

VIII.—FOURTH REPORT ON EXCAVATIONS AT HOUSESTEADS.

BY ERIC BIRLEY AND G. S. KEENEY.

[Read on 27th March, 1935.]

The following abbreviations are employed :

- AA^{1, 2, 3, 4} *Archæologia Aeliana*, first-fourth series.
CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.
C CIL VII.
CW² Cumberland and Westmorland *Transactions*, new series.
EE *Ephemeris Epigraphica*.
ILS Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*.
PSAN *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne.
PSAS *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland.
Riese A. Riese, *Das rheinische Germanien in den antiken Inschriften* (Teubner, 1914).

I. INTRODUCTION.

The Durham University Excavation Committee, after four seasons' excavations at Housesteads, must now turn to the investigation of other sites and other problems; and it may not be thought inappropriate if we attempt a survey of the main results so far obtained, and of the general character of the civil settlement as a whole, so far as it is known. There is much still awaiting examination in it, and in the course of time it is to be hoped that it will be possible for work to be resumed at Housesteads; at present it is necessary for the abundant yield of material obtained since 1931 to be classified for publication, and the breath-

ing space afforded by this work will permit the outstanding chronological problems to be defined more closely; the course of future digging will depend to a large extent on the results of a careful examination of the mass of numismatic and ceramic evidence already to hand.

The excavations of 1934 were supervised by the second-named of the writers, with the assistance successively of Messrs. A. W. Bell and J. D. Lowery, both of Armstrong College; Miss Isabel Lundy, of Armstrong College, undertook the care of the pottery and other finds. Responsibility for the planning was assumed by Mr. T. J. Cahill and his assistant Mr. Ian Hamilton, who has drawn the plans that accompany the present report. The results of these excavations are described in the concluding section of this paper, which is preceded by two sections, the first of which is devoted to a discussion of civil settlements as a class, and a summary of some evidence from the line of Hadrian's Wall and its neighbourhood, while the second surveys the whole of the evidence available for the topography and character of this particular settlement; it is hoped that these two sections may be of assistance in the study of other settlements of the same kind on the frontiers of the Roman Empire.

The committee, and all who have the study of Roman frontier history at heart, cannot but be grateful to professor G. M. Trevelyan for the opportunity that he has afforded of examining so instructive a site as Housesteads, and for presenting the whole range of objects found in the course of the four seasons' work for exhibition in the museum that is in course of erection on the site by the National Trust.

II. CIVIL SETTLEMENTS, BY ERIC BIRLEY.

§1. The evidence from Housesteads itself is amplified by that from a number of other sites, on Hadrian's Wall and elsewhere in Britain, and abroad; some details are

given below, but in the first instance we may outline some general considerations. Perhaps the most important distinction that should be made is that between mere annexes—the small spaces (often enclosed by defences hardly less elaborate than those of the forts themselves) in which the regimental bath-house was placed, and where a few traders and camp-followers might squat in safety—and settlements proper, which often covered a considerable area, and attained economic importance and independent status; in such cases defences were sometimes but by no means always provided. The distinction between the two classes is in part a temporal one; in the early stages of the conquest of fresh territory, before the natives had become subdued and acquiescent in their new status of subjection, every fort was an outpost chosen for its military advantages alone, and even if its position was such as to ensure its economic importance when conditions became more peaceful, in the first instance facilities could not be provided for a considerable civilian population. But in the course of time the pacification of the surrounding district inevitably led to the development of trade with its inhabitants; and forts placed at important road-junctions, or on main lines of communication, might attract large numbers of civilians, not only from the immediate neighbourhood, but from further afield.

§2. In the case of the legionary fortresses, the process began early, as is shown by the existence in A.D. 70 of a settlement at Vetera large enough to be described as a town,¹ or by the early inscriptions from the *canabae* at Mainz;² and it seems safe to say that the reason was not merely that the presence of the legions provided a market

¹ Tacitus, *Histories* IV 22: *longae pacis opera, haud procul castris in modum municipii extracta.*

² Cf. Riese 20=CIL XIII 6797: *Ti. Claudio Caesari Aug. Germanico pont. max. trib. pot. III imp. IIII p. p. cos. III, cives Romani manticulari negotiatores, C. Vibio Rufino leg. pro pr.* (A.D. 43); Riese 33=ILS 9235: the dedication of the *Gigantensäule* at Mainz, shortly before A.D. 67, by the *canabari publice*. Another *manticularius* (bag-merchant) appears on the Mainz inscription, Riese 2146.

for traders and an inducement for veterans to remain in the neighbourhood after leaving the army, but that the troops were concentrated in positions of natural economic importance. On the Rhine frontier in particular, the legionary fortresses were chosen as bases for operations across the river;³ on them the natural traffic lines converged, and the growth of their *canabae* into considerable towns followed easily and rapidly.

Auxiliary forts were placed at sites of less strategic, and therefore of less ultimate economic, importance; but on such sites towns often grew up. Among the German examples we may note Heddernheim (*Nida*), in origin a base-fort for the Taunus *limes*, which became a town and the centre of the *civitas Taunensium*, with all the apparatus of a Roman self-governing community;⁴ Rottenburg (*Sumelocenna*), the centre of a *saltus* that extended at least as far as Köngen, 29 miles away,⁵ which in the third century likewise had become a self-governing community;⁶ and even in the economic and military backwater of the Neckar district, a small town grew up at Wimpfen after the frontier had been moved forward to the outer *limes*.

Such must have been the development of towns like Corstopitum and Carlisle in Britain, although they have not yet yielded similar epigraphic evidence; and (assuming that the identification of the district is correct) there is nothing inherently improbable in Mr. G. H. Wheeler's recent suggestion that the father of St. Patrick was a decurion of the latter town.⁷ Indeed there is a possibility that in Britain the development was carried further than in Germany, since the Roman occupation outlasted the abandonment of the districts east of the Rhine by a century

³ Cf. Tacitus, *Histories* IV 23.

⁴ Cf. Riese 2250—a *curator*; 2240/I, a *duovir*; 2242, an *aedile*; 2133; 2244, etc.—*decurions* and *sacerdotales*; 2256 and 2258—*colleges*, *fabr(orum) tign(ariorum)* and *iuventutis*.

⁵ Riese 102.

⁶ Riese 2165—*ex decreto ordinis saltus Sumelocennensis*; 2166—a *decurio civi(tatis) Suma(locennensis)*; 2168—a *sevir Augustalis*.

⁷ *English Historical Review* L (1935) 109-13.

and a half; and in the period from Severus to the Picts' War, as Mr. Keeney has recently shown,⁸ Corstopitum at least was growing in size, if not in elegance. Like Carlisle, it formed a convenient centre for the supply of the troops stationed on and near the Wall, and a market for the surrounding district; and both towns were on the main trunk roads that passed through the Wall into Scotland. Dr. James Curle's admirable paper in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland⁹ makes it unnecessary for us to emphasize the extent and variety of the trade that was carried on with Scotland during the Roman period; but there are certain aspects of it to which we shall have to revert later.

§3. More important for our present purpose are the settlements of another and commoner type, which only attained a measure of self-government, as *vici*. Such, in Germany, was Köngen (*Grinario*) in the *saltus* of Sumelocenna,¹⁰ and there are many others recorded on inscriptions from the Rhineland; in Britain, the only epigraphic records come from Old Carlisle, Chesterholm, and Housesteads itself,¹¹ but there is structural evidence in plenty for settlements of comparable extent, that no doubt attained to the same measure of independence.

In an annexe a bath-house is usually the only building of importance, while there may be a few cottages and traders' booths clustering round it; but the *vicus* is both more extensive and more ambitious. Outside every fort we are accustomed to find altars, dedicated by the regiment in garrison, to Jupiter Optimus Maximus or to Mars or Hercules, who in the third century received a place in the official worship of the Roman army;¹² usually these altars

⁸ AA⁴ XI 158-75.

⁹ LXVI (1932) 277-397: *An Inventory of Objects of Roman and Provincial Roman Origin . . . in Scotland . . .*, especially pp. 345-50.

¹⁰ Riese 2170, 2171; the decurion of the *civitas Sumelocennensis*, Riese 2166, presumably lived at Köngen, where he set up an altar to a German Mercury.

¹¹ Cf. C 346; AA³ XII 201=AA⁴ VIII 194; AA⁴ IX 232.

¹² Cf. Domaszewski, *Die Religion des r. Heeres* 34, 49.

seem to have been set up in a prominent position, perhaps at the side of the regimental parade-ground, and while they throw light on many aspects of the army, they have no direct bearing on the extramural settlements. But in *vici*, as opposed to annexes, alongside the official military dedications we find altars set up by private individuals, many of them civilians, to a variety of gods, and the temples in which these altars stood. At sites like the Saalburg or Stockstadt on the Upper German *limes*, where excavation has recovered the main outline of *vicus* as well as fort, we see that there were temple-quarters, away from the main military line of communication, in which the religious life of the settlement was centred.

§4. At Housesteads there is evidence for two such groups of temples, which are discussed on a later page; and though no other fort on Hadrian's Wall has produced such extensive evidence, a number of temples are recorded :

1. At *Wallsend* there was a temple, though we cannot say now to what god it was dedicated.¹³

2. On the east side of *Benwell* fort two altars to an otherwise unknown deity or deities, Anociticus-Antenociticus,¹⁴ were found, in 1862, in a small temple together with fragments of a statue or statues; the restoration of a temple to the three *Matres Campestris* in 238 is recorded on another inscription;¹⁵ and a dedication to Jupiter Dolichenus, as early as the time of Antoninus Pius, allows us to infer the presence of a Dolichenum, such as is commonly found in *vici* on the Upper German *limes*.¹⁶

3. An altar from *Rudchester* records the restoration of a temple of Mithras, to whom two other altars from that site were dedicated;¹⁷ and from Wallis's and Hodgson's accounts of a structure whose discovery was first recorded

¹³ C 494, found at Tynemouth, but attributable to Wallsend.

¹⁴ C 503, 504.

¹⁵ C 510; the erasure of the titles *Pupienae Bulbinae* gives precision in dating.

¹⁶ C 506.

¹⁷ C 542; 541, 544.

by the former, it seems possible that it was the Mithraeum. According to Wallis, in June 1766,

“a coffin hewn out of a rock was discovered in digging near the same place by some labourers, about twelve feet long, four broad, and two deep; a hole close to the bottom at one end; a transverse partition of stone and lime, about three feet from the other end; many decayed bones, teeth, and vertebræ in it; supposed by their shape and size to be the remains of some animal, sacrificed, perhaps, to *Hercules*”;¹⁸

and Hodgson adds, “I was told that it also contained a three-footed candlestick of iron.”¹⁹ Such a candlestick was found in the undoubted Mithraeum at the Säälbürg, and the dimensions of the “cistern” (as Hodgson calls it) are such as to suggest that it formed the central passage of the nave of a Mithraeum. If occasion should offer, it would be well worth while to re-excavate the structure.

4. At *Chesters*, as at Benwell, a Dolichenum may be inferred, from an inscription,²⁰ and from a sculpture that has recently been shown to represent Juno Regina, the consort of Jupiter Dolichenus.²¹

5. *Carrawburgh*, like Benwell, can boast of an excavated temple to a local deity, the goddess Coventina, to whom a large number of dedications, recovered by John Clayton over half a century ago, bear witness.²²

6. Passing over Housesteads, which falls to be considered in a later section, we come to *Chesterholm*, where Wallis records the discovery and destruction of a temple “adorned with doric pilasters and capitals” to the west of the fort, some years before the publication of his history.²³

7. From *Greatchesters* come two more dedications to Jupiter Dolichenus; the first of these seems to have been

¹⁸ *Northumberland* (1769) II 168.

¹⁹ *History of Northumberland*, II iii 178.

²⁰ EE VII 1016.

²¹ Cf. PSAS LXVI (1932) 276.

²² Cf. AA² VIII 1-49 with plan facing p. 21, and view facing p. 1.

²³ *Northumberland* (1769) II 27.

set up by a number of worshippers, one of whom was a woman.²⁴

8. At *Carvoran* also there seems to have been an altar, and therefore presumably a temple, to Dolichenus;²⁵ and though the dedications there to the Syrian goddess have been explained as evidence of official military religion,²⁶ the metrical inscription by Marcus Caecilius Donatianus²⁷ can hardly have been set up in the headquarters of the fort or on its parade-ground.

9. *Birdoswald* has produced a fragmentary inscription of A.D. 236, that records the building, perhaps of a temple of Mithras, though the restoration is not certain,²⁸ while another fragment seems to refer to a priest.²⁹

10. An inscription from *Castlesteads* records the rebuilding of a temple to the *Matres omnium gentium* (no doubt the same as the *Matres com(munes)* of two altars from *Chesters* and *Carrawburgh*³⁰), whilst there are two dedications from this site to Mithras.³¹

At the *Saalburg*, whose *vicus* is perhaps the best example so far examined, and at a number of other German sites, both Mithras and Dolichenus had their temples; but it will be seen that as yet no fort on Hadrian's Wall has produced evidence for the worship of both these deities: Mithras was worshipped at *Rudchester*, *Housesteads* (as we shall see), perhaps *Birdoswald*, and *Castlesteads*; Dolichenus at *Benwell*, *Chesters*, *Greatchesters* and *Carvoran*. The lack of overlap may be no more than accidental, but it is worth noting.

§5. In the foregoing survey of sites on the Wall, we have only considered temples that are known, or can be inferred with certainty; it is probable that a number of

²⁴ C 725, EE IX 1192.

²⁵ C 753.

²⁶ Domaszewski, *Die Religion*, p. 52.

²⁷ C 759.

²⁸ C 833b.

²⁹ C 833.

³⁰ C 887; EE VII 1017, 1032.

³¹ C 889, 890.

other deities, to whom extant altars were erected, were also provided with temples: Cocidius, for example, whose cult centred somewhere in north-east Cumberland, was worshipped at Birdoswald and Castlesteads as well as at Housesteads and a number of milecastles, though it is only at Housesteads that there are sufficient altars to him to make the inference of a temple certain. But many of the altars seem to provide evidence for the character of family worship rather than for the existence of public temples. Some of the dedications to the Mothers are on the small "portable" altars of this type that must have been placed in private shrines; and so are most if not all of the dedications to Belatucadrus³² and Huitris (or the Veteres). Such inscriptions, perhaps, throw more light than any other class of evidence on the character of the settlements in which they occur, for most of them were set up by people who seem to have had no direct connection with the army; while Cocidius was worshipped by officers and legionary soldiers, the votaries of Belatucadrus and Huitris were mainly civilians and (we may add) natives of the north of Britain, to which the cults were confined.³³ The distribution of these inscriptions on the line of the Wall is interesting:

	<i>Belatucadrus</i>	<i>Huitris-Veteres</i>
Benwell	—	2 (C 511-2)
Chesters	—	3 (C 581-2; EE VII 1018)
Carrawburgh	1 (C 620 = AA ⁴ II, p. 56, no. 6)	2 (C 502b, ³⁴ 619)
Housesteads	—	4 (EE IX 1181-3; AA ⁴ IX, p. 232)
Chesterholm	—	3 (C 709-11)
Greatchesters	—	3 (C 727-9)
Carvoran	3 (C 745-6; EE VII 1053)	13 (C 502a, 727?, 760-8; EE VII 1056-7)
Castlesteads	2 (C 873-4)	—
Burgh-by-Sands	2 (C 934-5)	—

³² For the form of the name, cf. I. A. Richmond in CW² XXXIII 301.

³³ Cf. CW² XXXII 136-7; PSAN⁴ III 131-3.

³⁴ Cf. AA⁴ II 72, no. 56.

The cult of Belatucadrus seems to have centred in north Westmorland and east Cumberland; with the exception of the single instance from Carrāburgh, and an altar of unknown provenance that came to light a few years ago at Hexham,³⁵ it did not extend further east than Carvoran, the most westerly outpost (but for Netherby, which has produced three dedications³⁶) and numerically the strongest centre of the cult of Huitris. The number of dedications of this class, only one of them certainly by a soldier,³⁷ at Carvoran emphasizes the importance, clear on other grounds also, of the *vicus* at that place. The subject is one that we can only indicate at present; but an analysis of the evidence contained in the inscriptions of this kind in the north of Britain would be well worth undertaking.

§6. With the evidence derived from a study of the names of the dedicators of altars we may compare that provided by tombstones. On the line of the Wall, such evidence is still comparatively scanty, since there has been no methodical examination of the cemeteries; with few exceptions, the tombstones that have been found had been re-used in the Roman period as flag-stones or in the walls of late buildings. For all that, there are some forty inscriptions of this type, from the Wall and the outlying forts to the north of it (a quarter of them come from Risingham, where it is plain that there was a considerable settlement), recording the relations—wives, sons and daughters, brothers and sisters—of men who for the most part do not record any military rank; and some of them, like the majority of the votaries of Belatucadrus and Huitris, possess only the single name of *peregrini*. This evidence, too, we can only indicate for future analysis; but there is one inscription that deserves special attention :

³⁵ PSAN⁴ III 132.

³⁶ C 958, 960; EE VII 1087. The first of these seems to connect Huitris with the god Mogon of Risingham. For the *Veteres* cf. Haverfield's paper in AA³ XV 22-43.

³⁷ C 760, by an *imagifer* of *coh. II Delmatarum*.

C. 739, Greatchesters: *d. m. Ael. Mercuriali cornicul. Vacia soror fecit.*

It is the tombstone of Aelius Mercurialis, *cornicularius* (adjutant)—no doubt of the second cohort of Asturians, the garrison of Greatchesters in the third century, set up by his sister Vacia; and it provides the only specific evidence from the line of the Wall for the operation of the system of local recruiting that became increasingly common from the time of Hadrian onwards, and the rule (in so far as the local supply of suitable recruits sufficed) in the third century. In Germany there is considerable evidence for the practice—it will be sufficient to instance a soldier of the eighth legion and two of the twenty-second, both legions stationed in Upper Germany, who are described as *cives Sumelocenneses*;³⁸ among the legionaries in Britain, three at least were British, and of those one had his home in the *canabae* of the second legion at Caerleon,³⁹ while we may add at least three other auxiliary soldiers attested on British inscriptions.⁴⁰ The fact that his sister set up the

³⁸ Riese 851, 1188.

³⁹ *Leg. II Aug.*—C 126, Caerleon: *d. m. Tadia Vallauinius, vixit ann. LXV, et Tadius Exuper(a)tus filius, vixit ann. XXXVII; defuntus expeditione Germanica. Tadia Exuperata filia matri et fratri piiss(i)ma secus tumulum patris posuit.* Exuperatus was born *castris*, while his father was still in the army and hence unable to contract a legal marriage, so that he had the same *nomen* as his mother; though his military rank and the name of the legion in which he served are not mentioned, the mention of the German expedition on which he lost his life shows that he had entered the army, and presumably this legion.

Leg. VI Vic.—ILS 2365, Rome: *d. m. M. Ulpio Ner(viae) Quinto Glevi, mil. fr. leg. VI V., Calidius Quietus collega fratri observato piissimo b. m. f. c.* This inscription is the only piece of evidence for the foundation of a colony at *Glevum* (Gloucester) by Nerva (A.D. 96-8).

Leg. XX V. V.—C 49, Bath: *Iulius Vitalis fabriciesis leg. XX V. V. stipendiorum IX anor. XXIX natione Belga ex collegio fabricae elatus, h. s. e.* A soldier described as a Belga, buried at Bath in the territory of the British canton of the Belgae; must be a Briton. Riese has no other instance of a soldier so described; soldiers from Belgica give the names of their cantons.

⁴⁰ *Coh. II Thracum*—C 1091+EE IX, p. 623, Mumrills: *dis m. Nectovelius f. Vindicis an. XXX stip. VIII nationis Brigans, militavit in coh. II Thr.*

Coh. I Vardullorum—the Colchester diploma (JRS XIX 216-7) was issued to a Roman citizen, Saturninus, *Glevi*.

An ala—C 264, Malton: *d. m. Aur. Macrinus, ex eq. sing. Aug.* The

tombstone to him shows that the home of Mercurialis was in the *vicus* at Aesica; otherwise, it is hardly likely that she would have found her way there.

§7. The evidence of tombstones leads us from the consideration of the temples and cults of the settlements to that of the cemeteries in which their inhabitants were buried. Throughout the Empire the Roman regulation, that the dead should be buried outside the boundaries of the towns, was in force, although the fact of successive emperors re-enforcing the rule shows that it was not universally observed;⁴¹ indeed, there are plenty of cases of burial within the occupied area in British sites, including Housesteads itself. But for the most part the regulation was observed. Most commonly, the cemeteries lined the roads leading away from the town or village; at the Saalburg, the principal cemetery flanked the road to Heddernheim, beginning immediately south of the main temple-quarter; at Carrawburgh, burials are recorded from the side of the military way, both west and east of the mile-castle⁴²—there the civil settlement was confined to the south and west sides of the fort;⁴³ and at Chesterholm there was a cemetery on the north side of the Stanegate, for some distance westward from the fort.⁴⁴ But it is not uncommon to find groups of burials placed away from the main roads, close to temples; thus, there is a small cemetery beside the Dolichenum at the Saalburg; another cemetery is recorded

equites singulares in Rome were kept up to strength by the transfer of troopers from the *alae* in the provinces; Macrinus presumably started his service in Britain, of which he was a native, as his return to live at Malton after taking his discharge shows.

⁴¹ *SHA Pius XII: intra urbes sepeliri mortuos vetuit; SHA Marcus XIII: leges sepeliendi sepulchrorumque asperrimas sanxerunt.*

⁴² Hodgson II iii 286: in the limestone quarry east of the milecastle "the quarrymen also told me that urns, with ashes in them, were not unfrequently found here." AA⁴ VI 150 (Lingard's notes): "100 yds. east of the station is a castle stead. The burying place is between it and the station. Bones, etc., found in it."

⁴³ Hodgson II iii 183-4.

⁴⁴ The tombstone C 724 was found "in a field to the north of the causeway" (Hodgson II iii 201); and urns were dug up in the garden of Archy's Flat, 600 yards to the west (Wallis, *Northumberland* II 27).

at Chesterholm "in a swampy part of a close to the south-west of the field in which the station stands",⁴⁵ and the cemetery of Greatchesters was apparently some distance east of the branch road that connected that fort with the Stanegate.⁴⁶ Although the growth of a settlement might lead to it spreading over early cemeteries, it is generally safe to say that the discovery of a cemetery will give a limit beyond which the settlement to which it belonged did not spread; as we have seen, the presence of a cemetery only a few yards east of Carrawburgh fort is explained by the concentration of the *vicus* there on the south and west sides of the fort.

§8. In plan, settlements of this type are of two main classes, which we find combined in the larger *vici*. In the first and simpler class there is no real town-planning, apart from the placing of the cemetery away from occupied area, and there is merely ribbon-development along the roads leading away from the centre of the village. The greater part of the *vicus* at the Saalburg is of this class, with rows of houses lining the road southward towards Heddernheim; so is the Roman town at Bregenz, which straggled along both sides of a main trunk-road.⁴⁷ In Britain there were settlements of the same type at Brecon⁴⁸ and Brougham,⁴⁹ the latter stretching for at least half a mile along the main Stainmore road; but most of the British examples seem, as far as the evidence goes, to fall in the second class, in which there is a planned street-system, which allows a more methodical arrangement of buildings, and suggests a higher degree of development. Such was the case, in Germany, at Stockstadt, where the main temple quarter was placed at an intersection of side streets on the east side of the through road; and the streets were laid out, as the level nature of the site permitted, on

⁴⁵ Hodgson II iii 197.

⁴⁶ Hodgson II iii 203.

⁴⁷ Cf. the plan in *Germania Romana*² II, pl. xi.

⁴⁸ Wheeler, *Brecon Gaer*, p. 57.

⁴⁹ CW² XXXII 124-39.

a regular chess-board plan. At Housesteads, too, as the plan so far recovered shows, there was an arrangement partly of the same kind, although the hill slope does not favour such schematic regularity; to judge by the surface indications, the *vicus* at Chesterholm was similar, and from the recorded discoveries of buildings at Benwell, there must have been a wider area covered there than can be accounted for by ribbon-development, even though the southward road (as at the Saalburg and at Housesteads) was lined with houses.⁵⁰ The evidence from other sites on the Wall is less precise, but so far as it goes it suggests that they were arranged similarly.

§9. Perhaps the most noteworthy feature on Hadrian's Wall, in contrast to that of Pius in Scotland, is the fact that its civil settlements were both extensive and undefended; Housesteads *vicus* seems to have suffered no permanent setback from the disaster that overtook the Wall at the close of the third century—at all events, there is no sign of it receiving defences, and the evidence so far obtained suggests that it increased in size in the period from 300 to the Picts' War. We have said that the distinction between annexes and settlements is in part a temporal one; it may be that the predominance of annexes on the Scottish Wall reflects the unsettled conditions that prevailed on the northern frontier in the second century, while the settlements on Hadrian's Wall bear witness to the peace that set in after Caracalla withdrew the Roman forces from Scotland. But it should be noted that there is as yet no evidence that any of the forts on Hadrian's Wall was ever provided with an annexe, even in the earliest stages of its occupation; at Housesteads in particular the position of the bath-house, out of sight of the fort in the ravine of the Knag Burn, and the concentration of what seem to be early buildings in the hollow at the foot of the Chapel Hill, suggest that from the first there was no great

⁵⁰ Cf. *Northumberland County History* XIII 526-7; AA⁴ XI 179-83.

need to provide special protection for the inhabitants of the settlement.

§ 10. And there is another feature that seems to show that there was a radical difference in the conditions prevailing on the two frontiers. So far as is known, the only passages through the Wall of Pius, apart from those at the north gates of the forts, were where the trunk road to Camelon, Ardoch, and Inchtuthil crossed its line, and at the extreme west end, where Sir George Macdonald has recently shown reason to suppose that a road continued westwards to a port at Dumbarton.⁵¹ But on Hadrian's Wall there are gateways at every milecastle, as well as where Dere Street passes through the Wall at Portgate (and presumably also at Stanwix for the western trunk road), and in the valley of the Knag Burn at Housesteads. Even after Scotland had been abandoned, forts were held to the north of Hadrian's Wall, at Risingham and High Rochester on Dere Street, Bewcastle and Netherby in the west, throughout the third century and, it seems, into the fourth century,⁵² in which the native town on Traprain Law received consignments of pottery from the Vale of Pickering, and Cunedda led his tribesmen from the eastern lowlands of Scotland to reconquer north Wales for Rome. It seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that the northern neighbours of Hadrian's Wall were throughout better disposed and more peaceable than the tribes that the Wall of Pius was intended to bar out. For that reason, peaceful expansion was possible on the southern *limes*; and just as Corstopitum and Carlisle on the main trunk roads grew and (we may take it) prospered, many of the settlements on the line of the Wall developed into considerable villages.

Particularly was this the case where the natural traffic lines crossed the frontier. On the Upper German *limes*, as on Hadrian's Wall, there are frequent passages through into barbarian territory, though they do not occur with

⁵¹ *The Roman Wall in Scotland*² (1934), pp. 343, 188.

⁵² CW² XXXI 139.

such regularity as is provided by the milecastle system; and many of the passages occur at places where pre-Roman trade-routes can be shown to have passed. At the principal passages, forts were placed, so that the traffic passing along the trade-route and through the frontier could be controlled; it was at such points that the barbarians were permitted to come to market, on a limited number of occasions and under conditions that were normally strictly imposed; and while the markets attracted merchants from within the empire as well as barbarians from outside it, they also required the appointment of Roman officials to supervise them.

§II. Merchants and officials alike are attested on or near the Wall, and it seems worth while to collect the evidence, such as it is. For the merchants, the clearest instance is provided by the metrical dedication, to a deity whose name together with part of the dedicator's has perished, from Bowness on Solway :

. . . . onianus ded[ico].
 [S]ed date ut [f]etura qua[es]tus suppleat votis fidem,
 Aureis sacro carmen mox viritim litteris.⁵³

“ To such and such a god I . . . onianus dedicate this inscription; grant that the increase of my trade may justify my vows, and I will then consecrate my poem with letters every one of gold.”

As Dr. Curle has pointed out, the dedicator must have been on the point of setting out on a trading voyage to the west of Scotland from the port at Bowness. No trace of gilding survives on the inscription, so that we cannot be certain whether the voyage was a successful one.

The other instances of the presence of merchants are not so clear. First we may take Barates of Palmyra, who buried his British wife at South Shields,⁵⁴ and in due course died and was buried at Corstopitum. His tombstone is a simple one, and the inscription on it is brief :

⁵³ C VII 952+EE VII 1086; Tullie House Catalogue² (1922), no. 45.

⁵⁴ EE IV 718a.

[d.] m. [Ba]rathes Palmorenus vexila(rius) vixit anos LXVIII.⁵⁵

Haverfield translated *vexilarius* as standard-bearer, and concluded "that Barates was at one time a soldier in the garrison of the fort at South Shields and there lost his wife. Some years afterwards, he died at Corstopitum where he was apparently living, presumably (but not necessarily) after his retirement from service"; but it does not seem possible to uphold that view. If Barates was still serving in the army at the time of his death, we should expect the name of his regiment to be given; if he had left the service, he could no longer be described as a standard-bearer—we should require *ex vexillario*, not *vexillarius*. The age which he reached is sufficient to show that he could hardly have been a serving soldier; centurions, as Juvenal pointed out and inscriptions testify, sometimes reached the age of sixty before leaving the army, but after the first century it is extremely rare to find men of lower rank continuing to serve after their twenty-five years had expired; and the normal age of enlistment was within a few years of twenty. Furthermore, it is improbable in the extreme that we should find a Palmyrene serving in any British regiment in the third century (to which this tombstone is to be ascribed). But eastern traders found their way to places that never saw an eastern recruit; and it seems best to suppose that Barates was a merchant, a dealer in ensigns (or a maker of them). The termination *-arius* affixed to the name of a class of ware, with or without the precise word *negotiator*, regularly describes a merchant; and though *vexillarius* is not otherwise recorded in this sense, such an interpretation of the term provides the easiest explanation of the presence of Barates in the north of Britain.⁵⁶

Similarly, the other people recorded on inscriptions from the north of Britain, whose names or recorded origins

⁵⁵ EE IX 1153a. Cf. also AA³ VIII 188-9.

⁵⁶ The great variety in the standards of different regiments to which the extant sculptures testify shows that they can hardly have been made in a central factory. Other equipment too might be provided by private traders; ILS 2472 (Mainz) gives a *negotiator gladiarius*.

show them to have come from the eastern half of the empire, can hardly have found their way to the west except in pursuit of trade—apart from the occasional officers or officials, whose posts are recorded together with their names;⁵⁷ and their presence provides presumptive evidence for commercial activity. On the Scottish Wall the only instance is provided by an inscription from the cemetery of Auchendavy: *d. m. Salmanes vix. an. XV Salmanes posuit*⁵⁸—“In memory of Salmanes, who lived fifteen years, Salmanes (no doubt his father) placed this”; the name seems to be oriental. Carlisle has produced one such inscription, the tombstone of Flavius Antigonus Papias, *civis Grecus*, who may have been a Christian;⁵⁹ there is a possible instance at Maryport, where an inscription seems to refer to a man from Galatia,⁶⁰ and Hermes of Commagene, whose Greek epitaph was set up at Brough under Stainmore, was presumably the son of a merchant⁶¹—in passing, both Maryport and Brough are sites where there is reason to suppose the existence of a considerable settlement. On the line of the Wall, the only clear cases are at Housesteads: both Apollonius the priest who dedicated an altar to Nemesis, and Herion the votary of Mithras, have names that justify us in attributing them to the eastern Mediterranean.⁶² At Corstopitum there are five instances, in addition to that of Barates: Pulcher and the high-priestess Diodora, who set up altars with Greek inscriptions to Astarte and the Tyrian Heracles respectively;⁶³ the Egnatii, Dyonisius and Surius, heirs of a soldier of the sixth legion;⁶⁴ and Aurelia Achaice.⁶⁵ Finally, from both

⁵⁷ Cf. C 167 (Chester)—a *trib. mil. leg. XX V. V.* and his son, from Samosata; C 232 (York)—Nikomedes *Augg. nn. libertus*, no doubt in York on official business; C 240 (York)—Cl. Hieronymianus, legate of the sixth legion.

⁵⁸ C III 9.

⁵⁹ EE IX 1222; cf. Haverfield in AA³ XV 32.

⁶⁰ C 405.

⁶¹ EE VII, p. 306.

⁶² C 654, 647.

⁶³ C p. 97.

⁶⁴ C 477.

⁶⁵ EE III 96.

of the forts on Dere Street north of Hadrian's Wall come examples; from Risingham there are Aelia Timothea, the freedman Theodotus, and Dionysius Fortunatus;⁶⁶ from High Rochester, Hermagoras.⁶⁷

§12. Officials are represented by two *beneficarii consulares*, legionary soldiers detached from their legions to serve as police and intelligence officers at various *stationes*—at important towns, or road junctions, or passages through frontiers, where there was a likelihood of their presence being required. In Germany, the provincial capitals at Cologne and Mainz, the *civitas Taunensium* at Heddernheim, Cannstatt, and Stockstadt, among other sites have produced inscriptions testifying to the presence of consular beneficiaries; at Stockstadt in particular there is a long series of altars, many of them dated, set up by successive holders of the post, whose function must have been to supervise the traffic that passed across the Main to and from free Germany. In Britain such officials are recorded at Winchester, Dorchester in Oxfordshire, Lancaster, Catterick, Greta Bridge, Binchester and Lanchester, all south of the Wall;⁶⁸ at Housesteads on the Wall, and at Risingham to the north of it. The consular beneficiary at Housesteads, Litorius Pacatianus, dedicated an altar there to Mithras;⁶⁹ his colleague at Risingham set up an inscription to a local deity, which has occasioned difficulties of interpretation in the past, and deserves a detailed discussion:

C 996: *deo Mogonti Cad. et n. d. n. Aug., M. G. Secundinus bf. cos. Habitanci prima stat. pro se et suis pos.*

1. For the god, we may compare C 997, also from Risingham, dedicated *deo Mouno Cad.*; C 1036 (High Rochester), *dis Mountibus*; C 321 (Old Penrith), *deo Mounti*; and C 958 (Netherby), *deo Mogonti Vitire*. As we have seen, the latter dedication seems to suggest a

⁶⁶ C 999, 1000, 1014.

⁶⁷ C 1056; Haverfield (EE IX, p. 612) rejects Huebner's reading ΘΕΟΙΣ of a small altar from this site (C p. 178).

⁶⁸ C 5; 83; 286; 271-2; 280-1; 424, EE IX 1133; C 441.

⁶⁹ C 645.

connection with Huitris; the cult is in any case confined to the north of England, and it is not unlikely that Camden was correct in interpreting the abbreviated title *Cad. as Gadenorum*, making Mogon the special deity of the north British tribe of the Gadeni, recorded by Ptolemy as the south-western neighbours of the Otadeni.

2. *n(umini) d(omini) n(ostr) Aug(usti)*: the formula shows that the inscription belongs to the third century, at a time when a single emperor was reigning.

3. *Habitanci*: the name is not recorded elsewhere, but it is clear that we have here the locative of a place-name, *Habitancum* or *Habitancium*.

4. *prima stat(ione)*: Horsley, adopting a suggestion made by Ward, took this to imply that Risingham was the most northerly station held by the Romans at the time this altar was set up; but the explanation of the term is certainly different. *Statio* was used both of the place where a beneficiary was stationed (for example, the *statio Vazaviviana* is mentioned on CIL VIII 17626), and of the period of his appointment (*ibid.* 17628, *exacta statione*; 17634, *expleta statione*; Riese 3109, *iterata statione*; Riese 776, *stat(ione) iterat(a)*; CIL III 3949, *iter(um) stat(ionem) hab(ens)*; Riese 775, *stat(ione) prima*); so that the term must be interpreted in the same sense here; the translation will be: "To the god Mogon of the Gadeni, Marcus G. . . . Secundinus, consular beneficiary, on his first tour of duty at *Habitancum*, set up this altar for himself and his."

The presence of these officials emphasizes the civil importance of the settlements at Housesteads and Risingham, to which the evidence of eastern traders also testifies. In the case of Housesteads, the extent and importance of the settlement have long been recognized, but Risingham seems to have been looked on solely as a military outpost. Such a view can hardly be entertained; in the absence of evidence for a junction of Roman roads, it is perhaps easiest to suppose that here was one of the places across the *limes* where periodical markets were allowed, under the supervision of a Roman official.⁷⁰

§ 13. At Stockstadt the consular beneficiary seems to have had an office between the fort and the present bridge over the Main, which no doubt is in approximately the

⁷⁰ Cf. Cassius Dio LXXII ii 2.

same position as the crossing in Roman times; and it seems possible that the building outside the east gate of the Saalburg fort, marked KAUFHAUS on pl. XXIV, p. 259, should likewise be assigned to such an official use: for that its position is ideal, at the point where the road through the *limes* turns off from the main line of traffic along the frontier.⁷¹ It may be that the building that Shanks recorded at Risingham "on the embanked part of Watling Street, near where the road to the station turns off,"⁷² was put to the same use; and such a building should be postulated at Housesteads.

§14. In the more important settlements there is another official building that we should be justified in looking for. Dr. Wheeler has explained a large residential structure, close to the bath-house at Brecon Gaer, as a *mansio*, and has drawn attention to similar buildings, in comparable positions, at the Saalburg and at Newstead;⁷³ we may add the large house on the east side of the road, some way south of Benwell fort,⁷⁴ and there is a possible instance, discussed on a later page, at Housesteads. The correctness of this explanation is borne out by an inscription from Mihilci in Bulgaria, which does not seem to have attracted the attention of English scholars:

CIL III 6123, 14207³⁴; ILS 231; Kalinka, *Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien* (Schriften der Balkankommission, antiquarische Abteilung, IV, 1905), no. 19:

[Ner]o C[la]ud[iu]s divi Claudi f. Germ(anici) Caesaris n. Ti. Caesaris Aug. pron. divi Aug. abn. Caesar Aug. Germ. pontif. max. trib. pot. VIII imp. VIII cos. IIII p. p. tabernas et praetoria per vias militares fieri iussit per T. Iulium Ustum proc. provinciae Thrac.

The eighth tribunician power of Nero gives the date December A.D. 60 to December 61; the inscription records the erection of two different types of building, which we may render as inns and villas

⁷¹ Cf. p. 258.

⁷² AA¹ IV 157.

⁷³ *Brecon Gaer*, p. 67; cf. also p. 254 below.

⁷⁴ AA⁴ V 52-7.

or (in the Indian sense) bungalows, on the military roads of Thrace. As Mommsen pointed out (*Hermes* XXXV 437, cited by Kalinka), under the Empire *praetorium* was used not only of the general's quarters in a camp—and, we may add, the commanding officer's residence in an auxiliary fort—but of any house reserved for official use, such as an imperial villa, a governor's Residence, or (as here) the quarters provided for officials on tours of duty.

It is reasonable to suppose that such buildings would be placed only at the more important sites; the settlement at Benwell was a very extensive one, as we have seen, and of those on Hadrian's Wall perhaps second only to that at Housesteads.

§15. In some of the settlements on the Upper German *limes* evidence of industrial activity has come to light; we may instance the potters' kilns at Stockstadt, Cannstatt, and other sites. In Britain there is as yet very little specific evidence. At Lanchester on Dere Street there seems reason to suppose that there were considerable iron-workings;⁷⁵ Dr. Curle's excavations at Newstead showed the presence there of blacksmiths and similar craftsmen; and at Housesteads there are slight traces of industrial activity; but at present Corstopitum is the only site in the north of Britain that has produced a quantity of evidence. Apart from trade and industry, agriculture must have provided employment for many of the *vicani*. There is no doubt an element of truth, but there is certainly exaggeration, in the description of the frontier armies in the fourth century as a peasant militia; the exploits of Magnus Maximus and the usurper Constantine are sufficient to show that the *limitanei* of Britain were still of military value, and able to stand up against the field-armies of the west. Hitherto there has been little concrete evidence to confirm the statement in the Augustan Histories, that Severus Alexander assigned captured territories to the commanders and soldiers of the frontier armies and their descendants, on condition of their entering the army in

⁷⁵ Hodgson in AA¹ I 118-21.

their turn, so that the frontier districts might continue to be both occupied and cultivated;⁷⁶ but the growth of the settlements on Hadrian's Wall, the clear evidence of agriculture or at least horticulture provided by the terraces at Housesteads (to which there are parallels at Greatchesters and at Settlingstones, near Carrawburgh, that are presumably of Roman date also), and the evidence for recruiting from among the inhabitants of the settlement at Greatchesters, combine to provide at any rate the nucleus of a confirmation in the case of the northern frontier in Britain.

III. HOUSESTEADS VICUS, BY ERIC BIRLEY AND G. S. KEENEY.

§I. *The roads.* It was noted in the report on the excavations at Housesteads in 1932 that the road system of the *vicus* consisted of three main roads.⁷⁷ This observation can still be reiterated as the conclusion of an examination of the roads of the settlement, and in this survey it will only be necessary to add a few additional points to the account then given. The three roads enumerated were :

1. That which runs southwards from the south gate of the fort past sites I, II, VIII, etc.
2. The road running eastwards along the south wall of the fort.
3. The road passing the cut-off corner of site V in a south-westerly direction.

The second of these can most conveniently be dealt with first, for there is no information to add to that contained in the previous account; it is a carefully flagged roadway lying about fifteen feet from the fort wall. It runs past the northern ends of sites III and IV, and, being on

⁷⁶ SHA *Severus Alexander* LVIII.

⁷⁷ AA⁴ X 90.

a higher level owing to the slope of the ground, is embanked on its southern side. Opposite site IV there is a revetting wall, and just to the east a ramp leading to the lower level. The road can be traced to the south-east corner of the fort, where it bends to the north and presumably runs on to join the military way.

The third road was stated to be "heading for Chesterholm";⁷⁸ the belief that there was a road leading from Housesteads to Chesterholm was firmly held by Horsley and other early writers, but its existence has neither been proved nor disproved. Moreover, even on the site of the settlement itself no complete section of the road has yet been made. The grounds on which its presence were inferred in the 1932 report were partly the cut-off corner of site V, which has the appearance of being so shaped to clear a road running past at an angle, and partly the signs of road metalling noticed when the site was excavated. Further evidence was gained in 1934. It was impossible to get a section of the road itself, which lay under a farm track, but near site VII a wall was revealed alining with the cut-off corner of site V. It is therefore on the presumed line of the road and lies at a sharp angle to any of the surrounding buildings. This wall is moreover not part of any building, and its most likely purpose is to serve as a revetment for the roadway, which must certainly have lain at a higher level than the floor of the adjoining site VII.⁷⁹ There is this additional evidence for this road actually on the site, but nothing further has yet been learnt as to whether its destination was Chesterholm, as its direction at the outset suggests.

The road from the south gate of the fort is that about which our information is greatest and—perhaps in consequence—that which opens up most problems. These may be considered under two heads, its course and its date.

⁷⁸ AA⁴ X 9r.

⁷⁹ See the wall on the plan (plate xxii) at the north-west corner of site VII.

Since 1932 it has been ascertained that it continues straight on in the line adopted at the outset till it reaches the site of the Vallum crossing, over which it runs. Beyond this point excavation has not yet tested its course, but the lack of other surface indications supports the suggestion that it "took a line similar to that of the present farm road."⁸⁰ This also would seem to be the implication of Maclauchlan's statement that "the present road to the southward was probably the line of the Roman Way, from the point where it crossed the Vallum to the south edge of the low ground south of the Chapel Hill."⁸¹ This, it will be noted, was conjecture on the part of Maclauchlan, but he does mention that in the valley to the south of Chapel Hill some large stones were found which may have formed the foundation of a road.⁸² Again he states that it continued on its way to join the Stanegate near Grindon-hill farm, and for some part of the way he asserts it to have been visible. His account states that:⁸³

(1) "It appears to have ascended obliquely on the south of the bog and to have crossed the present road a little west of the boundary wall newly made between Mosskennel and Housesteads." This still reads like conjecture or faint indications.

(2) "It is more visible as it skirts the fence dividing Mosskennel from Mill-hills."

(3) It is "more clearly seen" to the south near Mosskennel, Grindon and Mill-hills boundary.

(4) North-west of Grindon-hill farm-house "the stones of which it had been formed were dug up in several places." Its continuation to the Stanegate, then, seems fairly certain, and the most ambiguous part of its course lies between the Vallum and the modern road, where it is fortunately possible for excavation to determine it.

The problem of the date of the road has arisen in the course of the recent excavations, and concerns the portion to the north of the Vallum in particular. That the exist-

⁸⁰ AA⁴ XI 188.

⁸¹ Maclauchlan, *Survey of the Roman Wall*, p. 39.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, note 4.

ing surface is a late one is to be expected, and this was proved by the stratification over the Vallum crossing, where a coin of Claudius Gothicus was found below the road;⁸⁴ and by the fact that it is of one build with the flagging in site VIII, a fourth-century building.⁸⁵ It was thought that it represented an earlier line, but two facts disprove this:

1. The third-century sites II and IX front on to an alinement farther to the east.
2. At the Vallum crossing no earlier level was found.⁸⁶

It must remain doubtful therefore, till the earlier line is more fully examined, how far south it continued; and the signs of communication to the south noted above may be a development contemporary with the later growth of the settlement.

The military way is the only other important road outside the fort. Its course can be traced between the west gate and Housesteads milecastle, and its track eastwards across the Knag Burn appears clearly, for example, in the air-photographs. No buildings have as yet been discovered near it, but the branch line from it, also shown on the air-photographs, leading through the gateway of the Wall, has its connection with the settlement outside the fort, probably linking up with the second roadway mentioned above.⁸⁷ Its date is bound up with that of the gateway (see below, p. 245), but its existence affords certain information. The presence of a road to the north, through the frontier, emphasizes the economic importance of the site, as has been shown in the previous section; and this

⁸⁴ AA⁴ XI 190.

⁸⁵ AA⁴ X 88.

⁸⁶ AA⁴ XI 188.

⁸⁷ On the western side of the fort there is possibly a similar road connecting the military way with the settlement to the south of the fort. This is suggested by a terrace which runs round the south-west corner of the fort which may represent a branch leading from the military way and joining road 3 near site VII. If this is so, it shows at Housesteads a by-pass road for through east to west traffic, such as has been shown to exist at many of the forts on the Scottish Wall (cf. Sir George Macdonald, *The Roman Wall in Scotland* (1934)).

is confirmed by the other two roads which show Housesteads, not as an isolated settlement, but lying at a road junction on a north to south line of communication. This is the chief information on the *vicus* at Housesteads which the road system affords us. It also has a bearing on the town plan of the site, which is discussed on a later page.

§2. *Temples*. It seems possible to infer the existence of at least seven temples in the *vicus*, two at its eastern end, near the Knag Burn, and the remainder on or near the Chapel Hill; there is also a doubtful example close to the fort. It will be convenient to discuss them separately, starting with those for which we have structural evidence.

1. *The Mithraeum*. This was partially excavated by John Hodgson in 1822,⁸⁸ and examined as fully as its ruined condition allowed in 1898;⁸⁹ Mr. Bosanquet's careful account makes it unnecessary for us to describe the structure. Six altars, certainly or probably dedicated to Mithras, have been found at Housesteads (C 645-50), one of which is dated to A.D. 252 (C 646); and Hodgson found part of the sculptured altar-piece, together with two of the altars, in the Mithraeum itself.

2. *Mars Thingsus and the Alaisiagae*. In 1883 and 1884 two inscriptions (one on an altar, the other on what seems rather to have been a pillar to support either an archway or a statue) and a sculptured arch were found in the hollow to the north of the Chapel Hill;⁹⁰ despite a careful search, no structural remains of the temple from which they came were found, but it must have stood in the immediate neighbourhood. One was a dedication to Mars Thingsus and the two Alaisiagae, Beda and Fimmilena; the other to Mars, the two Alaisiagae, and the divinity of the emperor.⁹¹ Another altar turned up, a few yards farther west, in 1920, dedicated to the two Alaisiagae, Baudihillia and Friagabis, and the divinity of the

⁸⁸ AA¹ I 273f.

⁸⁹ AA² XXV 255-63, with plan on p. 259.

⁹⁰ AA² X 148-72, especially pp. 149, 170-1.

⁹¹ EE VII 1040-1.

emperor.⁹² The cult, which was clearly imported from Germany, is discussed at length in the volumes to which we have referred; it is probable that two other Housesteads dedications to Mars (C 651-2) belong to the same temple.

3. *The Matres*. Mr. Bosanquet has shown reason to suppose that a temple to the Mothers stood at the east end of the settlement, close to the Knag Burn, where a large column-drum is still lying exposed;⁹³ five statues, representing two triads of Mother Goddesses, from that part of the site are now in the Black Gate collection.⁹⁴ But the fragmentary dedication to the *Matres* (C 653) seems to have come from the Chapel Hill area, where Gordon saw it,⁹⁵ and it is possible that we should infer the existence of a second temple to the Mothers, no. 4, there.

5. *Cocidius*. There are three dedications to this Cumbrian god from the settlement (C 642; C 644 = AA⁴ II 56, no. 8; EE IX 1177), as well as one that seems to belong to Housesteads milecastle (C 643); all three come from the Chapel Hill area, one of them from inside the Mithraeum; on the latter altar Cocidius is associated with Jupiter Optimus Maximus and the genius of the place: the inscription seems to belong to the second century, and its presence in the Mithraeum is probably accidental.

6. *Nemesis*. A small altar from Housesteads, now in the Black Gate, is inscribed *deae Nem[es]i Apollonius sacerdos fec(it)*⁹⁶—"Apollonius the priest made (this altar) to the goddess Nemesis"; the altar itself belongs to the domestic type, but the fact that the dedicator describes himself as a priest suggests that he was charged with the worship of the goddess to whom he set up the altar, and we may infer a temple.

7. *Hercules*. In the course of removing boulders from the south-east part of the camp field, in order to convert it

⁹² AA³ XIX 185-97.

⁹³ AA² XXV 196-7, 243.

⁹⁴ AA⁴ II 110, nos. 264-5.

⁹⁵ *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, p. 75.

⁹⁶ C 654 = AA⁴ II 66, no. 43.

into a meadow, in the spring of 1934 Mr. William Thompson found a large altar lying face downwards, with part of its back projecting above the turf, about 280 yards to the east of the south-east corner of the fort; the position is marked on the site-plan, pl. XXIII. It is of a soft and friable yellowish sandstone: height 3 feet 6 inches, width 1 foot 10 inches, depth 1 foot 3 inches; the back has been left untrimmed, suggesting that it was intended to be let into a wall; on the front and sides are sculptures in 2-inch relief, 22 inches high and 13 inches wide. The *focus* is set well back on the top of the altar, and is shaped like a lamp, narrowing to a nozzle at the front; its greatest diameter is 9 inches. Owing to the softness of the stone, the sculptures have all suffered considerably, and it has not seemed necessary to reproduce photographs.

On the front is Hercules wrestling with the Nemean lion; on the right side, a winding object that seems to represent the Lernean hydra; and on the left, a tree in which it is easy to recognize the apple-tree of the Hesperides. Here, then, we have the first, second, and eleventh labours of the Graeco-Roman Hercules, portrayed as well as the limitations of space and material imposed by the necessity of showing them on this altar would permit. It has been suggested that there should be three further altars awaiting discovery, each showing three labours, so that the complete series of twelve would be represented; we do not think, however, that that is likely. Of all the twelve labours, the slaying of the Nemean lion was easily the most popular in antiquity, as is shown for example by its frequent representation on figured samian ware, and it was the obvious one to occupy the front of an uninscribed altar to Hercules. Granted that the sides were to show further labours, there can be no question but that the hydra and the apple-tree would be the easiest to represent; the stag of Oenoe, the Erymanthean boar, the Augean stables, and so on, would be too difficult to portray economically.

An altar of this size and weight is not likely to have

been moved very far from the place where it was set up; it took the united efforts of three men to put it on the hay-bogie on which it was moved from the find-spot; so that it is justifiable to infer the presence of a temple or shrine to Hercules in this quarter of the settlement. There is other evidence for his worship at Housesteads. A fragmentary sculpture from the site is in the Black Gate collection;⁹⁷ and there is a dedication to him by the first cohort of Tungrians (C 635), which seems to have been found on or near the Chapel Hill, where it was on the occasion of Gordon's visit;⁹⁸ but in this case there is no need to infer a temple, for the inscription is a corporate dedication by the regiment, and no doubt stood with the altars to Jupiter in the open, close to the parade-ground.⁹⁹

In two cases we have suggestions of structural remains of temples recorded by eighteenth-century visitors to Housesteads, but neither seems sufficiently certain to be included in the above list. Gordon, in the passage quoted in footnote 98, speaks of the vestiges of a round temple, apparently on the crest of the Chapel Hill; Horsley only says that the Chapel Hill "is supposed to be the ruins of a considerable temple";¹⁰⁰ and trenches dug in 1884 and 1932 failed to reveal even the foundations of a building:¹⁰¹ its existence must remain doubtful. Stukeley assumed the existence of a temple from the presence of a Doric capital lying by the door of the farm-house, which then stood inside the fort;¹⁰² but it is more likely that the capital came from one of the buildings inside the fort.

⁹⁷ AA⁴ II 109, no. 257.

⁹⁸ *Itin. Sept.*, p. 75: "At the Foot of the Hill is a rising Ground, whereon seem to be the Vestiges of a round Temple, within which are five or six Altars with Roman Inscriptions"; p. 76: "On the same Ground is another Altar, dedicated to *Hercules*"—this is the sixth in Gordon's list.

⁹⁹ Cf. p. 209 above.

¹⁰⁰ *Britannia Romana*, p. 219.

¹⁰¹ AA² X 171; AA⁴ X 91-2.

¹⁰² *The Medallic History of Carausius II* (1759) 152; Wallis misread the passage, and transferred the capital in his text to the Chapel Hill (*Northumberland II* 38). Hodgson noted Wallis's mistake in 1822 (AA¹ I 273), but forgot it when he was writing his *History* (II iii 188)

§3. *Shrines*. Apart from the inference, suggested on an earlier page, derived from the dedications to Huitris, the recent excavations at Housesteads have produced evidence for at least three domestic shrines. Most noteworthy is that found in 1933 at the east end of no. IX; there was not only the sculpture representing the deities concerned, but the semi-circular niche in which it stood, and a small hoard of coins that seemed to represent a foundation deposit, similar in kind to those recorded from Whitley Castle and Risingham,¹⁰³ though in date it is later than both. On its discovery, this sculpture was taken to represent a group of Mother Goddesses—perhaps the *Matres domesticae* of a number of inscriptions—but Dr. Heichelheim, whose paper on the subject appears elsewhere in this volume, suggests that it belongs rather to a category that may be described for convenience as that of *genii cucullati*, or cowled deities.¹⁰⁴ Of the other two shrines there is no structural evidence, but the reliefs that stood in them have been found. That of Mercury is distinguished for the excellence of its workmanship, and for its obvious classical feeling;¹⁰⁵ the other relief, of a god that we have not been able to identify, is no better but no worse than other provincial sculpture from the line of the Wall;¹⁰⁶ it was found in no. II, while the relief of Mercury came from the edge of this part of the *vicus*, from the surface of the terrace that overlies the Vallum ditch.

§4. *Cemeteries*. There is a suggestion of two possible cemeteries. The first is situated on the west side of the Knag Burn near the place where the large broken column lies. Hodgson was of opinion that this might be a cemetery, for he says, "The inges, or moist meadows, which occupy the valley from Kennel bridge to Housesteads, may perhaps at some period be found to contain

¹⁰³ Cf. Bosanquet in PSAN⁴ I 253-4 and references.

¹⁰⁴ The sculpture and the shrine are illustrated in AA⁴ XI, pl. xxvii;

Dr. Heichelheim's paper is given above, pp. 187-94.

¹⁰⁵ AA⁴ X 93 and pl. iv 1.

¹⁰⁶ AA⁴ IX, pl. xxxiv 3.

the common burial ground of the station."¹⁰⁷ No burials have yet been found here, and Hodgson merely based his belief on the fact of "the frequent discovery of urns and sepulchral remains in similar grounds near to Rochester, in Redesdale; and . . . at the Bowers, as well as from the ruins of temples and other buildings which lie along their southern (*sc. northern*) margin." These buildings he again refers to later, stating that "on the west side of Knag Burn, where it enters the inges, the ground is irregular, with the remains of considerable buildings."¹⁰⁸ A trial trench was dug in this area in 1932, but no structural remains were found in it;¹⁰⁹ but the presence of a temple here seems sufficiently certain (*cf.* p. 231 above), and Hodgson's analogy still holds good. It is also possible that the tombstone C 693 was found near this spot. For "it lay against a hedge at about a quarter of a mile's distance"¹¹⁰ from Housesteads, and if the distance was measured from the farm-house of that period it would indicate a place very near this part.

For the second possible cemetery we again get our information from Hodgson. "In the hollow of the field west of the Mithraic cave, where 'mentions' of ruins appeared,"¹¹¹ he notes the discovery of two pieces of sculpture, one of which in particular would seem to be sepulchral. It is part of a statue of a Roman soldier, the stone being described as "bearing the robed trunk of a statue in a niche, with its hands crossed." Of the second not enough remains to form an opinion of its nature; it is the pedestal of a statue and stands 3 feet high, and when we remember how frequently Roman statuary was sepulchral in its object, these two pieces offer some grounds for the possibility of a cemetery here.

Finally, it is of interest to note that in so far as they

¹⁰⁷ AA¹ I 271.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 272.

¹⁰⁹ See AA⁴ X 92.

¹¹⁰ Horsley, p. 225.

¹¹¹ *History of Northumberland* II iii 195.

are indicated, the cemeteries at Housesteads do seem to conform to the rule, and are outside the settlement. This being so, it seems possible that the limits of the site are to be found at the Knag Burn on the east and roughly on the line of Chapel Hill to the south. Yet at Housesteads there are two instances of burial within the settlement which show that here, as elsewhere,¹¹² the imperial regulations were at times ignored. The first was in site VIII, where two skeletons were found beneath the clay floor of the building;¹¹³ the second was discovered in 1934, about six feet to the west of site XIX. The skeleton was lying fully extended, at a depth of about 2 feet 6 inches, and was unaccompanied by any remains. These two burials are, however, merely isolated examples, and do not alter the conclusion that the general burial grounds were probably in the sites indicated. Indeed that in site VIII was most clearly an exceptional case, the two bodies having been concealed under a newly laid clay floor, and the burials probably were the sequel to a case of murder. In such circumstances the neglect of imperial regulations as to burial places is not surprising. The other example may be a more normal instance of an exception to the general observance of these regulations, which by its very isolation tends to confirm our conclusions as to the burial grounds of the site.

§5. *Town planning.* The discussion of the town plan falls clearly into two distinct divisions, the plan of the excavated portion and the possible existence of other sites indicating the extent of the settlement. With regard to the first, the excavated area is largely regulated by the roadways outlined above. Sites III and IV were found fronting on to road 2; and road 1, which in the settlement consists of a carriage-way with a stepped pavement on its western side,¹¹⁴ is regularly lined with buildings on both

¹¹² Cf. p. 215 above.

¹¹³ AA⁴ X 88.

¹¹⁴ AA⁴ XI 185.

sides. It must be remembered that earlier it had a different line represented by sites II and IX, but this likewise showed the same regularity of planning. In this central part of the site, therefore, was an orderly arrangement of street planning conformable to the normal lay-out of a Roman town. It might seem probable that the whole *vicus* had been laid out with equal care, but it was found that the sites lying to the west away from the main road were huddled together in haphazard fashion with no sign of any definite plan. The fuller implications of this change are discussed in the account of the excavations of 1934 in section IV. Here it is enough to notice that the settlement was only in part schematically laid out as Roman ideas would demand, and this adds one further feature to those distinguishing such a site from a Roman town proper.

The position of the temples and cemeteries has an important bearing on the constitution of the town plan. The temples, as noted above, fall into two groups, one near the Knag Burn and the other near Chapel Hill. Both these stand some distance from the main roads, and as this is a feature which Housesteads shares with the Saalburg and Stockstadt, it would seem to be the conscious result of planning. Its only object can have been to give the worshippers a certain seclusion from the main lines of communication. At Housesteads, it will also be noted, the temples seem to lie on the limits of the settlement, a fact which results from their proximity to the cemeteries. This close relationship between temple quarters and cemeteries is again a feature which occurs both at Housesteads and at Saalburg, where there are two main groups of temples with cemeteries lying near. So at Housesteads the presumed cemetery by the Knag Burn is near the first temple quarter, a point which we have seen Hodgson noted, while that to the west of the Mithraeum is near the Chapel Hill group. It was, moreover, fairly general on Roman sites for the cemeteries to line the roads leading away from the settle-

ment, and it would seem that this was so with the Knag Burn cemetery at Housesteads. For while the cemetery adjoins the temple area which lies away from the road, it is on the south side of it and probably extended some distance to the west. If, therefore, the road to the south crossed the valley in the south-easterly direction we have suggested, the cemetery would approach close to its eastern side. The cemetery to the west of the Mithraeum, however, is on the far side of the temples, away from the road, and can only have been placed there as it was a convenient vacant site on the edge of the settlement.

It remains to determine how far the inhabited area or areas extended. There is no precise information on this point, and we can only mention the possibilities. What is certain is that the very large extent suggested by early writers is not one entirely occupied by buildings. Gordon, for example, thought he saw "distinct vestiges of streets, which appear to cover about eight acres of ground,"¹¹⁵ while another account gives the extent as "almost seven hundred yards one way and about four hundred from north to south the other."¹¹⁶ Hodgson even states on one occasion that "traces of buildings are discernible on the south and west, to the distance of twenty furlongs,"¹¹⁷ an exorbitant estimate, which is quite inexplicable. Even the other statements seem to be exaggerated, but an explanation is fairly apparent. For Horsley says that to the south and south-east of the fort "there are streets or somewhat that look like terraces,"¹¹⁸ and it is obvious that in the above estimates much of the supposed area of streets is in fact occupied by terraces. Indeed the probable limits of the inhabited areas can be fairly closely defined by the distribution of these terraces. One group begins a few yards to the east of site X and just south of site III. From here

¹¹⁵ *Itinerarium Septentrionale*, p. 75.

¹¹⁶ Cf. AA² XXV 196.

¹¹⁷ *Picture of Newcastle* (1812) 192.

¹¹⁸ *Britannia Romana* (1732) 148.

it runs eastwards and roughly opposite the south-east corner of the fort, takes a bend to the north. A second lines the whole of the hill-side to the south-west of the Vallum crossing; to the west it extends into the next field beyond the farm-house to form the southern part of a third series running westwards from the farm-house. To the north again are two terraces on the west side of the fort.

In the first place, therefore, the arrangement of the terraces suggests certain directions in which the excavated portion of the site probably extended. To the west no sign of a limit to the buildings was found in 1934, and on this side the terraces do not begin till the farm-house is reached. Here is a large space in which houses along the road to the south-west may very well be expected. To the east the terraces come close up to sites X-XV, and there can have been no extension on this side, except that there may have been some buildings along the road to the east, the terraces not extending as far north as this. There are also other areas lying separate from the excavated sites. As mentioned, the terraces bend north opposite the south-east corner of the fort, and this leaves clear a hog-back near the presumed temple of Hercules. Here is perhaps an occupied area (III on pl. XXIII). Similarly on the east side of the fort the ground is clear for another, lining the military way (IV). To the west of the fort, terraces have been seen to exist; and if there were any houses, they must have formed a separate group (V). Finally there is an area in which there has been sufficient excavation to indicate that buildings existed there. This is in the valley at the foot of the hill-side on which the sites excavated in 1931/34 lie. Here in 1898, "a trial trench showed the level bottom between the terraces and the field wall to the south of them to be full of Roman remains, walls, pottery, and even leather and wood-work well preserved in the deep wet peat."¹¹⁹ These remains

¹¹⁹ AA² XXV 205; marked II on pl. XXIII.

were found slightly to the north of the temple area near Chapel Hill, and presumably they represent dwellings similar to those discovered in the recent excavations. An interesting point will be to see if they are a contemporary or an earlier part of the settlement, as the fact that considerable quantities of samian were found here might suggest.¹²⁰ As regards the plan of this area, it will be noted that if the road to the south followed the course we have suggested, it would pass a considerable distance to the east; this was doubtless due to the necessity for adopting an easy gradient.

The whole town plan at Housesteads, then, shows a central and compact area represented by the sites so far excavated and possible extensions to the west, based on the main north-south road but not merely extended in ribbon-development along it. Separated by the cultivation terraces are possibly four other smaller areas—the whole representing as it were a central village with outlying hamlets. Finally, on the outskirts are the temples, cemeteries and the bath-house. As these lie off the main roads, it is necessary to complete our plan of the site with the assumption of paths, which must have existed to provide access to them.

§6. *Industry.* The trading importance of the settlement at Housesteads was doubtless due to the fact that it formed a market for goods coming from beyond the frontier and a distributing centre for Roman products passing out through the gateway in the Wall. Yet we might also expect to find signs of some industry in the settlement itself. The *vicus* probably in part supported itself by furnishing the garrison with some of its necessities, a fact which would explain the shops such as sites I and II. If again the terraces were to any extent the concern of the civil inhabitants, corn may have been one of the major products of the settlement.

There is no evidence for other very extensive productive

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 294.

activity. A limekiln is referred to below, but this single example was insufficient for the needs of the site. Site IV is the only other place where industry has been at all clearly indicated. Here was found in the southern half of the building a furnace, which was probably used for some kind of metal-working.¹²¹ This assumption was strengthened by the discovery of the coin mould in the alleyway between sites III and IV,¹²² which probably had a connection with the furnace in site IV. This find illustrates the illicit use of the furnace, but it also clearly indicates that metal was worked there, and suggests that there was also industrial activity of a more legitimate nature.

A limekiln, on the west side of the Knag Burn, was excavated by Mr. F. G. Simpson in 1909 (PSAN³ IV 96); this and other Roman limekilns are to be described in a detailed monograph in the near future, so that it is unnecessary for us to give a description of it; its position is marked on pl. xxiii.

There are no other signs of industry in the settlement, but it might be noted that site IV was of a type that at Corbridge was associated with industry.¹²³ It is possible, therefore, that other sites of the same nature, such as VIII or XII, may have had a domestic industry of some kind; but indications of industry have as yet been very meagre, and it would seem that the *vicus* was more a centre of exchange than a place of production.

§7. *The terraces.* The distribution of the terraces has been discussed already; it remains to refer to the evidence for their date and character. This has finally been settled by the present excavations. It was found that where the fourth-century road crosses the Vallum, a terrace had been cut back and retained by a rough wall to make way for the passage of the road.¹²⁴ The terrace must therefore pre-date the fourth century, and as this particular example

¹²¹ See AA⁴ IX 230.

¹²² AA⁴ X 90.

¹²³ See AA⁴ XI 164.

¹²⁴ AA⁴ XI 186.

continues westwards to form part of the series below the farm-house, the remark applies to the terraces generally. Equally certainly they are later than the Vallum, which they overlies; whether they are earlier or later than the earliest buildings of the settlement is not known, although the surface appearance is rather that they never existed than that they were destroyed where the buildings stand.

In so far as they are of Roman date, therefore, they bear out Hodgson's opinion that they were "a mode of culture, which . . . was introduced here by the Romans."¹²⁵ Wide terraces were, as he tells us elsewhere, "after the ancient method, mentioned by Josephus, of cultivating swiftly sloping grounds."¹²⁶ This form of cultivation was a very widespread one and occurs in Northumberland with many hill-forts, in addition to the examples near Greatchesters, Corbridge and Settlingstones, which are probably of Roman date. Numerous terraced slopes exist beside the hill-forts near Birtley,¹²⁷ and there are numerous examples mentioned in Maclauchlan's *Survey of the Eastern Branch of Walling Street*. It is possible, therefore, that the terraces at Housesteads were the work of the inhabitants of the *vicus*, who were largely native, rather than the result of the activity of the garrison. Indeed it is almost inevitable that the cultivation of these terraces formed one of the occupations of the population of the settlement. Agriculture was the fundamental activity of all early communities, and this concrete evidence for its practice clearly reveals the most important side of the economic life of the *vicus*. It is primarily from this point of view that the terraces are of interest in this survey.

§8. *The bath-house.* There is a brief reference to the bath-house in Hodgson's *History of Northumberland*, part II, volume iii, p. 188, where its dimensions are given as "about 50 feet by 38," but the fullest account is

¹²⁵ AA¹ I 271.

¹²⁶ *Northumberland (Beauties of England and Wales)*, p. 125.

¹²⁷ AA² VII 8-9.

embedded in Hodgson's *Observations on the Roman Station of Housesteads*,¹²⁸ in volume I of the first series of *Archæologia Aeliana*, pp. 269-270, from which we may quote the following extract :

" The ruins of the Bath are on the east side of the brook, which divides the Kennell and Housesteads estates. Mr. Dryden, the proprietor of Kennell, told me that a quantity of stones were 'won' out of it about forty-three years since, when a fine inscribed altar was found in it. . . . The flues of the hypocaust were full of soot, and there was an iron grating in front of it, and in other parts much iron soldered into the stone with lead. Nearly all its walls to the foundation have been taken up, and the stones of them used in the field walls to the south-east of it. Much of its interior, in a sadly ruined state, is still remaining. In 1810, the floors of its basins appeared on the edge of the brook, composed of the usual cement found in Roman baths, and laid alternately with two layers of thin freestone slates, the under surface of the lower of which was black with fire. A great flood . . . in June, 1817, broke up the foundations of this building . . . and swept them away into the inges below. These foundations were of very large ashlar laid on fine clay. The whin rock had been quarried away to a plain surface, to make room for the area of the bath, and for the sake of commencing all its walls on the same level. . . . The tyles found in it are red. . . ."

In 1898 Mr. Bosanquet excavated a Roman well a short distance to the north of the bath-house, which it seems to have supplied with water,¹²⁹ and in 1932 opportunity was found to test the length of the building, which seems to have been somewhat longer than the 50 feet with which Hodgson credits it.¹³⁰ From the account that we have just quoted, it seems clear that the destruction caused by the flood of 1817 was confined to the " basins " which had been exposed seven years previously, on the occasion of Hodgson's first visit to Housesteads; while the walls of the southern part have been badly robbed, farther north the building is in better preservation, one wall still standing ten courses high.

¹²⁸ Dated *November 22nd, 1822*.

¹²⁹ AA² XXV 253-5, with plan and sections on p. 254.

¹³⁰ AA⁴ X 92.

In one respect this is perhaps the most promising bath-house on the line of the Wall, since the problem of supplying water to it must have been comparatively simple; and, as modern damage has been largely confined to its southern end, it should still be possible to discover the complete arrangement of the water-supply from the well, the upper reaches of the burn, or both, to the north end of the building. At South Shields and Chesters, where the provision of aqueducts is recorded on inscriptions,¹³¹ nothing is known of their character; and no connection can now be traced on the ground between the long aqueduct near Greatchesters and the bath-house in the valley below that fort, whose main purpose it must have been to supply.¹³² Previous writers do not seem to have noted that such aqueducts were intended to supply the bath-houses rather than the forts themselves; for that reason we do not postulate the existence of an aqueduct leading to Housesteads fort.¹³³ At Lanchester Hodgson recorded a reservoir, near the bath-house, into which the two aqueducts after they had united discharged;¹³⁴ we do not know whether such an arrangement was normal, and it would be very useful to see whether at Housesteads water was stored in a reservoir to meet the call for an extra quantity when the baths were in use, or whether a constant supply of running water was considered sufficient.

There is one further point to be considered here: it is not at all clear how access was provided to the bath-house from the fort and the settlement, out of sight of which it is; there may have been a branch road northwards, past the well that has been mentioned above, to the military way; but it would be perhaps simpler to suppose that there was a footbridge across the burn, a few yards upstream,

¹³¹ EE IX 1140, 1171.

¹³² The first description of the aqueduct was given by Bruce, *Roman Wall* (1851) 257-62; for the bath-house, cf. *Handbook*⁹ 154 and plan on p. 155.

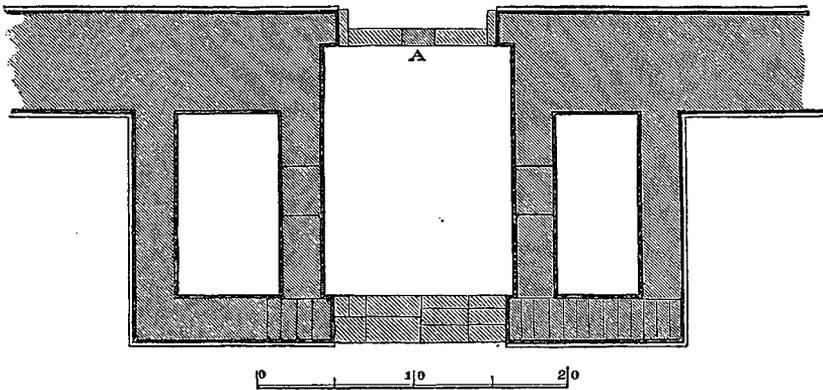
¹³³ *Handbook*⁹ 122.

¹³⁴ AA¹ 120, and plan on plate v.

and a path from there leading direct to the east gate of the fort.

§9. *The Knag Burn gateway.* This gateway, which is 371 feet east of the fort, and a few yards east of the Knag Burn, was found and excavated in the summer of 1856; John Clayton's account of it is printed in full on pp. 186-8 of the single volume of the first series of *Proceedings*, and a summary is given in an appendix by A. W(ay) on pp. 92-6 of Maclauchlan's *Memoir*, together

NORTH.



with the plan here reproduced. The main points in Clayton's account are these :

“ It has been closed by double gates, similar to those of the stations; and there is a guard-room on each side. The width of the gateway guarding the south of the passage is 11 feet 3 inches. The width of the gateway guarding the north of the passage is 10 feet 6 inches. In the middle there is an upright stone, such as we find in the gateways of the stations. . . . The pathways are on each side of this upright stone, and the thresholds have been much worn by the feet of the passenger. The two guard-chambers are of nearly equal dimensions—11 feet 9 inches by 6 feet 10 inches. The Roman Wall is here of the breadth of 6 feet 6 inches—and, on the removal of the debris, has been found standing in the vicinity of this gateway for the most part to the height of five courses of stone. . . . ”

The plan, which shows a suspicious rectangularity of lay-out, hardly bears out the statement that the guard-chambers are of nearly equal dimensions; the eastern one is quite a foot narrower than that on the west. Both are shown with entrances into the gate-passage, and to judge by the conventions adopted in the plan, only the northern end of the passage was closed by gates; no mention is made of the discovery of pivot-stones. The gateway is now so much overgrown that it is impossible to check Clayton's details; and one of them in particular suggests the need for a fresh examination of the structure. The thickness of the Wall, only 6 feet 6 inches, shows that it cannot be original Hadrianic work; a few feet to the west, across the burn, a section taken a few years ago showed the presence of the 7 foot 6 inch Wall on an 11 foot foundation,¹³⁵ and the recorded thickness at the gateway compares with the undoubted examples of complete rebuilding west of Housesteads milecastle.¹³⁶ It seems clear that the existing gateway cannot be original; it must belong either to the Severan or to the Diocletianic rebuilding; and it will be necessary to see whether there are remains of an earlier gateway below the structure uncovered by Clayton—a possibility that the superficial character of many of his early excavations may be taken to strengthen—or whether the Wall originally ran without a break. Of the finds made in the course of the excavation, we are only told of

“ . . . coins of Claudius Gothicus, and Constantius, a broken altar, and the usual relics of Roman occupation, fragments of samian ware and Andernach millstones ”;

while the coins show that the gateway or its guard-rooms continued in use in the fourth century, the presence of samian at least suggests occupation considerably earlier.

¹³⁵ AA⁴ XI 119-20 and fig. 2, no. 3.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, and fig. 2, nos. 1-2.

IV. THE EXCAVATIONS OF 1934, BY G. S. KEENEY.

§1. Many of the problems which originally prompted the excavation of the site¹³⁷ had been fairly satisfactorily solved as a result of the first three years work in the settlement outside the fort at Housesteads by the end of the season of 1933. Two periods of building had been revealed, one falling in the early years of the third century (sites II, IV and IX) and the other dating to about the year 300 (sites III and VIII).¹³⁸ In those sites which fronted the east side of the road from the south gate of the fort, these two periods were clearly distinguished by different alinements, one represented by the west ends of sites II and IX, and the other by sites III and VIII and the existing fourth-century road contemporary with them. The date of the end of the occupation had similarly been indicated. All the completely excavated sites showed abundant fourth-century material, but as there was no relic of a certainly later date than 368 we must conclude that the Picts' War terminated the occupation outside the fort. Much information had been gained as to the character of the settlement, and is largely incorporated in the preceding section of this article. It is enough to mention that the buildings had in general proved to be simple rectangular structures, with extremely little internal arrangement. It was clear, therefore, that a simple interior could be assumed for such buildings, and with the chronological question settled, the thorough excavation of any one site was not called for in 1934. The main objects which did demand attention were :

- (1) To discover if the type of building which had

¹³⁷ Cf. AA⁴ IX 223.

¹³⁸ See AA⁴ X 185/186.

hitherto proved general still prevailed as one moved away from the south gate of the fort.

- (2) To reveal more of the extent and street plan of the settlement.

Consequently, in 1934, the work of the Durham University Excavation Committee was concentrated on this effort to further the general plan of the site. This demanded a rapid tracing of walls, and the main result of this work can best be seen in the plan (plate xxii). More detailed points of importance, however, did emerge, and to these we must now turn.

§2. *Sites to the east of the main road.* The first sites dealt with in 1934 were nos. XII, XIII and XIV, which lie to the south of site VIII and continue the line of buildings facing on to the main street. They had all suffered very considerably from stone-robbing, and their walls were in a fragmentary condition. Sites XII and XIV were, however, clearly rectangular buildings of the usual type, site XII having an open west end, while site XIV had a wall on this side which was broken away about 2 feet from the north-west corner. Site XIII showed no trace of walling in its western half, but a central stop-block on its western side and patches of flagging suggest that there had been some kind of courtyard on this site.

One point which calls for attention about these sites is the question of the different alinements of the two building periods noted above. All these sites represent both alinements fronting on the west on to the main road, and on the extreme east continuing the line of the east wall of site IX. Several structural details serve to show that these buildings belonged originally to the later line represented by the road, and that the eastern ends, although on the older alinement, are actually later additions.

(1) The north and south walls of site XII break off just before the end of site VIII, and although they do not show a straight joint, the complete absence of any trace of a wall

further to the east shows that they must have ended about this point. Moreover, the north wall is homogeneous throughout its length and shows no sign of a break on the earlier alinement opposite the west end of the original site IX.¹³⁹

(2) The east wall of sites XII and XIII is a long continuous wall projecting from the south-east corner of site IX and enclosing the shrine discovered in 1933 in the north-east corner of site XII. This wall, although it continues the line of the period I east wall of site IX, is not bonded with it, and is much rougher and seemingly a late addition.¹⁴⁰ As this wall returns to the west to form an enclosure at the east end of site XIII, it follows that this too is equally late.

(3) The extreme east end of the north wall of site XIV is of large rough blocks of masonry. Opposite the cross-wall there is a straight joint and the masonry changes to smallish squared stones. This feature, too, suggests that the eastern end was a late addition.

This evidence therefore suggests that the western portions represent the original structures on this site, their alinement dating them to about A.D. 300 when the road itself was made. Their eastern ends were added later, and the old alinement adopted because of the existence of the shrine and the east wall of site IX.

A second feature of these sites confirms the late date suggested, that is the rough nature of their walling. Such sites as I, II, IV or VIII had been built of smallish, well-faced stones which had been laid in fairly regular courses. Site XII, on the contrary, had a south wall of large roughly faced blocks of masonry about 2 feet square, admixed with large flat flags, the blocks of masonry forming through courses. The north wall of site XIV, as mentioned, consisted of similar large blocks, which gave way at the cross-wall to small squared stones roughly coursed. At the

¹³⁹ i.e. the cross-wall in site VIII.

¹⁴⁰ Cf. AA⁴ XI 191.

west end there is again a stretch of large blocks. The south wall is of similar blocks, only longer and narrower, but still forming through courses. The roughness of these walls makes quite certain what had even been thought of sites I and II, that the masonry had never existed to any great height and had merely served as a foundation for a timber or wattle and daub superstructure. Indeed, in a 9-inch layer of clay outside the south wall of site XIV, a quantity of nails, daub and charcoal was found.

A few detailed points remain to be mentioned about this part of the site. An attempt was made to discover the relation between the drain running from the south-east corner of site VIII¹⁴¹ and the long wall on the east of site XII. The drain was found to be broken off before reaching this wall, and no deduction as to the behaviour of the two at the point of junction could be made. The north wall of site IX was also re-examined, and although broken off, was found to be running westwards, not to join the north-west corner of site VIII but towards the alleyway between sites VIII and X. Finally the west end of the south wall of site XIV was overlaid by a patch of flagging at a higher level. This must represent a late period of the occupation, when site XIV had at least in part ceased to serve its original purpose.

§3. *Sites to the west of the main road.* A series of fairly well-built structures (XXII, XVI, XVII, XVIII) had been revealed in 1933, and the existence of further buildings to the west discovered. It seemed possible that a system of regular *insulae* might exist on this side of the road, and, to test this possibility, trenching was done in 1934 on this part of the site. Site XXII, one of the buildings facing on to the street and partly uncovered in 1933, seems to be rather outside the general type of building discovered. Its west end was traced, both the north and south corners being revealed, and it proved to be fairly well built of long

¹⁴¹ See AA⁴ XI 192.

faced blocks on a footing of very big roughly faced stones. In type it falls in with those sites enumerated above. Site VII must also be reserved for separate discussion.

The rest of the sites can be treated as a group (sites XIX, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVI, XXVII). Several points can easily be seen from a glance at the plan. In the first place all these sites, as they were found standing, were in a very fragmentary condition. No sign of the greater part of the north wall of XIX could be found; site XXIII lacked its whole north-east corner. Site XXIV had no clear north or south wall, while XXV, XXVI and XXVII were also incompletely recovered. The disconnected walls to the north of XXVII were found at the close of the excavation and form no clear plan of a site. The buildings were also very irregular in outline, the east and west sides of XIX, for example, being found to be far from parallel as had seemed to be the case when preliminary trenching was carried out in 1933.¹⁴² One very irregular feature was the south wall of site XXIII, which continued westwards beyond the presumptive south-west corner of the building, and although broken off may have originally also formed the south wall of site XXIV. In consequence of these irregularities this part of the site did not show the system of *insulae* which had been expected. A main north-south street might have been anticipated on the west side of XIX and XXIII, but as the plan will show, there was no sign of regular streets at all in this area, narrow lanes or alleyways being the most that can be seen. The final general feature of these sites is their extreme roughness of construction, surpassing that of even such sites as XII or XIV. Site XIX has its east and west walls of small roughly squared stones, but very irregularly coursed, and in the centre of the west wall there has been a considerable batter from inside. Site XXIII is similar, and its east wall has only one course standing. In both these examples

¹⁴² See AA⁴ XI, plate xxviii.

there is a thickness of two courses, but the width of the wall is very irregular as the stones vary in thickness. Sites XXIV, XXV and XXVI are even poorer in construction. Their walls invariably consist of a single line of stones, of varying shapes and sizes, generally forming a more or less straight outer face, but irregular on the interior and only about a foot in width. The walls of site XXVI, for example, consisted of long narrow blocks, roughly faced stones with a V-shaped projection towards the interior, and in places even boulders. Site XXVII, as far as it was recovered, is slightly better, and resembles XIX in its construction.

There is an upright line of stones, as if to form a rough gutter with the footing course of the wall, about two feet outside the west wall of site XIX. A similar line of stones runs alongside the north wall of site XXIII. At the south end of site XXIV there is a drain formed with sides of sloping flags and flagged at the bottom. In places one or two covering flags remained. This drain is below the levels of the footings and, running east to west, passes the broken off ends of the west wall of XXIV and the east wall of XXVI.

It is obvious from the foregoing description that there can have existed in this part of the site nothing but hovels of the poorest description. It is thought that the population of such settlements outside military forts consisted of soldiers' wives and families and traders.¹⁴³ The evidence of these sites would clearly indicate that a considerable native element prevailed among them. The way in which the buildings are huddled together is totally inconsistent with Roman ideas of street planning. The walls of sites XXIV, XXV and XXVI are more reminiscent of the single line of stones which often form the foundation of a hut circle on a native site than of any Roman building even of the wattle and daub type. These buildings, together with certain pieces of pottery, showing native

¹⁴³ Cf. section III.

characteristics, found on the site, definitely indicate a population who, while living in a Roman settlement, must have largely retained their purely native character.

Another building of a similar type is site XX, lying just to the north of the Vallum crossing. Its south wall was traced in 1933, and its east wall added in this year; no trace of a north or west wall could be found. Except for the addition to its plan, the building calls for no comment.

§4. *Site VII.* This building, the south wall of which was traced in 1933, forms a striking contrast with those so far described. It was thought at first that its south wall, which is of large well-dressed stones, standing only one course high, was continuous with that of site XVI, and that a single partition wall divided the sites. It was found that two distinct walls ran northwards from a continuous south wall, with a gap of 9 inches to 1 foot between them. Both these walls consist of large blocks of masonry, the east wall of VII having only one course, the west wall of XVI a course of long narrow stones on a footing of rougher square blocks. These walls have been very much disturbed by stone robbing, which has left its trace in plentiful mason's chippings and modern pottery, and probably for this reason they both give out before reaching any return. But the west wall of site VII is the most striking part of the building. Starting at the south-west corner with only a foundation course of large rather uneven blocks of masonry, farther north there was a second, then three and finally five courses. These upper courses were of very finely dressed ashlar blocks and measured 6 feet by 2 feet 6 inches by 2 feet. There were two gaps in this wall, one 17 feet from the south-west corner and 10 feet wide, and the other about 37 feet from the corner and 5 feet wide. Both these entrances would seem to be original, as the flagging which existed outside this west wall ran continuously in through the gaps. This flagging appears to have formed a pavement similar

to that on the west side of the main street,¹⁴⁴ and although rather battered would seem to have stepped down the slope of the hill-side in like fashion. No north wall was discovered, and further search to the north was impossible, as the farm track ran just outside the excavated area. One further feature of the site which remains is the situation at the north-west corner. Here will be seen a wall running at an angle to site VII, and as it is on the same alinement as the cut-off corner of site V, presumably a revetment to the road which is thought to have run in this direction.¹⁴⁵ This wall runs up to the north-west corner of site VII, and the west wall of that building breaks through it and must in consequence be later. However, as nothing is known of the date of either, this chronological fact has as yet no further significance.

The well-built nature of this site, particularly noticeable in the west wall, marks it out as a building of some importance. It is comparable in its construction to site V, also built of large well-faced blocks of masonry, and the two may have served some similar purpose. What this was it is impossible to say with certainty without the complete excavation of the site, but its good workmanship suggests that its use was official. An official side to the occupation outside the fort has already been noticed,¹⁴⁶ the existence of the gateway through the Wall and the presence of the *beneficarius consularis* showing that Housesteads was something of an official market and perhaps customs-station for trade passing through the Wall frontier, as well as a settlement of traders. It may be that sites V and VII are in some way to be connected with the supervision of such trade. The former may have been a storehouse, such as has been inferred in a similar position outside the east gate of the fort at Papcastle,¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ See AA⁴ XI 186.

¹⁴⁵ See AA⁴ X 91. It was impossible for the same reason as above to trench to test this conjecture.

¹⁴⁶ See above, p. 222.

¹⁴⁷ Cf. R. G. Collingwood in CW² XIII 137-8.

though its destruction to below floor level makes it impossible to secure any evidence for the nature of the goods stored in it. The two doorways in the west wall of site VII presumably differed in purpose as well as in size: the wide southern entrance seems more suitable for an office open to the public than for a residence, and it may be that we should interpret this building as the office of the *beneficiarius consularis*. In that case, his residence should be looked for near at hand; and the close structural relationship between sites VII and XVI, which is apparent on the plan (plate xxii), suggests that it may have been the residence provided for this official; at all events it is the largest building so far discovered in this area. But at present we only have the outline of these two sites on which to form an opinion; their size and the superior character of their masonry, no less than the problem of their purpose, justify the hope that it may be possible for their complete excavation to be undertaken in due course.

It should be noted that the position of nos. VII and XVI in relation to Housesteads fort is not unlike that of the "Kaufhaus" at the Saalburg,¹⁴⁸ but the latter building is more conveniently placed for controlling traffic passing through the frontier, and it is possible that we should look for a corresponding building at Housesteads between the fort and the Knag Burn. In that case it is conceivable, though hardly likely, that sites VII and XVI might represent a *mansio* or official hostel such as Dr. Wheeler has shown to have been provided at every important station;¹⁴⁹ we should expect such a building to be larger and altogether more elaborate, and a more likely position for it, too, is in the valley of the Knag Burn.

§5. *Conclusion.* In section III the character of the settlement outside the fort at Housesteads has been outlined, in so far as it has been revealed by the work done

¹⁴⁸ Cf. p. 224 above and plate xxiv, p. 259.

¹⁴⁹ Cf. p. 224 above; the Saalburg example is the square building on the west side of the road, outside the south gate of the fort, in plate xxiv, p. 259.

there up till now. It consists of three different elements, the first representing those activities of the soldiery which took place outside the fort, exemplified by such sites as the bath-house, the Mithraeum and the various military inscriptions. The second is the official, as distinct from the military, seen in the inscription of the *beneficarius consularis*, possibly in site VII as noted above, and in the evidence for economic activity that the gateway through the Wall affords. The last is the civil settlement proper, seen in the buildings excavated in the last four years. Similarly the evidence for the extent, plan and economic importance of the site has been dealt with in that section, which incorporates the results of the work of 1934. In concluding the report of that year's work, therefore, it is unnecessary to refer to these features, and it only remains to mention some points which the excavation particularly emphasized.

The most striking evidence gained is the proof of the existence among the population of an element which must have been native not only in origin but to a large extent in their manners and mode of life. The inhabitants of a civil settlement attached to a fort included the wives and relations of the soldiery and traders attracted by the market the presence of the garrison afforded them. That such a population was largely native is to be expected, particularly on a frontier site like Housesteads, and the evidence of tombstones from various places in the north of Britain shows that it was so. We might expect that this native population would, when settled on a Roman site and brought into contact with the troops, have acquired a certain degree of Romanization, and that the process, which elsewhere converted new territories into Roman provinces, exerted its influence at Housesteads; the first three years' work showed this to have been so. Such sites as I, II or VIII most probably housed a people of native ancestry, and indeed pottery of the native variety mentioned above was found on this part of the site as well as elsewhere.

On the other hand, both in the construction of the buildings and in the arrangement of the street plan is shown an acquaintance with Roman ideas which tends to remove the population from the category of the purely native. Turning to such sites as XXIII or XXIV, we must remember that apart from the native pottery, which did not form a large part of the whole bulk, the finds were of a Roman nature. That this adoption of Roman culture was merely superficial is proved both by the primitive nature of the dwellings and by the complete absence of any idea of lay-out shown in the irregular way they are grouped together. The man who lived in site XXIII must have had the outlook of a native despite his possession of a little Roman crockery, and this state of affairs the native pottery itself dates to about A.D. 300. This point has importance both for Housesteads in particular and for the north of Britain generally. It shows that at Housesteads there was a population not of a uniform culture, but ranging from the almost purely native to the largely Romanized. This in turn reminds us that in north Britain there were native sites and Roman; yet there was no hard and fast distinctions between Roman and native, but a population whose homogeneity a transitional site like Housesteads seems to prove.

Another feature of the work of 1934 was the suggestion provided at site VII of official activity, the character of which has been discussed above; this building will certainly repay complete excavation. Again, the numerous finds in the valley, below the farm-house, emphasize the need for further excavation there, and remind us that the limits and much of the road-system of the settlement remain to be defined with certainty. Much, then, remains to be done at Housesteads; but after four seasons' excavations some progress has been made in revealing the character of this example of a type of settlement which was hitherto very imperfectly known in Britain.

APPENDIX.

The Saalburg settlement. We have had such frequent occasions to refer to the settlement outside the Roman fort at the Saalburg on the Upper German *limes*, that it seems desirable to include a plan of that site for comparison with Housesteads; the plan reproduced as plate xxiv on p. 259 is taken from H. Jacobi, *Die Saalburg* (12th edition, 1929); which is not only a complete guide to the Saalburg and its rich collection of material, but an indispensable handbook for the study of the social and economic conditions of life on the frontiers of the western half of the Roman empire; we take this opportunity of expressing our indebtedness to it.

It will be seen that the principal cemeteries (marked FRIEDHOF) are concentrated on either side of the main road southward towards Heddernheim, with a smaller group of burials immediately south of the Dolichenum. The detached tower (WACHTTURM) close to the passage-way through the frontier corresponds in purpose, if not in strength, to the towers of the gateway through the Wall in the valley of the Knag Burn.

