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**On the probable date of the Foundation of Glevum, and its
occupation by the Second Legion**

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ON THE PROBABLE DATE OF THE FOUNDATION
OF THE ROMAN COLONY OF GLEVUM, AND ITS
OCCUPATION BY THE SECOND LEGION.

A NOTE BY DR. HÜBNER.

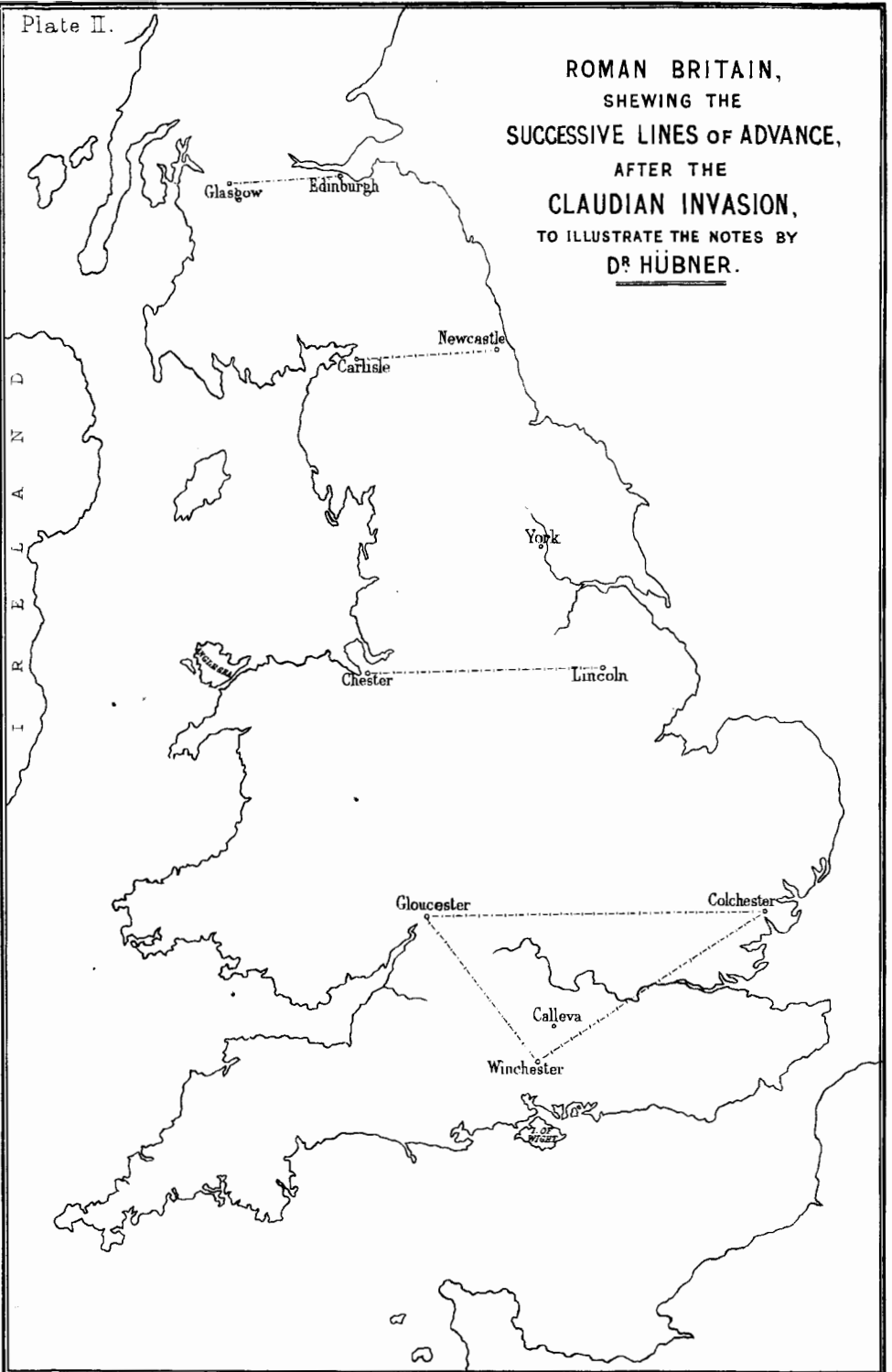
Although the following remarks have already appeared in the Proceedings of the Cotteswold Club, as part of a commentary on my article on the Roman Wall of Gloucester, yet, as these Proceedings are not accessible to the majority of the members of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, and the subject is one which is of great interest to the county history, it has appeared desirable to reproduce them in the present work.—JOHN BELLOWS.

IT is highly probable that GLEVUM was one of the oldest colonies of the south of Britain. A glance at the map shews us Camulodunum (Colchester) in the east, and GLEVUM (Gloucester) in the west, almost exactly under the same degree of latitude.

The detailed account of the Claudian expedition has been lost, with the second half decade of Tacitus' History; the short characteristic notices on the corresponding events in "Agricola," (chapter 14 and following) and in the History (3, 44, and following) cannot, of course, replace it; but with the help of the accounts given in the Annals on the events which took place somewhat later, at the time of the second legate of the Province, nine years after the conquest,¹ we are able to draw the following conclusions from the monuments which are still preserved. Immediately after the landing, after the places on the coast had been occupied and alliances concluded with some of the native princes, A. Plautius, the first legate of the Province (A.D. 43, 44), seems to have concentrated his army in Venta Belgarum (Winchester) about the

¹ Vide Rheinische Museum für Philologie, 1857, p. 47.

ROMAN BRITAIN,
SHEWING THE
SUCCESSIVE LINES OF ADVANCE,
AFTER THE
CLAUDIAN INVASION,
TO ILLUSTRATE THE NOTES BY
DR HÜBNER.



centre of the southern part of the peninsula. Only one stone with an inscription has been found, up till now, in this spot (C.I.L. vii., 5); it belongs, probably, to the end of the first, or, the latest, to the beginning of the second century.

The inscription is:—

MATRIB(US) ITA(LI)S GERMANIS GAL(LIS) BRIT(ANNIS)
 [A]NTONIUS [LU]CRETIANUS [B(ENE)]F(ICIARIUS)
 CO(N)S(ULARIS) REST(ITUIT) 1

This is a consecration offered in days of old to the Italian, Germanic, Gallic, and Britannic Mothers, the sacred protectresses of those nationalities which furnished recruits to the four legions of the army of occupation, to the II. Augustan, the XIV. Gemina, the IX. Hispana, and the XX. Valeria Victrix, and to their native allies. This inscription was restored by a beneficiary of the consular legate of the province, who may have had his office there in the 2nd century. The Roman Roads which are still in existence, and the position of the Roman settlements, explain the further advance. Advancing by way of Calleva (Silchester), P. Ostorius Scapula first of all fortified some places on the coast, to keep open the maritime connection with Gaul and Germany, and thus secured the first chief section of the Island, as far as the line between the estuaries of the Thamesis and the Sabrina (the mouth of the Thames and the Bristol Channel). The Colony of Camulodunum, or a fortified camp in the neighbourhood, established by Ostorius (Agric. 14), for the purpose of subduing the Ikeni, who lived further east, was most probably the standing quarters (later on also a colony for veterans) of the 14th. Legion. This is borne out by the account of the rebellion of Queen Boadicea, which rebellion was put down by the legate of Nero,

¹ An excellent woodcut which I have before me, and which I owe to the kindness of MR. A. S. MURRAY (the inscription is in the British Museum), fairly completes the interpretation I put on it previously: at the beginning of line 6 two letters have been effaced, and we must, therefore, read instead of the name CRETIANUS, which I ought to have rejected from the first, LUCRETIANUS.

Suetonius Paullinus, with the help of this Legion.¹ For the same reason this Legion was the most convenient to order from Britain to Germany for the purpose of fighting against Civilis (Hist. 4, 68, 76), after which it did not return to Britain. Even before the foundation of Camulodunum (the date may have been altered by Tacitus² or his authority, in the purposely shortened account E, in order to conform to local tradition), the legate had purposed *cuncta castris Avonam inter et Sabrinam fluvios cohibere*:³ this is exactly the western region corresponding with Colchester in the east, only lying somewhat nearer Venta—Calleva, the main line of operation. This explains the campaign against Caractacus, which, although ending in a brilliant victory of the Roman troops and the capture of the British Prince, yet did not, as the wording of the account clearly proves, result in a permanent occupation of the territory of the Siluri and Ordoviki.⁴ The Siluri surprise the *praefectus castrorum*, who appears here in his proper capacity of governor (Veget. 2. 10), and the cohorts of the Legion who had been left behind. Only internal discord (Ann. 12. 40; Hist. 3. 45) re-establishes after P. Ostorius' death, under his successor, A. Didius, the Roman Supremacy. Venta Silurum, and Isca Silurum were among the forts⁵ erected against the Siluri; it is clear that the head-quarters of the Legion were pushed to Isca much later, and after the complete subjection of South Wales.

¹ Ann. 14, 34 jam Suetonio quarta decuma legio cum vexillariis vicenimanis et e proximis auxiliares.....erant. Compare Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, vii., p. 34.

² Ann 12, 40 haec quamquam a duobus propraetoribus plures per annos gesta conjunxi, ne devisa haud perinde ad memoriam sui valerent.

³ Ann. 12, 31, according to Nipperdey's interpretation of the text, which I consider the most probable.

⁴ Ann. 12, 38 *Censetur Ostorio*—after the pardon of Caractacus, described in such vivid and beautiful colours, which, to my surprise no English artist has chosen for his subject—*Triumphus insignia, prosperis ad id rebus eius mox ambiguus, sive amoto Carataco, quasi debellatum foret, minus intenta apud nos militia fuit, sive hostes miseratione tanti regis acrius ad ultionem exarsere.*

⁵ Compare also Agric. 14, Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis.

From this and another reason, I think it probable that GLEVUM constituted the original standing quarters of the second, as Camulodunum that of the fourteenth legion.

Another reason is this. Exactly in the same systematic and cautious manner in which the occupation of the island had been carried out up till then, it seems to have been continued under the legates of Nero and Vespasian, as far as we are able to judge from the only extant account in Agricola, and which is rather summary and highly coloured. The campaign of Suetonius, against the Isle of Mona (Anglesey), (Agric. 15) is only conceivable with a basis for his operations such as was afforded by the Colony of Deva (Chester), on the northern frontier of the territory of the Siluri and Ordoviki, and which was only completely conquered by Julius Frontinus (Agric. 17). At Deva were always the standing quarters of the twentieth legion.¹

On the western side Petilius Cerialis, Vespasian's Legate, had begun the further advance against the Brigantes; the Colony of Lindum (Lincoln) is the geographical expression of these operations; probably the original standing quarters of the II. *adjutrix*² sent to Britain by Vespasian merely for the purpose of this expedition. Lindum and Deva lie again, corresponding with Camulodunum and Glevum, almost exactly in the same latitude, the one in the east between the estuaries of the Metaris and Abus, the other in the west on the mouth of the river Deva, between the estuaries of the Segeia and Belisama, on the Irish Channel, and thus mark the second chief section of the Island in a proportionately narrow part between the two seas. Finally, the preliminary strategic condition for Agricola's advance to the north (Agric. 25), undertaken after the failure of the expedition against Hibernia, which Agricola carefully disguises by clever wording (Agric. 24), was the establishment of the Colony of Eboracum (York), situated in the country of the Brigantes, in the natural prolongation of the line of Lindum, and of the forts between the mouth of the Tina and Ituna; Tacitus, it is true, nowhere mentions the name of

¹ C.I.L., VII. p. 47.

² C.I.L., VII., p. 51.

Eburacum, and passes over the fact, probably as something which needs no comment. At Eburacum, undoubtedly and incontestibly, were the standing quarters of the ninth Hispanic Legion and, after Hadrian, of the sixth, which took the place of the ninth, after the annihilation of the latter.¹

We need but mention the fact that the fortification by Hadrian² of the line between the estuaries of the rivers Tina and Ituna (the line Newcastle—Carlisle), the narrowest part of the Island, and finally the building of the wall of Pius between Clota and Bodotria (the line Edinburgh—Glasgow), where Agricola had already constructed and pulled down again some forts,³ are only a repetition of the same strategic measures by which the southern parts of the Island were gradually occupied. On these two northern lines only, detachments (vexillations) of the four Briton Legions were in garrison for a time: the list of Cohorts and of Alae in charge of these lines, is well known.

The four original Legions of the army of occupation stationed in Britain in the first century, gradually received, one and all, according to the well-tryed principles of Roman policy and warlike experience, large fortified Camps, with the institutions and arrangements of a town; the only one of these fortified Camps which remained to be traced was the one destined for the second Legion. This *can only have been* GLEVUM, considering its situation and size, which, as we have seen from the details given in the Proceedings of the Cotswold Club, almost entirely correspond with that of Lindum and Eburacum. The circumstance of the missing inscriptions is partly explained by the subsequent removal of the head-quarters to Isca, whose arrangements Mr. JOHN BELLOWS justly styles “a precise repeat of Gloucester” (p. 33): this, however, by no means implies that there may not at some future time be dug from the foundations of the old houses at Gloucester, a stone bearing an inscription, and which would bear out my supposition. I do not expect to find any legionary tiles, for the oldest tiles found in England, those of the twentieth Legion from Deva,

¹ C.I.L., VII., p. 61. ² C.I.L., VII., p. 99. ³ C.I.L., VII., p. 191.

and of the ninth from Eburacum, scarcely date back to the end of the first century ; but it agrees very well with my supposition that coins of Claudius are the most frequently found in Gloucester. Also the copper coin mentioned in this paper, on which only a head with a long neck and the inscription AVG were distinguishable, is probably a coin of this Emperor, or of one of his predecessors. We can, therefore, with some accuracy, fix upon the year 50 of our era, as the date of the foundation of the Roman Colony of GLEVUM.



Ancient Tile in Conyng's House, Bristol