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We are grateful to St Albans Museums for their permission to re-publish the photographs of the Verulamium excavations.

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## Verulamium, 1933

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**T**HE work of the fourth season at Verulamium was concentrated upon three objectives:—

1. The further investigation of the pre-Roman city in and near Prae Wood, with special view to ascertaining more of its extent and date of origin.

2. The completion of the large *insula* already partially excavated on the main site, together with that of a triangular *insula* which had been located in 1931 in the vicinity of the triumphal arch.

3. The exploration of some part of the central area of the city in order to ascertain the exact position of the theatre (partially uncovered in 1847), and to find out whether the neighbourhood of the main buildings of the city would produce that evidence of late-Roman or even post-Roman occupation which had been notably deficient in the more southerly area hitherto explored. Each of these three objectives will be dealt with briefly in turn.

### I. THE PRE-ROMAN CITY

In 1931 pre-Roman Verulamium had been identified in part in Prae Wood on the edge of the plateau above the two Roman sites. Its extent still remained indeterminate and the available material from the excavations had so far failed to carry back its history into the first century B.C., when on numismatic evidence it is known to have been a headquarters of King Tasciovanus. A little exploratory work carried out in 1932 had indicated that the pre-Roman city extended south-eastwards beyond the limits of Prae Wood into the fields immediately adjoining Prae Farm. One of the main tasks of 1933 was to carry this work to a reasonable conclusion and, incidentally, to elucidate the chronological problem referred to.

It had already been observed that a short stretch of the Hemel Hempstead road, south-east of Prae Farm, diverged sharply from its natural course into alignment with the pre-Roman earthworks in Prae Wood. As a working theory it had therefore been inferred that this

divergent road represented a former continuation of the earthworks in question. The first result of the excavations carried out here in 1933 under the direction of Mr. D. A. Casey, F.S.A., was to confirm this theory and to reveal the inner of the two pre-Roman ditches parallel to and a few feet south-west from the Hemel Hempstead road. For reference, it may here be observed that the large field which adjoins the road at this point is now known as Pond Field,<sup>1</sup> a name formerly applied to a small part of it. The ditch was 14 feet wide and 5 feet deep, but its former effective dimensions had been materially reduced by the demolition of the bank, which had originally existed between itself and the outer ditch. At a distance of from twelve to fifteen feet within the margin of the ditch was found the palisade-trench which had formed a regular feature of the corresponding defences in Prae Wood.<sup>2</sup>

Within the eastern corner of Pond Field, closely adjoining the junction of the road to Potters Crouch with the Hemel Hempstead road, Mr. Casey was confronted with fresh problems. At this point the ditch was interrupted by a graveled road which however proved on examination to be a secondary feature and of early Roman date. The ditch itself continued beneath it, but was here complicated by a number of new factors. In the first place, its level suddenly altered by a sharp drop of two feet. In the second place, at the point at which this drop occurred the ditch was joined from the south-west by a narrow gulley which had clearly carried a palisade running at right-angles from it. The end of this palisade had been anchored by a short barricade which formed an oblique T-end to it, and was itself embedded in two slots placed slantwise on the flanks of the main ditch. In the third place, the outer ditch of the Prae Wood system, which, it will be recalled, is now represented by the Hemel Hempstead road south-eastwards from Prae Farm, had here returned inwards towards the main or inner ditch, and had abutted upon the

<sup>1</sup> In the estate map, dated 1776, now in Lord Verulam's possession, the present Pond Field is shown as divided into three parts, of which the N.E. part bears the name in question from the pond which still exists in its north-eastern corner.

<sup>2</sup> See *Transactions of the St. Albans and Herts Architectural and Archæological Society*, 1931, p. 88, and *Antiquity*, June, 1932, p. 133.

transverse barricade. The point which had already been suspected was now proved: this outer ditch was an addition, since the returned end of it was cut into silt which had already accumulated in the main ditch.

A fourth and last feature of this complicated site may here be noted. After the disuse of the pre-Roman ditch-systems and its partial obliteration by the Roman road, two attempts were made to sink well-shafts by the roadside. The first shaft,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet in diameter, was sunk to a depth of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet through the filling and inner lip of the former main ditch, but was abandoned, presumably when the unstable nature of this material was realized, and was immediately refilled. A second attempt was then made some  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet further towards the south-west. This new shaft of similar diameter was dug to a depth of  $13\frac{1}{2}$  feet before it was abandoned and likewise refilled. These two shafts were cut after the Roman road had not only been built but repaired, and they contained a little indeterminate Roman material.

South-eastwards from this site, the inner ditch at its new and deeper level was found by excavation to have continued at a slight angle and, further on its course, to have diverged again from the straight line with a view to effecting a partial conformity with the contour. Across one small lucerne-field it appeared as a light streak, but for the rest there was now no superficial trace of it, whether in the ground or from the air.

It was followed for a distance of half a mile by means of exploratory trenches, and its end was ultimately identified and verified to the west of King Harry Lane and well to the south of the Roman cities. At its end it was approached from the south-west by another palisade trench, which was likewise anchored by a T-end held in slots. Shortly before reaching this point it was found to have been interrupted by an entrance (see plan, Fig. 1, 1933), which was recessed so as to open, significantly enough, along the plateau and not towards the valley.

In addition to these excavations, a considerable amount of further work was carried out in Prae Wood itself; and without detailing this in the present context, we may now summarize our knowledge of the pre-Roman city as follows:—

*Phase I.* In its earlier form, pre-Roman Verulamium consisted of two parts or Regions, both of them delimited towards the margin of the plateau by a single dyke, possibly supplemented by an inner bank, or even by both an inner and an outer bank—later alterations and the depredations of centuries of farming have obscured this point. This ditch, the total length of which was nearly a mile, can have had little or no military significance; its primary function must have been to mark out the cleared and occupied plateau from the unoccupied and doubtless still wooded slopes of the valley. It served thus as a sort of municipal boundary and to some extent as a check to cattle straying.

Near its north-western end lay an approximately square enclosure which may have been an insertion within the chronological limits of the phase. It was just under 2 acres in area, and was bounded on the north-eastern side by the dyke itself and on the other three sides by a ditch  $11\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide by nearly 5 feet deep, with its bank apparently on the outer margin. At the southern and eastern corners of this enclosure were entrances heavily metallised with large flints. Trial trenches within the enclosure have failed to reveal any structural remains, but the sandy soil has been almost entirely riddled with tree-roots and bracken-roots, and the quest for post-holes is well-nigh hopeless. The eastern ditch, which was mostly cleared out in 1931 and 1933, had been largely filled up in late pre-Roman times, and produced an immense mass of pottery of about 20-40 A.D. Above this was a thick layer of early Roman material which suggested a deliberate levelling about the middle of the 1st century. In its original state, the enclosure had presumably marked a kraal or cattle-pen.

As apart from this enclosure, the more northerly region of the pre-Roman site (Region I on plan) was cut off from the more southerly region (Region II) by the timber palisade, which, as already mentioned, ran at right angles on to the main dyke in the eastern corner of Pond Field. The extent of this palisade towards the south-west is unknown. It was traced for a length of 500 feet until it impinged upon the line of the Potters Crouch road. Region I undoubtedly contained a part at least of the pre-Roman city. Whether this city extended

southwards into Region II or whether this Region may be regarded rather as representing the "home fields" cannot be affirmed without further excavation. It might have been suggested that Region II was secondary and formed an enlargement of Region I, i.e. an enlargement of the city; but the transverse barricade at the end of the palisade in the eastern corner of Pond Field was clearly intended in part to continue the palisade across the dyke, and seems therefore to imply its contemporary continuation. This arrangement may be contrasted, for example, with that of the T-end at the extreme south-eastern limit of the dyke where there is no similar attempt to utilize this feature as a dyke barrier. The evidence is admittedly inconclusive, but on the whole favours the supposition that Regions I and II are contemporary with one another and merely served different purposes.

At the same time it is worth noticing that along the plateau, where an extension of the city clearing might be anticipated, as need arose, the limit was marked only by an easily removable palisade and not by a dyke. That the plateau and not the valley was in fact the primary centre of interest has already been noted in connection with the entrance near the southern end of the dyke (above, page 17).

As to the date of the town in its original form, the evidence is not very precise. It is not at present possible—nor does seem likely to become possible—to date the bulk of Belgic pottery within close limits. All that can be said is that during and after the reign of Augustus on the Continent, Belgic pottery at Haltern and elsewhere is found not only in association with imported Italic wares but also made in imitation of those wares. It may indeed be said that any considerable group of Belgic pottery dating from the latter half of the reign of Augustus and later may be expected to show Italic influence in the form of imitations of Italic cups and plates and butt-beakers. At the same time, from the beginning of the first century A.D. the Belgic areas of Britain tended increasingly to use pots with a distinctive bead-rim, and once again any extensive Belgic pottery from Britain after about 1 A.D. may be expected to show some slight admixture of this type.

On the other hand, many of the older Belgic types and fabrics remained in use long after the introduction of Italic forms and bead-rims; and in small groups the absence of these relatively late features is not necessarily determinate, therefore, as evidence for an early date.

In the first silting of the main dyke at pre-Roman Verulamium and in the filling of both the main palisade-trenches—those limiting Regions I and II towards the south-east—sherds only of the coarser and more primitive Belgic wares appeared. This is in itself consistent with a fairly early (first century B.C.) date for the city in its first identified form, but the total bulk of the relevant pottery is small, and is insufficient for proof. It is true that the association of Verulamium with King Tas-ciovanus, who must have died not later than the opening years of the first century A.D., reinforces the ceramic evidence, but the fact that the deposits immediately succeeding the earliest fillings already referred to contained ample evidence of Italic contacts seems to prevent us from dating back pre-Roman Verulamium beyond the end of the first century B.C. If our inference is right—and it is now based upon extensive excavation—it is obviously impossible to accept the conventional identification of Verulamium with the city which formed the capital of Cassivellaunus at the time of Cæsar's invasion in 54 B.C.

*Phase II.* Further evidence that the main body of the pre-Roman town lay in the more northerly Region I rather than in the more southerly Region II, is provided by the next phase in the history of the site. The phase is represented by the addition of an outer ditch and an inner palisade to the main dyke, where it forms the north-eastern boundary of this region. At the south-eastern end, as we have seen (above, page 16), this added ditch returned on to the end of the palisade dividing Regions I and II and cut into the silt of the main dyke. At the north-western end the added ditch was run on to the square enclosure described above (page 18), forming an L-shaped terminal to the system. That the palisade within the inner margin of the main dyke was equally a secondary work was shown by the fact that it cut through an earlier Belgic hearth and also

through the eastern entrance to the square enclosure where the channel through the flint causeway was identified in 1931. To the same phase of reinforcement may be ascribed the partial re-cutting of the main dyke itself as shown in 1933 at three points in the end adjoining Prae Wood.

The date of this reinforcement cannot have been far removed from that of the Roman invasion of 43 A.D., and—although the possibility is not stressed—may have been directly due to it. The filling of the added outer ditch at the two points at which it was examined showed an admixture of Roman with native fabrics, whilst a coin of Agrippa dating from the reign of Tiberius (died 37 A.D.) was found in the top of the lowest silt of the main dyke closely adjoining the in-cut end of the added outer ditch in the east corner of Pond Field.

*Phase III.* The last phase of the pre-Roman site brings us into the Roman period with the destruction of the two main palisades bounding Regions I and II towards the south-east, and with the building of the roadway across the ditches in Pond Field. This phase must, we may imagine, have coincided with the gradual removal of the population from the plateau to the slopes of the hill beneath it, where in the latter half of the first century the Roman municipality crystallized within its new earthen defences—the so-called Fosse.

## 2. THE "MAIN SITE"

### *Insula IV* (Fig. 2)

Trial-trenches cut in 1932 suggested that the northern part of *Insula IV* had been extensively robbed, but it remained for the work of 1933 to reveal the extent of the depredations. The plans and something of the history of at least two buildings were recovered in spite of the fact that the actual structures were largely non-existent. Save for the apsidal end of the eastern wing of House IV 10, and a small portion of its main range, the plans of these two houses (IV 9 and 10) were recovered by digging trenches at close intervals across the lines of their former walls, now represented merely by the trenches from which the masonry had been removed. Fortunately, the robbing of the walls had not been accompanied by an equally extensive destruction

of the floors, and at one point—in the corridor adjacent to the apse of IV 10—a mosaic panel of black and white chequer work survived almost intact (Fig. 3). The surviving floors covered material dating from the first half of the second century, and it seems likely that the house dates from this period. Later it was abandoned; a hypocaust in Room 10 collapsed, and amidst the ruins of its former mosaic floor<sup>3</sup> were buried three infants. These burials demand no special explanation, since it was the normal Roman custom to bury small infants, without cremation, in the vicinity of dwelling houses.<sup>4</sup> It may here be observed that four other infant-burials of this kind (Fig. 4) were found during the season's work, and that similar burials have been recorded on other Romano-British sites.<sup>5</sup> This phase of desolation gave place to one of re-occupation, which was most clearly visible in a later third century rehabilitation of the eastern wing.

Although less can be said of the structural history of House IV 9, it was apparent that at some time this structure formed something of the nature of a shop on the street-front, and since the two buildings were connected by a corridor, it is tempting to see in House IV 10, the dwelling of the proprietor of House IV 9.

### *Insula III*

It will be readily understood that the excavation of these fragmentary buildings gave little scope for the training of students. Accordingly an area of three-quarters of an acre, to the east of the same street, was dug largely by volunteer labour. Here five periods of occupation were established. The earliest, dating from the beginning of the Roman period, was represented by post-holes (insufficient to reconstruct a building-plan) and fire-pits, some of which may have been connected with industrial operations on a small scale. Towards the end of the first century, at least three buildings occupied a part of the site. Save in one case, where the external

<sup>3</sup> This mosaic had consisted of a central panel representing an urn flanked by dolphins surrounded by floral designs and framed with a key-pattern.

<sup>4</sup> See Juvenal, *Sat.* XV, 139; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, lib. vii. c. 16, and *ibid.* c. 54, and Fulgentius, *Sermones Antiqui*, 7, Ed. R. Helm, 1898, p. 113.

<sup>5</sup> See *Archæologia*, LXXI, 150, where ninety babies were found in a villa at Hambleton, and R. C. Neville, in *Arch. Journ.* VI, 1849, pp. 16 and 21, with special reference to similar burials at Ickleton and Chesterford.

walls were of flint and brick, these buildings were timber-framed with wattle-and-daub filling. The floors were of clay, gravel or a light spread of mortar, and, in some cases, of good thick *opus signinum* with marginal quarter-round mouldings. Two of the buildings, if not all three of them, were destroyed by fire before the middle of the second century, and considerable remains of the burnt timbering, wattle and daub had survived.

In the latter half of the second century, the whole site was levelled for the erection of a house of considerable size. The new building was of quadrangular plan, enclosing a central courtyard or garden and including two small hypocaust systems. Like most of the other buildings in this area, the house was reconditioned, with minor structural alterations and additions, at the end of the third century. At the same time, new mosaic-floors were laid down in several of the rooms, but only fragments of them had escaped the plough. It may be noted, incidentally, that a small cist of roof-tiles, containing remains of an infant, had been inserted at the time of the rebuilding within one of the rooms.

The final phase in the story of this site is represented by four post-sockets, three of them brick-lined, which were cut into the floors of the late third-century house, and had apparently supported, at some unknown period, an oblong shed.

It is worth remarking that neither in this area nor in the whole of *Insula IV* was there any appreciable evidence of a fourth-century occupation.

#### *Insula VII: The Temple* (Fig. 5)

Concurrently with these excavations, the triangular *insula* north of the triumphal arch was completely uncovered, and its history was briefly as follows. The Watling Street, forming the eastern arm of the *insula*, was laid out shortly after the Claudian invasion, and was here flanked on the west by a ditch 9 feet wide and 4 feet deep. Soon afterwards an inhumation-burial, with the head to the south and accompanied by a Belgic beaker, was inserted into its western margin (Fig. 6). This burial is noteworthy since the rite of inhumation was characteristic neither of the Belgic natives nor of the Roman invaders. Thereafter for a time the occupation

hereabouts was largely agricultural, chalk being systematically worked into the soil. In the third quarter of the 1st century, this phase was succeeded by one of industrial activity, represented by layers of ash and iron-slag which partially filled up the Watling Street ditch. Towards the end of this industrial phase the road which formed the western side of the *insula* was laid out; it extended north-westwards into the interior of the earlier Roman city, and so, incidentally, gives a hint as to the approximate position of that city's southern gate. It became also the dominant factor in the development of the street plan as, during the next half century, the city extended southwards from its earlier nucleus.

It was the area within the acute angle formed by the junction of this street with the already existing Watling Street that was to become the site, early in the 2nd century, of a building of public importance. The plan of this building is unique for the reason that it reproduces almost exactly the unusual outline of the site, but its various features leave no doubt as to the function for which it was designed; it was a temple, conforming, however unconventionally, with the normal requirements of classical ritual. The visitor approaching from the south was confronted by the plastered and red-painted walls of this strange building, and might pass through the entrance, possibly arched, in its narrow southern end. Thence he would cross an internal portico or ambulatory surrounding a triangular courtyard and supported, at least in part, by columns veneered with Ketton stone. In the courtyard he would find an altar standing upon a base of brick rendered to represent stone; and beyond it he would see, through the central bay of the ambulatory, a shrine containing the statue of the presiding deity, and the walls of two flanking cells or treasuries.

Who the presiding deity was is not precisely known, but some evidence as to the history of his (or her) temple and the nature of the offerings customary there was recovered. The history of the building falls into three main phases.

*Phase I.* During the construction of the temple, a small oven was built near the southern end of the courtyard, and since it showed signs of use, it may have served for the preparation of burnt offerings of pine

kernels and bones, which were in fact deposited at certain points during the progress of the work—notably under the platform designed to carry the statue, and in the two flanking compartments. With the completion of the floor of the courtyard, the oven was retained but was rebuilt with its flue facing the site of the altar. The latter was represented by its stepped and brick-built base. The position of the cult-statue was indicated by the matrix of its base in the central shrine; and within each of the flanking compartments was a small brick-lined tank or cavity of uncertain use. The latest of a number of datable objects covered by the building at this time was a coin of Trajan, dated 99-100 A.D. It may be added that at this period the plastered external walls were protected from the traffic of the adjacent streets by lines of posts placed at five-foot intervals.

*Phase II.* Owing to the instability of the filling within the underlying ditch of the early Watling Street, the temple very soon collapsed. It was rebuilt immediately on the same plan, with two modifications: a small porch was added to the entrance, and the altar was removed to a more central position near the back of the courtyard. The level of the courtyard itself was raised over a filling which included much building débris from the original structure. The latest datable object covered by this reconstruction was a coin of Trajan dated 101-103 A.D. A notable feature of this phase was the deposit of burnt offerings at various points in the courtyard. The largest group consisted of seventeen broken pots buried with three plain bronze rings, two coins (of Augustus and Antoninus Pius respectively) and a number of charred pine kernels. In the cement floor of the eastern corridor, close to the external wall, was found a carefully buried deposit comprising a yellow jar stoppered by a frilled incense-cup containing a second-century lamp of "Fortis" type.

*Phase III.* Owing to the fact that the temple had been extensively robbed in later times of its building materials, little evidence of its later history survived. The level of the courtyard was again raised, and the base of the altar was rebuilt with two off-sets in plastered brick. Behind the altar, in a rough cist of flints and

broken roof-tiles, was found the complete skull of an ox, presumably that of the animal slaughtered at the dedication of this altar (see Fig. 7). Only one hint as to the period of this latest phase was recovered—a coin of Tetricus I in a patching of the floor behind the site of the statue-base. This is just sufficient to suggest that the temple shared in the general renaissance of the city at the end of the 3rd century. The presence of the ox-skull behind the altar and the discovery of the edible kernels of the Italian pine suggest that the temple was dedicated to the Asiatic deities, Attis and Cybele, in whose rites the pine-tree and purification by the blood of sacrificial oxen played a prominent part.

*Triumphal Arch.* The foundation of this arch, adjacent to the temple described above, was discovered in 1931, but was re-investigated in 1933, when it was found to have been in use contemporaneously with a road-level containing a coin of Antoninus Pius and much late-Antonine pottery. The character of its masonry was, moreover, similar to that of the second century fortifications; and the two pieces of evidence are thus consistent with a second century date for the structure. Fragments of fluted pilasters of Italian marble, almost certainly part of the enrichment of the arch, were found in a destruction level in association with late third-century pottery and coins. Nothing survived to suggest a rebuilding of the arch at a later date.

### 3. THE THEATRE AND ENVIRONS.

The theatre was partially excavated by Mr. R. Grove Lowe in 1847<sup>6</sup> and was partially uncovered again in 1869. The plan of 1847, though now known to be inaccurate in several details, gave a good general idea of the character of the remains. The archæological technique of the period, however, was inadequate to enable the date of the structure to be ascertained, nor was the position of the theatre recorded with sufficient exactitude to enable it to be placed with precision upon the modern map.

Accordingly, with the permission of Lord Verulam

<sup>6</sup> *Description of the Roman Theatre of Verulam*, St. Albans Architectural Society, 1848.

and his tenant, Mr. Crawford, trenches were cut in 1933 for the purpose of locating the building. Subsequently, the Gorhambury Estate undertook to defray the cost of the complete uncovering of the theatre and its permanent preservation. This work was begun in 1933 and will be brought to a conclusion in 1934.

Approximately half of the theatre has now been roughly excavated, the exploration of details being reserved for the final stages of the work. The building is of a typical classical plan, consisting of a seating-ramp between inner and outer retaining-walls of flint, a second and thicker outer wall which probably formed the flank of a surrounding vaulted passage, three stair-cases or ramps extending from the exterior down to the orchestra, and a stage consisting of the normal three divisions—the *pulpitum*, or stage proper, the *scaenia* with colonnaded front and the *postscaenium*, or back-room, where stage properties could be stored. There are also, on either side of the stage, compartments with tessellated floors which would serve as waiting-rooms for actors or other persons. It will be observed from the plan that the orchestra, which, in the Roman theatre, was reserved for the seats of distinguished spectators, takes the form of two-thirds of a circle; it thus approaches more nearly to the traditional Greek type of plan than to the conventional Roman type, in which, as laid down by Vitruvius and exemplified by many existing examples abroad, this feature was semicircular on plan. In the Verulamium theatre, the actual seating of the auditorium or *cavea* was doubtless of wood and may be estimated to have provided accommodation for about 1,600 spectators.

Until the work of excavation has reached a further stage, no stratigraphical evidence as to the date of the building will be forthcoming. The constructive details—type of mortar and method of flint-laying—are identical with those of the second-century city gates, and there can be little doubt that the theatre dates from the remodelling of the town during the first half of the second century. Subsequently, the building fell into disuse save as a dumping ground for rubbish, which contained a large number of fourth-century coins

extending down to the House of Theodosius, *i.e.*, to the end of the copper coinage of the West.

The abundance of the late fourth-century coinage on this site (already over 1,000 coins of the fourth century have been found on it) forms a sharp contrast to the scarcity of late evidence on the "main site" in the southern half of the town. That this late evidence was not peculiar to the theatre-dump was proved by half a dozen other trenches cut in 1933 for the purpose of indentifying streets in the vicinity of the centre of the city. These trenches similarly produced numerous fourth-century coins. This fact is of considerable importance in a reconstruction of the economic history of the city, for it suggests that at Verulamium, as in many of the cities of Gaul, the fourth century saw a marked reduction in population, or at least in the area occupied, and a shrinkage of that population to a limited area situated generally round the main civic centres. It was accordingly these civic centres that, in the late 3rd and 4th centuries, were fortified throughout Gaul at the expense of decayed or decaying suburbs which no longer required or justified protective measures. At Verulamium, by the latter half of the fourth century, the formerly flourishing quarter revealed on our "main site" was no longer occupied save, perhaps, by a few squatters, and it was further north, around or beyond the forum and the theatre, that now was concentrated the reduced and, we may suppose, increasingly impoverished population of the place.

The excavation of the theatre, therefore, not only reveals, under modern conditions, the only structure of its kind known in Britain, but also goes a considerable way towards completing our outline of the economic history of this important city.

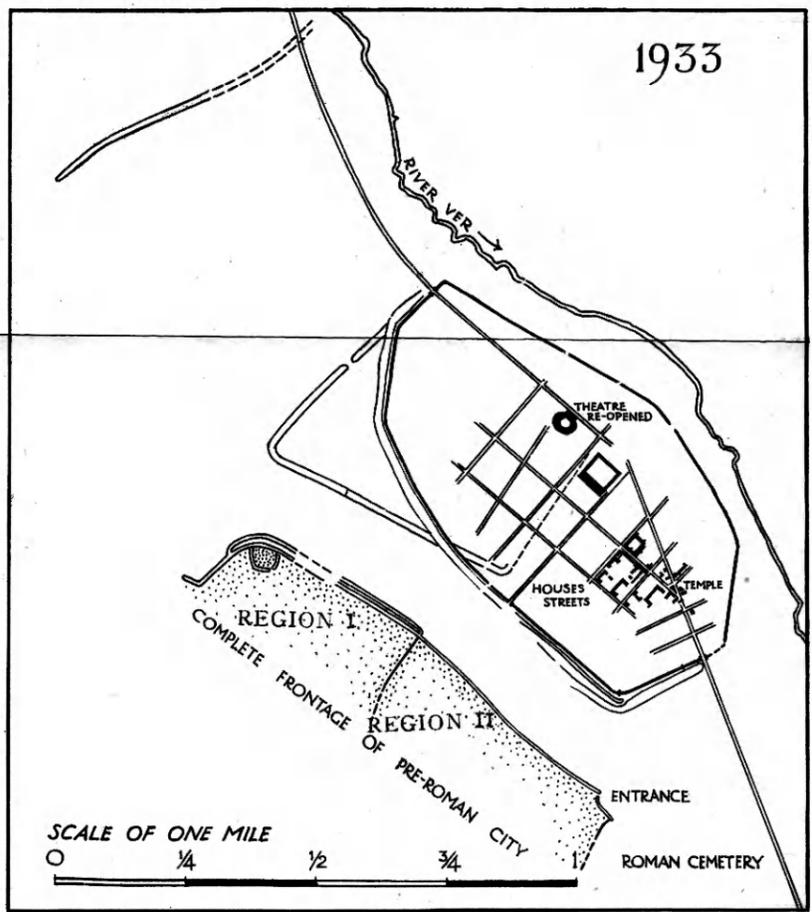
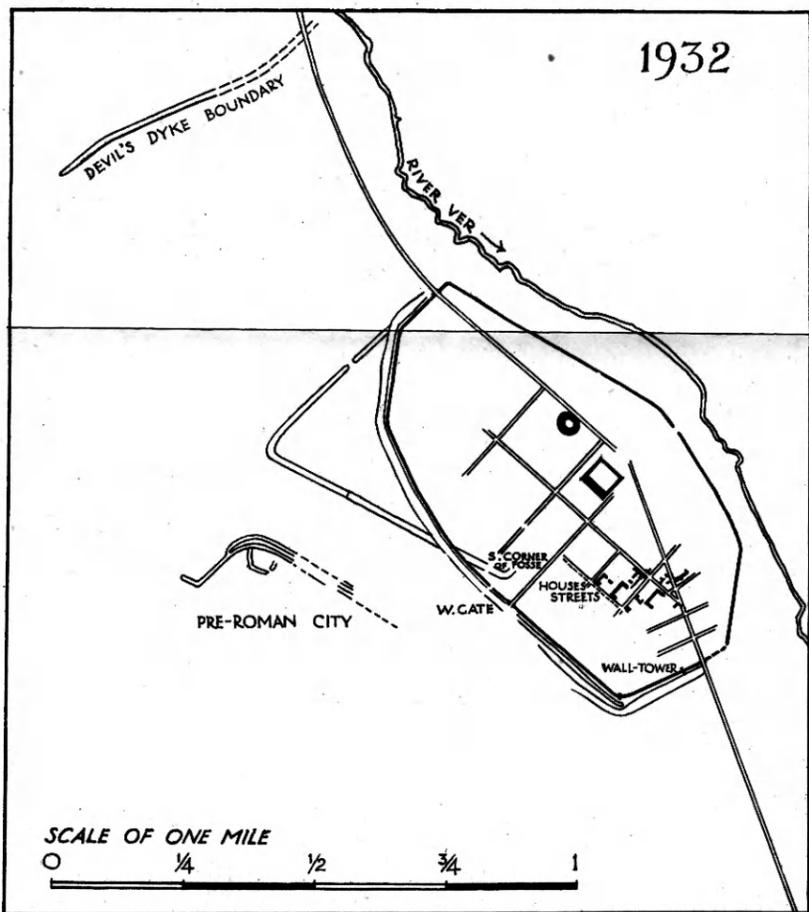
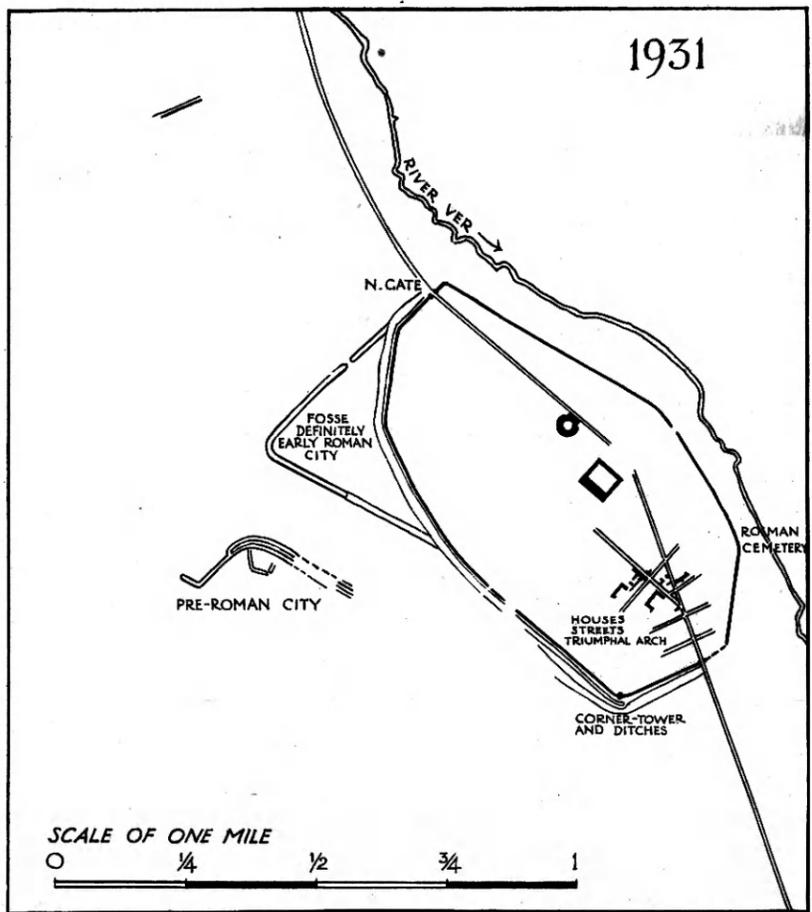
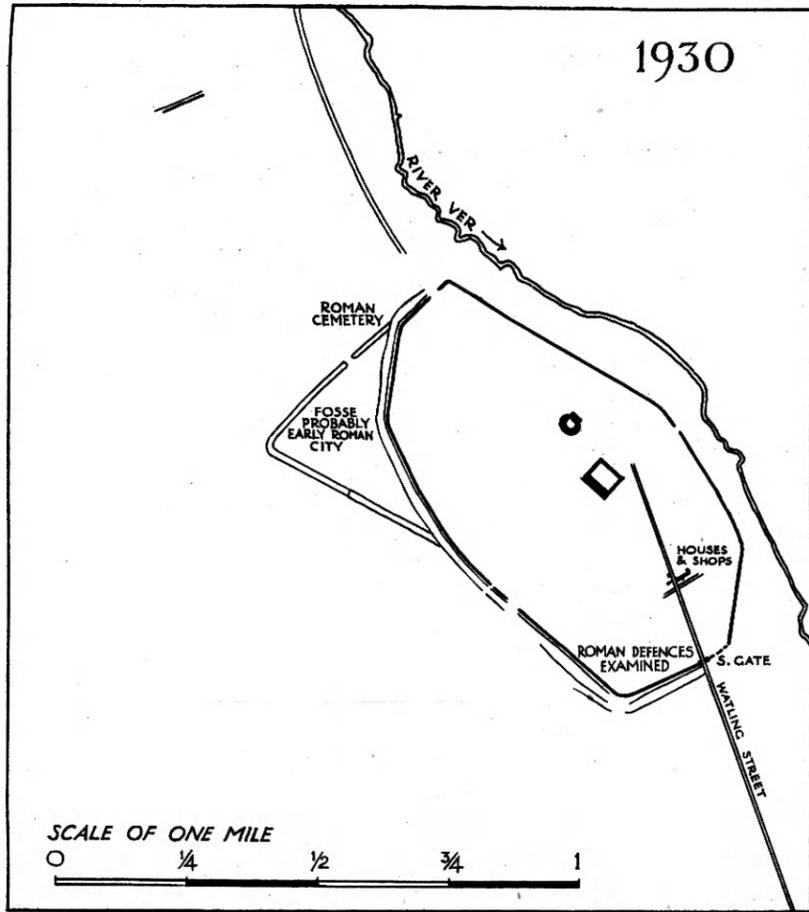


FIG. 1. PLANS SHOWING THE PROGRESS OF THE EXCAVATIONS, 1930-3. (See p. 15.)





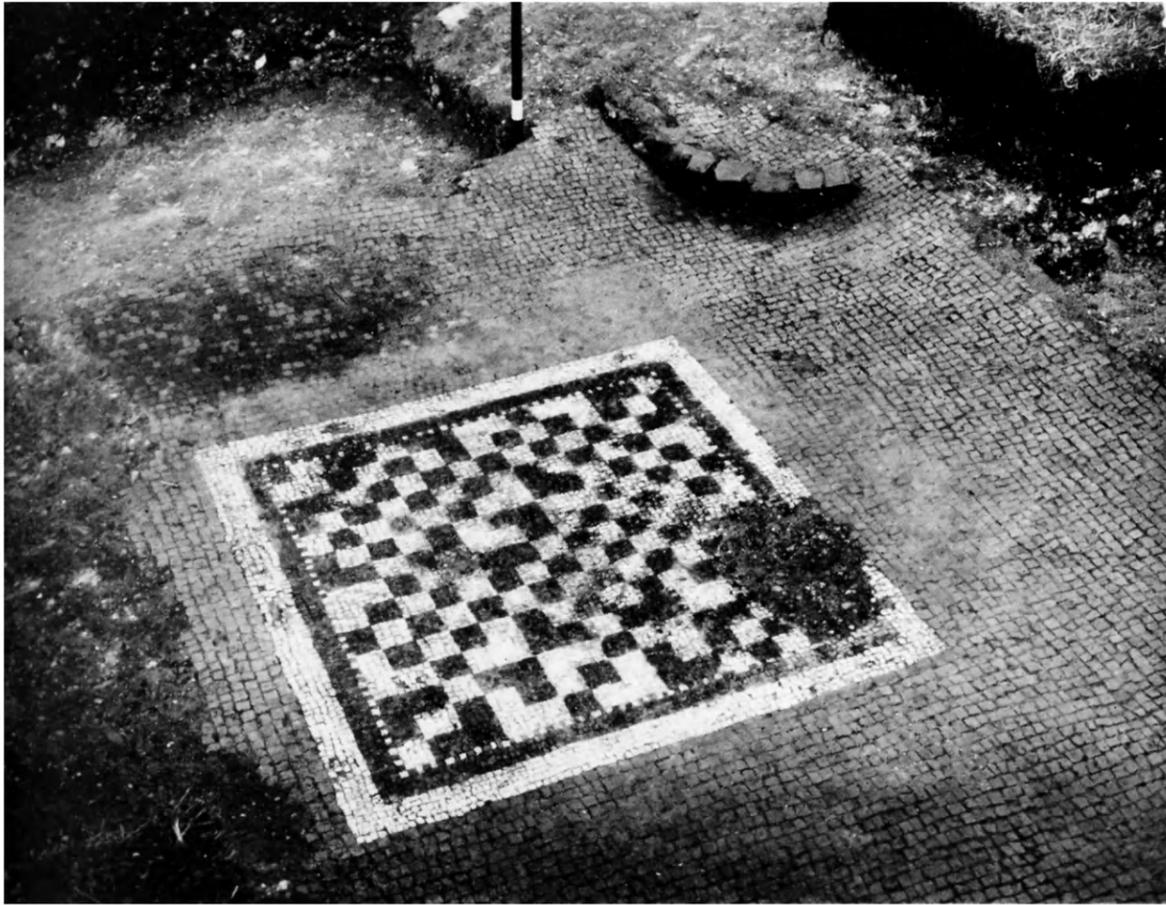


FIG. 3. MOSAIC FLOOR IN CORRIDOR OF BUILDING IV 10. PROBABLY *c.* 300 A.D. (*See p. 22.*)





FIG. 4. INFANT BURIAL, 1ST OR EARLY 2ND CENTURY A.D.  
(See p. 22.)



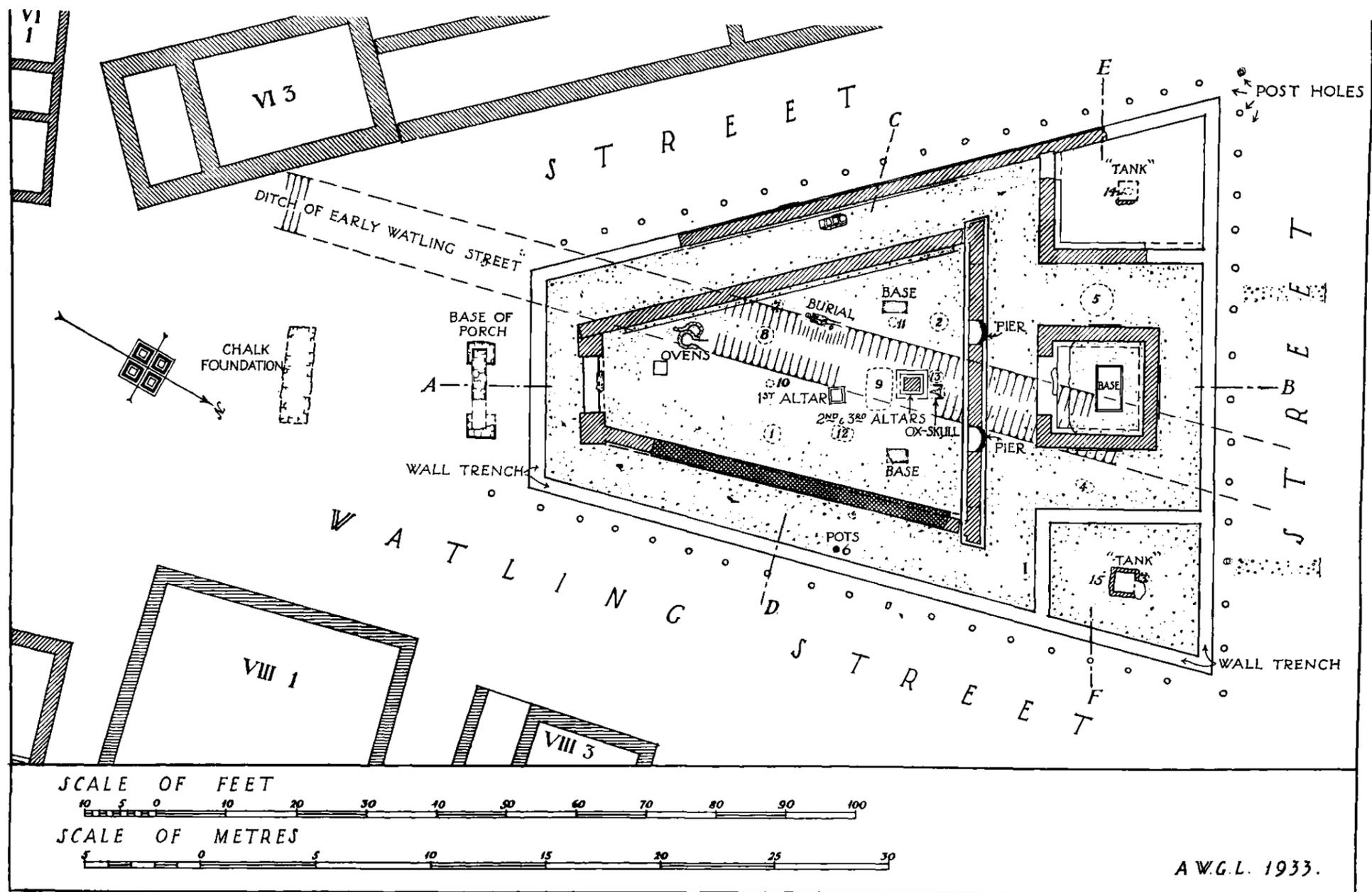


FIG. 5. PLAN OF THE TRIANGULAR TEMPLE AND ENVIRONS. (See p. 23.) (Plan by A. W. G. Lowther, F.S.A., A.R.I.B.A.)





FIG. 6. DITCH OF EARLY WATLING STREET UNDER THE TRIANGULAR TEMPLE, WITH BELGIC BURIAL OF *c.* 50 A.D. ALONGSIDE. (*See p. 23.*)



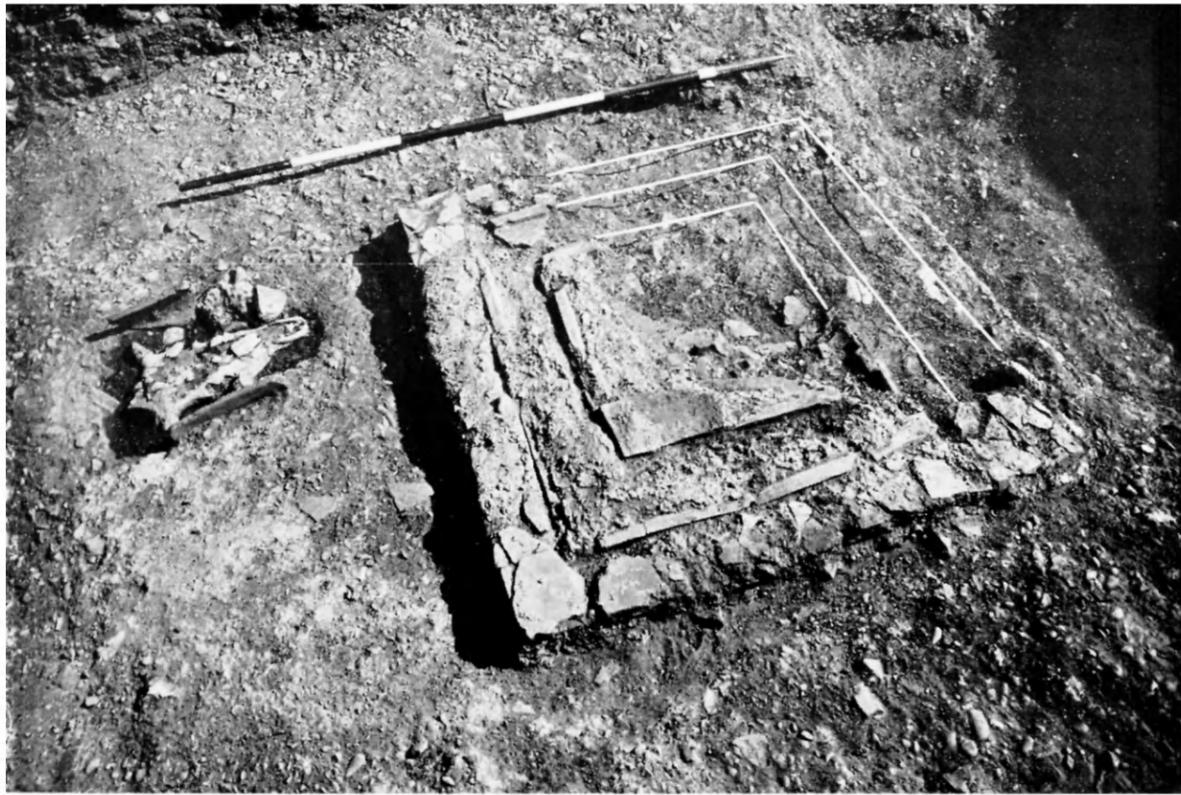


FIG. 7. ALTAR-BASE, *c.* 300 A.D., IN THE TRIANGULAR TEMPLE. BURIED IN THE FLOOR  
BEHIND THE ALTAR LIES THE VOTIVE OX SKULL. (*See p. 26.*)

