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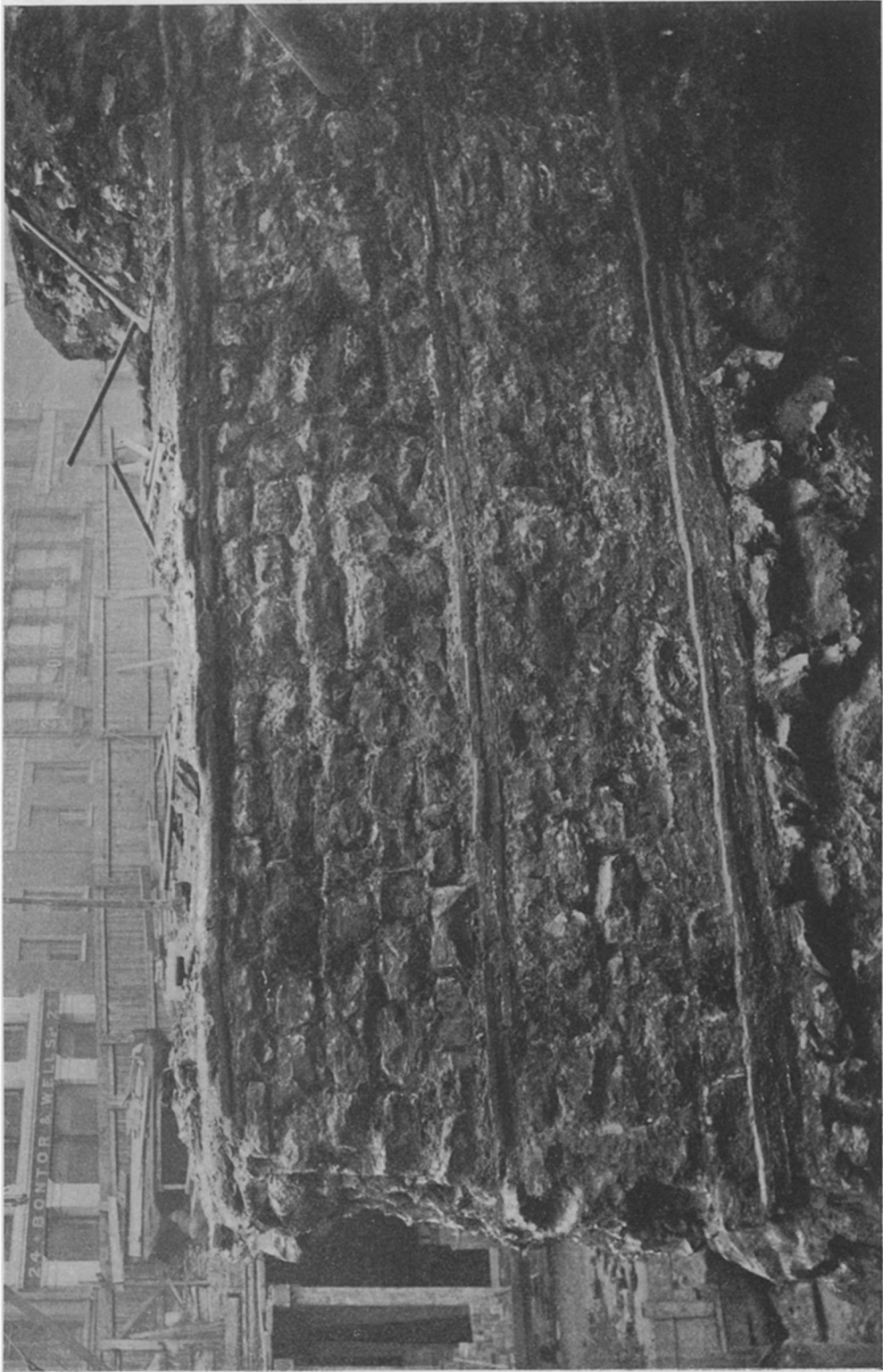
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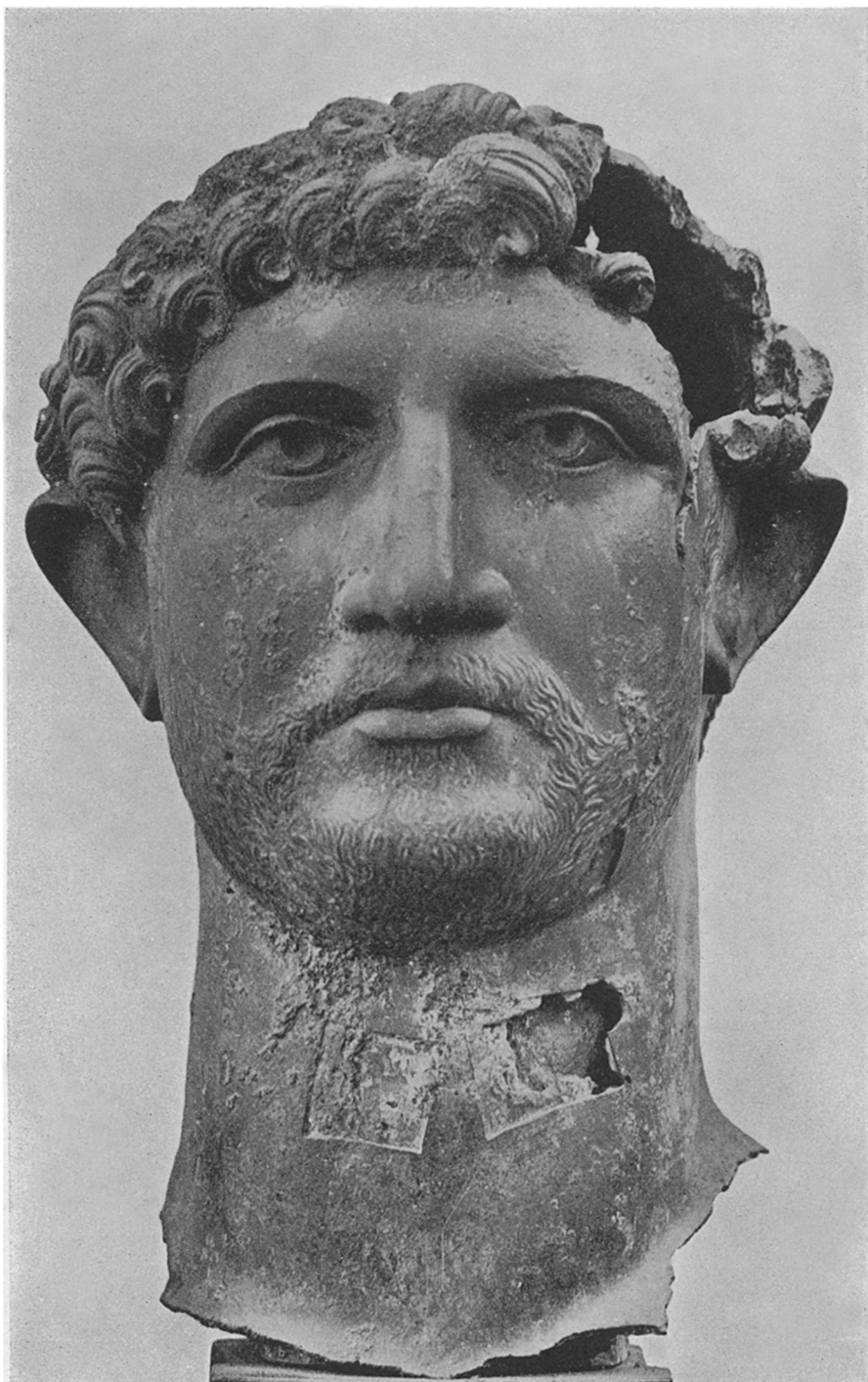


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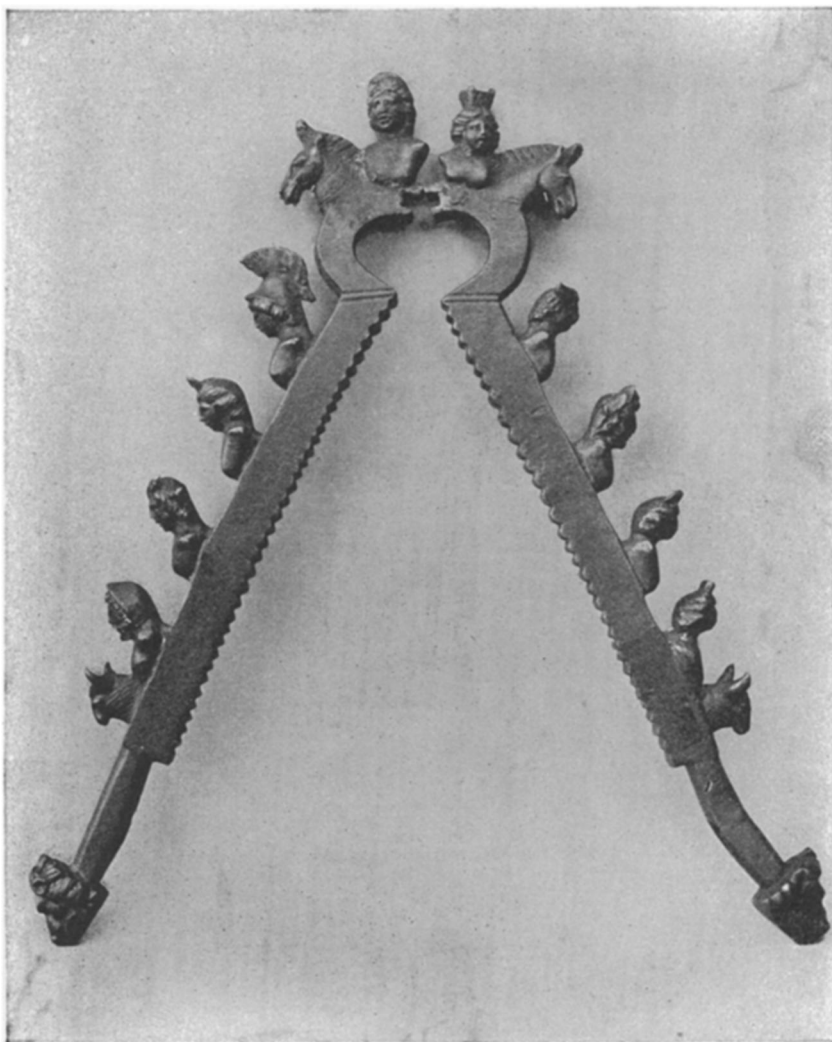


[George Clinch, phot.]

INNER FACE OF ROMAN WALL, NEWGATE STREET, AT THE OLD BAILEY (p. 153).

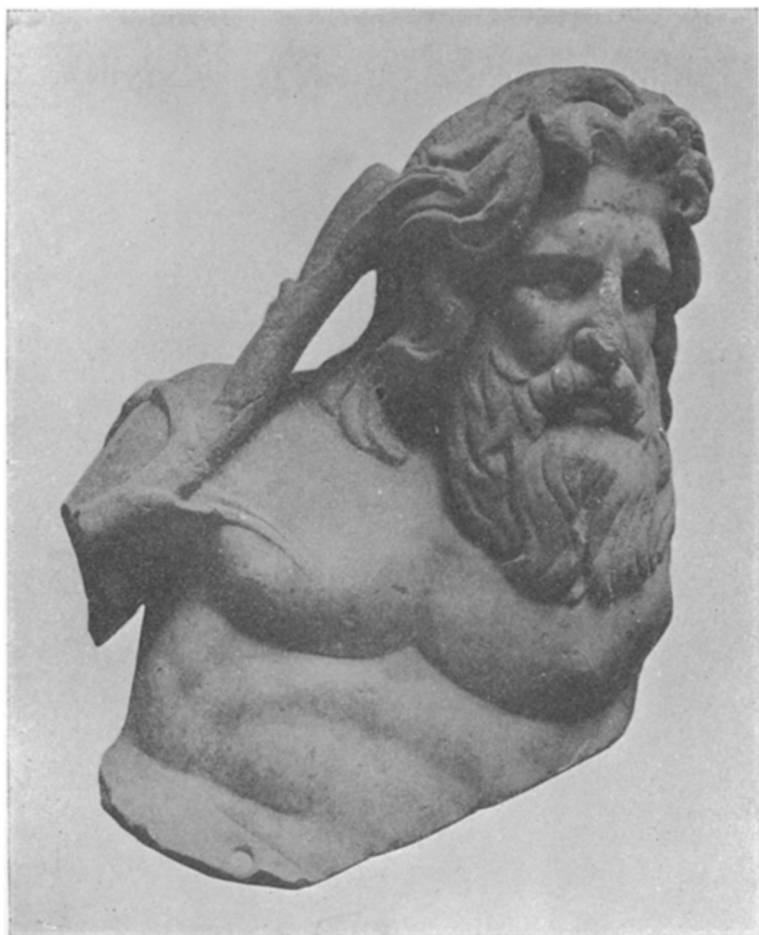


BRONZE HEAD OF HADRIAN FOUND IN THE THAMES NEAR LONDON BRIDGE IN 1834  
(p. 161).



[By permission of the Victoria County History Syndicate.  
BRONZE FORCEPS FROM THE THAMES (p. 163, 167).





RIVER GOD, IN MARBLE, FROM WALBROOK (p. 163).



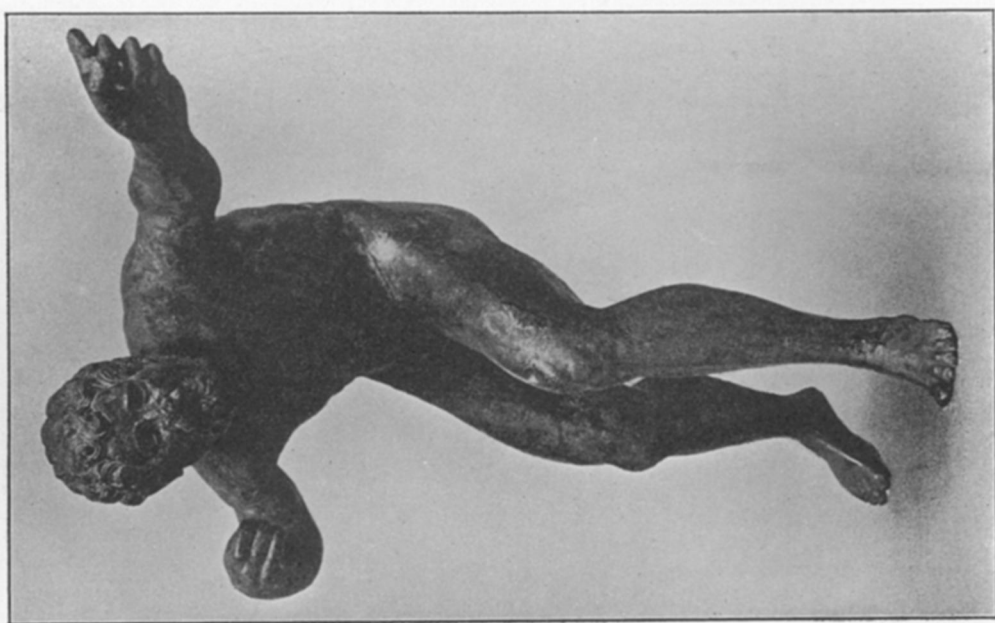
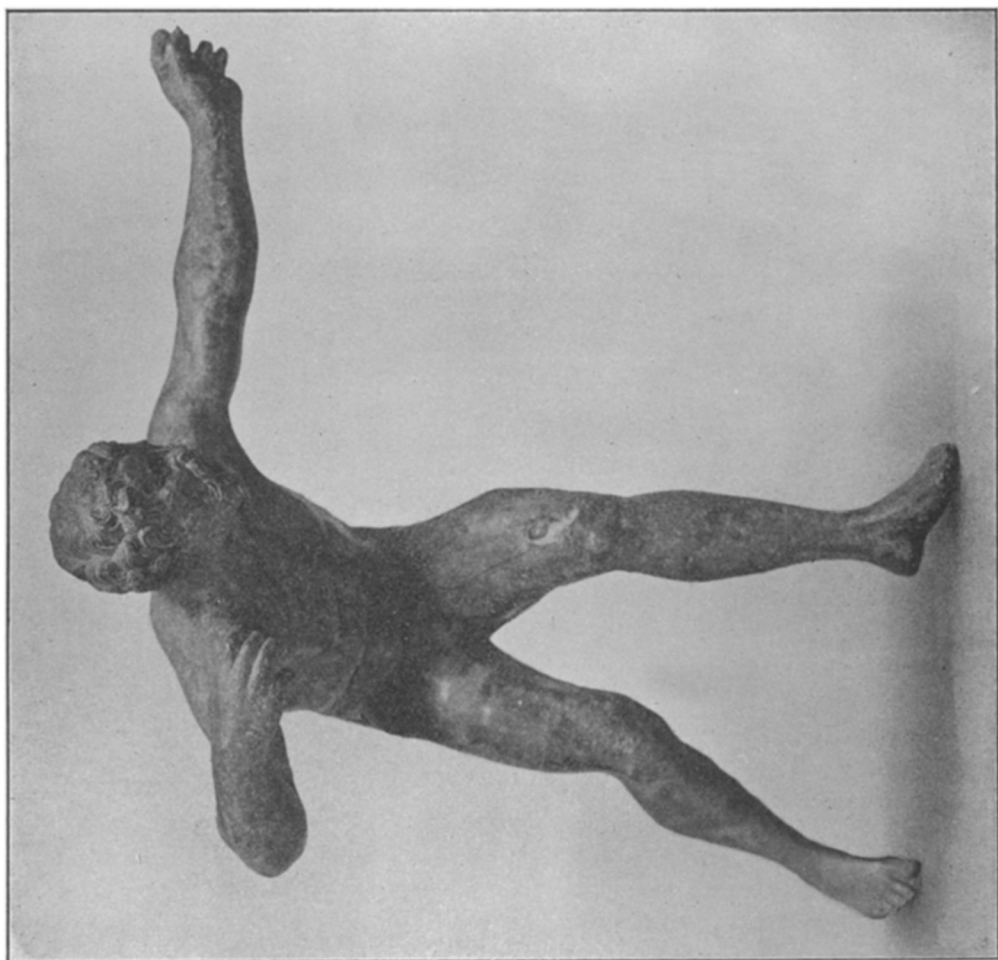
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## ROMAN LONDON.<sup>1</sup>

BY PROFESSOR F. HAVERFIELD, M.A. LL.D. D.Litt. V.P.S.A,  
President of the Society.

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  - (2) Walls, bastions, gates, date.
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### I. PREVIOUS WORK ON ROMAN LONDON.

Roman London illustrates in more than one way the worst features of English archaeological study. There has been no want of interest in the subject. In England, indeed, Roman archaeology has throughout received a fuller share of general public interest than in any other country. Thanks to our classical system, nearly everyone has read a little Caesar and, it may be, some Tacitus, and though he has forgotten nine-tenths of it, he generally deems himself fitted to enquire into the history of the Roman empire. People who in every other country would give no heed to archaeology at all are in England extremely interested, and it has always been thought right and proper that they should be interested. Unfortunately, it has also been thought needless to do more than to be interested. I will not enquire whether this result too is due to our classical education;

<sup>1</sup> This paper was read to the annual meeting of the Classical Association in January, 1912, at King's College, London, and is here printed with a few alterations and the addition of some footnotes. Some introductory matter, dealing with the methods of teaching history through archaeological illustration, is here omitted: it will be found in the "Proceedings" of the Association. I have to acknowledge help from Mr. Philip Norman, LL.D. F.S.A. in preparing this paper, but he is, of course, in no way responsible for my conclusions. I should add that since this article was in type,

the Clarendon Press has issued Sir L. Gomme's volume on *The Making of London* which contains seven chapters on Celtic and Roman London (pp. 1–95). I am afraid that, although it appears under the authority of a University Press, I am unable to accept many of the statements in it. Several of them, such as those referring to various Celtic dwellings and to the "territorium" and "pomerium" of Roman London, and to the derivation of Londinium, I had already noted in my article as being in my opinion quite untenable (p. 170 below).

the fact is plain that our astonishing crowd of *θυροσφόροι* is balanced by a woefully small band of *βάκχοι*, and scientific work is rarer here than in lands where general interest is far less frequent. Like most Englishmen, our students have had plenty of native ability; like most Englishmen, they have firmly declined to improve their native ability by special training. The British archaeologist, like the British soldier, has been deemed able to go anywhere and to do anything—and he has done it freely. The pages of our antiquarian journals are crammed with notes of Roman remains found in London and exhibited to this or that society. But the notes record the exhibitors more often than the exhibits; they tell us who brought an object up for inspection; they do not tell us what precisely the object was, or where exactly it was found, or whether anything definite was found with it. This is the case not only with small objects, but with big things, mosaics, baths, hypocausts. Such structures have been found up and down the City of London in shoals. Many have been recorded in print; a few have even been salvaged for museums. Yet we do not know for sure the plan of a single house or the line of a single street in Londinium. At Trier on the Mosel men have dwelt since Roman days no less continuously, perhaps even more continuously, than in London, and the ancient city is buried by as thick a covering of houses as Roman London. But the German archaeologists have recovered with great skill, and with very small outlay of money, nearly the whole of the Roman street-plan. Nothing of the kind has been even tried in London. There we have the difference between the trained archaeologist and the Englishman whose “ability” is his all. Meanwhile, those who have special knowledge, those who know Latin or even Greek, who have read a little Roman history and understand a few Roman technical terms, the teachers in our universities and classical schools, have turned their backs. A university is scattered all over London. Classical schools abound in it. But, until 1909, the best book, and indeed the only good book, on Roman London was written by a druggist.

The literature of Roman London is large, but singularly scattered, and till lately little of it concerned the Roman period in particular. London in general has been described, in whole or part, by many writers from Camden and Stow in the sixteenth century onwards. But it was not till the first half of the nineteenth century that Roman London began to receive separate and systematic attention. About 1826 Charles Roach Smith, after being designed to enter the law and the navy in turn, finally settled down in London as a chemist's apprentice. Here he stayed for nearly thirty years, living principally in Lothbury and later in Liverpool Street, collecting and recording the abundant Roman remains which building-work in the City was just at that time ceaselessly bringing to light. He formed



an extensive collection of objects, now mostly in the British Museum, wrote a number of monographs, and finally, in 1859, issued his excellent quarto volume, *Illustrations of Roman London*. He was a better scholar and historian than most antiquaries, but his main interest lay in the more definitely archaeological subjects of coins, pottery, glass, and articles of dress (he has several pages on old Roman boots). He stood somewhat alone in his work, and his two chief collaborators, Mr. E. B. Price and Mr. William Chaffers, were not men who often put pen to paper. When he left London in 1855, no proper observer succeeded him. Mr. J. E. Price, indeed, recorded remains found in Bucklersbury in 1869, under the National Safe Deposit Company's premises a year or two later, and in a bastion of London Wall in Camomile Street in 1876, in three well-known monographs,<sup>1</sup> but his work was both diffuse and uncritical. It is only in recent times that the careful observations of Dr. Philip Norman and one or two others have provided us with proper accounts of new discoveries, printed principally in *Archaeologia*. Still more recently an attempt has been made by Mr. R. A. Smith, Mr. F. W. Reader and Mr. H. B. Walters to sum up in the first volume of the *Victoria History of London*<sup>2</sup> the vast masses of material, good, bad and indifferent, which have been collected by previous writers on Roman London. They very wisely do not venture on much constructive theory, and I must confess that with some of their views I am not in agreement, nor is their work free from serious slips in detail. But some defects were bound to occur in the first attempt to deal with the enormous mass of matter, and it is more important to observe that, though the volume must be used with care, it must be used by everyone who studies the subject. It is, in its way, absolutely indispensable. I have quoted it freely and am indebted to its editor and publisher for several of my illustrations.

## II. GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION OF LONDON.

If I now approach the problem, what Roman London was, I must begin with geography. I doubt whether even Londoners always fully grasp the geographical strength and weakness of the site of London. Three factors combine in it. In the first place, and this needs no explanation, London possesses an excellent harbour which can be left and entered in all weathers by all ordinary ships. Secondly, London lies close to the east coast of England, and this east coast lies close to, and open to, the European mainland. The "salt

<sup>1</sup> Westminster, Nichols and Sons, 1870, 1873, 1880.

<sup>2</sup> London, 1909, pp. 1-146.

estranging sea" which sunders us from Europe is also a sea that unites us to it, while the physical structure of our island, with its plains and many of its estuaries on the east and south, and its hills and cliffs far off in the west and north, makes communications with Europe only the easier. London is the greatest expression of the primaevial geographical bond between England and the opposite lands. Its harbour opens towards the continent. Its bridge conducts across the Thames the "land route" from the continent, which here comes up from Kent and reaches the river-crossing. With some few exceptions,<sup>1</sup> the whole traffic that came from the Roman empire, whether from northern Gaul or from the mouth of the Rhine, was geographically bound to pass the site of London. Thirdly, London stands, not indeed in the centre of England, but at one of those points which are even more central than the centre. England, west of the Severn and south of the Trent, is an undulating plain, which possesses no marked strategic features, and offers no great physical hindrances to trader or soldier.<sup>2</sup> From London roads could issue, and in Roman times did issue, in all directions, south-east to the Kentish ports, north-east to East Anglia, north-west towards Shrewsbury and Chester, west to Bath and Exeter and to Gloucester and South Wales. Our modern railways radiate from London because it was the capital before railways began; the Roman highways radiated in the same manner, because geography commanded this.

Only one other site in England combines somewhat the same advantages as London. The estuary of the Itchen forms as fine a harbour as the Thames and is within reach both of the continent and England. Therefore Winchester was, for a while, capital of England. But if near, it is not very near, either to the heart of England or to the French coast; therefore neither Winchester nor Southampton can ever permanently rival London. London's real dangers lie elsewhere, as I shall suggest at the end of this paper. Here it is enough to point out that London had its birth under the influence of geography. In Roman London we see the geographical factor working its will, unhindered by serious earlier occupation, by any established rights of ownership or long commercial custom. We see the greatest of the Fates, our Mother Earth, ordering the rise and fall of cities.

<sup>1</sup> There was direct traffic from the lower Rhine to Colchester, and troops were, it seems, sometimes conveyed directly to northern Britain. See also p. 169 below.

<sup>2</sup> The late Mr. J. R. Green took, as is well known, a very different view of the strategic character of the English plain, and his books have popularised it. Most recent writers have, however, recognised that he was wrong, and have taken the view given

in the text. The one strategic feature of the district which does deserve notice is the fact that the two strips of higher ground, formed of Jurassic and Cretaceous limestones, which run across it, slope abruptly to the north and west and gently to the south and east, and thus positively aid the man, whether invader or merchant, who enters Britain from the south-east, may refer further to the *Cambridge Medieval History*, i, 367.

## III. ORIGINS OF ROMAN LONDON.

1. *Pre-Roman London.* The origins of all the really great things in this world are unknown. We have no evidence to tell us decisively when London began and whether it existed before the Roman conquest. Mr. Rice Holmes, in his learned and admirable volume, *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar*, votes for a Celtic London. He suggests, as indeed others before him have suggested, that the site may well have attracted Celtic traders, and, secondly, that a Celtic name would hardly have been given to a wholly new Roman foundation. The name, I am afraid, proves little. The nomenclature of European settlements in Africa and America and even in some parts of Australia proves that native appellations are often chosen for new settlements of white men planted where no native town or village has previously stood. Chicago bears an Indian name (the choice lies, as I understand, between "skunks" and "onions") but the site was desolate before the white man built there. The name Londinium, the "place (or land) of Londinos," witnesses at most to nothing more than one wigwam or one barn.<sup>1</sup> Nor, on the other hand, is the fact decisive that Caesar mentions no town or trading centre as existing hereabouts, when he passed close by in 54 B.C. For, during the century which elapsed between his raids and the conquest of Claudius (A.D. 43), Britain was in full and increasing touch with Gaul; Roman traders were finding their way to the island, and Londinium may have sprung up then and thus. It is perhaps more significant that the tolerably full narrative which has come down to us of the conquest in A.D. 43 contains no hint of any place like Londinium and though it mentions a bridge across the Thames, this may have been built by the invading army. It must be admitted on the whole that neither our literary evidence nor the inherent probabilities of the case help us far towards a decision.

Our archaeological evidence, unfortunately, does not take us much further. It is true that just a few Celtic objects dating from about 100 B.C. to A.D. 43 have been dredged out of the Thames. One such is a remarkable bronze enamelled shield, found in the river at Battersea and now in the British Museum, which may be put a little earlier than the Christian era.<sup>2</sup> But this was probably dropped from a boat or otherwise lost; it might indeed be a vestige of the fighting against Julius Caesar. On land, in London itself, hardly

<sup>1</sup> This etymology was suggested by M. d'Arbois de Jubainville and has been accepted by Holder, H. Bradley (*Essays and Studies by members of the English Association*, i, 17) and other competent scholars. The name "Londinos" does not actually occur, but it is a reasonable Celtic form. The common derivation from *Llyn din* is phonetically impossible; had Londinium been connected with

these two modern words, it would in Roman times have been "Lindu-dunum."

<sup>2</sup> Coloured illustration and description in the British Museum *Guide to the Antiquities of the Bronze Age*, frontispiece and p. 93: see also Rice Holmes, *Ancient Britain*, p. 245, fig. 42. Compare a bronze helmet found in the Thames at Waterloo Bridge, *Guide*, as above, p. 88, fig. 67.

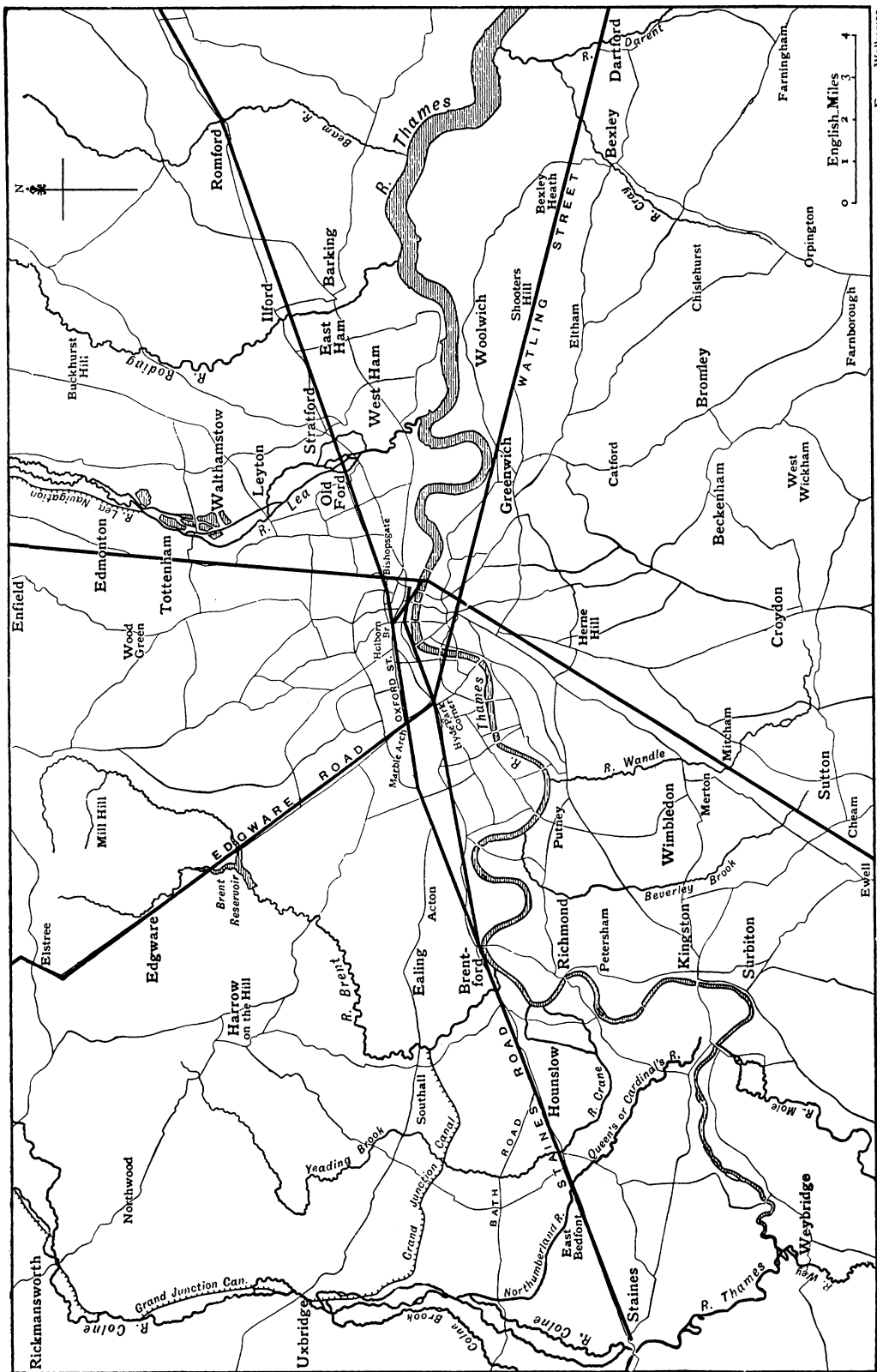
anything has been found which suggests that Britons were dwelling on the site just before the Roman conquest.<sup>1</sup> An absence of Celtic remains is, of course, a common feature in our Romano-British towns and its cause or causes may be doubtful. Some towns, Canterbury, for example, and Winchester, seem to represent re-settlements of Britons brought down by the Roman officials from their native hill-oppida to gentler homes in the valleys, and on such sites no one would look for Celtic remains. But this does not seem to have been the case with Londinium. We could win a better clue from certain Roman potsherds found in London, and perhaps especially in Southwark, which might date from A.D. 20 to 30, if only we could fix this dating with certainty and if we knew more about the circumstances of the finds.<sup>2</sup> We might then conclude that, through the influx of Roman traders, London had been noted as a suitable trading centre (though it had not reached any great size) a few years previous to the Roman conquest. But the minute dating of these potsherds is not easy, and we must leave the question of pre-Roman London unsettled. Thus much at least is clear. Either there was no pre-Roman London, or it was a small and undeveloped settlement, which may have been on the south bank of the Thames (see plan, fig. 29).

2. *The earliest Roman London.* I feel more certainty about the earliest Roman London. The matter is, of course, much disputed. The most recent view seems to be that not only was there no pre-Roman Londinium, but that even in the early days of the Roman occupation the Roman Londinium, which roughly coincides with our City, did not yet exist; the earliest Roman roads were so drawn that they missed this site (fig. 17). Let me discuss this matter very shortly. The roads which chiefly come into question are two, that which led from Kent to the south side of the Thames and that which led on from the north bank into the midlands; in other words, the roads which make up the route from the Kentish ports to central Britain. Part of the problem of course is certain. It is agreed that a Roman road ran through Canterbury and Rochester

<sup>1</sup> Some pile-foundations near Walbrook have been interpreted as Celtic pile-dwellings and a couple of skulls found among them have been called trophies of the heads of the pile-dwellers' enemies (Gomme, *Geographical Journal*, xxxi (1908), 491). But this idea is an anthropological aberration, see *Archaeologia*, lx, 182, and *Arch. Journ.* lx, 137.

<sup>2</sup> For example, a piece of Samian with the stamp of Ateius (A T E . . in a foot-shaped label) found in 1841 at London Bridge railway station and now at Bethnal Green (de la Beche, *Museum of Practical Geology*, 1876, p. 65: omitted in *Vict. Hist.*). Mr. H. B. Walters, *Proc. Cambridge Antiq. Soc.* xii, 111 (note), wrongly ascribes it to Greenwich, and is, I think, also wrong in assigning

it to the Flavian period. The fragment is also noted by Hübner, *C.I.L.* vii, 1336, 96, but with incorrect reference and provenance. The *Victoria History* lists once or twice note "early first-century" wares in London (pp. 96, 140, etc.), but these may be doubtful. However, three pieces now in the British Museum (L. 160, 167, 169); with the stamps of Cornelius, Secundus and Xanthus, might belong to the period A.D. 10-40; compare S. Loeschke, *Westfal. Mitteil.* v, pp. 174, 182, 188. The first-named seems to have been found in Southwark. Southwark potsherds of such early date would help to explain why Ptolemy puts Londinium in the territory of the Cantii, that is, south of the Thames (*Geogr.* ii, 3, 12).



Emery-Walker sc.

FIG. 17. MAP TO ILLUSTRATE SOME RECENT THEORIES AS TO ROMAN ROADS NEAR LONDON (p. 148).  
[Reproduced by permission from the Journal of the Royal Society of Arts.]

towards London, and its traces can be followed to-day with reasonable certainty as far as Greenwich Hill ; here they vanish and controversy begins. It is also agreed that a Roman road issued from Newgate, the western gate of Roman London (see p. 156 and fig. 29), ran along or near the line of Oxford Street to the Marble Arch, and there divided into two roads, one running westwards by Brentford and Staines and the other, better known as Watling Street, running north-west to Edgware and St. Albans. The question is, what happened between Greenwich Hill and Marble Arch ?

The old view of the links connecting these highways was that from Greenwich Hill the road made for the Roman crossing of the Thames close to London Bridge and thus entered London ; then, leaving the City on the west, it reached the Marble Arch by the line above indicated. That is what we used to accept as the road system from the first Roman occupation onwards. Now we are told that this is all wrong. The earliest roads, it is said, did not enter London and leave it again, but ran across south of it. From Greenwich Hill, the original route went straight on through Deptford, Newington, and Lambeth, crossed the Thames near Westminster Abbey, and followed the same straight line to Hyde Park Corner ; there, changing its direction, it coincided roughly with Park Lane ; finally, at the Marble Arch, some eight miles from Greenwich, it fell into the line of the undoubted Roman way which is now Edgware Road and which is the beginning of Watling Street. That is now held to be the earliest Roman route from the Kentish ports to the midlands ; later, perhaps (it is suggested) about A.D. 200, London grew more important and the route was diverted to pass through the town. Fig. 17 shews the lines assumed by this theory, as laid down by one of its most recent and principal exponents.<sup>1</sup>

I must confess that this view strikes me as neither probable nor proven. We are told that it provides us with direct Roman roads and preserves unimpaired "the splendid directness of the Roman system." But it does not : there is a large bend at Hyde Park Corner. We are told that the evidence of burials supports it. Roman burials were, of course, often ranged along Roman roads. But they were also grouped in cemeteries and they therefore do not always prove a Roman road. In any case the burials here in question are too few to prove an otherwise unattested road. South of the river there are two burials, north of it not one. If we ask whether there is any other evidence for the eight-mile stretch from Greenwich to the Marble Arch, we learn that nothing has come to light accidentally, and that such slight search as has been

<sup>1</sup> *Vict. Hist.* p. 30 and plan B ; R. A. Smith, *Journal of the Royal Soc. of Arts*, lix (1910), 114-126, from which fig. 17 is by leave reproduced. A similar theory is maintained by Codrington, *Roman*

*Roads* (S.P.C.K. 1903), p. 56, who rashly alleges that "there is no doubt about it," and gives no reasons.

made has failed to yield results. If we ask the *a priori* probability of the suggested route, we find that both at Deptford Creek and at Lambeth its line crossed difficult and marshy ground.

Tacitus tells a different tale, and, on the whole, I prefer Tacitus, with all his sins, to any modern theorist. He states that within seventeen years of the Roman conquest, in A.D. 60, Londinium was already a full-grown though unwall'd town, crowded with merchants and goods, and hardly less important than a regular municipality, though it had not that actual status and did not owe its rise to official action like ordinary Roman municipalities.<sup>1</sup> Such a town would hardly have arisen away from all existing roads and fully two miles from the passage of the Thames. Towns have often sprung up beside roads or at river-crossings; it is not credible that commercial Londinium should have done the exact opposite. If the earliest roads ran in accordance with the newest theory, the earliest Londinium should be found near Westminster Bridge. Now the remains found at Westminster are few and late while those found in the City and in Southwark are both early and abundant. A few of them, as I have said above, may even be older than 43; a vast number are only a trifle later.<sup>2</sup> These agree with Tacitus, and help to shew that, soon after the conquest, the City and Southwark were already inhabited and prosperous.

The occupation of the site was at first commercial. Of troops and fortifications we have no hint and Tacitus expressly refers to the absence of walls and the presence of traders.<sup>3</sup> London began, not at the nod of a ruler, but through the shrewdness of merchants, who detected the unique combination of a harbour, a river-crossing and a starting-point of many inland routes. It must be remembered that the Italians who flocked into the Roman provinces during the early Empire were quite unlike those who now emigrate from Italy. They were well-to-do merchants and money-lenders. They somewhat resembled the Germans in the middle ages who emigrated to Polish or Hungarian towns, and who, for example, formed for generations the municipal aristocracy of Cracow. With such traders at work, we can easily understand the rapid rise of a commercial centre: we can understand also how it attained size and wealth without definite municipal status, and how, as Tacitus tells us, it was at first an open settlement, with no fort or fortress near it.

It is not easy to determine the extent of the early settlement. Obviously, it must have been much smaller than the later town, which

<sup>1</sup> Tac. Ann. xiv, 33, *cognomento quidem coloniae non insigne sed copia negotiatorum et commeatuum maxime celebre.*

<sup>2</sup> Knorr, *Südgallische Terra Sig. Gefässe von Rottweil* (1912), p. iii, calls them "Ueberbleibsel der imposanten Unternehmungen des Claudius." It will hardly do to limit them so closely.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. R. A. Smith, *Vict. Hist.* p. 42 suggests that "at the time of the Claudian conquest a legion was posted here to guard the river-passage, but soon passed on to the front" and assigns to its camp certain "vast wall-foundations." Had there been such a fortress, the place could not have been unwall'd in A.D. 60. See further note 3, p. 150.



roughly coincides with the present City. Walbrook may give us a clue. In the later Roman period that now vanished watercourse flowed through the Roman town (fig. 29). That inconvenient arrangement is, however, doubtless the result of expansion. The first settlement must have lain either on its east or its west bank. A writer in *Archaeologia*<sup>1</sup> once argued that it lay west of Walbrook, between that and another vanished watercourse, the Fleet. But his paper is mainly based on *a priori* assumptions and nearly all these assumptions are wrong. I should prefer to imagine that the town first rose where the Roman bridge is usually placed,<sup>2</sup> on the east side of Walbrook and between it and the Tower. And just here, if I rightly understand the maps and statistics of the Victoria History, there is an area within which no Roman burials have been detected.<sup>3</sup> Cannon Street forms roughly its river front: the Bank is on its west side: Cornhill, Leadenhall Street, Old Broad Street, Lombard Street, lie mostly within it. Here is room enough for a fairly important town, as towns then were, and here possibly we should seek the earliest Londinium. I notice, as some confirmation of this view, that, within the proposed area, early Roman houses have been detected at great depths, e.g. in Leadenhall Street and Lombard Street,<sup>4</sup> while to the west of Walbrook the deeper and earlier remains seem rather to be such as would naturally lie outside a town. Thus, in Paternoster Row a house with an elaborate mosaic was found at a depth of 12 feet and a tiled tomb lay underneath it.<sup>5</sup> In St. Paul's Churchyard, again, brick and pottery kilns have been found deep down (26 feet) and obviously in the earliest stratum.<sup>6</sup> These kilns are not things which the Romans, or anyone else, would allow amidst their dwelling houses. Roman municipal charters generally forbade them within the walls of organised municipalities and the rule doubtless held even in towns of lesser rank.

To sum up, I find that Londinium was, in the main, of Roman commercial origin, that its life began very quickly after the Roman conquest, that its first phase was an unwall'd town situated in the eastern half of what we now call the City, and that by A.D. 61 it had become important and flourishing.

<sup>1</sup> *Arch.* xi, 41-49. Another conjectural area for the earlier Roman London (from St. Paul's to Birchin Lane and from Cheapside to Poultry) was suggested by Mr. A. J. Kempe (*Gent. Mag.* 1842, i, 267) and has been accepted by Mr. Codrington. It, too, seems to me unproven and improbable.

<sup>2</sup> No traces of a Roman bridge have yet been found: *Archaeologia*, ix, 228, and references there given. The oldest mediaeval bridge (eleventh century) is said by Stow to have been near Botolph's Wharf (see plan, fig. 29).

<sup>3</sup> This area was first detected by Mr. R. A. Smith, *Vict. History*, 42. But he explained it as the site

of a legionary fortress, a view which seems to me interesting but nevertheless untenable (see note 3, p. 149, above).

<sup>4</sup> *Vict. Hist.* 79.

<sup>5</sup> *Vict. Hist.* 79. At the corner of Bow Lane and Cannon Street a tile tomb was unearthed in 1839 at fifteen feet depth and the tomb contained a skeleton with a coin stated to be of Domitian's reign. But the attribution seems uncertain, and an inhumation burial of such a date does not seem very likely; see *Vict. Hist.* 92.

<sup>6</sup> *Vict. Hist.* 124.

## IV. SUBSEQUENT FORTUNES AND GENERAL CHARACTER.

When I pass to its subsequent fortunes, a new difficulty arises. Facts are now many but dates are few, and a chronological story is hard to arrange. From our dates, however, we can draw up a rough general sketch of the growth of London. We know from Tacitus that it was sacked and burnt in the rising of A.D. 61. We know from abundant finds of pottery assignable to the later first century that it rose from its ashes in undiminished vigour. We know generally that this vigorous life lasted on during the second and third centuries. Precise chronological evidence is indeed



[Campbell Grey, photo.]

FIG. 18. COIN OF CARAVSIUS, MINTED IN LONDON : REVERSE AND OBVERSE, ENLARGED (p 152).

wanting, but objects referable to some part or other of this period are not rare. Three inscriptions may be particularly instanced. One of these, lost by some City official's carelessness forty years ago, bore a dedication "To the divinity of the emperor and to the province of Britain," which seems to belong to the early second century. Another, less easy to date, refers to a slave of the Province. A third, which probably mentions the *publicani* of the province, indicates that Londinium was a centre of the financial administration.<sup>1</sup> These items are strong testimony that London was then no mean city. Lastly, we know, mostly from literary allusions, that in the late

<sup>1</sup> See *C.I.L.* vii, 22 (of which Hübner's expansion is a trifle too long), 28, 1235. No. 28 is misinterpreted in *Vict. Hist.* 114. It may be added, in respect of no. 28, that, despite the legal prohibition of unions between free women and slave men, the slaves of the Roman state and of

some public bodies were allowed, among other privileges, to marry free women: see Mommsen, *Staatsrecht*, i, 324 and Dessau, *Inscr. select.* 4983. 6673, 7022 (I owe the references to Prof. Dessau), Hence in London the slave of the Province, Anencletus, has a free woman to wife, Claudia Martina.

third and fourth centuries London ranked very high in Britain. It then enjoyed the title *Augusta*, a mark of dignity if not of legal status.<sup>1</sup> It was the seat of a Christian bishop, one of the three sent from Britain in A.D. 314 to the Council of Arles, and it was the head of a diocese.<sup>2</sup> It contained a mint of the Roman empire (fig. 18), and possibly the only mint in Britain.<sup>3</sup> Finally in 360 and 368-369 it was the headquarters of two high officers sent successively by the central government to reorganise the defence of Britain against the Saxons and other barbarian invaders.<sup>4</sup>

It is a short list of facts. But no other city in Roman Britain and few in any western province can boast of so many. References to the towns of the Roman provinces are naturally rare in Roman literature, and too often they are references only to disasters. Some towns are now and again named in happier context. In Britain, London is the town which is thus most often mentioned. That alone is a striking proof of what Roman London was. If, however, we are to make our notions more precise, we must include in our survey not only the more or less datable evidence which I have just sketched, but also the vast mass of material which illustrates Roman London, though it cannot be assigned with certainty to any special part of the Roman period. Aided by this, I propose to sketch briefly but systematically the chief features of the town, and thus obtain a picture which may not be true of any one year but which is probably a correct view of the average life of Londinium.

(1) *Area and extent.* The extent of Roman London has been ascertained with some accuracy (fig. 29). The town-wall can be traced by its foundations almost all round, though the south-west corner and the river front offer some uncertainties; it has left its mark on the names of modern streets, and portions of it, which builders have spared, are still standing in many cellars and vaults. They include an area of 322 acres, or, if we take another view of the south-west corner, of 330 acres.<sup>5</sup> Contrast that with Roman Cologne (240 acres), or with the larger towns in Roman Britain, Cirencester (? 240 acres), Verulam (200), Wroxeter (170), Colchester and Leicester (110), Silchester (100 acres), and you have some further measure of Londinium. For this area of 322 acres was almost wholly filled with buildings. Only the Tower, and a northern section round Aldermanbury and the top of Wood Street, and an eastern section where Fenchurch and Leadenhall Streets converge, seem to have

<sup>1</sup> *Amm. Marc.* xxvii, 8, 7, "Lundinium vetus oppidum quod Augustam posteritas appellavit;" xxvii, 3, 1, "Augusta quam veteres appellavere Lundinium." So also on certain coins: see *Numism. Chronicle*, 1867, pp. 61, 329.

<sup>2</sup> See the lists of the Council of Arles (Haddan and Stubbs, i, 7).

<sup>3</sup> Maurice, *Numism. Chronicle*, third series, 1900, p. 108, Webb, *ibid.* 1907, p. 46. The evidence for

other mints, at Richborough or Colchester or elsewhere, is much weaker than is usually admitted. The London mint began seemingly with Carausius (fig. 18). It is possible that nearly a hundred years earlier Albinus coined here, but this cannot be discussed in this essay.

<sup>4</sup> *Amm. Marc.* xx, 1, 3; xxvii, 8, 7; xxviii, 3, 1.

<sup>5</sup> Not 360 acres, as was lately alleged in an official paper of the London Society of Antiquaries.

yielded no structural remains, and it remains a puzzle why the circuit of the walls was carried so far out as to include these spaces.

Outside the walls there were very few dwellings. The opposite shore of the Thames in Southwark was from an early period the site of definite, if not very extensive, occupation. Traces of houses have also been noted in the Strand, and, as it seems, in Holborn and at Long Lane in Smithfield, and near King's Cross,<sup>1</sup> while the neighbourhood of Westminster Abbey, the former island of Thorneye, was the site of a house or two, and burials connected therewith and certainly of a late date, have been found adjacent.<sup>2</sup> On the whole, however, these suburbs, with the exception of Southwark, were of very little moment. They formed no such Greater Londinium as the inhabited wildernesses round modern London.

This city of 322 acres is, as I have said, much larger than the first settlement in the days of Claudius can well have been. How and when it reached its final extent, the confused and wretched records preserved by our antiquaries do not reveal. We see that, as the city grew, men preferred to turn westwards and take in the dry and convenient ground between Walbrook and the Fleet, rather than venture eastwards into the marshes of Whitechapel and the Docks. But when this happened we cannot tell. Nor, as we shall see, do we know when the wall was built round the enlarged town.

(2) *The Walls.* The nature of the town walls is well enough known from many observations. In character and composition it is uniform throughout, except in the bastions and perhaps in parts of the river front. It is built of local Kentish stone, without any mixture of used-up material or fragments torn from older buildings, and is planted on the clean gravel subsoil; nowhere does it seem to overlie earlier structures, whether houses or tombs, though it occasionally runs very near them. In itself it is a structure 20 feet high or more and 8½ feet thick near the base, set on a foundation of clay, mortar and rubble, composed internally of rough stone and mortar, faced with regular courses of smallish dressed stones and "bonded" at intervals of about 3 feet with double and treble layers of tiles which run right through the wall (plate xix, and figs. 19 and 20). It has been conjectured that a ramp of earth ran behind this wall. But the only reason for this view is the fact that, near Newgate, the outer face of the wall was noticed to be more weathered than the inner face. It hardly seems necessary to assume a ramp in order to explain this fact.

<sup>1</sup> For the bath in Strand Lane see Chas. Knight's *London* (1841), ii, 165-167, and a drawing by Thos. Wykeham Archer in the British Museum Print Room; it still survives, as Dr. Norman tells me, but much defaced. Holborn has yielded a mosaic, found "deep under ground" near St. Andrew's church, and small objects: see N. Grew, *Musaeum regalis societatis* (London, 1681), p. 130;

*Guildhall Catalogue*, pp. 50, 60, 81, etc. A point in Islington north of King's Cross (formerly Battle Bridge) has yielded a bit of tombstone (*C.I.L.* vii, 26), probably a waif, and some tiles from a building (*Gent. Mag.* 1842, ii, 144).

<sup>2</sup> *Vict. Hist.* 136, 137. An alleged temple of Apollo at Westminster is, I think, a pure fiction.

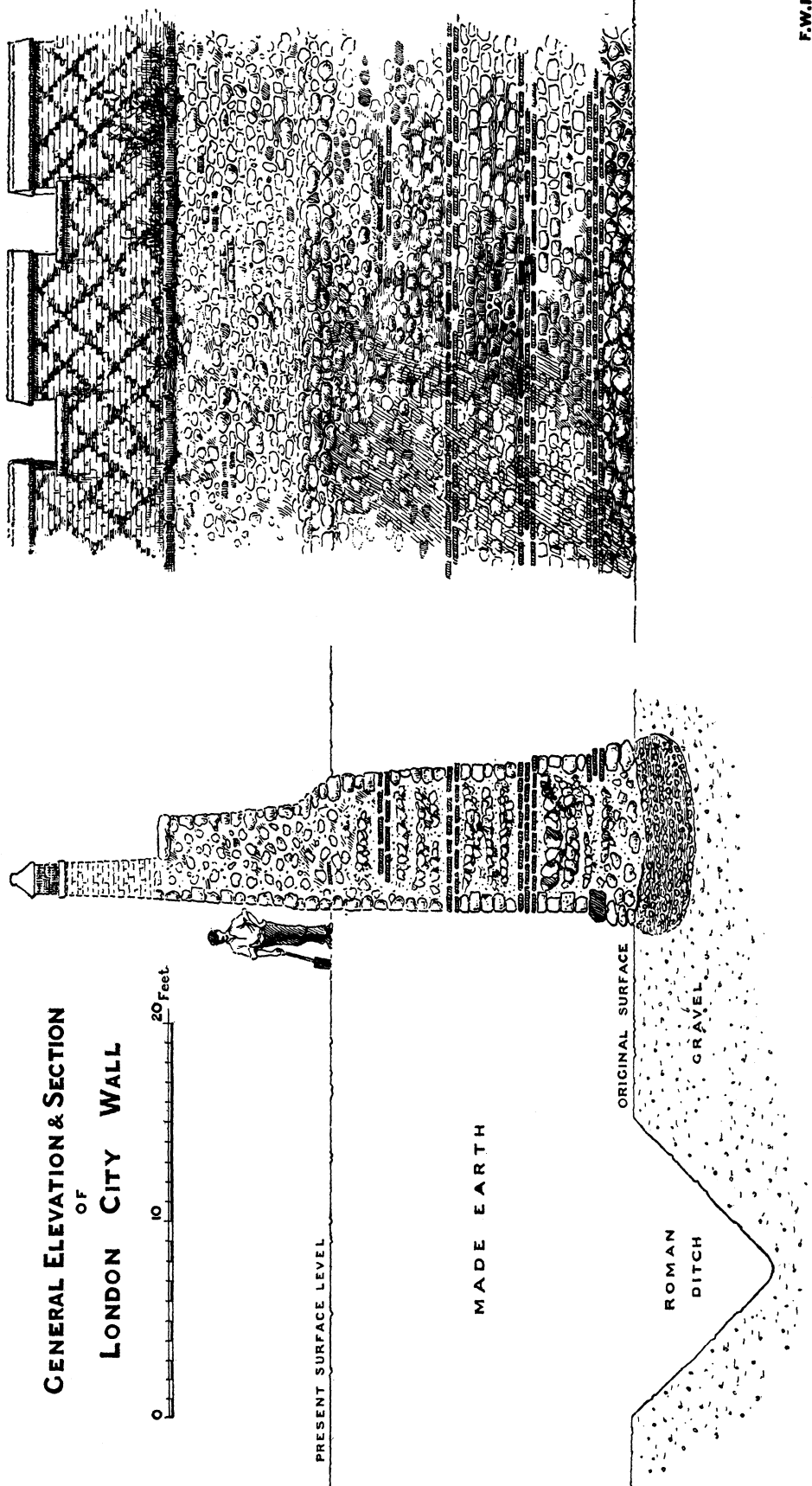
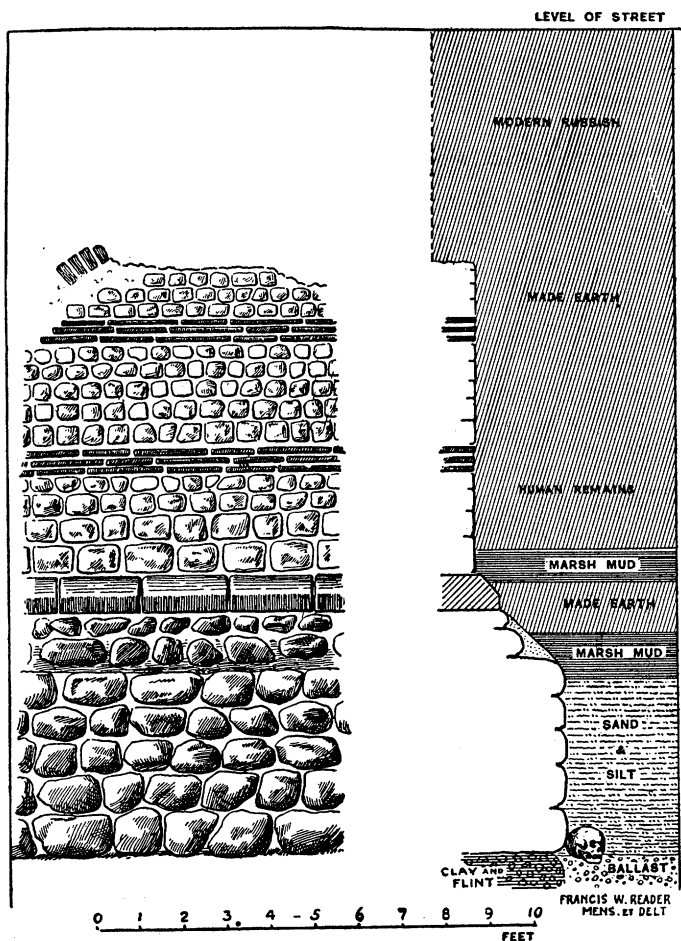


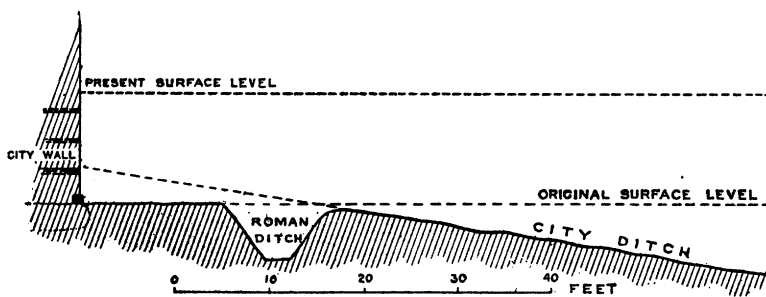
FIG. 19. DIAGRAMMATIC VIEWS BY MR. F. W. READER (*Victoria History*, i, 47) (p. 153).

[By permission of the Victoria County History Syndicate.



[By permission of the Victoria County History Syndicate.]

FIG. 20. ELEVATION AND SECTION OF ROMAN WALL NEAR WALBROOK (*Archaeologia*, lx, 172, and *Victoria History*, i, 61) (p. 153).



[By permission of the Society of Antiquaries.]

FIG. 21. ROMAN DITCH NEAR NEW BROAD STREET (*Archaeologia*, lx, 213) (p. 156).

At irregular intervals of rarely less than one hundred yards, there projected from the wall semicircular, or horseshoe, bastions, of which some twenty have been definitely discovered or reasonably conjectured. These are formed of stone different from that used in the main wall, and they contain no bonding tiles. They are all, so far as we know, full of fragments of Roman carvings, like the walls of many Romano-Gaulish towns in northern France, Belgium, and western Germany. They are not bonded into the main wall. They appear to be both late in date and later than the original wall.<sup>1</sup>

In front of the wall was a ditch of somewhat doubtful width. Usually it is described as very wide, 70 feet or more, and as resembling the town-ditch of Roman Silchester.<sup>2</sup> But recent finds recorded by Dr. Norman suggest that this wide ditch may be merely mediaeval and that the Roman fosse was smaller, unless, indeed, we have traces of two Roman ditches of different dates, the second of which was enlarged and altered in the middle ages. These recent finds were made partly at Newgate but still more in London Wall and New Broad Street in 1906 and in America Square, between the Tower and Aldgate, in 1908. They shewed with much uniformity a ditch, 10 feet wide and perhaps 5 feet deep, running along in front of the wall between it and the wide "mediaeval" ditch, and separated from the wall by a berme of 14 or 15 feet (fig. 21). The filling of this ditch contained bits of Roman tiles and potsherds, and it appears to be of Roman origin.<sup>3</sup> But the section shewn in fig. 21 forbids us to suppose a double ditch and, in view of its tiny dimensions, one finds it hard to believe that this was the only Roman ditch of Londinium. The width of the Silchester ditch is unquestionable; London can hardly have been content with so much slighter a defence.

Of the gateways strangely little is known. Newgate, though its name would not lead us to expect this, provides the only distinct trace of a Roman gate, a double entrance between flanking towers, which was identified in 1903 by Dr. Norman (fig. 22.)<sup>4</sup> Less certain vestiges have been noted at Bishopsgate and Aldersgate, Ludgate and Aldgate. It will be observed that the wall ran straight across the course of the Walbrook; here culverts were introduced to allow the water to pass. They were blocked with iron bars to prevent any other passage, and it is probable that after, if not indeed before, the end of the Roman period these bars became a serious obstacle to the passage of the water, and that thus the marsh began of which we have traces in the names Moorgate Street and Moorfields.<sup>5</sup>

Mr. J. E. Price held the bastions to be wholly post-Roman (*Bastion of London Wall in Camomile Street*, Westminster, 1880). But this seems a quite untenable view (*Vict. Hist.* 49, 56; Norman, *Archaeologia*, lx, 214.)

<sup>2</sup> Fox, *Archaeologia*, lii, 615.

<sup>3</sup> Norman, *Archaeologia*, lx, 212. Dr. Norman has kindly given me some details of the 1908 discoveries, which are as yet unpublished.

<sup>4</sup> *Archaeologia*, lix, 125, and *Vict. Hist.* 65.

<sup>5</sup> *Archaeologia*, xxix, 152, and lx, 177.



This wall, apart from its bastions, was obviously built all at one date. But two distinct views have been held about this date. One party maintains that it was erected towards the middle or end of the

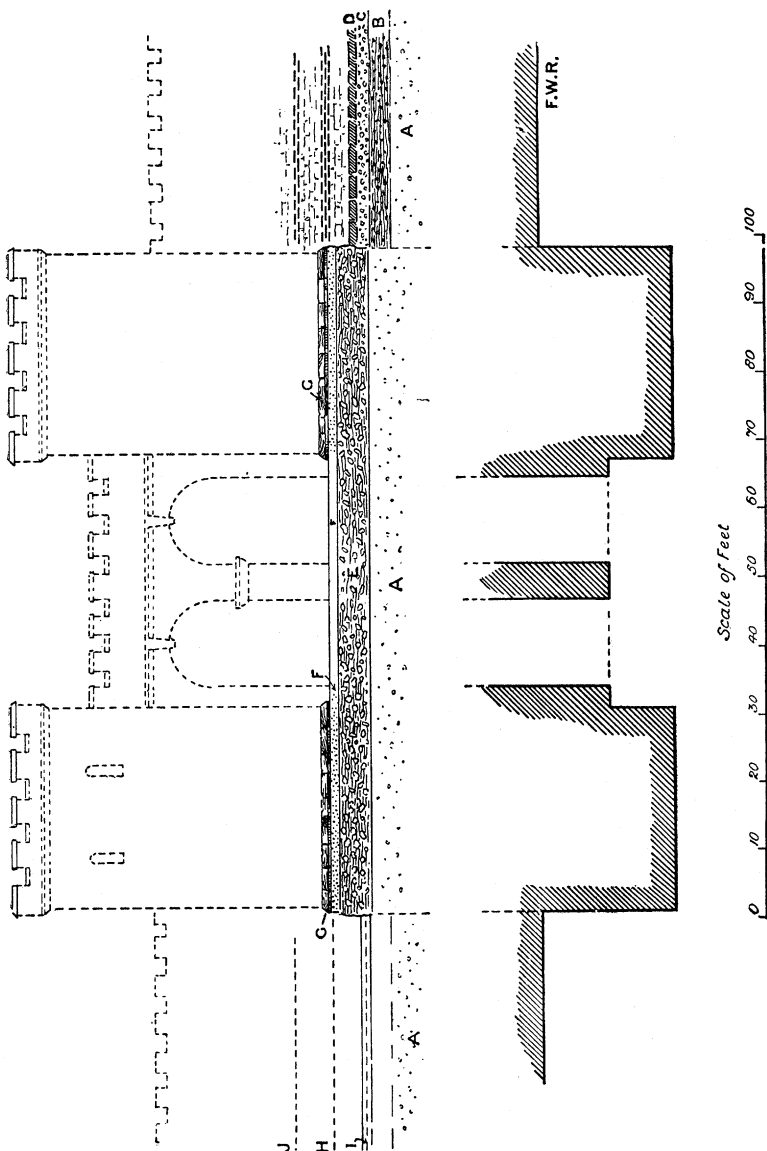


FIG. 22. PLAN AND RESTORATION OF ROMAN GATE AT NEWGATE [By permission of the Victoria County History Syndicate (*Victoria History*, i, 65) (p 156).]

second century.<sup>1</sup> Others prefer the age when the barbarians began to trouble Britain, the opening of the fourth century. It is hard

<sup>1</sup> *Vict. Hist.* 49; *Archaeologia*, lx, 183. The conclusion is based chiefly on the evidence of coins found in the Walbrook, the latest of which

are said to date from about A.D. 180. I cannot say that this seems to me conclusive, though Albinus might just possibly have built the wall.

and perhaps impossible to decide between these views. The material facts appear to be the following. First, the wall itself, as I have stated, stood entirely on the clean gravel subsoil; no sign has been noted that it anywhere crosses earlier buildings or even graves. This would suit an early date, though perhaps our records are too imperfect to give us certainty, at least in the matter of such small remains as burials. Secondly, the line of the wall was seemingly laid out so as to include almost all the buildings of the town which were in existence when it was constructed. The area thus enclosed is very large, and this suggests considerable growth and a late date. Thirdly, the absence of buildings, other than graves, close outside the wall suggests that it was built late in the life of the town; there was no subsequent period during which more suburbs could develop. Fourthly, the structure of the wall, with its courses of small stones and its bonding-tiles, is generally ascribed to the later empire. This, however, is not quite so certain as is generally alleged. Bonding-tiles were certainly used very freely in the later empire. We have datable instances in the forts of the Saxon Shore, and in the city of Trier and on other Gaulish sites. But, at any rate south of the Alps, they were known and used in the first century A.D.<sup>1</sup> They may favour, but they certainly do not prove, a late date for the London wall. Lastly, we have the general probability that wall-building would be carried out in Britain, as in Gaul and elsewhere in the empire, under the pressure of some evil, such as the attacks of the barbarians.

It is plain that these considerations permit no definite conclusion. We must wait and see. But some of the facts appear to have rather more weight than others. In particular the large area included by the wall, and the scarcity of dwellings outside it, and the need of some historical cause for wall-building, combine to make me think that perhaps the end rather than the beginning of the third century is the more probable date. The bastions might easily have been added in the course of the fourth century, when the dangers from Saxon pirates became even more acute.

(3) *Interior.* The space within the walls was fairly well filled with houses, except in the extreme north round Wood Street, and near the east end of Leadenhall Street, and there is some evidence of gardens or open spaces elsewhere (fig. 29). Of the streets we know nothing.<sup>2</sup> Of the public buildings we know equally little. All

<sup>1</sup> Bonding-tiles appear in the Emissarium of Claudius at the Lago Fucino, in a staircase of Domitian's time at the back of S. Maria Antiqua in Rome, in the Flavian temple at Brescia, in the baths of Trajan at Rome, in Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli and on many other first and second-century sites in Italy. North of the Alps they have been noted in an aqueduct of this period at Lyons (St. Irénée). I know of no case in Britain or northern Gaul or Germany which can be certainly ascribed to

so early a date. But the assertion of Burckhardt-Biedermann (*Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, xxv, 174) that they belong exclusively to a late date is not tenable on our present evidence.

<sup>2</sup> Much that has been written about them is demonstrably wrong. Gracechurch Street, for example, which Mr. Roach Smith called the original north and south highway of Londinium, is now known to be mediaeval in origin. See *Archaeologia*, xxix, 154; lx, 226.

the talk about praetorium, arx Palatina, citadel, temples, is merely rubbish. But remains abound which it is natural to assign to private houses—baths, pavements, walls and the like. No intelligible ground-plan of any complete house has ever been rescued. But the abundance of the remains is significant. If I have counted right, the “Victoria History” records 116 pavements. Some of these are mere brick floors; of others the records are too meagre to be useful. But many, perhaps forty, are more or less elaborate mosaics, and London has probably yielded more of these than York and Colchester put together. The mosaics themselves are not for the most

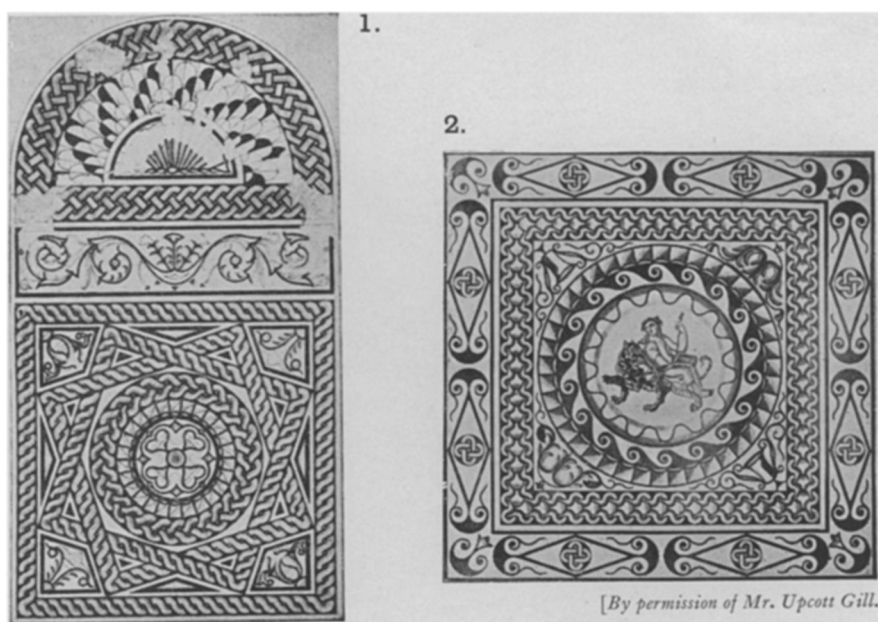


FIG. 23. TWO MOSAICS, NO. 1 FOUND IN BUCKLESBURY IN 1869 (13 × 20 ft.),  
NO. 2 FOUND IN LEADENHALL STREET IN 1803 (11 ft. sq.) (p. 159).

part very remarkable. Few Romano-British mosaics are real works of art and the best of them are not found in towns but in the great country-houses of the land-owning aristocracy, which then, as now, naturally surpassed in size and splendour the more cramped urban mansions. We admire them, mainly, I think, because they are old and because they are a kind of decoration which we seldom use and suppose to be expensive. Still, judged conventionally, the London mosaics are quite as good as most town mosaics in Britain or even in Gaul. The illustrations (figs. 23 and 24) which I am able to give will enable the reader to form some estimate both of the artistic merits and the purely Roman tone of the decorative floors.



FIG. 24. MOSAIC FOUND UNDER THE EXCISE OFFICE (after C. Roach Smith, *Illustrations*, plate vii) (p. 159).  
[By permission of the Victoria County History Syndicate.]

I would gladly have added one or two specimens of the colouring applied to the wall-plaster of the interiors of the houses. In particular, a head which Mr. Roach Smith figures in his *Illustrations* (plate xiv, 3) deserves special notice as at once thoroughly vigorous and thoroughly classical painting. As it is, I can only refer to it as a striking instance of Roman work in London.

The smaller objects found amongst these houses and in London generally are even more remarkable. They are, in the first place, numerous; how numerous, no one perhaps knows who has not dipped into the provincial museums and private collections of England, and seen in every corner smaller or larger contingents from Roman London. The rich stores in the Guildhall and the British Museum are only a fraction of the things found and preserved somewhere. I may quote, as unintentional and therefore more spontaneous witness to this abundance of Roman finds, a sentence from a letter which an old pupil of mine wrote me the other day. "I spent," he said, "a long time at the Guildhall, where I saw more Samian than I ever saw before." Secondly, these smaller objects are no mere inconsiderable trifles. They unmistakably indicate a population which cared and could afford to live comfortably amidst artistic or at least ornate surroundings. I do not say that Romano-British taste was perfect. The Roman empire was never and nowhere very strong in matters of taste. Possibly, as one modern historian has said, it depended too servilely on Greek traditions. But the Roman artistic objects found in London do possess considerable merit and exceed in excellence and number those of any other Romano-British town. I have space for only a few instances; I will begin with three definite works of art, one in bronze and two in marble.

The bronze piece (plate xx) is a life-size head of the emperor Hadrian, found in the Thames near London Bridge in 1834, and now in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> Whether it belonged to a colossal statue of the emperor, I do not know, nor does it much matter. There will be no dispute that it is a fine work. Whoever fashioned it, probably some continental sculptor, well understood the technique of his craft. Like most imperial portraits in all ages, it is not quite an accurate portrait, if we judge it by more authoritative busts of the same emperor from Italy. Presumably it was not modelled from life; such things seldom are. Yet in one sense it is life-like; it is a real effort to shew a living man, and Britain has hardly yielded another such piece of equal merit. It was, as I have said, found in the Thames near London Bridge, and some students might be inclined to argue that it is not a true London antiquity but was lost

<sup>1</sup> *Gent. Mag.* 1835, i, 493, 618; C. R. Smith, *graphie*, ii, 2, 115, no. 92; *Vict. Hist.* 110, with *Illustr. of Roman London*, 65; Bernouilli, *Ikono-* good plate.

in transit to some further part of Britain. Not a few other noteworthy bronze objects were found about the same time and place, and numerous other antiquities, including part of a tombstone, have been taken out of the Thames at various spots. While some of these may doubtless have been lost in transit, it seems more natural to suppose that most of them belonged to Londinium and were at one time or another thrown into the river.<sup>1</sup> One must remember that artistic objects, such as have been dredged out of the Thames, are rare in Roman Britain. They occur, of course. Good or, at the worst, ambitious pieces of classical style can be quoted from other sites than London; such are the Colchester Sphinx and the Cirencester Cupid now in the Ashmolean galleries. But they are not numerous. Specimens of classical work and spirit, such as the



FIG. 25. SMALL BRONZE PROW FOUND IN THE THAMES ( $\frac{1}{4}$ )  
(*Proceedings Soc. Antiquaries*, xvi, 306) (p. 162).

elaborate “crackers” once in Mr. Roach Smith’s collection, with their curious row of tiny heads (p. 167) (plate xxi) or the little bronze prow with its inscription recalling Mediterranean boat-races (fig. 25), are far more characteristic of London than of any other part of our island. If all these objects are to be considered as lost in transit because they have been dredged up from the Thames, the river passage in Roman times must have been incredibly fatal and perilous. On the other hand, plentiful causes can be suggested for the casting away of London antiquities into the London river—the rage of barbarians, the desire of Romans to hide things till a better day,

<sup>1</sup> For details see *Vict. Hist.* 109, 127. The tessellated pavement said there (p. 111) to come from the

Thames, really came from the approach to London Bridge (*Guildhall Catalogue*, p. 72, 6).

the hostility of Christians (on which Mr. Roach Smith laid special stress), and above all that readiness to toss aside old things as rubbish which has destroyed so many precious and artistic objects in every age of history down to our own.

The two marbles to which I turn (plates xxii and xxiii) were found in 1889, 20 feet deep in the middle of Walbrook, and are now in Mr. Ransom's collection at Hitchin. Like the bronze head, they are no doubt foreign work; the marble certainly is not British. But that does not affect their value for our purpose. Artistically, they not only excel ordinary Romano-British work, but they would take a high place in Italy. The river-god, reclining in the attitude proper to such deities with a reed or rush in his right hand, is characterised by a mild, effective dignity; his hair and beard, though treated plainly, are free from stiffness, and his shoulder and chest are distinctly well modelled. The other piece, a statuette of Bonus Eventus (or of a Genius), pouring an offering on to a burning altar, with a snake on his right wrist, a cornucopie on his left shoulder, and a ship's prow by his left foot, is more conventional. But even it is noteworthy, both in the idea of the Italian deity which it figures, and still more in the skill of its poise and its technique. It belongs to Italy and not to a province, and its appearance in a provincial town is significant.<sup>1</sup>

I add, by way of contrast, a Mithraic piece supposed to have been found with these two marbles, though not necessarily connected with them (plate xxiv, no. 1). This is probably British work. It is carved in a sandstone such as occurs near London, and was set up, as it seems, by a soldier in the Second Legion in commemoration of his discharge from the army. The details of the relief are the usual ones. In the centre Mithras slays the bull; his attendants stand one on each side; the dog, snake and crab leap up to the sacrifice. Round them in a circle are the signs of the zodiac; outside, in one upper corner the sun drives up his four-horse chariot, and in the other the moon is driving her car downwards. Beneath are two heads, probably symbolising the winds. This kind of sculpture we may call skilful and ornamental, but not artistic. It has just the merits of scores of mediaeval and modern altar-pieces all over Europe, and it is typical of the good decorative work in many ordinary Roman provincial towns. The well-known statues of the Centurion at Colchester and of Mars at York, probably the two best pieces found on those two Roman sites, are exactly of this class. London has much of this work in stone, as witness the elaborate though now mutilated tombstone found in the Camomile Street bastion (fig. 26), and the statue of Attis discovered long ago in Bevis Marks and recorded by Mr. Roach Smith (fig. 28).

<sup>1</sup> See my note in *Archaeologia*, lx, 43.



From larger works of art I turn to smaller bronzes, ornaments, bric-a-brac. Of these I need mention only a couple of items which accidentally occur to me. The first is a tiny bronze statuette plated



[By permission of the Victoria County History Syndicate.]

FIG. 26. FRAGMENT OF MILITARY TOMBSTONE FROM CAMOMILE STREET BASTION, 1867 (<sup>1</sup>/<sub>10</sub>) (p. 163).

with silver, found somewhere in the Thames in 1825.<sup>1</sup> I append an illustration taken from photographs by Mr. F. W. Reader, which is, I think, as good as any yet published (plate xxiv, no. 2).

“The attitude” (I am quoting Mr. Roach Smith) “of this little figure”—it is a figure of Cupid posing as Harpocrates, Genius of Silence—“is natural and full of grace and the modelling well expresses the fleshy rotundity of early youth. A delicately wrought

<sup>1</sup> C. R. Smith, 73, and plate xxii; *Vict. Hist.* 109, and fig. 48.

gold chain crosses the figure in front and passes through a loop at the back together with a gold ring . . . Harpocrates is winged, but chained to restrain his flight ; upon his head he wears a crescent and at his feet are two dogs and a tortoise, emblems of Watchfulness and Taciturnity."

The second piece is a fine statuette of an archer, found in 1842 in Queen Street, Cheapside, and now one of the treasures of the British Museum (plate xxv). It has been called, indeed, "one of the finest of the bronzes of the Roman period, if it is not actually of earlier date, and to be regarded as purely Greek work." I may quote the description of it first published.<sup>1</sup>

"The height of the figure, if standing erect, would be fifteen inches ; but in its stooping posture, the perpendicular height from the base to the crown of the head is only eleven inches. It is evidently intended to represent a person in the attitude of shooting an arrow from a bow. The bow and arrow were probably of richer metal than the figure itself ; but no vestiges of them were discovered. The aperture for the bow is seen in the closed left hand which held it, and the bent fingers of the right appear in the act of drawing the arrow to its full extent previous to its evolution. The eyes are of silver, with the pupils open ; the hair disposed in graceful curls on the head, as well as on the chin and upper lip. The left hand, which grasped the bow and sustained the arrow, is so placed as to bring the latter to a level with the eye ; and the steadfast look and determined expression of the whole face are much heightened by the silver eyes."

Not all these things are great art ; all of them mean well-to-do and refined and more or less educated owners. As they occur very often in Roman London, we cannot but infer that the place had its full share of wealth and refinement, fuller than most towns in the extreme west of the Empire. It will, however, be understood that indescribably much of Londinium has perished through the very success of the English city which has succeeded it. The life and strife of fourteen centuries have passed over Roman London. Its treasures of carved stone and marble have been robbed for later buildings or smashed in heedless ruin. Its foundations have been buried beneath the dusty wreck of its roofs and walls. It is not good to be the forerunner of the greatest among modern cities.

(4) *Citizens*. Can we tell anything further about the inhabitants ? We know, firstly, that they were civilians. Of a garrison there is no trace at any time ; the walls, whenever built, were manned, we must suppose, by some sort of civic militia. The half dozen soldiers whom inscriptions mention, may have come to London after their retirement or perhaps on special errands. Among the civilians we meet one who was perhaps born at Athens, but our scanty records tell no tale of strangers from other parts of the empire. Nor on the other hand can we detect any Celtic element, which could be called non-Roman, for no one would lay much stress on the solitary tombstone in memory of a woman who bears the Roman

<sup>1</sup> Chaffers, *Archaeologia*, xx, 543. See also C. R. Smith, *Illustrations*, 71, and *Vict. Hist.* 119.

name Grata while her father and husband bear Celtic names. Whatever the population may have been in the country outside London, the citizens within the walls appear to have been Roman or definitely Romanised.

Their worship certainly and their speech seem to have been



FIG. 27. ALTAR WITH RELIEF OF DIANA (p. 166).

Roman. The altars and other remains of religious cults which have come to light in Roman London are such as we might expect in any large and civilised town in Gaul or Germany or even Italy. Let me enumerate the chief instances. An altar dug up in 1830 under Goldsmiths' Hall, in Foster Lane, bears a figure of Diana and testifies to her worship (fig. 27), though the old fancy that a shrine

of Diana once occupied part of the actual site of St. Paul's is as baseless as the other old fancy that Westminster Abbey stands above the foundations of a temple of Apollo. Again, an imperfect inscription, to which I have already alluded (p. 151), mentions the worship of the deity of the emperor. Mr. Ransom's relief, found in Walbrook (p. 163 above, plate xxiv, no. 1), is, thirdly, a proof of Mithraism and might even be used as evidence for a Mithraic chapel by the side of the Walbrook stream. Sculptures of "Attis,"



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FIG. 28. OOLITIC STATUE OF A YOUTH IN PHRYGIAN DRESS (pp. 163, 167).

from Bevis Marks (fig. 28), and of a lion devouring a stag (?), from a bastion of the town-wall, may belong to kindred cults, though some of us would prefer to connect them rather with graves.<sup>1</sup> Once more, the very remarkable pair of bronze "crackers" dredged up

<sup>1</sup> The lion and stag sculpture is figured in the *Vict. Hist.* fig. 37, where it is oddly styled an "architectural fragment."

out of the Thames near London Bridge in 1840 (plate xxi) was certainly not, as the British Museum label used to call it, "a pair of brays for the nose of a victim," but doubtless had some ritual use, possibly (as M. Cumont thinks) in a temple of Magna Mater, though we meet no other trace of such in the recorded remains of Roman London.<sup>1</sup> Lastly, an inscription found in 1855 near Walbrook and a relief from Hart Street<sup>2</sup> show that the Mother Goddesses were worshipped here, as throughout many parts of western Europe and even in north Italy. It is a brief list. But it proves Romanisation clearly. Indeed, if any further comment be made on it, we must say that it reveals the influence, not of Roman culture merely, but even to some extent of Roman officialism. Both Mithras and the Matres were adored by provincials. But in the western regions now under our consideration, their worships occur more freely in districts where the Roman army or Roman officials were stationed than elsewhere<sup>3</sup>.

Of Roman speech in London we have an isolated but sufficient proof. A tile from a bonding-course in the Roman town-wall was dug up in Warwick Lane in 1886 (plate xxvi).<sup>4</sup> It bore an inscription meaning apparently "Austalis (that is, Augustalis), goes off on his own, every day, for a fortnight." Workmen often go off thus and other workmen notice it; this man wrote down his observations and wrote in Latin. It seems to follow that some of the bricklayers of Londinium could read and write and used Latin. I have heard this conclusion doubted on the ground that a bricklayer of the Roman empire would not have known how to read and write. The doubt is idle. Inscribed tiles of this kind, plainly written by labouring men, have been found in one place or another in Britain and other Roman provinces in scores. The truth is that in the lands ruled by Rome education was better under the Empire than at any time since its fall until about 1848.

The occupations of these Roman or Romanised civilians of Londinium are unknown to us. No discoveries have as yet yielded any sign of industrial life. Indeed, in our sense of the word

<sup>1</sup> C. Roach Smith, *Archaeologia*, xxx, 548; Cumont, *Mystères de Mithra*, ii, 432. Some bronze statuettes found in the Thames about the same place, though not the same time, representing Apollo, Attis, Mercury, Ganymede and so forth (*Archaeologia*, xxviii, 40; *Vict. Hist.* fig. 50) may be decorative objects. If so, they no more prove definite worship than the figures of eastern deities which may be seen to-day in many modern European houses.

<sup>2</sup> For the relief see C. Roach Smith, *Illustrations of Roman London*, p. 33, or *Vict. Hist.* fig. 46. The rude sculpture of three standing figures, now in the British Museum (see Smith, *ibid.* p. 45, plate vi, 1) perhaps portrays the same deities, as Ihm thinks,

*Mütterkultus*, no. 343: see also my list in *Arch. Ael.* xv.

<sup>3</sup> Compare my map in *Arch. Ael.* xv, 320, and Cumont's Mithraic statistics.

<sup>4</sup> First edited by J. E. Price, *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* xi, 178, and Watkin, *Arch. Journ.* xlv, 126 (bad copy); see further *Eph. Epigr.* vii, 1141, and my note in *Arch. Journ.* xlvii, 236. It is now in the Guildhall Museum. Mr. Lambert has sent me an excellent photograph of the tile, from which plate xxvi is reproduced. Owing to a slight abrasion of the surface, it is not clear whether Austalis was absent from work for viii or xiii or xiiii days; but for our present purpose, that is immaterial.

“industrial,” few industrial elements existed anywhere in the Roman world, and none in such a province as Britain. Industrial life depends largely on coal and chemistry: the Romans knew little of the former and practically nothing of the latter. Import trade may have counted for more. Articles manufactured on the continent were certainly imported into our island in Roman times, chiefly from Gaul and Germany and Italy—wine and oil, Samian and some other earthenware, bronze work and glass—and much of this must have passed through London. The Samian fragments found at various dates on the Pan Rock, in the estuary of the Thames near to Whitstable, probably record the wreck of some vessel which was bringing Gaulish potters’ wares to London in the course of the second century. There were also exports, grain and cloth (or wool) and lead and so forth, but how far these heavy goods were conveyed through London is uncertain; lead pigs, at any rate, have been found in such spots as Broughton in Hampshire and Pulborough in Sussex, and St. Valéry on the French coast, which suggest other ports than that of the Thames. In any case, the Roman “traders,” the *negotiatores* who flocked to early London (p. 149), and their successors, were not primarily importers or exporters of goods. They were business-men, money-lenders, dealers in government contracts, speculators in land and the like. We may well believe that Roman London, like the City of to-day, owed its wealth and devoted its time to financial rather than strictly commercial or industrial activity.

(5) *Municipal status.* One more question remains. What was the municipal status of Londinium, its place in the hierarchy of cities in Roman Britain? In general, the towns of Roman Britain can be divided into two classes. Five of them, Colchester, York, Verulam, and two others, were municipalities on the Italian model, with charters and constitutions granted by the central government. Others, some twelve or fifteen in number, were “country-towns,” capitals of cantons or tribal areas and ruled by the tribal magistrates, or as we should now say, by the county council. London seems to belong to neither class. We know, for Tacitus tells us, that in its earliest days it had not municipal rank, and we have reason to think that it never acquired such rank. On the other hand it does not appear to have been a tribal capital. It falls therefore outside our ordinary categories. Perhaps we may explain its position by parallels of another kind from other provinces. During the Roman Republic and the early Empire, Roman traders outside of Italy often settled in small groups, sometimes on the edge of native towns, sometimes in other suitable spots, and formed little self-governing communities, like the first English in India within their factories. So perhaps in London. The *cives Romani consistentes Londini*, as the title would run, may have been constituted in the earliest days as an

autonomous settlement, enjoying under the governor of Britain a limited freedom. And this seems to have remained. Like all great lawyers, the Romans were great opportunists. Their successors, the Latin nations of to-day, love uniformity for uniformity's sake; the Romans left an exception alone where it worked well, and I suggest that they did so in London.

It may be urged that this view places London low among cities. But that is not quite the case. Among the cities of the early Empire, no doubt, the chartered municipalities came first. But their prestige belonged to the days of the early Empire, and afterwards declined, while at all times their importance varied much in different districts. In northern and western Gaul, for example, no such municipalities existed; the large towns of these lands, Bordeaux or Paris, won and enjoyed their wealth and renown without any municipal charter. London too might easily have risen to prosperity, it might have been (as we have seen reason to think it was) a central bureau of the finance officials of Roman Britain, it might have sheltered its imperial mint, without special municipal rank.

These considerations have some bearing on recent theories of Roman London. There has been talk occasionally of the *pomerium* of London, of the special jurisdiction which extended a thousand paces beyond its walls and, as we are told, has left its mark in the term Mile End, of a municipal *territorium* which stretched from Staines to Crayford and from Hampstead to Wimbledon. All that, I fear, is talking in the air. The *pomerium* and the mile-limit were peculiar to the one city of Rome; the *territorium* is appropriate only to the municipality. In explaining Roman London, let us stick to the facts.

#### V. THE END OF LONDINIUM.

It remains to bury Londinium. The latest mention of the town in literature is in A.D. 368–369. Coins found in it shew that it survived till the opening of the fifth century. The sequel is impenetrable darkness. Here we reach the widest stretch of *terra incognita* within the domain of written history. Nothing Roman has been found to suggest that Roman-Britons dwelt in London long after A.D. 400. Nothing Saxon has been found to suggest that the English occupied it till some date in the sixth century. The first actual mention of an English London occurs in the story of Augustine who planned and founded—we should say rather, refounded—a bishopric here about A.D. 600.<sup>1</sup> We might perhaps have expected a fortified and wealthy

<sup>1</sup> The idea that there were bishops of London in the fifth and sixth centuries (see e.g. Wakeman, *Hist. of Church of England*, p. 9, note) seems to

rest on Geoffrey of Monmouth and his fictitious bishop Theonus (*Hist. brit.* xi, 3) and the like, and not on real evidence.

city, such as Londinium, to have maintained its life through the barbarian invasions. We have no manner of evidence that it did so succeed. There is no single feature in English "Lundenburg" that seems to be inherited from its Romano-British predecessor. Modern writers have, indeed, talked of the Roman *collegia* as ancestors of the London guilds and companies. I confess that I cannot see the least plausibility in these theories. No such continuity of guilds can be traced with any surety even in Rome itself; in London it is neither probable nor proven. All our probabilities point the other way. Of all the barbarians who fell upon the empire, the Saxons were the bitterest foes to civilisation. Before their savagery or their stupidity the Romano-British towns went quickly down. Even Roman Canterbury perished. The legends tell us of intercourse and friendship between Saxon and Briton there, but the remains show that the Romano-British town lay desolate, and the earliest English pitched their huts outside the tangle of its haunted ruins, camping probably to the east of them where in later days the first English Christians built the church of St. Martin. London doubtless fell with the rest, in some unrecorded overthrow in the early fifth century. Then it lay waste a hundred years and more. Ishmaelite English or even fugitive Britons may have hid amidst its ruins and beside its streams. But the culverts by which the Walbrook had once flowed under the city walls soon became choked, and marshes formed, some north of the walls in Moorfields, some possibly within the city area, and, as a whole, the site lay empty. For a while London ceased to be.

It was right that it should be so, for greater reasons than the choking of the culverts. Look at the world of the fifth century. Britain was now cut off from all continental ties. Its eastern coast, so near to Europe and once so happy in that nearness, had now become a place of death and danger; its inland plains were full of fighting and disorder. There was no room for a London till England grew less troubled, till traders went peacefully to and fro in the land, till the secular storm of barbarism sank and the faint dawn of a new age began to break. Rome itself in that wild time once lay void and untenanted for forty days. It is not unlikely nor unfitting that a greater city than Rome should have lain waste for a hundred years.

Roman London was the child of those forces of nature which we sum up in the word geography, and it was also their victim. To their great power the Roman city owed its rise, its three and a half centuries of prosperity, and its fall. To them too it owed its second rise as an English city and the long life which has now lasted a thousand years. But to-day the signs are plain that English London is no more immortal than its Roman predecessor. The discovery of the steam engine, the opening of the Atlantic to ocean-borne traffic, the



opening of the English mineral resources to commerce, have shifted the geographical centre of our island from the south-east coast and the Thames to the west and the north. Already, as students of commercial and industrial life know, the metropolis has ceased to represent the most active and prosperous and thickly populated part of England. Indeed, there yawns to-day between London and the north a gulf that is almost a national danger. London may, I suppose, remain like the political centres of some other European states, the official and administrative capital, and if it loses its pre-eminence, its fall will be slow; the death-throes of great cities last through centuries. But someone some day will shift the English capital northwards and the government will follow the London newspapers, which have already begun to open their offices in Manchester.

NOTE ON THE PLAN OF ROMAN LONDON (fig. 29).—Mr. F. W. Reader, who prepared a large plan of Roman London for the *Victoria History* (1909) has very kindly drawn fig. 29 for my paper. He has embodied in it some details which have come to light since 1909 and has also, in view of this paper, used a different method of showing by red shading the areas—rather than the actual sites—known to have been built over in Roman times; his plan therefore is not a mere duplication of his earlier plan. He asks me to warn my readers that no great stress can be laid on the exact limits of the shaded areas. The recorded buildings of Roman London lie for the most part along the larger roadways, because it is there that main sewers

have been laid and building or rebuilding has been carried out on a great scale. In the narrower side-streets operations have been more restricted, the work has been done by small contractors, and discoveries, though probably made in abundance, have very often been overlooked or neglected, while in the spaces which lie off the streets, finds have been even more seldom noted. Many blanks in the map are due, therefore, to the absence either of digging or of observation. We have, however, some positive evidence that in the outer parts of the city, near the north and east and west walls, comparatively few structural remains have been met, and here the blank spaces of the map may be taken to represent more nearly the actual facts.





