



XI.—EXCAVATIONS ON HADRIAN'S WALL WEST OF NEWCASTLE UPON TYNE IN

1929.

By E. B. BIRLEY.

[Read on 26th February, 1930.]

The following abbreviations are used in this report :—

- ARCH. AEL. *Archæologia Aeliana*.
C. *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, vol. vii.
C. & W. *Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland
Antiquarian and Archæological Society*, New
Series.
D. Déchelette, *Les Vases ceramiques ornés de la Gaule
romaine*; followed by a number, it refers to the
figure-types in vol. II of that work.
J.R.S. *Journal of Roman Studies*.
P.B. J. P. Gibson and F. G. Simpson, *The Milecastle
on the Wall of Hadrian at the Poltross Burn*
(C. & W. XI).
R.W. F. G. Simpson, *Excavations on the line of the
Roman Wall in Cumberland during the years
1909-12* (C. & W. XIII).
BIRDOSWALD I. A. Richmond and E. B. Birley, *Excavations on
Hadrian's Wall, in the Birdoswald—Pike Hill
sector, 1929* (C. & W. XXX).

Well-known excavation reports are referred to by the name of the site in small capitals, usually followed by a reference to a plate or page.

The Wall=Hadrian's Wall.

U.=Unstratified.

The letters A, B, or C after the numbers in the figures of pottery denote stratified pieces of periods I, II, or III.

I. INTRODUCTION.

During its investigation of the line of the Wall between Rudchester Burn and Newcastle in the autumn of 1928, the North of England Excavation Committee located a turret opposite Denton Hall (no. 7b in Mr. Collingwood's scheme) and a milecastle on Chapel House farm (no. 9), both of which clearly merited further examination. Accordingly they were fully excavated by the committee in May and June, 1929, the present writer supervising the work, which began on the 9th May and lasted till the end of June. At first two, subsequently four, and finally six men were employed.

The proximity of the two sites to Newcastle upon Tyne afforded an exceptional opportunity for the general public to inspect the excavations, and upwards of a thousand people visited the turret site alone. A satisfactory feature was the interest shown by the schools, from a number of which batches of pupils came, from time to time, to see the turret and milecastle, and to learn—perhaps more vividly than they might otherwise have been able to learn—something of the conditions and circumstances of life on the Wall in the Roman period. Finally, on June 19, this society paid a visit to the milecastle, and inspected the remains that had been uncovered.

The task of supervising and reporting on the excavations has been materially lightened by the assistance I have received from the members of the North of England sub-committee: Mr. C. H. Hunter Blair, F.S.A.; Mr. Parker Brewis, F.S.A. (who kindly undertook the planning of the structures, and also took a number of photographs); Mr. F. G. Simpson, Hon. F.S.A.Scot. (whom I have to thank, not only for photographs of the turret, but also for constant advice throughout the course of the work, and in particular on the significance of the different periods); and lieutenant-colonel G. R. B. Spain, F.S.A.

Mr. John Charlton, of Armstrong College, spent a week

at the milecastle site, and assisted with the supervision; in dealing with the finds, I must acknowledge the assistance I have received from Mr. H. Mattingly of the British Museum; Dr. Felix Oswald, F.S.A.; the rev. T. Romans; and Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler, F.S.A. For section IV I owe much to the criticism and advice of Mr. R. G. Collingwood, F.S.A.; Mr. I. A. Richmond, M.A.; and Mr. C. E. Stevens. The experience of Mr. Thomas Hepple, the committee's foreman, was of the greatest help in dealing with the problems that arose during the excavation. Finally, thanks are due to the owners, Mr. H. Phillipson and the Duke of Northumberland, and the tenants, Mr. A. E. Haddon and Mr. E. Tweddell, of East Denton farm and Chapel House farm respectively, for their ready co-operation.

II. THE DENTON HALL (NO. 7b) TURRET.

Denton Hall turret is 710 yards east of the West Denton milecastle (no. 8); the site of the next milecastle to the east, no. 7, is not certain. For this stretch of the Wall in general, it will be sufficient to refer to vol. XIII of the *Northumberland County History*, where the various details are discussed; here, it may be noted that the exceptionally long interval of 710 yards (500-550 yards is the normal distance) is probably the result of this "mile" having been about 2,058 yards in length; this would bring milecastle no. 7 to the top of Denton Bank, where extensive quarrying had already removed all traces of it by Horsley's time. About midway between this point and the turret, a coin of Trajan was found, in 1923, during the building of a new house; here, 674 yards east of 7b, may have stood the intervening turret 7a.

In this "mile" the gaps in the mounds of the vallum (here 175 yards to the south of the Wall) are about 60, instead of the normal 45 yards apart. From the turret the view to the west extends as far as turret 8b on Union Hall farm; to the east the fort at Benwell was in sight;

while to the north the outlook (though it is at present obscured by Denton Hall) was a good one.

At this point the Wall runs below a prominent grassy mound, with a line of trees standing on it, in the field to the south of the modern turnpike; excavations conducted by Mr. Parker Brewis in 1926,¹ and by the committee in 1928,² showed that here, as elsewhere in the sector Newcastle-Heddon, the Wall was rather more than 9 feet thick above the footing-course, and faced with exceptionally large blocks of freestone. Little of the Wall remains above the footing-course at the turret; the south face is better preserved than the north. Like the Wall, the turret is built of large blocks of stone; its internal measurements are 13 feet north to south by 14 feet east to west, giving an area of approximately 180 square feet, or very little more than in the turrets west of Birdoswald; the entrance, 3 feet 8 inches wide, was in the normal position at the east end of the south wall. The turret is recessed to a depth of 5 feet into the Wall, which at this point has been robbed down to the footing-course, while part of that too has gone from the north face; of the south face two stones of the first course remain.³

The turret itself is better preserved, as many as six courses above the foundation remaining in places; from this it appears that the robbing has been from the north, largely, no doubt, when the road was made.

As at Heddon-on-the-Wall,⁴ the turf had been removed before the foundations were laid, and a shallow trench dug, in which a layer of clay and rubble was put to form a foundation; in this case, the footing-course was laid directly on to the clay and rubble without an intermediate layer of

¹ ARCH. AEL., 4th ser., vol. IV.

² *Report of the North of England Excavation Committee for the years 1926-1928.*

³ The measurements of the turrets excavated in Northumberland are collected in ARCH. AEL., 3rd ser., vol. IX (LIMESTONE BANK). The comparable measurements of the Denton Hall turret are:—recess, 5 feet; north and south walls, 12 feet 9 inches, 13 feet; east and west walls, 13 feet 6 inches, 14 feet; thickness of walls, 2 feet 10 inches; door, 3 feet 8 inches; Wall, 9 feet.

⁴ ARCH. AEL., 4th ser., vol. IV.

thin flags, such as was found in the section cut a few yards to the east in 1928.

The first floor was of clay, of which a layer a foot thick, containing a number of large pieces of freestone, covered the original subsoil; though most of this layer was removed, nothing was found in it, apart from a fragment of bronze and a little mineral coal, and there was no sign of an earlier occupation below it.

The Platform.—Along the west end of the south wall a platform had been constructed, similar to those discovered at Limestone Bank (no. 29b) and other turrets; in this case the platform rested immediately on the clean clay of the floor, and plainly belonged to the beginning of the turret's occupation, though it was structurally later than the walls, with which it was not bonded in. The purpose of these platforms is not clear; it has been suggested that they formed a base for wooden stairs to the rampart-walk; the proximity of the Denton Hall structure to the south hearth hardly supports that view, though it does not disprove it.

In the angle between the platform and the west wall of the turret was a roughly square compartment, formed of flags set on edge in the floor; a stone bowl was found resting in it (plate xxxix, fig. 2); it will be referred to as the hob.

Two hearths were found at this level; one immediately to the east of the hob, against the north side of the platform (the stones of which were considerably reddened by the heat from it), and one in the centre of the north side of the turret.

Period I.—During the first period the floor was made up from time to time. Round the hob a small patch of flagging was laid (plate xxxix, fig. 2) about 6 inches above the original floor-level; and traces of clean layers of clay were noted, alternating with occupation-earth; but there was no sign of a completely new floor comparable to those noted in the turrets west of Birdoswald.⁵

⁵ Cf. section IV below.

The pottery from this level included a number of pieces of considerable interest; among the other finds were a spear-head, much corroded; several pieces of tubular bronze sheathing, that may have come from the edge of a shield; and part of a hob-nailed boot.

Period II.—Overlying the first floor was a quantity of debris, including a certain amount of masonry and another stone bowl or trough (seen on the left in plate XL, fig. 1); over this debris a new floor was laid, of which the southern half was partly of flags. The doorway was roughly walled up to form a new threshold at the higher level, which was 24 inches above the original floor; flags of the new floor were laid directly on the top of the platform, and the rest of the floor was raised to the same level.

In this period, too, there were two hearths, one in the centre of the south side and one rather to the east of the centre of the turret. At some time after the laying of this floor, a platform similar to that of period I was made, this time against the south end of the west wall; it measured 3 feet 10 inches east to west, 3 feet 6 inches north to south, and, like the first platform, it was 2 feet high; to the north there was an extension 3 feet long, composed of a roughly made wall prolonging the east face of the platform, whilst the space between it and the west wall of the turret was filled with earth and stone (plate XLI, fig. 1, with the earth and stone filling removed). A thin layer of occupation-earth between the flags of floor II and the base of this platform showed that it had not been constructed immediately after the laying of the floor.

The Post-Roman Structure.—Rising above floor II, about two-thirds of the way from south to north, and extending almost from side to side of the turret, was a structure (hereafter referred to as "X"), rudely put together, of flags, masonry debris, and clay, and containing bones, pottery, and a piece of window-glass (plate XL, fig. 2); the northern side of it showed signs of intense burning, and to the north, over the remains of the Wall, was strewn a quantity of mineral coal.

The northern third of the building was disturbed down to, but not below, floor I; inside "X" the highest piece of pottery was a fragment of hard, well-made, grey "rustic" ware (plate XLIX, fig. 2, no. 1), that must have been as early as any vessel from the site; from the lowest level came a fragment from the wide-mouthed jar, no. 20 below, that may be dated with confidence to the fourth century. It is clear that "X," whatever its purpose, dates to a time considerably later than the Roman period; the people who made it dug into the mound from the north, removing most of what was left of the Wall, erected their structure from the debris of the turret, and burned their fires; fortunately, without disturbing more of the interior of the building. Some scraps of modern pottery, found in the surface soil, and belonging for the most part to the eighteenth century, might be taken as a clue to the date of this work.

From floor II came the greater part of a two-handled bottle, no. 12 below, and other pottery; there were also indications of layers of clay alternating with occupation-earth similar to those noticed above floor I; but the modern surface was too close for the upper levels of this period to be distinguished from the surface material. The period II pottery, nos. 12-16 below, may therefore be assigned to the earlier part, since it all comes from the lower levels, of this period.

Period III.—The floor of this period had gone completely, having been higher than the modern surface level; but in the doorway parts of three courses of walling were left on the north side—remains of a second raising of the threshold (plate XXXIX, fig. 1); among the unstratified pottery, a rim-section and a few other scraps of Huntcliff ware,⁶ besides no. 20, provide clear evidence of occupation in period III.

⁶ This ware has in the past been known as "vesicular" or "pitted"; neither term is satisfactory. Here it is called after Huntcliff, where it was first found in large quantities. For an analysis of the ware cf. P.B., p. 453.

A Window.—Midway outside the east wall of the turret, and just above the original surface, there was a heap of pottery; this included the greater part of a jar, no. 3 below, of which one piece was found inside the turret in the make-up of floor I. It may be permissible, from this, to infer that there was a window between the south-east corner and the south face of the Wall, out of which most of the broken vessel had been dropped. Window-glass has been found at many of the turrets on the Wall, in the three west of Birdoswald for example (R.W., p. 311), but this appears to be the first evidence for the position of the windows.

The Military Way.—Search was made for the military way, a trench being dug in the north mound of the vallum; no trace of a road was found. The intervening field had been ploughed too much for further search to be profitable.

In the absence of coins, it is necessary to date the periods of the turret's occupation by analogy from the results obtained from the excavation of other sites; this question is considered at some length in section IV below, p. 164 ff.

THE FINDS.

A. Stone. Besides the two stone bowls referred to above, parts of three hand-mills were found; one of them was fairly complete, but broken into several pieces, and the upper stone worn very thin (it can be seen in the centre of plate xxxix, fig. 1). There was also a roughly rounded ball of sandstone, diameter 3 inches, with two grooves cut at right-angles round the circumference, apparently for the attachment of a cord; in P.B., p. 444, a similar object is recorded, and the suggestion made that it was for use as a weight.

Mention should also be made of a chamfered stone, on which the chamfering extended round three sides, found at the west end of "X." It was 18 inches square, and 6 inches thick; its original place was perhaps somewhere in the upper part of the turret, but its function is obscure.

B. Samian. Five pieces of plain samian were found; a rim of 18/31 and a scrap of 27 from inside, floor I, and three pieces,

form 27, probably belonging to one vessel, from outside the turret. These examples of form 27 are of a similar fabric and glaze to that at Birdoswald with the stamp of SACREMUS, and probably come, like that, from an East Gaulish pottery.

C. *Other Wares.* The amount of pottery was considerable, but much of it came from the surface soil or from unstratified deposits outside the building. Two "rustic" vessels were represented; one is figured (plate XLIX, fig. 2, no. 1), the other is similar in fabric and relief to no. 42 below. Only four scraps from *mortaria* were noted. The following pieces deserve attention (plate LI) :—

1. I. Hard, light buff; the exterior shows traces of a cream slip. Nearly complete, and belonging to the beginning of the period. For parallels to the shape, cf. RICHBOROUGH I, plate xxxvi, no. 77, and nos. 75, 76. Examples in similar ware have not, it seems, been recorded. Cf. also plate L, fig. 2.
2. I. Hard white ware; the lower part of the outside has been blackened by cooking. The fabric is not uncommon in early period I deposits (R.W., p. 343), but the type appears to be a new one.
3. I. Porous light grey ware; the inside has been coated with a light wash. The greater part of this jar was found in a heap outside the east wall of the turret, but one piece came from the make-up of floor I (cf. p. 150 above).
4. I. Hard, blue-grey fumed ware jar; with lattice decoration similar to that on no. 3. For the type, cf. BIRDOSWALD, no. 22. This type belongs chiefly to the first part of the period; on the Scottish Wall it is not common (cf. BALMULDY).
5. I. Soft, light green-grey ware, beaker.
6. I. Hard, grey ware, "neckless" cooking-pot; its diameter is similar to that of no. 4. Cf. SLACK, plate xxiii, nos. 8-12, and P.B., plate III, no. 23. The relative abundance of the type at Slack, and its scarcity on the Wall—in the Birdoswald alley only half a dozen examples occurred—suggest an early date for the type; at Balmuildy it was not represented. This type must not be confused with the beaker, which it resembles somewhat closely in rim-section; the beaker is usually only about half as wide at the mouth as the cooking-pot.
7. I. Hard, sandy grey ware, cooking-pot.
8. I. Black fumed cooking-pot.

9. I. Similar ware. A rim-fragment from another vessel of the type has the remains of a lead rivet in it. This type of cooking-pot predominates from the second quarter of the second century to the first quarter of the fourth; cf. BIRDOSWALD, nos. 18 and 19.
10. I. Dark grey fumed ware bowl; cf. BIRDOSWALD, no. 72. This flat-rimmed type appears to have given place almost entirely to the rolled-rim by the third century. On the Antonine site of Balmuildy, it represented only one-fifth of the bowls.
11. I. Similar ware, rolled rim.
12. II. Red ware, with buff fracture, and showing traces of a cream wash. Parts of two similar bottles were found at the same level.
13. II. Black fumed cooking-pot; cf. no. 10 above. Note the wavy line on the exterior of the neck; it has been thought hitherto that this feature was exclusive to period I (R.W., p. 348).
14. II. Similar ware. Another vessel of the type was also represented at this level.
15. II. Rather soft and thin, dark buff ware, polished.
16. II. Black fumed ware; an unusual profile.
17. U. Similar ware, beaker. This example is more bulbous than the normal beaker. Cf. BIRDOSWALD, nos. 32-38.
18. U. Dark grey, fumed ware; from the lower part of "X." Cf. no. 40 below.
19. U. Hard, blue-grey ware, with a rather lumpy surface, well made.
20. U. Grey, fumed ware; one piece came from low down in "X." For the type, cf. CRAMBECK, nos. 142 ff., in similar ware; no. 157 is the closest parallel.
21. U. Rough, dark grey ware, with light grey fracture; the interior shows the wheel-marks very distinctly. This flanged bowl clearly represents a different tradition to that of Crambeck (cf. below, nos. 60-64); the site of its manufacture is still to seek.
22. U. Huntcliff ware; cf. BIRDOSWALD, no. 20. Its presence at the turret is conclusive evidence of fourth century occupation.

III. THE CHAPEL HOUSE (NO. 9) MILECASTLE

That there is a milecastle on Chapel House farm has been known since Horsley's time; but continual plough-



ing, after the stone-robbers had done their worst, has obliterated all surface indications of it, and it was not until the autumn of 1928 that its position was definitely located.

The northern part of it lies beneath the modern turnpike, and only about two-thirds of its area could therefore be examined.⁷ The milecastle is in the first field, south of the road, to the east of the modern Blucher Pit village; at this point the Wall descends at an average gradient of 1 in 17 from the crest of Chapel Hill towards Wallbottle; to the east the only Wall structure in sight from it would be turret 8b, on the top of the hill; but to the west there is an extensive view along the line of the Wall as far as Heddon and beyond, while there is a considerable outlook over the rolling country to the north.

The Walls.—Of the external walls little remains. In the western half of the milecastle, indeed, only one stone of the footing-course survives on the outside (plate XLVIII, fig. 1); in the eastern half most of that course is left, and, on the north face of the south wall, six stones of the first course above the footing. Here, as at the turret, the ashlar blocks were exceptionally massive. While the footing was set in clay on the normal clay and rubble foundation, the upper courses have been laid in lime, and on the east wall sufficient of the lime mortar was left, still in excellent condition, for the width of the offsets above the footing to be determined. On this side the footing was 10 feet, the offsets 6 inches, and the wall proper 9 feet, on an average; the south wall was only 8 feet 6 inches broad at the footing, and the offset on its north face 2 inches. At the south-east angle no masonry was left, but the clay of the foundation showed that the corner had been rounded inside and out.

⁷ The dimensions of the part of the milecastle available for investigation were 53 feet by 69 feet. The position of the Wall under the modern turnpike can only be conjectured; it is to be hoped that it may be possible to examine the point when next the road is re-made.

Outside the south wall, about midway between the gateway and the south-west angle, a skeleton was found, carefully laid parallel to the wall, with the feet to the east, and within a few inches of where the south face of the wall had been (cf. plate XLVIII; figs. 1, 2); no object was found associated with it; the skull was wanting. From its position close up to the wall of the milecastle, it may be inferred that the body was buried there in the Roman period; subsequently, the debris from the ruined wall would have formed a mound sufficient to discourage the digging of a grave so close; the latter part of the Roman period is indicated by the form of burial. Professor Green of the Medical college kindly examined the remains before they were removed, and pronounced them to be of a youth of about seventeen; professor Green also identified, among some bones found at the south-east corner, parts of the skulls of an adult man and of a woman of about twenty.

The South Gate.—At the milecastles hitherto examined, the gateways have provided valuable evidence for the history of the Wall; at Chapel House no such evidence remained, all above the original level having been removed, whilst the remaining stones of the sill had been badly scarred by the plough. From the position of the stop-block it was possible to determine the original width of the entrance—9 feet—though none of the west side was left; above the footing-course the passage must have been nearly 11 feet wide.

This is the first milecastle so far excavated in Northumberland that is surrounded by the broad wall, and therefore the form of the gate, even though so little of it is left, is of some interest. At Poltross Burn, Winshields, and High House, the gate-passages were prolonged by walls extending into the interior of the milecastles, to a total length of 13 feet in the first case, and 10 feet at the other two sites where the outer walls were no more than 7 feet 6 inches thick. At Chapel House, with its broader outer wall, no such extension occurred; the most northerly stone

of the footing-course projected some 6 inches to the north, but the clear setting-out line showed that the wall proper was no broader here, and the passage, therefore, was only 8 feet 6 inches long. Here, too, the road surface was level with the top of the footing-course on the east side; the pivot-hole, as at High House, was cut in a stone of that course just inside the jamb of the gate (cf. plate XLIV, fig. 2). The hole had been worn very considerably round the outside, but less so in the centre, thus showing that the door-pivot had been shod with an iron ring.

The Road.—The first roadway was of earth and gravel, with hardly any camber, and with an unlined drain, covered by irregular flags, running along its west side. As originally made, the road was a slight hog's-back, sloping slightly towards the north for the most part, whilst the southernmost 15 feet sloped to the south. During the first period (cf. p. 171 below) this irregularity was corrected, the roadway being made up so as to slope evenly from north to south; consequently, at the hedge (the most northerly point that could be examined) the difference between the two levels was as much as 8 inches, and a quantity of occupation-earth, including pottery, had been put on the road below the new metalling; at a point 6 feet north of the south gateway the difference in levels was negligible.

The second period of the milecastle involved a complete remaking of the road; unfortunately, the greater part of the new surface had been ploughed away. Just inside the gateway a drain was laid across the earlier level (plate XLV, fig. 2); and in the last 10 feet before the hedge some of the new metalling was preserved, at a height of 12 inches above the first making-up. Here, too, a considerable amount of pottery was found.

Outside the milecastle, at a distance of 32 feet from the south wall, the north kerb of the military way was located, in a trench carried 52 feet to the south from a point midway between the gate and the south-east angle. The south kerb had gone, so that the width of the road at

this point could not be determined; but it was at least 18 feet wide. A branch road, 16 feet wide at the point of junction, forked from the east to the gate of the mile-castle. No trace was found in this trench of an encircling ditch.

Internal Buildings.

Period I.—On the west side of the road a layer of clay and stone, similar to that found at the turret, and averaging a foot in thickness, covered the original subsoil, and formed the floor of the first building on that side. Occupation-earth, pottery, and occasional flags were found over this half of the milecastle, extending nearly up to the drain; but there were no remains of the first structure. A post-hole belonging to it (3 inches in diameter and 10 inches deep; the north-west post-hole on the plan, plate XLII) had been covered by a flag, but not filled in, at the beginning of period II; and indications of what may have been other similar post-holes were found, and are marked on the plan; but it should be noted that in no case did they extend into the undisturbed subsoil; and it is not easy satisfactorily to distinguish post-holes made in an artificial layer. In any case, the first building on this side must have been a light one, of wood, and with a roof of wood or thatch, as the absence of tiles or roofing-slabs from below what remained of floor II suggests.

On the east side of the road was a two-roomed stone building, standing six courses high in places, and built of small stones set in clay (as was normally the case with barrack-buildings); it was entered from the road by a door, 3 feet wide, in the west side of the north room (hereafter referred to as E a, the south room as E b); the floors in this building were of clay. It was observed that the east and south walls of E b were sagging slightly in the centre of their inside faces, and accordingly search was made for a pit underlying the south-east part of the room; a patch of dirty disturbed soil and stone was found, but

otherwise nothing. A somewhat similar building that belonged, however, to period II, was found in the High House milecastle (no. 50. Cf. R.W., pp. 327, 328).

Period I B.—As at the other milecastles hitherto examined, there were signs of repair-work during the first period; besides the making-up of the road, referred to above, there were traces of work in the buildings. On the west side one or two patches of flagging occurred, some 6 to 8 inches above the original floor level (one of these can be seen, showing black, in the foreground of plate XLVII, fig. 2), and traces of layers of clay, such as were noted at the turret. On the east side flags were laid in E a, bringing its floor up to the new level of the road—at this point about 4 inches above the first road-surface. Some pottery was found below these flags; otherwise, none at all came from E a. In E b there had been no comparable making-up of the floor; the period I finds from this room were exceptionally scanty; there was a bare handful of pottery, part of a bottle of thin glass, and a bronze brooch (p. 159 below) of a well-known type that dates to the latter part of the second century.

Period II.—The second period involved considerable alterations. On the west side a building of stone was erected, set back 3 feet 6 inches from the road, from which it was separated by a path edged by a kerb (plate XLVII, fig. 2); its floor, some 12 inches above the first floor, was very little below the modern surface, and its remains were very scanty, but a doorway was left, and parts of the east and west walls; of the north and south walls no indication was found. The interior breadth was only 8 feet; a narrow passage, 2 feet 6 inches wide, sufficient to take the drip from the eaves, was left between the west wall and the outer wall of the milecastle; the similar passage behind the east building was 3 feet wide. Outside the doorway, midway between the wall and the kerb on the south side, was a small structure of flags set on edge that may have been intended to hold one of the posts of a porch.

The setting-back of the new building had reduced the accommodation provided on this side; accordingly an extension was now built on to the north end of the east building. It was not possible to determine the original length of this extension; a tunnel cut through the hedge bank showed that there was no return wall south of the present road. The walls of the extension start two courses higher than those of the original east building (cf. plate XLVI, fig. 2, where the east wall of the extension can be seen abutting on the east wall of E a). In the east building itself, the floor was raised to a height of 22 inches above the original level; for the most part, the new floor was of clay, but just inside the door of E a there was some flagging (shown in plate XLVI, fig. 2). As at the turret, the doorway was roughly walled-up to provide a threshold at the new level (plate XLVI, fig. 1). The greater part of a storage vessel, with two incised inscriptions, and the mortarium, no. 24 below, were found in a heap in the south-east corner of E b on this floor.

Between the south wall of E b and the outer wall of the milecastle, a patch of period II flagging was left in position (plate XLIII, fig. 1); there was no trace of an intervening layer between it and the original level; from below it came part of a vessel in sandy grey ware, with raised decoration (plate XLIX, fig. 2, no. 2).

Period III.—Of period III the only structural remains were three small patches of masonry on the west side, between the kerb and the wall of the west building. The disappearance of the higher levels is unfortunate, for they might have supplied important evidence for the last part of the occupation (cf. pp. 168, 169 below).

THE FINDS.

A. COINS.

1. Julia, daughter of Titus.

Obv. Illegible. Head, r.

Rev. Illegible. Ceres, standing l. (?).

2 AE

79-81 A.D.

Much worn, and in bad condition. I am indebted to Mr. H. Mattingly of the British Museum for the identification of this coin and no. 2.

2. Domitian.

Obv. Mostly illegible; ? **COS XIII** Head, laureate, r.
Rev. **IOVI VICTORI S C** Jupiter seated l., holding figure of Victory and sceptre.

1 AE ? 88 A.D.

Much worn.

3. Tetricus.

Obv. **[IMP C TE]TRICVS P F AVG** Bust, radiate and draped, r.

Rev. **LAETITIA AVG N** Laetitia standing l., with wreath and anchor.

3 AE 270-273 A.D.

Condition fairly good.

4. Valentinian I.

Obv. **D N VALENTINI ANVS P F AVG** Bust, diademed and draped, r.

Rev. **GLORIA RO MANORVM** Emperor standing r., placing r. hand on head of kneeling captive, and holding *labarum* in l.

Mint-mark. **SCON** (Arles).

3 AE 364-375 A.D.

Very good condition; found at the west side of the south gate. Hitherto, the latest coin found in a milecastle was of 317-324 A.D. (P.B., p. 437); this coin carries the occupation of Chapel House up to the Picts' War of 368 A.D., which involved the whole of the north in destruction. If the coin reached the site before that date, it should be observed that it provides additional evidence against the theory of "coin-drift." Cf. also section IV below, p. 164 ff.

A halfpenny of George V, 1919, was found in the surface-soil.

B. OBJECTS IN BRONZE.

1. (Fig. A.) I. (E b) *Fibula*; the pin is wanting. For the type, cf. NEWSTEAD, plate LXXXVII, fig. 31; brooches of this form occur on the continent also, and belong uniformly to the second half of the second century.

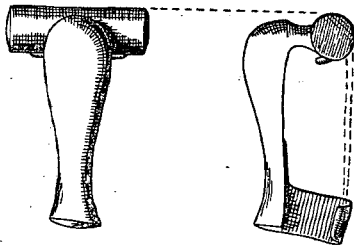


Fig. A ($\frac{1}{2}$)

2. (Fig. B.) U. Chape of a sword-scabbard. Cf. NEWSTEAD, plate xxxv, figs. 16, 18; and P.B., fig. 21, no. 19 (a more ornate example, belonging to period II).

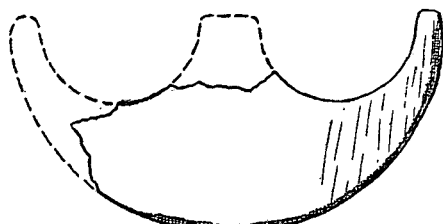


Fig. B ($\frac{1}{1}$)

Other objects included a ring, internal diameter $\frac{3}{8}$ inch, external $\frac{7}{8}$ inch; the catch end of a "collar" fibula similar to NEWSTEAD, plate LXXXVI, fig. 16; and a number of pieces of uncertain use.

C. OBJECTS IN STONE.

I. (Plate I, fig. 1.) U. Head and shoulders of a female figure, framed in a conventional temple; the style suggests a representation of one of the *Deæ Matres*.

Other objects included a rude carving, much weathered, perhaps representing a standard-bearer; a thin piece of sandstone, scored with lines intersecting at right-angles, for some game with counters; half the characteristic upper stone of a "bee-hive" quern; and parts of a number of mill-stones of the normal type.

D. INSCRIPTIONS, ETC.

I. Seven stones of the footing-course had numbers carved on them; in five cases VIII (of these, one was upside down, and one on edge), and one example each of VIIII and X. In two cases, on the north and south sides of the south wall, adjoining stones had VIII on them; on the outer face of the east wall, VIII and X were adjacent. The spacing and position of these numbers suggest that they were inscribed at the quarries rather than on the milecastle site.

2. II. (E b) Storage-vessel with two graffiti:—

(a) (Done with a blunt instrument.) **SP**

(b) (Done with a sharp instrument.) Illegible graffito in cursive script.

3. **CLOBICELI**, on an amphora handle. Stamps of P. Clodius Icelus have been found at WROXETER (1914) and elsewhere.

E. SAMIAN.

(a) *Figured Samian.*

Six pieces of figured samian showing parts of the decoration were found, and four rim-fragments, all of form 37; no. 4 comes from below roadway I B, but the rest were unstratified.

1. U. Good glaze and workmanship. *Figure-types: Caryatid* (D656); *bird* (similar to D1018). The execution is rather better than in the usual work of CINNAMUS, which the general arrangement resembles; the piece may be dated c. 130-150 A.D.

2. U. Very worn, glaze largely perished.

3. U. Good, rather dark glaze; good workmanship. *Type: sea-stag* (D37). The thin wavy lines and, still more, the so-called "arrow-head" ornaments, are indications of a comparatively early date; but parallels to the arrangement are still to seek. Perhaps c. 120-140 A.D.

4. I A. (*Road.*) Good, rather light glaze. Part of a continuous winding scroll, such as those much used by CINNAMUS and his group, but an earlier example. c. 120-140 A.D.

5. U. Thick ware, glaze mostly wanting. The *mask* (not in D) is in rather high relief.

6. U. Fabric and glaze similar to no. 3, but rather coarser. *Types:* the ornament on the extreme l. occurs on a 37 by DOECCUS in the Guildhall Museum; the leaves in the next panel also occur on a 37 (at Rouen) by Doeccus; in the panel to r., *mask of Pan* (D675, used by Doeccus and a number of other Central Gaulish potters), with the *ornament* (D1095) to l. and r.; above, the feet of a figure (perhaps D146). For the Lezoux potter Doeccus cf. especially the excursus by T. Davies Pryce and F. Oswald in BRECON; I am indebted to Dr. Oswald for the attribution of this piece, and the London and Rouen parallels. c. 140-160 A.D.

(b) *Potters' Stamps.*

1. U. **OFR/** on a splinter of 18, with hardly any "kick" in the centre. This is probably the stamp **OFRONTINI** of the South Gaulish potter FRONTINUS, whose chief activity was c. 80-100 A.D.; it takes its place among the few samian survivals on the Wall, such as the 18/31 stamped **DACOMA** in the Birdoswald alley, and the 37 in the style of **BIRAGILLUS**, from WILLOWFORD.

2. I. (*West.*) **INDERC** on 27 (plate LII, no. 23); glaze and shape are similar to those of the 27 from the Birdoswald alley stamped by **ANNIOS**; the cup has been cut down, so that it resembles form 40.

The reading of the stamp is not certain; I know of no parallel to this form of the stamp. **INDERCILLUS** was a Central Gaulish potter, whose stamps have occurred at CORBRIDGE (on 33), BRECON, etc.

(c) *Plain Samian.*

Two other examples of 27 were noted, both similar in shape, fabric, and glaze, to that at Birdoswald stamped by SACREMUS, like which they probably come from an East Gaulish pottery. No example of 33 occurred; there were some seven examples of 18/31 represented, and there was also most of a base of the flanged bowl, form 38.

F. OTHER WARES. (PLATES LII, LIII.)

Continual ploughing had disturbed the greater part of the interior of the milecastle, and it was only in the northern part of the road, the east building, and the lowest levels on the west side, that any stratification remained. In the following account of the significant pieces, *West* implies vessels coming from the northern part of the west side, where the period II floor and the levels beneath it still remained; I A refers to vessels from I B work or, on the west side, to "early first period" pieces (cf. p. 170 below). Unstratified vessels are only included sparingly.

24. II. (*E b.*) Dark buff, black grit.
- 25-28. U. Hard, yellowish-white fabric; grit mostly black. These mortaria may be assigned to the end of period II or to period III.
29. I B. (*Road.*) Hard, dark buff fabric, grey fracture; rouletted decoration. The form is reminiscent of Dr. 37.
30. U. Castor ware. This ware is characteristic of period III at Birdoswald; two examples were found at the milecastle.
31. U. Dark blue-grey, light grey fracture; cf. BIRDOSWALD, nos. 58, 60; *early period I.*
32. U. Hard, steel-grey, grey fracture. A variant of the carinated type, and presumably belonging to the beginning of period I.
33. U. Hard, blue-grey. This type of carinated bowl often has a flat reeded rim; it lasts sporadically into the Hadrianic period, when it was imitated in cooking-pot fabric. Cf. R.W., p. 341, and BIRDOSWALD, nos. 63-66.
34. I.A. (*West.*) Hard, steel-grey; from a similar bowl. Cf. THROP (R.W., p. 374).
- 35-37. U. These are examples of the flat-rimmed bowl in cooking-pot ware; nine vessels of this type were represented, all showing lattice decoration. Cf. no. 10 above.

38. U. Similar ware, dark grey; cf. BIRDOSWALD, no. 72.
39. U. Hard, sandy ware; dark grey.
40. II. (E b.) Cooking-pot fabric; about half preserved. Eight examples of this type, one of them from E b, period I, were noted; cf. also nos. 11, 18 above.
41. (From Wallbottle Dene milecastle, no. 10.) Similar ware and dating to no. 33 above.
42. (Wallbottle Dene.) Hard, blue-grey "rustic" ware (also plate XLIX, fig. 2, no. 3); a fragment from a similar vessel was found at the turret (not figured). Examples of "rustic" ware have been found at most Wall sites; but only one vessel of this type was represented in the Birdoswald alley, and no example has yet been found in deposits later than the time of Hadrian.
43. (Wallbottle Dene.) Black fumed ware. Vessels with this profile are usually regarded as belonging to the first century; cf. RICHBOROUGH I, plate XXI, nos. 20, 22, and 23, for somewhat similar types.
44. U. Fairly hard, steel-grey, light grey fracture; the interior has been coated with a greenish-brown wash. Presumably this, like 43, is to be regarded as a survival, and belongs to the beginning of period I.
- 45-46. I A. (E a.) Black fumed ware cooking-pots.
47. I A. (E a.) Coarse, brown ware, black outside; the rim has been grooved to receive a lid. A "neckless" cooking-pot rim, similar to no. 6 above, comes from the same deposit.
48. I A. (West.) Hard, sandy, grey ware.
49. I A. (West.) Softish grey jar; cf. BIRDOSWALD, no. 22, for the type.
50. I A. (West.) Sandy, dark grey.
51. I A. (Road.) Fairly soft, light grey.
52. I A. (Road.) Hard, light brown.
- 53-59. I B. (Road.) 53 and 56-59 are black fumed cooking-pots; 54 is a grey jar, 55 a black fumed beaker (cf. no. 6 above).
60. U. Dark grey, light grey fracture. For the type, cf. CRAMBECK, no. 1 ff. and BIRDOSWALD, no. 87; the wavy line on the inside is a characteristic feature of this type, which was probably made at Crambeck. It is common at

the Scarborough signal station; at Birdoswald it belongs to the close of period IV. If Chapel House milecastle was not re-occupied in period IV, this is the earliest dated example of the type. It has been riveted.

61. U. Light grey, polished; similar provenance and dating.
62. (*From Crambeck.*) Cf. also CRAMBECK, no. 2. The occurrence of two examples of this type at Chapel House suggests strongly that the site may have been re-occupied in period IV, but in the absence of structural evidence the matter must be taken as not yet proven; cf. p. 166 below.
63. U. Sandy, light grey; probably belonging to period III.
64. U. Dark grey; cf. no. 21 above.
65. (*From Crambeck.*) This represents the platter with flanged rim that formed part of the service of which the bowl, no. 60 above, is characteristic. Cf. CRAMBECK, nos. 43-46. I am indebted to the rev. T. Romans for the Crambeck specimens.
66. (*From Corbridge.*) Hard, light buff. The ware is paralleled at Crambeck, but I know of no similar rim-section; it may perhaps belong to the second half of the fourth century.
- 67-72. U. Huntcliff ware. 67 is part of a platter. For 68 cf. P.B., plate IV, nos. 16, 17. 69 is an uncommon rim-section in this ware; 70-72 represent varieties of the normal rim-section; six other vessels of this type were represented.
73. (*From Corbridge.*) Hard black ware, with white grit embedded in it, but no pitting.
- 74-75. (*From Appletree.*) Cf. p. 173 below.

Other pottery from the site included three of the small cups in reddish-brown ware, with rough-cast decoration, that are commonly met with in period I deposits (cf. R.W., p. 347, and CORBRIDGE, 1911, no. 73); part of the rim and base of a "folded" jar, dark red, with a thin glaze and rough-cast decoration (I A, *West*), similar to BIRDOSWALD, no. 28, like which it has probably come from the Rhine; and part of a "rustic" jar (plate XLIX, fig. 2, no. 4; I A, *Road*).

IV. THE WALL PERIODS.

Hitherto, the archæological evidence for the periods of the Wall's occupation has been that obtained by the late

Mr. J. P. Gibson and Mr. F. G. Simpson in their excavation of the Poltross Burn milecastle (no. 48), and confirmed by Mr. Simpson's further work on other sites. It may be convenient to quote here the conclusions arrived at in the Poltross Burn report:—⁸

"The presence of the 'rustic' ware and the bowls (plate III, nos. 1-6), hitherto looked upon as of late first century date, as well as the practically unworn coins of Trajan, all point strongly to the conclusion that the building of the milecastle and Great Wall took place about 120 A.D., while the three burnt coins of Faustina the Elder suggest that the great invasion of 180 A.D. was the occasion of the first destruction.

"History fails to assist in fixing the date of the second destruction. The coin of Claudius Gothicus indicates that the date was subsequent to 270 A.D., while the coins from the third floor show that the third and last occupation had commenced before 300 A.D. . . .

"The evidence of the third period coins has led Mr. Craster to suggest that the final abandonment of the milecastle took place as early as 330 A.D. It has been taken for granted hitherto that the milecastles were in use until the close of the Roman occupation. Had this been the case, remains of the re-occupation following the destruction in the early years of Valentinian I, 364-369 A.D., which are found in the forts, ought to appear in the milecastles also. The absence of these remains at Poltross Burn, and at Winshields, lends some support to Mr. Craster's suggestion."

As a result of the Poltross Burn coin evidence, it has been generally assumed⁹ that the Wall periods were as follows:—

Period I. c. A.D. 120-180.

Period II. 180-270.

Period III. 270-330, and in the forts lasting till the Picts' invasion of 368.

Period IV. 370-383, in the forts alone.

⁸ Page 459.

⁹ E.g., WROXETER I, p. 79; the date 270 for the end of period II does not, of course, allow for the fact that coins of Claudius Gothicus would not have been likely to reach Britain before the submission of Tetricus to Aurelian in 273 brought the province once more under the central government.

The coin of Valentinian found at Chapel House shows that this milecastle, at least, was occupied up till the Picts' War; and comparison of the Poltross Burn pottery with that of Chapel House and the material from period III levels at Birdoswald, makes it clear that there, too, the occupation must have lasted well beyond the date suggested by the coin-evidence.¹⁰ For example, at Birdoswald it appeared that the characteristic Huntcliff ware did not come into use much, if at all, before the middle of the period; and this ware is well represented at Poltross Burn. It may therefore now be taken as certain that the Wall continued to be held in its entirety until A.D. 368. Whether any sites other than forts were re-occupied in 370 is doubtful; no structural evidence of period IV has yet been found outside the forts; and, although the passage in Ammianus Marcellinus suggests as much,¹¹ and some of the Chapel House pottery would better fall into that period rather than period III, at present the question must be left open. Some site as yet unexcavated may provide the required structural evidence; it is not unreasonable to suggest that in 370, as earlier at the beginning of period II,¹² only some of the small sites previously held were restored.

The discovery at Birdoswald last year of two building-inscriptions, of Severus and of Diocletian, provides new evidence for the dating of periods II and III,¹³ and it may be desirable to state here, in outline, the results that they suggest.

In 1923 Mr. Collingwood argued¹⁴ that the break-through of c. A.D. 180 involved both Walls, and that the

¹⁰ A coin of Valentinian was found in Mucklebank (44 b) turret also: ARCH. AEL., 2nd ser., vol. XXIV; this, of course, confirms the view that the whole Wall was held till A.D. 368.

¹¹ XXVIII, iii, 7; "*instaurabat urbes et præsidiaria, ut diximus, castra, limitesque vigiliis tuebatur et prætenturis.*"

¹² Many of the turrets were dismantled at this time; cf. R.W., p. 308.

¹³ Cf. BIRDOSWALD, where the full text of each is given, and its significance discussed.

¹⁴ J.R.S., vol. XIII: "The British Frontier in the Age of Severus."

Wall of Hadrian alone was restored by Ulpius Marcellus, by A.D. 185 at the latest; and that no restoration took place on it under Severus. The first of the new Birdoswald inscriptions was set up in the governorship of Alfenus¹⁵ Senecio, who is known from the Risingham inscription C. 1008 to have been governor in A.D. 205/8; and thus it provides that evidence of work on the Wall under Severus, the lack of which forced Mr. Collingwood to reject the literary sources, meagre and confused as they are, and conclude that the restoration took place in the early years of Commodus. The passage in the epitome of Cassius Dio records that the barbarians broke through the Wall that separated them from the Roman stations, slew a general and his men, and were then defeated by Ulpius Marcellus, who restored the Wall that had been broken. Excavation on the Scottish Wall has revealed a reconstruction (usually interpreted as "a mere incident in the final abandonment"¹⁶) that might very well be due to him; and then we may connect the final overthrow of the Scottish, and the end of period I on the English Wall, with the time, some fifteen years later, when the whole of the north was overrun, and the military stations and other centres¹⁷ as far south as York and Chester¹⁸ overthrown by the Maeatae, since Clodius Albinus had taken the army of Britain, and much of the *inventus* of the province, with him to Gaul, to fight against Severus, and there was no force left to stop the northern barbarians.

Severus's first governor, Virius Lupus, seems to have crossed to Britain immediately after the defeat of Albinus,

¹⁵ *Alfenus*, rather than *Alfenius*, would appear to be the correct form of the *nomen*; cf. especially Dessau 9489.

¹⁶ S. N. Miller, BALMULDY, p. 105.

¹⁷ Aldborough appears to have been destroyed and rebuilt at this time.

¹⁸ Cf. S. N. Miller in J.R.S., vol. XV, p. 193, for the destruction of York and Chester. The passage in Cassius Dio hardly warrants the view that this occurred under Commodus; the fact of the legionary fortresses being involved suggests very strongly that the legions were not there to defend them.

and at once to have set about repairing the damage that had been done by the Maeatae; he was at work at Ilkley (C. 210), Bowes (C. 273), and perhaps Brough under Stainmore (C. 951), before the middle of A.D. 198, whilst C. 342 from Old Carlisle may indicate that that fort too had been re-occupied by the same date. The new building-slab from Bowes¹⁹ records Alfenus Senecio as governor; it may be suggested that the work of restoration there was begun by Lupus, and completed by Senecio, who may thus have been Lupus's immediate successor, *c.* A.D. 200;²⁰ by 205 Senecio had completed the work of restoration in the north up to and including the Wall, and had begun to deal with the outlying posts to the north of it. We may assume, then, that period I ended *c.* 195, and period II began *c.* A.D. 200/205.

The second Birdoswald inscription dates to *c.* A.D. 297/300,²¹ and supplies the date for the beginning of period III and, indeed, the first epigraphic record of the work of Constantius Chlorus on the northern defences of Britain. For ten years the province had been separated from the central government, owing to the revolt of Carausius, and it was not recovered until Constantius, in A.D. 296, crossed the Channel with a considerable force, and defeated Allectus, the murderer and successor of Carausius; and

¹⁹ *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, part 116.

²⁰ Pollienens Auspex was in Moesia *c.* A.D. 196 (cf. D. Atkinson in *J.R.S.*, vol. XII); in *c.* A.D. 200 he must have been in Rome (*Cassius Dio* LXXVI, ix, 3); the Lycian inscription has only the bare outline of his career.

Alfenus Senecio was in Syria by 209, and may have arrived there considerably earlier; in any case, he could hardly be expected to proceed directly to Syria from Britain. Negative evidence based on inscriptions is apt to be dangerous; but the two inscriptions from Bowes, taken in conjunction with the absence of records of rebuilding by Pollienens Auspex, suggest that Alfenus Senecio preceded him and finished the programme of rebuilding. M. Antius Crescens Calpurnianus was presumably in charge of the province between the departure of Lupus and the arrival of Senecio. The governorship of the latter will then be dated *c.* A.D. 200-205 (rather than 204-208 as suggested by Mr. Atkinson).

²¹ The reasons for the close dating of the inscription are given in BIRDOSWALD.



thereafter he was soon engaged in a war against the Picts.²² Period II had presumably come to an end shortly before his arrival; no doubt Allectus, like Clodius Albinus before him, had denuded the north of its garrisons to support himself against Constantius; especially as the legions seem to have refused to support him.²³

The end of period III is clearly defined; besides the specific references in Ammianus Marcellinus to the destruction in 367, and the restoration of the *limes* by count Theodosius and duke Dulcitus in A.D. 369,²⁴ the coin of Valentinian at Chapel House, and a coin of the same emperor from below period IV flagging at Birdoswald, confirm the received dating. As yet, there is no evidence for occupation of the Wall after c. A.D. 383;²⁵ but the outline of its history up to that date is now sufficiently established thus:—

Period I. c. A.D. 120/125—c. 195.

Period II. 200/205—c. 295.

Period III. 297/300—368.

Period IV. 370—c. 383.

Such, then, are the main Wall-periods; it is now necessary to consider the evidence for a subdivision of period I, traces of which were found at Poltross Burn and sites to the east of it, at Chapel House and Denton Hall turret also, but the clearest indications in the stretch to the west of Birdoswald. There Mr. Gibson and Mr.

²² As a passage in PAN. LAT. (ed. Baehrens, 1911; 8, 20, 4) suggests; this campaign is to be distinguished from that of A.D. 306 (O.C., 6, 7, 2). The chronology of this period is unfortunately very involved, and as yet no satisfactory solution of all its problems has been propounded.

²³ O.C., 8, 16, 2-3: (Allectus) . . . "adeo . . . properavit ad mortem ut nec explicaret aciem nec omnes copias quas trahebat instruxerit, sed cum veteribus illius coniurationis auctoribus et mercennariis cuneis barbarorum tanti apparatus oblitus inruerit . . . nemo fere Romanus occiderit imperio vincente Romano." It may have been true that Allectus was confident of success; but it is more likely that he did not call on his full force, because he could not trust the loyalty of the legions.

²⁴ XXVII, viii, 1, and XXVIII, iii, 7.

²⁵ Cf. BIRDOSWALD.

Simpson found that at each of the three turrets excavated (nos. 49b, 50a, 50b), a floor of flags had been laid during this period over the original clay floor; whilst at High House milecastle (no. 50) the same evidence of road-repairs during the period was noted as had been found at Winshields (no. 40) and Poltross Burn (no. 48). At the milecastles the signs of reconstruction in the buildings were less clear than at those turrets:—

“Floors corresponding with the I B level at the north gate were not noticed in the buildings at Poltross Burn. Since that time, however, the difficulty of detecting successive clay floors which are not separated by masonry debris, has been demonstrated at Limestone Bank (29b), Peel Crag (39a), and Steelrig (39b) turrets, where in each case a clayey mass nearly 12 inches thick, containing burnt matter, but no fallen stone, certainly represented two levels of occupation. At Poltross Burn, signs of the I B floors were not altogether wanting, and fortunately did not go unrecorded. The first period pottery was divided into two classes: “early first period” and “first period (mostly in debris).” The vessels in the first class either came from the I A level floors, or “in the surface” of the paths. The laying of another clay floor or of a gravel-path surface, readily explains how the pottery became “embedded,” while the re-making of the hearth in room E.1, at a higher level, is further evidence of the probable existence of the floor level I B in the buildings, as well as in the north gate, at that milecastle.”²⁶

It will be seen that the situation at Poltross Burn (48) was very similar to that at Chapel House (9), though there the flagged floor in E a provides clearer evidence than had hitherto been found in a milecastle for the laying of new floors in I B; the local conditions also resulted in the evidence from the road being clearer at Chapel House, owing to the difference of 8 inches in the levels of I A and I B at the hedge. The turret (7b), too, showed signs of renovation in the course of this period, but there was no such clear evidence for thorough re-laying of the floor as that discovered in the turrets west of Birdoswald.

Unfortunately, coins supply no clue to the date of I B;²⁷

²⁶ R.W., p. 327.

²⁷ Cf. R.W., p. 335.

but there are three sources of information available. First, there is the literary evidence for disturbances in Britain shortly before and after A.D. 160.²⁸ This is supported by a number of inscriptions, recording extensive repair work, at Birrens and Netherby to the north of the Wall, at Brough in Derbyshire, and on the Wall itself; and by the slab found in the Tyne, recording the arrival of a draft from the Rhine armies, transferred to the three British legions. From this evidence, professor Haverfield deduced²⁹ that the Wall and Birrens were involved in the rising of the Brigantes that Pausanias records, and were restored by Iulius Verus in A.D. 158.

At first sight, this view seems to be favoured by one result of excavation on the Wall; at High House and Poltross Burn the I B pivot-stones were markedly less worn than those of I A,³⁰ and from this it is reasonable to infer that I B began after the middle of the period, and to connect it with C. 563, which is dated to A.D. 158, as evidence of a thorough repair of the damaged Wall at that time.

On the other hand, the evidence associated with that of the pivot-stones does not warrant the conclusion that these changes followed successful enemy action, for no evidence of structural damage preceding I B has been found. Nowhere has masonry debris, so greatly in evidence below II, been found underlying I B; and the common (but not invariable) occurrence of wood-ash can be sufficiently explained as the remains of the last fires in the buildings concerned, before the new floors were laid; it is not easy to clear away ashes from a clay floor without leaving some behind, and some bottoming for flags or a new clay floor would be desirable. The very fact of it having proved difficult to distinguish between

²⁸ Pausanias VIII, xliii, 4; *Hist. Aug.*, *M. Aurelius*, 8, 7-8 and 22, 1-2.

²⁹ *ARCH. AEL.*, 2nd ser., vol. XXV, p. 142.

³⁰ *R.W.*, p. 321.

I A and I B in many cases, serves to support the view that the occupation in this period was historically continuous, and that I B was not the aftermath of destruction, but renovation work undertaken in the ordinary course of routine. After the Wall had been standing for thirty or forty years, it might well be expected to require a certain amount of overhauling; and the evidence from the milecastles, quoted above, clearly fits the view that a general renovation of the Wall occurred in A.D. 158. Yet, because it was renovation and not restoration after destruction, there is no need to assume that work was done at the same time at every site; and in one case, that is discussed later, the evidence suggests that I B began at a considerably earlier date.

It may be suggested that the evidence from Netherby and Birrens is a serious argument against the renovation view; that a rising of the Brigantes involving those sites must necessarily have included the Wall area too. Yet a close examination of the evidence disposes of this objection. *A priori*, it is unlikely that a section of the Brigantes would have been left outside the new limes by Hadrian, when the bulk of the confederacy was to the south of it;³¹ the passage in Pausanias certainly does not demand the assumption of a war so serious and widespread as to involve the whole of the north, including both the Walls, but rather suggests a local raid, followed by swift retribution and the confiscation of much of the raiders' territory; and the evidence of destruction on the Scottish Wall, and at Newstead and Birrens, then implies a frontier war, like that of c. A.D. 180, fought to the north of Hadrian's Wall; and the rising of the Brigantes becomes localized in the Pennines, Brough being the only clear case of restoration at this time in the Brigantian area. The Corbridge excavations, it may be noted, though they produced

³¹ Cf. Macdonald, *The Roman Wall in Scotland*, p. 10. The dedication to Brigantia from Birrens need prove that Birrens was in Brigantian territory no more than the Carvoran inscriptions to the Syrian goddess, that the Wall was in Syria.

evidence of activity and change of plan, showed no signs of destruction at this time.³²

The turrets to the west of Birdoswald are, as yet, the only ones known³³ where I B took the form of the substitution of a floor of flags for one of clay; and in that stretch the evidence of some of the I B pottery is very striking. Birdoswald (49b) and High House (50a) turrets do not help us; in the former the levels had been too much disturbed, and the latter produced very little material; but the I B material from Appletree turret (50b) contains some vessels of considerable value for dating. Particular attention may be directed to the two sections from Appletree reproduced in plate LIII:—

74 (R.W., no. 65). "A well-finished hard vessel of somewhat coarse red clay." This type is not uncommon in the Hadrianic period on the Wall; two or three examples have been noted, as survivals, on the Scottish Wall (cf. BALMULDY, p. 90); but otherwise no example has come from a site whose occupation certainly dates to the time of Pius or later.

75 (R.W., no. 63). "Grey, moderately fine clay and well baked . . . smooth and well-finished surface." For a somewhat similar type, cf. SLACK, no. 85, whose rim is comparable. The exterior groove and well-marked carination of the Appletree vessel suggest that it should be regarded as an aberrant form of the ordinary carinated bowl that lasted into the time of Hadrian, but not later.

R.W., no. 64 (with which compare nos. 43, 44 above), 66, and 68, also, would seem to be Hadrianic at latest; taken as a whole, the group seems to forbid the assumption that I B was laid as late as A.D. 158, *there at any rate*; and some date in the time of Hadrian would best suit the pottery evidence. The substitution of flags for clay floors need have been due to nothing more than the whim of a new commander of the cohort at Birdoswald; other-

³² Cf. H. H. E. Craster, in ARCH. AEL., 3rd ser., vol. VIII, p. 259.

³³ Cf. R.W. I exclude from consideration the Willowford stretch (C. & W., XXVI), where the actual results of the excavations of 1923 are not easy to disentangle.

wise, similar work might have been expected to occur elsewhere. But, if it be deemed desirable to supply an historical peg on which to hang the change, it may be suggested that it took place about A.D. 140 (when it would not be unreasonable to find some early Hadrianic vessels still in use). At that time there is evidence³⁴ for a general movement of auxiliary regiments, occasioned by the re-occupation of Scotland, and involving a change of garrisons in a number of forts on the Wall; and it seems possible that Birdoswald, as well as Housesteads and perhaps other forts too, received a detachment from legion II Augusta as garrison, so that the cohort previously stationed there could be released for service on the new *limes* between Forth and Clyde.

In the case of Limestone Bank turret (29b),³⁵ I B may have been laid at the same time; the carinated bowl, with reeded rim, found complete but broken immediately below a flag in the higher floor, suggests a comparatively early date. At Denton Hall (7b) it is clear that there was a good deal of making-up of the floor during the period, but no general renovation; and it may be suspected that the same was the case with most, if not all, of the turrets so far examined. At all events, I B—whatever the time of its incidence, and whatever the form that it took—did not follow on destruction, but consisted in the putting in good order of the lesser Wall-structures;³⁶ in the forts no trace of comparable renovation has been found—no doubt because the regimental headquarters would receive constant attention, and so would not ordinarily require large scale repairs, except after receiving damage from the enemy, or after the lapse of a longer time. There is no evidence that Hadrian's Wall was involved in disaster before the time of Clodius Albinus.

³⁴ Which I hope to collate in the near future.

³⁵ ARCH. AEL., 3rd ser., vol. IX.

³⁶ Mr. Simpson wishes me to say that the elimination of level I B as an event of *historical* significance has his complete approval.



DENTON HALL TURRET.

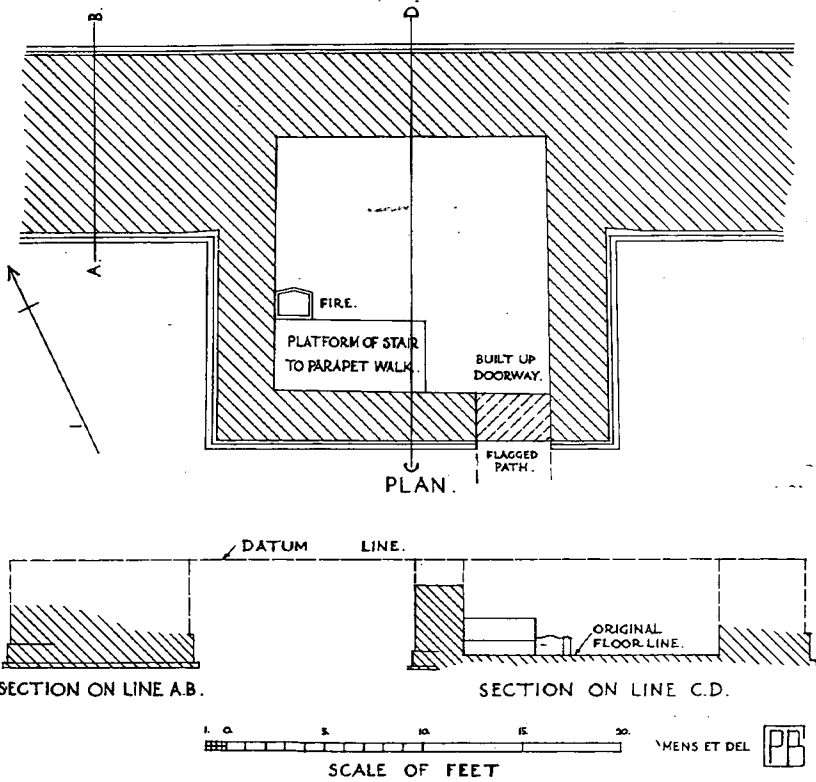




FIG. 1.
TURRET FROM S.

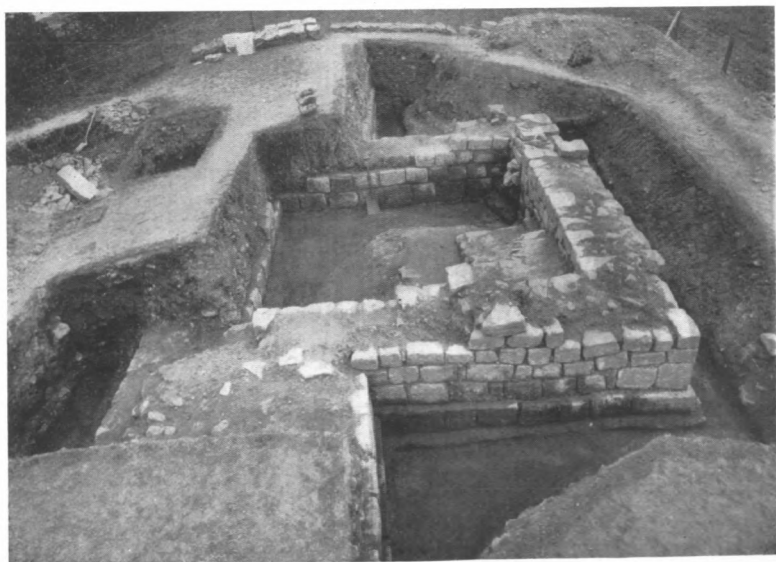


FIG. 2.
TURRET FROM W.



FIG. 1.
TURRET FROM N, SHOWING PLATFORM AND HOB.



FIG. 2.
FLAGGING ROUND HOB.



FIG. 1.
PERIOD II. FLAGGING OVER PLATFORM I.



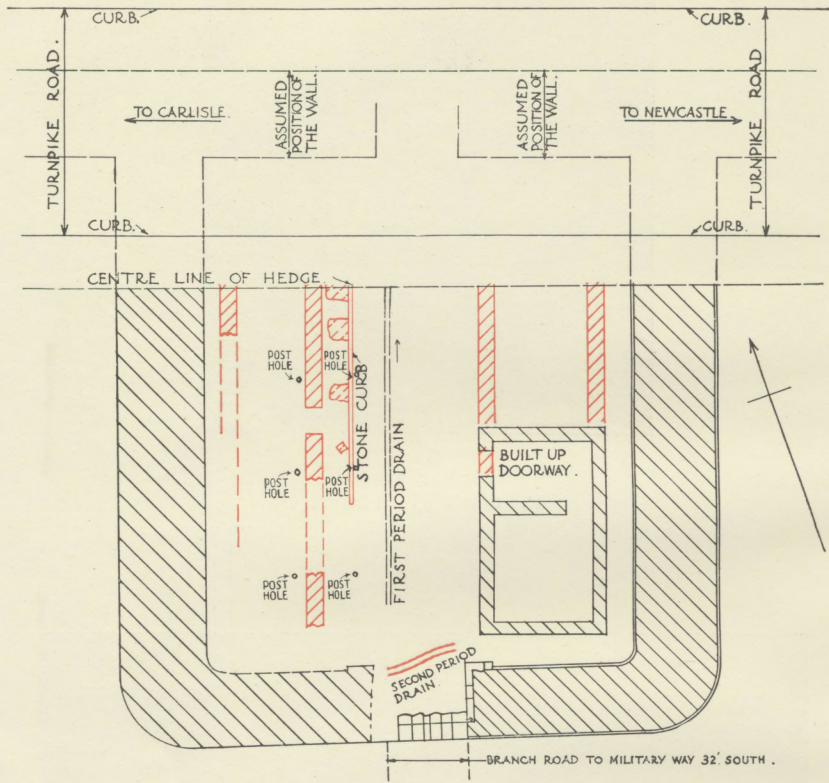
FIG. 2.
FLOOR II. AND "X".



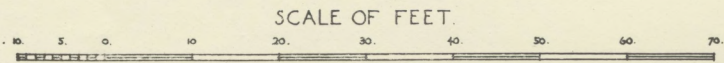
FIG. 1.
PLATFORM II. FROM N.



FIG. 2.
"X" AND FLOOR II. FROM N.



CHAPEL HOUSE MILE CASTLE.



PP
MENS
ET DEL



FIG. 1. MILECASTLE; E. SIDE FROM S.



FIG. 2. MILECASTLE; ROAD AND W. SIDE FROM S.





FIG. 1.
N. FACE OF S. WALL.



FIG. 2.
PIVOT-HOLE.



FIG. 1.
INSCRIPTIONS ON S. FACE OF S. WALL.



FIG. 2.
PERIOD II DRAIN OVER ORIGINAL ROADWAY.



FIG. 1.
E. BUILDING FROM N.W. SHOWING WALLED-UP DOOR.



FIG. 2.
E. BUILDING FROM E.



FIG. 1. E. WALL OF Eb FROM W.



FIG. 2. REMAINS ON W. SIDE FROM S.





FIG. 1.
SKELETON AND S. FACE OF MILECASTLE.

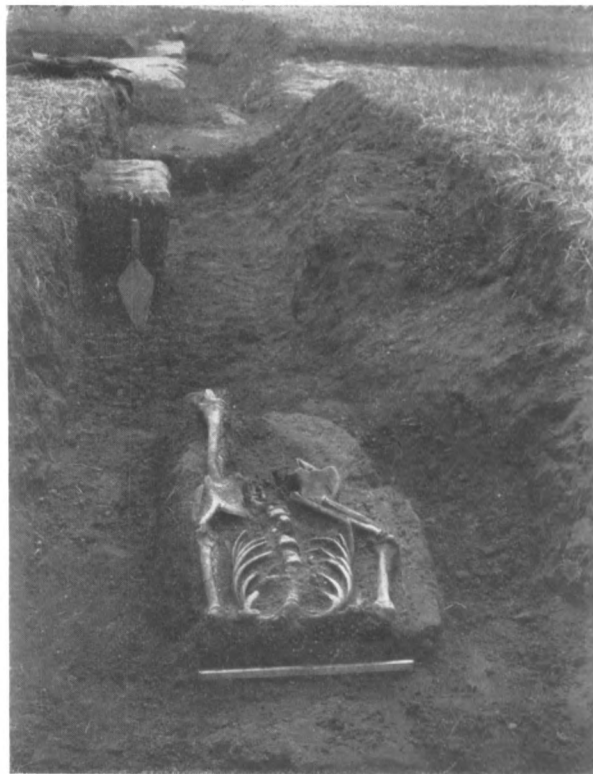


FIG. 2.
SKELETON FROM E.

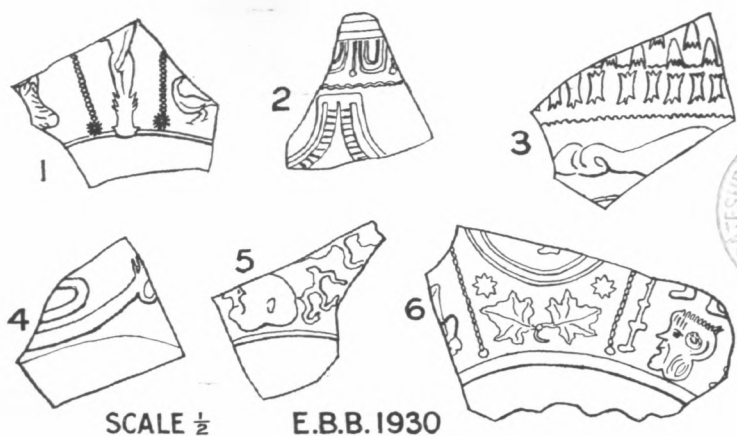


FIG. 1.
FIGURED SAMIAN.

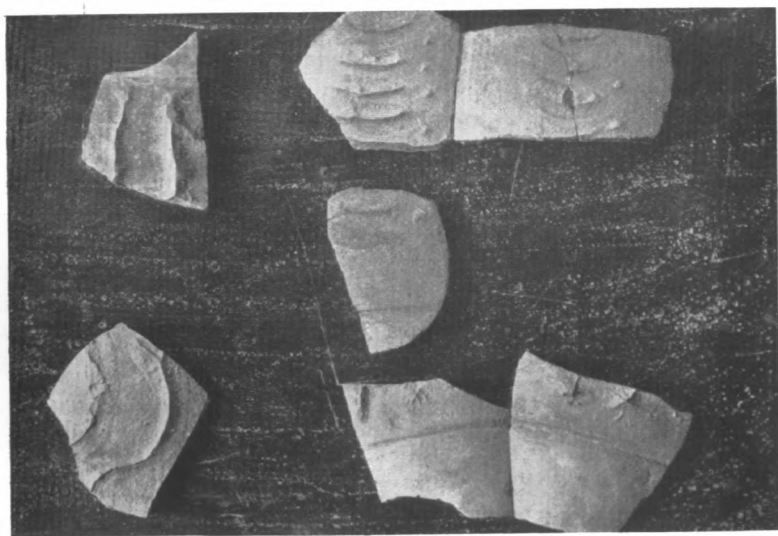


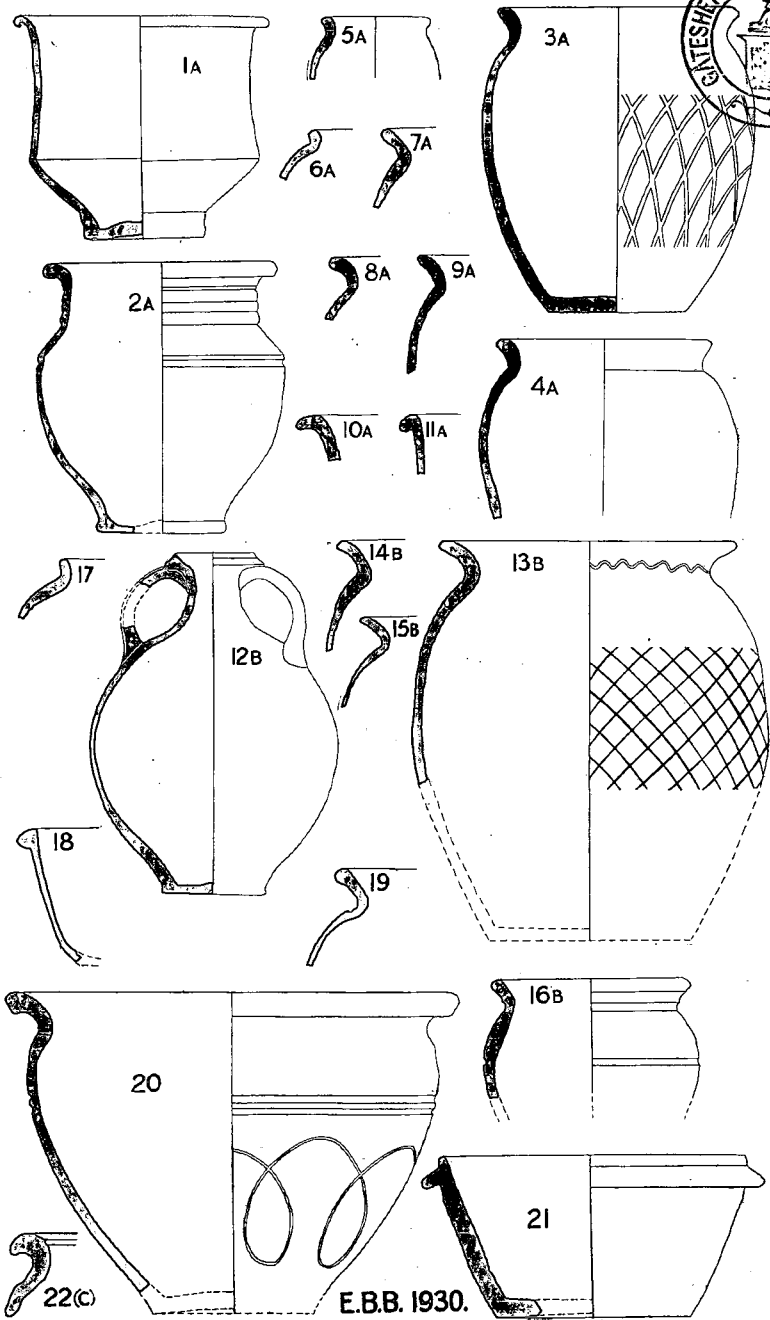
FIG. 2.
"RUSTIC" WARE, ETC.



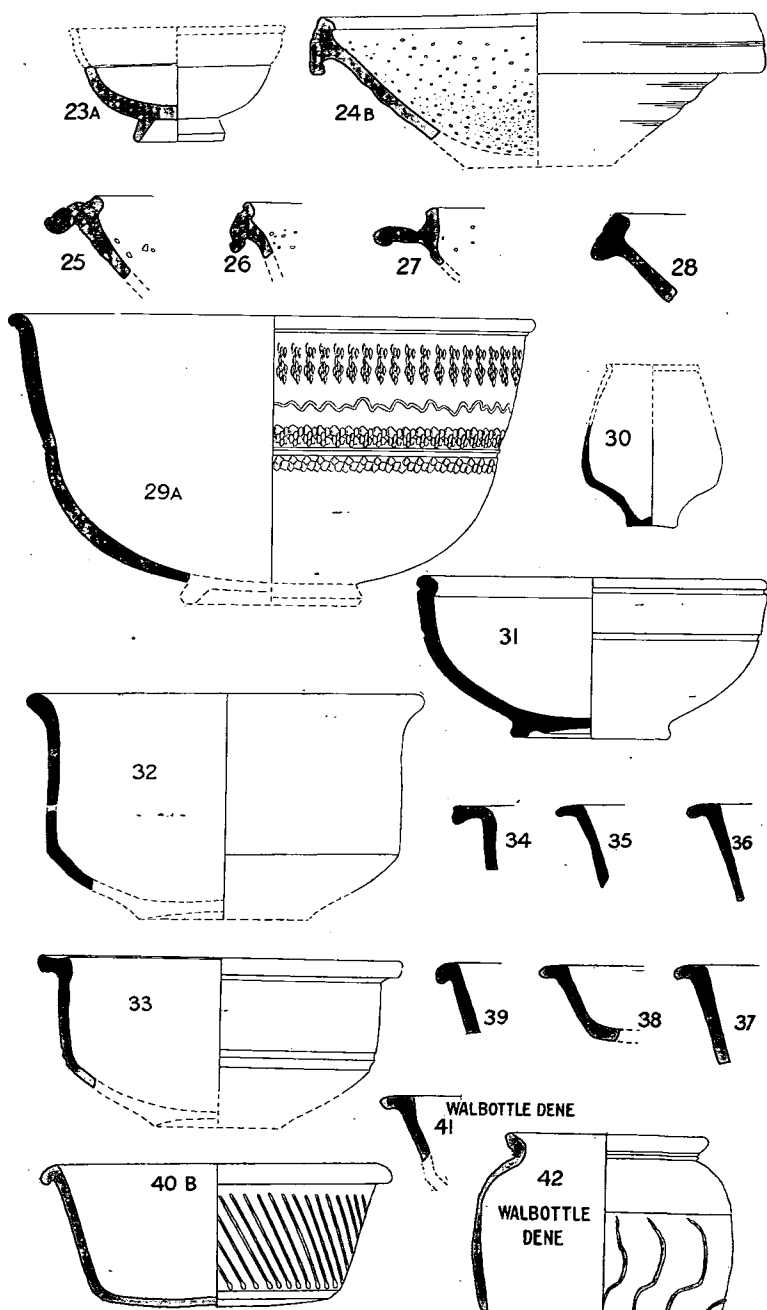
FIG. 1.
MILECASTLE; SCULPTURED STONE (HEIGHT 6 INCHES).



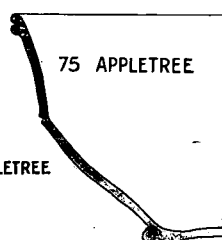
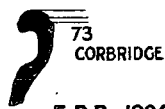
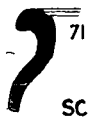
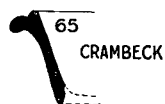
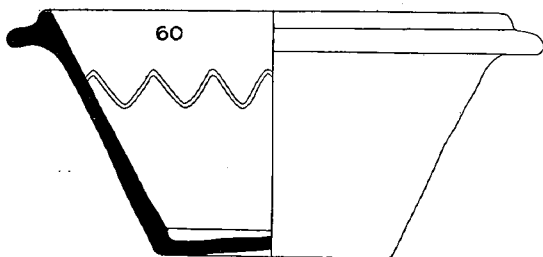
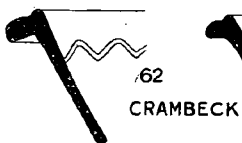
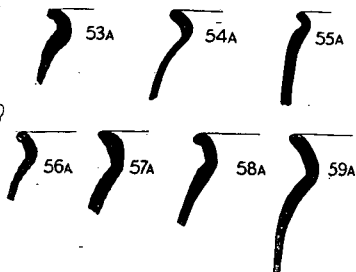
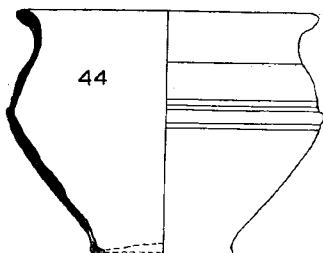
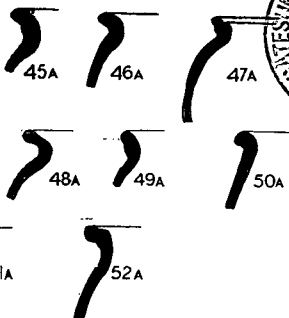
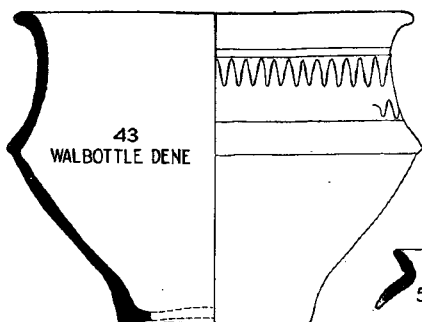
FIG. 2.
TURRET; BOWL (ABOUT $\frac{3}{5}$).



DENTON HALL TURRET.



CHAPEL HOUSE MILECASTLE.



E.B.B. 1930

CHAPEL HOUSE MILECASTLE.

