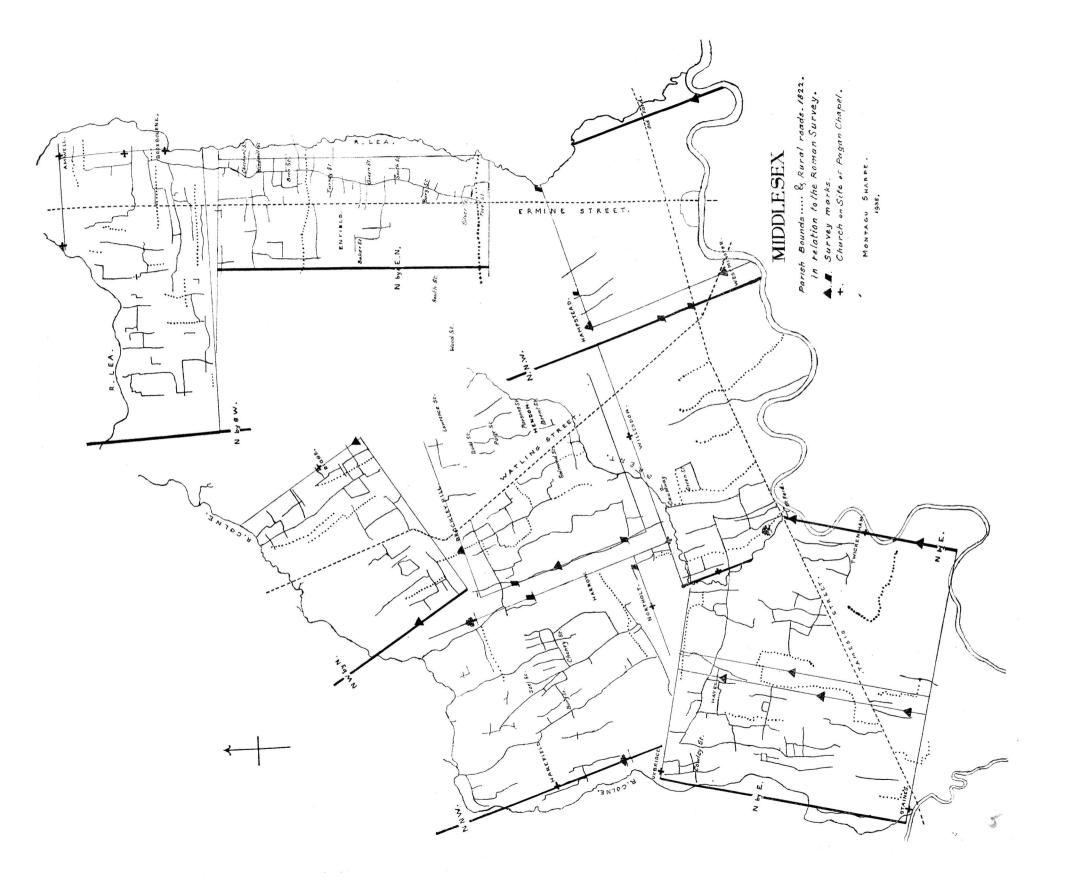


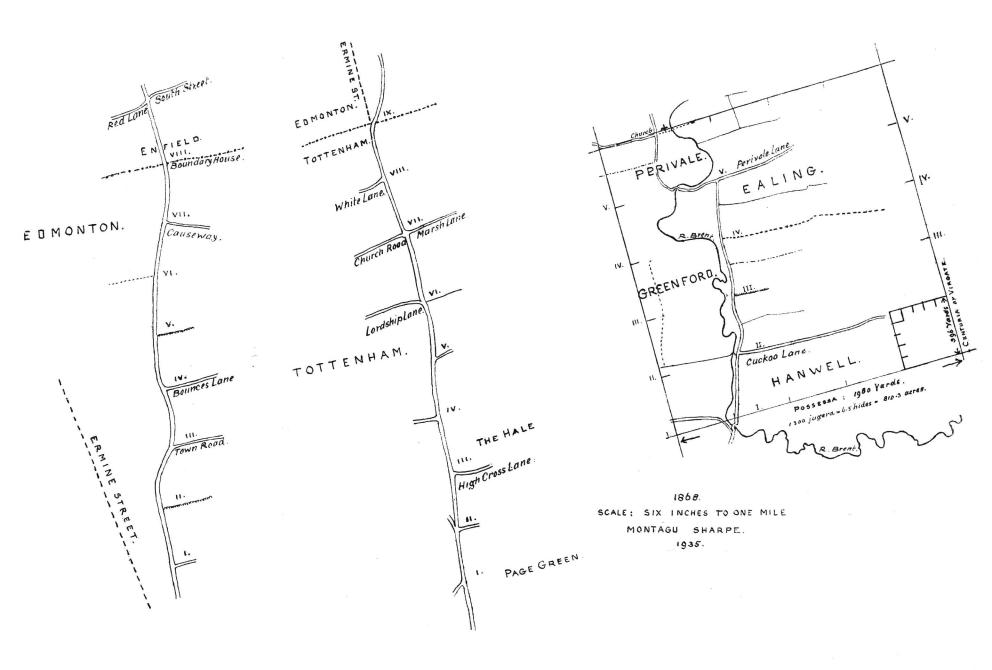




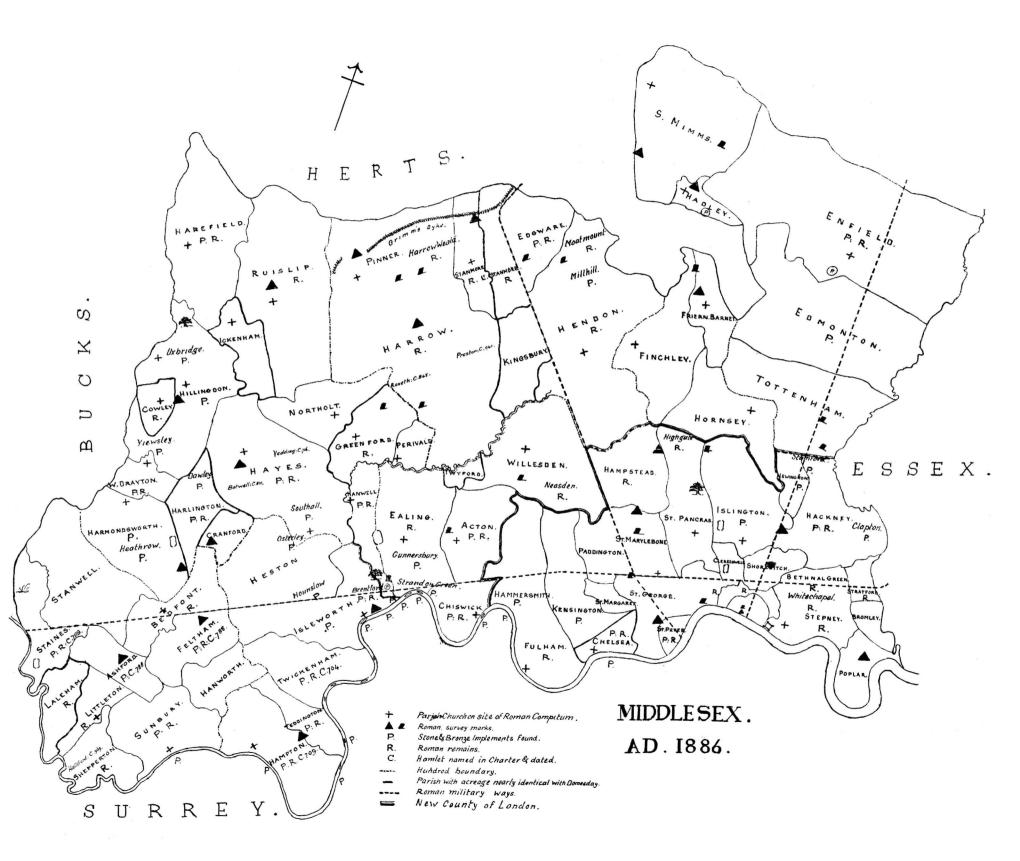












23. M. Paris.

24. The Ordnance Survey gives 10,546 acres for Hadley, Edgware, Friern Barnet, Finchley and Hornsey. For Hendon, Hampstead, St. Pancras, Islington and Tottenham, 21,153 acres, an increase of 9344 above the Domesday acreage for the latter vills. The St. Alban's land seized in Middlesex was therefore approximately 19,800 acres.

25. M. Paris.

26. As early as A.D. 734 Bede had complained of the improvident grants of land to monasteries which impoverished the Government, leaving little to maintain the soldiers and retainers on whom the defence of the realm mainly depended.

27. Designed probably by Julius Frontinus, the eminent gromaticus and propraetor of Britain, A.D. 74-78.