

Notes on the Remains of Verulamium.

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It is to be regretted that of the remains of Verulamium, probably the largest and the most important Roman city in England, and one of the only two in Britain that were honoured with the title of *municipium*, comparatively little is known. Caleva or Silchester is now being excavated with most important archæological and historical results such as the finding of the Christian Church there. Uriconium or Wroxeter in Shropshire has been explored, and of London, Colchester, York, Carlisle, and Bath a considerable amount is known, and so with many other less important Roman towns. Wherever a site of a Roman settlement exists the earth has always preserved to us some footprints of that mighty empire. Of course, with our knowledge of other Roman towns, much can be guessed at as to Verulamium, but how much more valuable would it be to make the earth reveal the actual history which lies stored a few feet beneath her surface.

The object of this paper is to collect together the scattered scraps of information which exist as to the remains of Verulamium, so that in the event of any excavations being sanctioned and undertaken in the future, it may be known what has been already done. These scraps of information are of so meagre a kind that I have been doubtful during the writing of this paper whether they were really worth bringing together, but having committed myself to the subject, I felt bound to go on.

I will first, however, remind the members of a few of the leading events in the history of Verulamium. It will be remembered that Britain was invaded by the Romans under Julius Cæsar in B.C. 54, although a landing on the coast had been effected shortly before. The defence of this island was led by Cassivellaunus, prince of the Cassi tribe, whose territory extended into the county of Hertford, but it was soon found impossible for the ill-disciplined natives to bar the progress of the Roman legions, and having crossed the Thames, as it is said, Cæsar marched upon the principal town of Cassivellaunus, described as surrounded by woods and marshes, and which is by some considered to have been on the site of Verulamium; this he took by storm, but Cassivellaunus continued his resistance, till, finding all opposition futile, he eventually submitted; and Cæsar, having made Britain a tributary of Rome, retired with his army into Gaul.

Little is known of Britain or Verulamium for nearly a century after this date. We learn from the researches of Sir John Evans that coins of the native prince Tasciovanus were struck at Verulamium shortly after A.D. 12, which clearly shows that the British town of Verulamium was then of some importance, probably the most important town of Southern Britain. Tasciovanus was the father of Cunobeline, or the Cymbeline of Shakespeare, which latter prince appears to have removed the seat of his government from Verulamium to Camulodunum.

In A.D. 43 the Emperor Claudius sent an army into England for the purpose of annexing it to the Roman Empire. He shortly after took the command himself, and having captured Camulodunum, the royal seat of Cunobeline, he returned back to Rome, leaving Aulus Plautius in command. The Hertfordshire princes, however, were not to be so easily conquered, and Caractacus and Togodumnus, sons of Cunobeline, still held out in the West; but Togodumnus being slain in battle and Caractacus treacherously betrayed to the Romans, the army of the Cassian princes submitted. The country was pretty well under Roman dominion by a little after the middle of the first century, but the Roman cruelties towards the conquered inhabitants brought about the revolt of the Iceni

tribe, under their queen, Boadicea, who, after taking Camulodunum, which had been settled by a company of Roman veterans, took and destroyed Verulamium, which had become a Roman town, and is said to have put to death 70,000 Romans. The insurrection was soon quelled, but not till after much blood had been spilt, if we may judge from the numbers of those who are stated to have fallen in it. At this destruction of Verulamium probably all remains of the city of the Cassian princes was completely swept away and the entirely Roman city of Verulamium afterwards arose. The Romans remained the rulers of Britain down to A.D. 410, when, after having withdrawn the Roman legions, Honorius sent letters to the cities of Britain recommending them to provide for their own safety. For over three hundred and fifty years, therefore, Verulamium remained a Roman city. In such a length of time probably all the houses would have been rebuilt several times, especially as in the construction of the upper part of Roman buildings wood was largely used, but the foundations appear to have been made to last for ever, as it is with the greatest difficulty that the pick can now destroy them, although it is some 1500 years or more since they were made.

After the departure of the Romans, Verulamium was taken by the Northmen in A.D. 465 and retaken by Uther Pendragon, and in the 6th century it was finally taken and destroyed by the Angles. It appears therefore that the city was occupied for about 100 years after the Romans left it.

The area of Verulamium has been variously stated, but I have worked it out from the ordnance map and find it to contain 188 acres within the walls, not including the foss or fishpool. It is in all probability the largest Roman city in Britain, but the area of some of the Roman cities not having been ascertained, it cannot be said with certainty to be so. Silchester, which was an important city, contains only 100 acres.

THE WALLS entirely surrounded the city and can be traced with more or less distinctness on every side, except the north, adjoining the fishpool or lake, where, however, the foundations have been discovered at different points, namely, at the place where the trench cut by Mr. Grover, marked A.B. on his plan, crossed it* and again in

* Journal of the Arch. Assoc. Vol. XXVI.

Blacksmith's Lane, when the drainage works were in hand. It is possible that as the city was well protected by the fishpool on this side, the walls were not of so substantial a character and therefore not so capable of resisting the ravages of time and humanity. The foundations shown here by Mr. Grover measure 6ft. wall with 2ft. footing, whereas the wall at Gorham Block is stated by Dr. Stukeley to have been 12ft. in thickness.* The wall is composed of four layers of Roman bricks, the lowest layer having four courses of bricks, the mortar between them being equal to their thickness; the second layer has three courses of bricks, and the two uppermost layers two courses; between each of these layers is about 2ft. 8in. of a sort of concrete composed of large flints and mortar.† The Roman bricks vary from $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch to $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch in thickness, and from 12 to 18 inches in length and breadth. They are of two kinds, the red of a fine colour and texture which was probably baked in the sun and called *crudus*, and the other, called *coctus*, having a red case over a black vitrified substance, which has certainly been burnt in a fire; the black part of this resists a file and will bear a fine polish.‡

Except on the north side, where was the fishpool,§ the walls had immediately outside them a foss about 150ft. across, which, on the south-east side is double, and is supposed to be of ancient British construction. It is difficult now to form an opinion as to the height of the walls, the remains are too incomplete to estimate it with any degree of accuracy. It is probable that the height was not regular, and that the walls on the north side were not of equal height to the rest. There are holes in the wall at St. Germain's block, which Dr. Stukeley says in his time were round, and he appears to think the wall was originally built with them in it, but from their appearance now it looks rather as though they had been caused by natural decay. Although the walls are now almost the only remains of the Roman city above ground, they have suffered perhaps nearly equally with the

* Itinerarium Curiosum I., 116.

† Archæologia II., 184, and Itinerarium Curiosum I., 116.

‡ Archæologia II., 184.

§ The fishpool on the north side could not have been very deep, as Mr. J. Dickson, of St. Albans, tells me when his men were digging a trench for the drainage works, on the site of the fishpool, outside Insula 36 and 42, they came upon solid chalk at a depth of 4ft.

remainder of the Roman buildings by the utilitarian hand of mankind. Dr. Stukeley, in his *Itinerarium Curiosum*, published in 1776, says that "three years ago a good part of the wall was standing, but ever since, out of wretched ignorance even of their own interest, they have been pulling it up all round to the very foundations to mend the highways, and I met hundreds of cart loads of Roman bricks, etc., carrying for that purpose as I rode through the old city, though they have stone cheaper." Although we have not such a gross tale of vandalism to repeat at the present day, yet the older inhabitants tell me that there is not half the wall remaining that they can remember, and I daresay many of us have seen the youthful Albanian expending his superfluous energy in the Abbey Woods on a Sunday afternoon in trying to destroy the little that now remains. It certainly seemed a great pity that this intensely interesting record of the Roman occupation of this country, after braving the elements for over 1500 years, should be now ruthlessly and wantonly destroyed.

THE GATES to the city were four in number, viz. :—north, south, east, and west. Dr. Stukeley also shows a gate at the south-east corner, which he calls the south gate of the city, and Mr. Grover in his plan also follows him, but as the wall can be traced all along where this gate is shown it seems clear that no such gate can have existed.

ROADS, ETC.—The two principal roads running through the city were the Watling Street, which commenced at Richborough in Kent, and went through London and entered Verulamium by the east gate and passed out at the west gate, and so on through the Midlands to Chester. A line of trees still marks the site of this road through Verulamium. The other road passing through the town is called by Mr. Grover the Camlet Way, and came from Silchester or Calleva. It entered Verulamium at the south gate and passed out on the opposite side, crossed the fish-pool by a bridge or ferry, and probably joined on to what is now called Green Lanes, and so on to Sandridge. The positions of both these roads were identified at the time of the excavations of 1869. The city was traversed, like all other Roman cities, according to the discoveries made during the same excavations, by streets running parallel to one another. Mr. Grover's plan shows a diagonal street passing through Insulæ 37 and 43, the purpose of

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which is not apparent. The roads were 18ft. wide, and the metalling and foundations are usually of some depth.

BUILDINGS.—Of the buildings of Verulamium, other than the theatre, we know practically nothing. Whenever excavations have been made no dimensions or details of the buildings uncovered have been kept, even their positions can, in many cases, only be guessed. As early as the 11th century excavations were made by two successive abbots of St. Albans, Ealdred and Eadmer, who, I regret to say, carried them out with the idea of destruction rather than that of preservation, the reason alleged being that the ruins harboured thieves and other lawless persons. It is said that subterranean passages and caves, meaning probably the drains and heating chambers of the Roman houses, were filled up, and excavations were made in order to find stone and brick for re-building the Abbey. It is also related how that a palace was discovered in which were found a number of books and rolls; these, with the exception of one, the life of St. Alban, were committed to the flames as being idolatrous. The one preserved, according to Matthew Paris' story, was translated into Latin by order of the Abbot, and immediately after crumbled to pieces. We are also told that the ruins of temples and altars were destroyed, showing that at that time the remains of Verulamium above ground must have been pretty extensive.* Mr. Thomas Wright also suggests that the walls of the houses remained at Verulamium in the 12th century.†

In 1721 there was published by the Society of Antiquaries a map called *Vestigia Verolamii*,‡ by Dr. Stukeley, but unfortunately more care has been taken upon this map in the artistic effect than in accuracy of detail. I do not think there is any reason to suppose that Dr. Stukeley made any excavations on the site of Verulamium; it may therefore be supposed that there were some remains or indications of what he records upon his plan at the time at which it was compiled. Most important of these remains, or *vestigia* as Dr. Stukeley calls them, are those which are here shown in Insula No. 38, and are generally supposed to have been a part of the Forum. This supposition seems to be exceedingly likely, as their

* Antiquarian excavations in the Middle Ages, by Thos. Wright. *Archæologia* xxx., 440.

† *Archæologia* xxxiii., 262.

‡ *Vetusta Monumenta*, Vol. I.

position corresponds with the position of the Forum in other Roman cities, being at the south-eastern angle formed by the intersection of the two great roadways which traversed Verulamium. From the *vestigia* shown by Dr. Stukeley we can obtain no idea as to the shape or size of the buildings of which they formed a part. Dr. Stukeley also shows traces of buildings in Insulæ 52, 54, and 57, and tessellated pavement in Insula 48, with regard to which he writes* :—“ When I was making an ichnography of Verulamium I could have taken several pecks of remainders of Mosaic pavements out of a little ditch near St. Germain’s Chapel, and there are one or two entire yet under ground. As you walk along the great road that runs north and south through the city from St. Michaels Church [Blue House Lane] you see foundations of houses and streets, gutters, floors, etc., under the hedge rows.” In March, 1718-19, a Mosaic pavement was found here.

The most important and interesting find at Verulamium is the theatre. This was discovered in 1847 by Mr. R. Grove Lowe who noticed some flints embedded in mortar in the bank on the north-east side of the Gorhambury Drive, 327 feet from the road to Hemel Hempstead, and on examining the spot more carefully he saw in the roadway what appeared to be the remains of a building. The St. Albans Architectural and Archæological Society took the matter up and with the consent of Lord Verulam commenced excavations under the direction of Mr. Lowe. It was soon ascertained that the foundations were those of a Roman theatre, which, however, were only partially laid bare owing to the want of funds. This find is of special interest being the only Roman theatre, known to exist in this country. The description of the remains of the theatre is so well given by Mr. R. Grove Lowe in his excellent paper that I cannot do better than quote his words† :—

“ The theatre of Verulam was erected on ground gently sloping to the north-east, its site being, no doubt, selected with reference to the street which was its north-eastern boundary. The outer walls, forming the corridor in the Greek theatres, contained rather more than a semi-circle. There was an inner concentric circle, the

* *Itinerarium curiosum*, I., 116.

† As Mr. Grove Lowe’s paper, printed by the St. Albans Architectural Society in 1848, is now very scarce, there is little apology needed for quoting it here so freely.

diameter of which was one-third that of the theatre. The space included in this smaller circle was called the orchestra, or place for dancing, and was devoted to the chorus, being covered with boards for the purpose of their evolutions and dances. The width of the stage was double the diameter of the orchestra. Its depth was only one-seventh of that diameter; but in some of the theatres were spaces at each side of the stage about twice that depth."

After describing other Greek and Roman theatres, Mr. Lowe continues:—

"Having concluded these cursory remarks, I will endeavour to describe, from our excavations, the theatre of Verulam. It was 190 feet 3 inches in diameter. The two outer walls are on the plan of the Greek theatres; they comprise 240 degrees of a circle; between them was a corridor 9 feet wide. The corridor did not afford a continuous communication round the theatre, for it was interrupted at the entrances by the stairs which crossed the corridor down into the lower part of the theatre, and also probably by walls where foundations are shewn on the south-eastern side, which was most probably the position of the stairs ascending to the seats over the corridor, but possibly of stairs descending to a passage to the stage under the spectators' seats, for the entry of characters appearing to come from the infernal regions.

"The stage contained only the limited space of 46 feet long and 8 feet 9 inches deep. According to the principles which prevailed among the ancients, it should have been about twice that length, and in a Greek theatre 9 feet and in a Roman theatre 16 feet in depth. In all the ancient theatres, as far as I can ascertain, the walls connecting the front of the stage with the outer walls were in the same line; but in the theatre of Verulam they slant 10 feet, giving additional space to the theatre by throwing back the stage farther from the centre than if the usual rules of construction had been observed. The oblique direction of these walls afforded a better view of the performance from some of the side seats. Ten feet in width of the space between what appears to have been in front of the stage and the cross-wall, 16 feet 6 inches from such supposed front, is gained by the obliquity of the side walls. The use to which this space was devoted is not clearly apparent. As the external form of the building accords with the Grecian model, the internal arrangements were probably adapted

to the entertainments represented in the theatres of that nation, and this space may have been devoted to the chorus, and so have rendered the limited area of the stage sufficient for the other actors, or as usual in the theatres of the great cities of the Macedonian time, it may have formed a lower stage for mimes, musicians and dancers. It is possible, however, that it contained the seats of persons of the very highest rank. The wall shewn on the north-west side of that space is only a covered sewer. At the east part of the theatre of Verulam was a room with a coarse tessellated pavement without any pattern, composed of tesserae of Roman tiles about 1 inch square, laid on a very thin layer of concrete. This was one of the rooms usually found at the sides of the stage of ancient theatres for the use of the performers.

“The foundations of a corresponding room on the west side of the stage have not been found. The ground naturally sloped to the north, and has been raised by an accumulation of soil and building rubbish, which may account for the failure of our endeavours to discover the foundations of that room, and of the portico and colonade, which were usually placed at the back of the ancient theatres as a refuge for the audience from rain. At this latter point, however, were dug up two fragments, parts of columns $24\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, of the fossiliferous oolite called Caen stone, but found in some parts of England. These are the only pieces of carved stone which can be traced to Verulam. Many varieties of sandstone and limestone appear to have been used in the construction of the theatre, as well as slabs of white marble $\frac{13}{16}$ inch thick. The outer wall of the theatre was 5 feet 10 inches thick, the second wall 3 feet 6 inches, the scena 2 feet 6 inches, and all the other walls 2 feet thick. The external wall of the buildings in the road varied from 7 to 2 feet thick. They were all constructed with the same materials; the foundation was composed of flints and a few pieces of chalk, on which, on the natural level of the site, was laid a horizontal course of two or three Roman tiles. At one point this course has not been removed, and upon it remains a fragment, 2 feet high, of a wall of flints, cut and faced, so that 3 feet may have intervened, as in the City walls, between the bonding courses of tiles. Tiles were also used at the quoins. The mortar used in the walls was of the usual materials, lime and sand and small stones; but

the side of the walls in the road were filled in, where the earth had been removed in digging the foundations, with mortar partly, but in very varying proportions, composed of pounded tile, imparting to the mortar a pink colour. Loose pieces of the same coloured mortar were frequently met with in excavating the theatre; but it appears not to have been used in the walls. Mortar of this kind was commonly used by the Romans.

“There is some difference in the construction of the external defensive walls, and those of the internal buildings of the city. The flints appear in the former to have been less carefully faced, and the interior is in a greater measure composed of water-worn fragments of flint. The materials were laid in all the walls with mortar of the same consistence as is now used, which was left at intervals to dry, so as to prevent bulging.

“An entrance at the centre, opposite the stage, and another on the east side, have been partially laid open; no trace is discoverable of the corresponding entrance on the west side, in consequence of the foundation of the innermost of the two outer walls having been obliterated at that part of the theatre. The entrances immediately after passing through the arch or door in the outer wall descended down an incline, probably having steps (the innermost of the two outer walls being cut away to the depth of 2 feet 3 inches) to the lower rows of the gallery. The seats over the corridor, and perhaps some of the upper rows in the gallery, were over the entrances. The front entrance is 7 feet and the side entrance 10 feet wide. The space over the corridor being 12 feet wide, including the thickness of the top of the inner wall, might contain three or four rows of seats; 14 other rows of seats might be contained in the space, 33 feet wide, between the corridor and the outermost of the two inner walls, and the two innermost walls might have furnished room for two other rows, making altogether 20 rows, which would require an elevation of about 25 feet, so the orchestra being 10 feet below the level of the corridor, the highest seat over the latter must have been 15 feet above such level. The fourth wall is only shewn in the plan where it is laid open in three places, from 6 to 2 feet distance from the third circular wall. It probably formed a separation for some privileged class—the space it surrounded was the orchestra for the seats of the most distinguished persons. The discovery of many fragments

of roof-tiles suggested the possibility that there might have been a roof; but in that case we should not have found within the theatre the sewer before alluded to. All the walls of the theatre (except perhaps the exterior) were painted in fresco. The walls were first plastered with mortar, some of it the pink mortar I have described, one, or even upwards of two inches thick in one coat. I have only met with one fragment composed of two coats. The mortar was reduced to a perfectly even surface; on this was laid a covering of the finest mortar, perfectly white, seldom thicker than card-paper; and on this, while both the coatings of mortar remained wet were laid mineral water-colours, which adhered to, and dried with it, and in a slight degree added to the durability of the surface. The colours being native colours, and not artificially prepared, time and damp cannot affect them, and so, as long as the mortar retains its surface the colours remain uninjured. Walls painted in fresco were generally covered with an encaustic varnish, composed of Punic wax, tempered with a little oil. This being warmed with an iron pan, adhered to the mortar, which was then polished by being rubbed with a cloth; but I cannot perceive any trace of such a process on the fresco paintings of this theatre. The fragments found must have been for centuries exposed to the action of sun, and wet and frost, and for many centuries to the damp of the earth. After a lapse of fifteen centuries since these colours were used most of them remain uninjured. They are chiefly red and blue verditer, but many other shades are used. The prevailing pattern ran in broad lines, and probably formed compartments or panels, as usually found on ancient fresco walls. Some of the lines forming the panels are excellent imitations of porphyry.

“The building-tiles are generally about 16 inches long, and from $11\frac{1}{2}$ to $12\frac{1}{4}$ inches in width, and from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches thick. The flue tiles are 6 inches across. The scored tiles, and those with the sides raised for roofs, are only in fragments.”

The theatre was partially re-opened again in the summer of 1869, when the British Archæological Society was at St. Albans. At the same time several excavations were made, and if Mr. Grover, who conducted them, had been as particular in giving details of the remains he came across as he was in stating on his plan the exact day on which his trenches struck any

building, the result would have been most valuable, but as it is we have, beyond a very small scale plan of the city and some meagre cross sections, no record of what was discovered at these excavations. A trench was run from A to B in Insula 24 and struck the walls of the large building which you see marked there. This building, which is said to have been used for barracks, though I have seen no reason in support of this assertion, was partially tiled with 7-inch square paving tiles. After this the trench B-C was cut, when the walls of the smaller building in the same Insula were brought to light. Another trench was dug from D to E when the building in Insula 37 was discovered, but nothing apparently was struck in Insula 43 or 49. A trench was also dug from D to F, when the more southern building in Insula 31 and the building in the corner of Insula 33 were discovered. The building in Insula 33 was opened at another time by the Rev. B. Hutchinson, the late vicar of St. Michaels, who laid open three rooms of a house, one of which had a tessellated pavement. The trenches G-H and I-J were likewise cut, when the foundations of the buildings described as villas shown in Insulæ 16 and 22 were uncovered. Of the foundations of other Roman buildings which have been discovered within Verulamium the remains marked in Insulæ 26 and 27 can still be seen in the bank of the hedge on the west side of Blue House Lane, and again in the bank on the east side in Insulæ 33 and 34. The life of the city seems to have centred round Insula 31, within which stands St. Michael's Church, possibly, as Mr. Grover suggests, on the site of the temple of Apollo, or, as supposed by Sir Gilbert Scott, on that of the Basilica. Whether any portion of the Roman temple or law courts was incorporated in the Christian Church I am not prepared to offer an opinion. It is evident there was a building of some importance here from the extensive foundations which have been discovered in the churchyard, and from the fact that portions of stone columns have been found here, things which one is surprised have been preserved, seeing their value to builders of all ages. There is the base of a column apparently in its original position to the south-west of the tower. The Rev. C. V. Bicknell, the present vicar of St. Michaels, in the spring of this year cut a trench through a portion of the mound on the east side of St. Michaels

Church. The purpose of this has often been a puzzle, but it appears that it is artificial, and has been made since the Roman period. When digging for the foundations of the schoolrooms immediately outside the churchyard at St. Michaels in 1853 a large piece of Roman wall had to be removed, and a tessellated pavement of coarse construction, 21ft. by 10ft., was discovered, which it is stated in the *Archæological Journal* was to be preserved by a neighbouring clergyman. I have made inquiries as to this pavement, but its place of preservation is apparently unknown. Mr. Birch, who reported this matter to the British Archæological Society, gives it as his opinion the foundations were part of a Roman villa. Portions of plaster were found, showing that one of the apartments had been decorated in fresco of a red ground with a green border, separated by a narrow white band.* In 1890 some tessellated pavement was found in Insula 27.

ANTIQUITIES FOUND.—The earliest records of any finds at Verulamium were at the excavations, before referred to, by Abbots Ealdred and Eadmer early in the 11th century. Near the bank of the river the remains of ships, anchors, and oars are said to have been found. We are also told that pots, amphoræ, and glass vessels containing the ashes of the dead, idols, and coins of different kinds were found. The idols Mr. Thomas Wright, in his paper on the subject, says were, without doubt, Roman statues and bronzes. These the abbot ordered to be broken in pieces as idolatrous. Mr. Wright also suggests that from these and other excavations were probably derived some of the valuable gems enumerated in the inventories of the relics of the Abbey,† and one at least of these gems was an ancient cameo, as can be clearly seen from the drawing which Matthew Paris gives of it.

Antiquities have frequently been discovered in and about Verulamium, but of course it is only within the last 150 years that any records of such finds have been made, and then probably of not a quarter of the things found has any record been kept. Dr. Stukeley mentions some antiquities from Verulam in the possession of Sir Robert Cornwall, and an urn of white earth $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, and part of a wine jar, 20 inches high and 2 feet diameter, in St. Michael's Vestry, and a similar jar in

* Archl. Journal, V., 357, and Journal of the Archl. Assn., V., 360.

† Cott. MSS., Nero, D., i., and Claudius, E., iv.

the Abbey. In the MS. Minutes of the Society of Antiquaries it is recorded that on 24th July, 1740, Mr. Ames brought an intaglio or cornelian of a head with a helmet found in the ruins of Verulam, then in the possession of Mr. Kittle, of St. Albans, and on 4th June, 1767, Mr. Scott exhibited some elegant Roman and Etruscan vases, very perfect, said to have been found at Verulamium, also drawings, with an account accompanying them of the principal remains of the ancient monastery of Benedictines at St. Albans, "shortly intended to be taken down." And again on 28th May, 1767, Mr. G. Scott exhibited a very curious small Roman vase, or two-handled cup of black earth, of an elegant make, and very perfect, which was discovered in digging among the ruins of ancient Verulamium.

During the excavation of the theatre there were found a bronze female figure three inches high, a brass fibula or brooch having apparently an enamelled centre, a few fragments of green glass, and, of course, a great quantity of broken pottery, only two pieces of which were of Samian ware; and also 171 coins, which are described in Mr. Grove Lowe's paper. Some oculists stamps have also been found at Verulamium.

Many remains of the Romans have been discovered outside the walls of the city. These, for the most part, have been in connection with the burial of the dead. As you are all probably aware, the Romans would not permit burial within their towns, and therefore all graves would be found outside the walls of the city. In 1799 an arched vault was found near St. Michael's which held a leaden coffin containing the bones of a youth. The skull was taken to a closet in the Archdeacon's Court behind the high altar in the Abbey and the leaden coffin sold to a plumber. The Roman stone coffin now in St. Michael's Churchyard was found in 1813 at a considerable depth in a field at the back of Kingsbury House. It enclosed a skeleton and three glass vessels, which latter are now at Gorhambury in the possession of the Earl of Verulam.* A few years before 1847 a number of Romano-British urns were discovered in a meadow one to two furlongs from the south-west angle of the nave of the Abbey, which were figured, and nearly all filled up with burnt human bones; these were then in

* *Archæologia*, XVII. 336.

the collection of Mr. Geo. Gwilt.* About the same time and place a similar find was made which was taken care of by Rev. Dr. Nicholson, Rector of St. Albans. Mr. Roach Smith suggests, and he is followed by Mr. Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A., that the site of the Abbey and the land to the south-west occupied the site of a Roman cemetery. This fact, Mr. Roach Smith says, is not unimportant in explaining the discovery of the body of St. Alban by the revelation asserted to have been made to Offa, the founder of the Abbey, in a dream. The burial place was doubtless well-known to the monks, and "whether the dream was wholly an artifice or actually occurred, no surer method would have been adopted to secure its realization than that of instituting a search for a dead body in an ascertained place of sepulchre."† It must be borne in mind, however, that although the site of the Abbey may have been a favourite place of burial among the Romans, yet their burial places are found in such diverse directions outside the walls of Verulamium, that it leads one to suppose that there was no particular spot set apart as a cemetery.

In 1848 a Roman sepulchre was discovered in St. Stephen's churchyard; it is supposed to have been that of one of the governors of Verulamium, and the body having been cremated places the date of the interment prior to the end of the fourth century, when cremation fell into disuse. The articles found were a glass cinerary urn, hexagonal in shape with a reeded handle 14 inches in height and $9\frac{3}{4}$ in diameter, and containing calcined bones and ashes; an unguentarium or small glass vessel for containing perfumes or other waters used for purification; a præfericulum or pitcher of light-red pottery used for pouring out libations of milk, blood, and wine; a patera or saucer of pottery for receiving the libations; and a lamp of fictile ware, allegorical of the cessation of mortal life.‡ A full description of this sepulchre was read before this Society by Mr. M. H. Bloxham at a meeting held on 20th June, 1849. The articles found, I believe, are still preserved at St. Stephen's. Shortly after this discovery other Roman sepulchral remains were found in St. Stephen's churchyard.

* Journal of Brit. Arch. Assn. III., 331.

† Journal of the Brit. Arch. Assn., Vol. III., p. 331, & Archæologia XXXIII., 262.

‡ Some Roman sepulchral remains discovered in the churchyard of St. Stephen, 1848, by M. H. Bloxham.

In November, 1877, Mr. Charles Woollam discovered a Roman brick grave in his field to the east of the East gate of Verulamium. A description of the discovery, which appeared in the *Times* for Nov. 10, 1877, is as follows:—

“The structure, which stood on a slope, was rectangular with its long axis north and south, the lowest course of bricks being hollow, of the hypocaust kind, the remainder for the most part ordinary tile-shaped ones, such as are to be seen in the Roman walls. The sides were built up to the height of about 1ft. with bricks and mortar, and the tomb was covered in by an arrangement of bricks having the upper courses overlapping the lower so as to form a sloping roof. Outside these the roof was coped by similar bricks laid slanting, and in place of a ridge piece was a course of flanged or channelled bricks surmounted by the upper edge of the slanting ones. This arrangement was no doubt designed to carry off the surface water, which might filter through the soil with which the whole tomb was covered. The interior measurement was 6 feet 10 inches in length, by 1 foot 9 inches in width, and the same in depth. Within was found the skeleton of an adult male in fairly good preservation; on the right side of the skull were the bones of a bird, and near the right hip the broken fragments of a small vessel of baked clay, to which bits of burnt matter were found adhering. Numerous iron nails and one or two small pieces of wood were also discovered. The floor was formed of a bed of mortar, having under it one of chalk. The interment seems likely to have been that of a Roman, not earlier than the year 400 A.D., at which date, according to the antiquary, Mr. M. H. Bloxham, cremation had fallen into disuse.”

The remains were supposed to be those of a Roman physician, the skull of which was presented to Professor Rolleston, and is now, I believe, in the museum at Oxford. The earthen vessel is in the possession of Mr. Woollam, and the bones were re-interred.

Many other Roman remains have been found outside the walls. At the *Herts Advertiser* offices during the excavations necessary for certain alterations made in 1892, some pits, probably refuse pits, were discovered, in which some pottery was found. Mr. A. E. Gibbs exhibited and described this pottery at a meeting of this Society in 1893. Roman pottery and other remains have also been found in the Worley Road, Verulam Road, Branch Road, and George Street.

In the early part of this year while planting a tree on some land belonging to Mr. Woollam at the east of the east wall of Verulamium, about 200 feet from the hedge on the east side of the field, and about 150 feet to the south from the line of trees which is supposed to mark the site of Watling Street, there were found some Roman tiles, evidently laid in position. Mr. Woollam was so kind as to write to tell me of this, and with his consent, and that of Mr. McIlwraith, who is tenant of the land, further excavations were allowed to be made. We found here, about 2 feet from the surface, a layer of ordinary Roman bricks or tiles, covering an area of about 6 feet 6 inches by 3 feet, upon which was a layer of smaller paving tiles. At one end we found the nether stones of two Roman querns or hand mills, 15 inches diameter, some chips of pottery, and one curious piece of Roman pottery having a grotesque representation of a human face upon it. Numerous pieces of bones were found, none of them human, an iron nail, and some portions of tiles for the hot air flue used for warming the rooms of a Roman house.

The site of the amphitheatre has been variously speculated upon, but the three most reasonable places appear to be the dell in the field on the south side of King Harry Lane, opposite the south-east corner of Verulamium, that in the field behind Mr. McIlwraith's house,* and that in the field to the north of St. Stephen's churchyard.

Since reading the foregoing paper before the St. Albans Architectural and Archæological Society, by the kind permission of the Earl of Verulam, and with the aid of the Rev. C. V. Bicknell, I made some excavations on the supposed site of the south gate, or at the spot where Dr. Stukeley and Mr. Grover mark a gate at the south entrance of the Camlet Way into Verulamium. We commenced at 165 feet from King Harry Lane, measuring along the footpath from that lane towards St. Michael's churchyard, and drove a trench at right angles to the footpath 5 feet deep in an easterly direction for 30 feet. Here we came across no traces of the wall or foundations, but adjoining the footpath and extending about 2 feet 6 inches was a layer of what appeared to be rammed gravel, possibly the remains of a road, at a

* I have since been told that this was a gravel pit within living memory.

depth of 3 feet, and here was found a rather nicely patinated *fibula*. From about the middle of this trench we drove another in a northerly direction for 8 feet and 4 feet deep, but discovered no foundations. At the easterly end of the first trench we cut another trench in a southerly direction for 43 feet and about 6 feet to 7 feet deep. At about 18 feet from the first trench we came upon great quantities of loose rubbish from the Roman wall with broken pottery, some fragments of which were of Samian ware, pieces of Roman window glass, and portions of interior wall plaster painted a deep red on the surface. At the south end of this trench was cut another trench back to the footpath, where like rubbish was found, but no solid masonry. Other small trenches and holes were dug in various parts, but no solid remains of the Roman city wall could here be found. Mr. St. John Hope, Assistant Secretary of the Society of Antiquaries, whose knowledge of Roman excavations is well recognised, was good enough to come down and give us the benefit of his experience, and he did not think it was worth while to continue the excavations further, as he thought the wall here must at some time have been grubbed up. As a result of our excavations, however, we were inclined to think that the south gate was in the meadow on the west side of the footpath, and that the position assigned it by Dr. Stukeley and Mr. Grover is wrong.

On examining the foss on the eastern side of Verulamium with Mr. Hope, we came to the conclusion that the double foss had extended on this side down to the causeway of the east gate, and Mr. Hope suggested the reason of the double foss was to keep an enemy at a greater distance where the ground on the outside of the city was higher than that within, in order to prevent an enemy from shooting over the wall. We also came to the conclusion that there was a foss from the east gate to the fish pool or lake.

As the result of my late excavations have thrown some doubt upon Mr. Grover's plan of Verulamium I have thought it better to give only the accompanying rough sketch to elucidate my paper. When further investigations upon the site of Verulamium have been made, a larger and more accurate plan I hope will be drawn.

