

## XII.—EXCAVATIONS AT CORBRIDGE, 1936-1938.

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[Read on 23rd February 1938.]

The following abbreviations are employed :

AA<sup>2.4</sup> = *Archæologia Aeliana*, second-fourth series.

C. = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.

CW<sup>2</sup> = Cumberland and Westmorland *Transactions*, new series.

D. = Déchelette's figure-type (in *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine*, Paris, 1904).

EE = *Ephemeris Epigraphica*.

JRS = *Journal of Roman Studies*.

O. = Oswald's figure-type (in *Index of Figure-types on Terra Sigillata*, Liverpool, 1936-).

N or S signifies the northern or southern part of site 39; a numeral following indicates a room in one of the Severan houses (fig. 1).

Well-known excavation-reports are referred to by the name of the site *in italics*; it will be convenient to give here references to those reports, frequently cited below, which are to be found in AA or CW :

AA<sup>3</sup> VIII . *Corbridge 1911*.

AA<sup>4</sup> IV . *Benwell 1926*.

AA<sup>4</sup> VII . *Denton Hall turret, Chapel House milecastle*.

CW<sup>2</sup> XIII . *Birdoswald, High House and Appletree turrets; Throp*.

CW<sup>2</sup> xxx . *Birdoswald (fort)*.

### I. INTRODUCTION.

The present report is mainly devoted to the work done by the Durham University Excavation Committee, since the summer of 1936, on site 39 and the areas to west and

north of it at Corbridge, after the removal of the top soil and before the final laying-out of the site by His Majesty's Office of Works. Work done on site 11 in 1936 is excluded, since it does not bear on the problems of site 39; but we include notes on a number of inscriptions and sculptures from other sites, found by the Office of Works in the course of clearance work.

Mr. Richmond has undertaken the whole of the planning of the structures, and Mr. Birley the drawing of the pottery, and each is largely responsible for the section of the text concerned, written in consultation with the other; we present the report jointly, sharing the responsibility for the whole of it. We wish to acknowledge the assistance which we have received, in the course of the excavation, and the preparation of this report, from the following:—Mr. William Bulmer has co-operated in the reconstruction of the important inscription which mentions Calpurnius Agricola (part IV, no. 1, p. 284 below), and has drawn figure 14, which illustrates it. We are indebted to Dr. Siegfried Gutenbrunner for the valuable note on the name *Ahtcha* which occurs on the tombstone of a child (part IV, no. 8, pp. 290-4 below). Mr. Percy Hedley has identified the coins, and supplies particulars of those found in the early deposit below 39 S (p. 268 below). Mr. W. L. George took a share in the supervision of the digging; and the important early deposits below 39 S were excavated by Thomas Batey, whose experience and skill had ample opportunity, in weather conditions which few excavators would envy. Without the ready co-operation of the Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments and his staff, it would have been impossible for us to undertake the work, which that co-operation made pleasant and relatively easy. And lastly we have to thank the trustees of the Corbridge Excavation Fund for a generous grant towards the expense, necessarily heavy, of providing adequate illustrations of the important results that are recorded in the following pages.

## II. THE STRUCTURAL REMAINS.

*Introductory.* Site 39 at Corbridge (see PLAN) lies due south of the west half of the well-known storehouse (site 11), across the main east-to-west street. It is bounded on the west by a north-to-south street, and also by a series of massive walls, five feet thick, with an external chamfered plinth. The walls have been explained<sup>1</sup> either as boundary-walls or as substructures of an aqueduct, while the buildings<sup>2</sup> have not hitherto been fully planned or described. Their exhumation and restoration by the Office of Works now demand an archaeological account, for which the preparation of new plans and sections has afforded an opportunity to amplify current knowledge of the site. Deep digging has demonstrated that the lower levels, while of great interest and importance, may be completely dissociated from the history of the structures now visible on the site.

(1) *The visible remains: a military depot and related buildings.*

The principal buildings now exposed on site 39 (see PLAN) are a pair of courtyard houses (fig. 1), each planned to be fifty Roman feet square, and divided only by a narrow alley, closed at the west end. Each house had seven rooms, ranged round a courtyard and matched as between house and house, though the similarity is disguised by the fact that the houses face different ways. The southern house is quoined in ashlar at three corners, a continental practice perhaps implying a stucco finish on the exterior; and a small latrine opens off the north-west corner of the courtyard. Otherwise, the plans of the two houses correspond, and closely resemble the prefect's house<sup>3</sup> of an auxiliary fort.

<sup>1</sup> 1912 *Report* 32-5=AA<sup>3</sup> ix 261-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, plan facing 52=AA<sup>3</sup> ix pl. v; *PSA Lond.*<sup>2</sup> xxv, 153-5 and plan.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Ward, *Romano-British Buildings and Earthworks* 96-8, fig. 32.

Structurally, the later treatment (PLAN) involved a complete rebuilding of both houses; functionally, the scope of the work is not everywhere clear, owing to the poor state of the remains. The north house received a new and slightly larger central court, from which two large rooms, to north and west, were approached by doorways nine feet (north) and seven feet (west) wide, once closed with double doors working on checked thresholds, like those of the stable<sup>4</sup> at Halton. In the north-west angle, a smaller room was fitted with a rude hypocaust and box-tile wall-flues, fed from a hearth or furnace in the large west room. More room had been gained both to north and west, and the building was now entered by a new west doorway. The alley between the older houses is covered by a later party-wall, and the newer work in the south house follows the older walls fairly closely, except on the west. A potter's kiln<sup>5</sup> suggests that at this period the function of the building was at least partly industrial; and little tanks inserted in the south-east and north-east rooms convey the same impression.

Still later changes are to be seen no longer. They were represented by a fragment of walling in the south house, a new threshold in the large north room already described, and a filling of part of the hypocaust with masons' chips.

The impression of military design, conveyed by the standard planning of the original houses, is deepened when it is realized (see PLAN) that they are cut off from the rest of the site by a wall five feet thick. This wall is one of those already mentioned, furnished with an external chamfered plinth. Only the east, and part of the south side, were noted<sup>6</sup> in 1906 and 1912. On the north, a fragment of the plinth and superstructure has now been re-

<sup>4</sup> AA<sup>4</sup> xiv 164.

<sup>5</sup> 1912 *Rep.* 14, fig. 3=AA<sup>3</sup> ix 242: the description does not correspond with the detailed plan, nor the detailed plan with the general: the structure is now reduced to a shapeless platform. None of the pottery is now identifiable.

<sup>6</sup> 1906 *Rep.* facing 56=AA<sup>3</sup> iii 172, pl. II; 1912 *Rep.* facing 52=AA<sup>3</sup> ix pl. v.

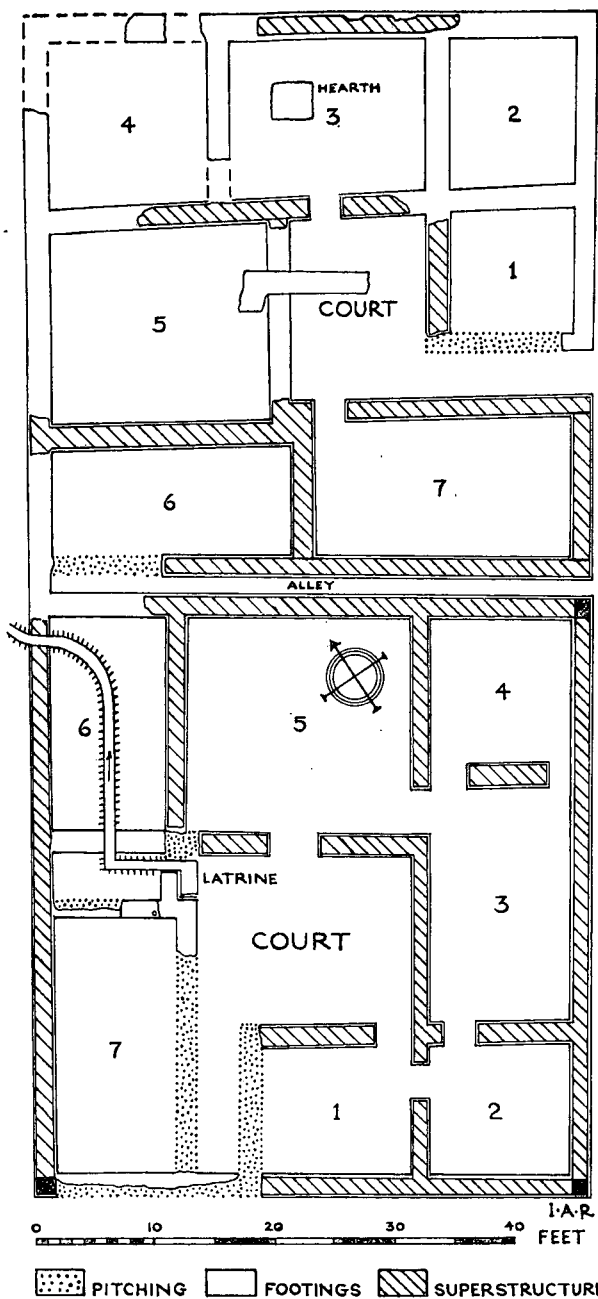


FIG. 1. PLAN OF OFFICERS' HOUSES, THIRD-CENTURY DEPOT.

vealed, standing upon a flagged footing existing everywhere on that side and on the west. In the middle of the west side there is a single gateway, six feet wide. Its north pier is robbed of all masonry, except one course of large ashlar at the back, but is outlined by foundation-cobbling and by a worn threshold which once butted up against the jamb and is still left in position. The south pier, more entire, was noted<sup>7</sup> in 1906, together with some eighty feet of the adjoining wall. At the north-east angle, founded upon extra solid footings, the east wall begins to pursue a tortuous course<sup>8</sup> behind buildings as yet incompletely explored (see PLAN); while the north wall reaches the south frontage of the main street by means of an angle-tower. The eight-foot foundation of the front wall of this tower is so much thicker as to suggest that it may have carried a postern, but the flooring and superstructure have been entirely removed in building the later wall described below (see p. 249). New discoveries thus combine with old to show that the massive walling in fact forms an enclosure. It can also be shown that the wall rose to a considerable height. When the houses which it enclosed were enlarged, their north and west walls were built unfaced against its back at reduced thickness, forming a lining, and a support for roof-timbers, rather than a free-standing wall. This implies that the enclosure-wall against which they were built rose at least as high as the roofs. Thus, the enclosure-wall resembles a military fort-wall in form and even in function. Nevertheless, the lack of associated ditch, towers and rampart-backing distinguishes it from the normal defensive wall, just as its position, amid the varied buildings of a township, marks it off from the normal fort. It may be compared<sup>9</sup> with the wall of the twentieth legion's tilery at Holt, or that of the praetorian camp in Rome, both surrounding military enclaves in a civil environment.

<sup>7</sup> 1906 *Rep.* facing 56.

<sup>8</sup> 1912 *Rep.* facing 52=AA<sup>3</sup> ix pl. v.

<sup>9</sup> Grimes, *Holt* 13; *Papers of the British School at Rome* x 13.

The enclosure or compound thus defined is matched by, and closely associated with, another, separated from it (fig. 2) only by the north-to-south street. This second compound extends further north, gaining thus a frontage upon the main east-to-west street, where lie the notable buildings of the site. Its north-east rounded angle is still visible; the other angles, both salient and re-entrant, have been recorded<sup>10</sup> as sharp. Both compound-walls lie at the same level, and their east and west gates face one another across the wide street. There are, indeed, reasons for thinking that the compounds supplemented one another. For the moment, however, it may be noted that the intimate connexion between them was in fact recognized later in Roman times by linking them together. This was done by extending the north wall of the west compound eastwards along the main street, until it united with the north front of the older north-east angle-tower. In making these alterations not only was the early work drastically removed, but the new work, in small blocks with a core of clean broken stone and cement, followed slightly different lines. Later still, the newer work was in turn rebuilt, in coarser masonry with a core of old facing-stones. The united area was entered from the main street by a new gateway, of which the foundations still exist, but have been much disturbed by stone-robbers and excavators. The west side of the gate was protected by a semicircular bastion, backed by a long rectangular projection, perhaps stairs. The threshold was carried upon a stretcher-wall, on which stood three facing-stones, clearly the remnant of a later modification now incomprehensible. The east bastion was rectangular and shallow, with rearward projection corresponding to that at the front, and angles everywhere much damaged by stone-robbers. The whole structure was deeply founded. A pre-war excavator's trench, unwittingly

<sup>10</sup> 1912 *Rep.* facing 52=AA<sup>3</sup> ix pl. v; in view, however, of discoveries at the north-east of site 39, it must be held doubtful whether this was necessarily the original arrangement.

driven through the west bastion, revealed two feet of mortared foundation, resting upon one foot nine inches of clay and pitching, and a low-level drain, covered with especially massive slabs where the bastion weighed upon it. The enclosure-walls have now been described. It is evident (fig. 2) that they belong to a regular system which enclosed two compounds, at first separated by a broad north-to-south street but later united. When the union took place the broad north-to-south street was reduced in width by the erection of open sheds against the west compound wall. On the east, a paved space edged with a gutter seems to indicate a similar arrangement; but a thick partition-wall belongs to a still later period and its purpose remains unknown.

The interior of the compounds was explored<sup>11</sup> in 1906 and 1912, but a structural account must wait until they are again exposed to public view. What was learnt of the internal buildings is, however, worth summary here, in so far as it sheds light upon the general purpose of the compounds. The west compound contained (fig. 2) the more distinctive buildings. In the middle lay a group of well-built offices (site 45), equipped with underground strong-room, where was found an official dedication to The Emperors' Discipline.<sup>12</sup> "Both the plan of the building," wrote Haverfield,<sup>13</sup> "and the vault and steps leading to it, and also the dedication itself, suggest that, though not precisely a normal headquarters building, it was something very similar." To the north-east lay a pair of oblong buildings (47 and 40 N), matched by a third to north-west and a fourth to the east. In building 47 were discovered "several small furnaces . . . with suitable anvil-bases and tempering-tanks, and the indications of iron-working were very clear. From the floor-level of this area came a very large number of arrow heads in every stage of manu-

<sup>11</sup> 1906, AA<sup>3</sup> III 170-4, pl. II; 1912 *Rep. passim*.

<sup>12</sup> EE IX 1380.

<sup>13</sup> 1912 *Rep.* 37=AA<sup>3</sup> IX 265.

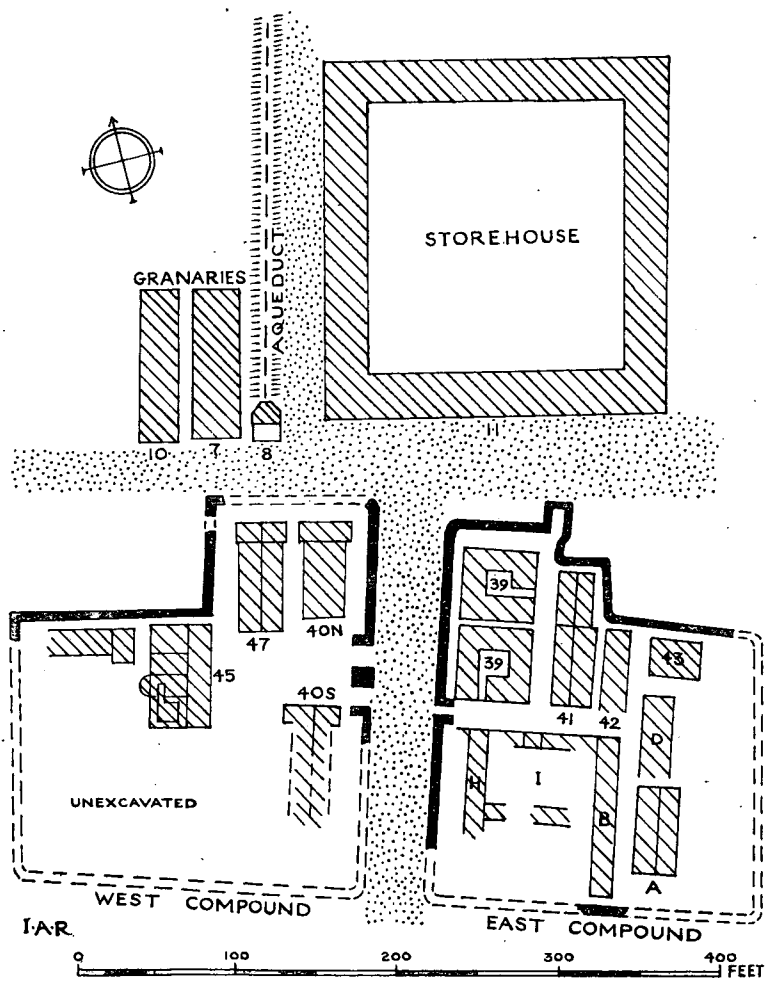


FIG. 2. DIAGRAM OF THE THIRD-CENTURY MILITARY DEPOT.

facture."<sup>14</sup> These quotations leave no doubt that the buildings were military workshops, clustered about an administrative building not unlike a normal *principia*. The whole group was approached from the east through a double gateway, of which one portal later harboured an apsidal building with portico. Liberal provision was thus at first made for traffic.

The narrower gateway of the east compound seems to reflect its more intimate character. The north-west quarter is occupied by the two houses already described, apparently officers' dwellings. East of them, across a street, lies a building (site 41) closely resembling the N.C.Os' quarters in a barrack, with a few men's rooms attached to them. Beyond it lie a long hut and, still further east, a small building (site 43), probably a latrine. The south half of the compound is occupied by a building (A) again closely resembling an attenuated barrack; while long sheds, apparently ranged about a court, cover the rest of the area. When it is recalled that the east and west compounds are contemporary, the contrast between domestic buildings, to east, and administrative or factory buildings, to west, powerfully suggests that the two areas are not only contemporary but supplementary; so that the east compound served as living-quarters and the west as an armourers' factory, both combining, and later combined, to form a single depot.

The relation of the depot to the four important buildings north of the main east-to-west street may now be considered. These are the unfinished storehouse (site 11), the fountain (site 8) and the two granaries (sites 10 and 7). The relation of the storehouse to the compound-walls is shown by section I (fig. 3), in which masons' chippings, scattered during the erection of the buildings, are found incorporated in the roadway laid against the foundations of the west compound. The addition of a south portico<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> 1912 Rep. 22=AA<sup>3</sup> IX 250.

<sup>15</sup> 1911 Rep. 28, fig. 3=AA<sup>3</sup> VIII 164.

to the storehouse belongs to the next period, contemporary with the north wall of the united compounds, when a new road-surface, the last but one to be seen on the site, was also added, and supplied with an open stone gutter to receive the roof-drippings of the portico.

A second open gutter, made of re-used stones, and associated<sup>16</sup> with the latest road-level, relates the granaries (sites 10 and 7) to the successive roadways. Below it, at least two building-periods were detected<sup>17</sup> in the portico of the west granary, the later contemporary with the south portico on site 11, the earlier matching the great building itself, and contemporary with the first stages of both granaries. Thus, the granaries are shown to fall in with the same scheme as the storehouse.

The well-known fountain (site 8), lying between the granaries and the storehouse, requires more consideration. Ornamental buildings<sup>18</sup> of this type are frequently found at the terminal points of aqueducts, serving partly as public water-troughs and partly as distribution-tanks. In this example, the position of the existing aqueduct-channel, arriving from the north on a stone-faced embankment at the back of the fountain, shows that the much lower masonry base of the fountain, joined with cramps and once embellished with a panelled screen-wall, carried a large settling-tank (probably of lead), whence water spouted into the open basin in front of the monument and was aerated anew in the process. From below the open basin, the overflow (*aqua caduca*) was distributed in low-level conduits, not to be confused with drains or sewers. The system may be compared with the underground conduits at Benwell,<sup>19</sup> which carried water from a settling-tank in the *principia* to points where it was required.

The method by which the water thus carried under-

<sup>16</sup> 1909 Rep. 8, fig. 2 and 10, fig. 3=AA<sup>3</sup> VI 210, 212.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* II=213.

<sup>18</sup> Ashby, *Top. Dict. Anc. Rome*, s. vv. *lacus*, *munera*. The fountain itself is described by Knowles, 1907 Rep. 68-77=AA<sup>3</sup> IV 272-81.

<sup>19</sup> Account forthcoming.

ground was both rendered accessible and permitted to settle afresh, is illustrated by two large open tanks (see figs. 3 and 6), now deprived of their linings and rims, situated close behind the later gateway of the military depot. The east tank was fed by a small conduit, destroyed in building the gate, and had no outlet, despite the proximity of a contemporary drain. A three-inch fall in the level of the conduit at the fountain outlet and at the tank rim shows that the water was allowed to rise to its own level. The west tank took its place (fig. 3 and PLAN) in a longer circuit, of which the inflow conduit followed the rounded north-east angle of the west compound, and was deliberately retained by the builders of the later wall and gateway. The outflow runs southwards, parallel with the compound-wall. At fifty-seven feet south of the tank, a branch-feeder turns at right-angles, entering the compound by a duct contemporary with the enclosure-wall, in order to serve a large tank in front of the administrative building, whence an outflow returned to the main conduit outside the gate. The system is thus shown to be coeval with the compound, but its further course remains unexplored. Enough, however, has been described to demonstrate the simple yet effective method of circulating water brought with considerable trouble to the site. The fountain, hitherto considered to be the sole source of distribution, becomes the first link in an elaborate series of water-tanks, contemporary with the double compound. Analogies for the newly-discovered system are not far to seek. Something like it has already been noted<sup>20</sup> at Benwell. A second example occurs at Birrens.<sup>21</sup> The Carnarvon aqueduct<sup>22</sup> must have been linked with a similar type of distribution. There can be little doubt that other examples await recognition.

<sup>20</sup> Account forthcoming

<sup>21</sup> *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* xxx 96, pl. II section U-V.

<sup>22</sup> C. VII 142; *Archæologia Cambrensis* 1922, 268, fig. 5, and 272.

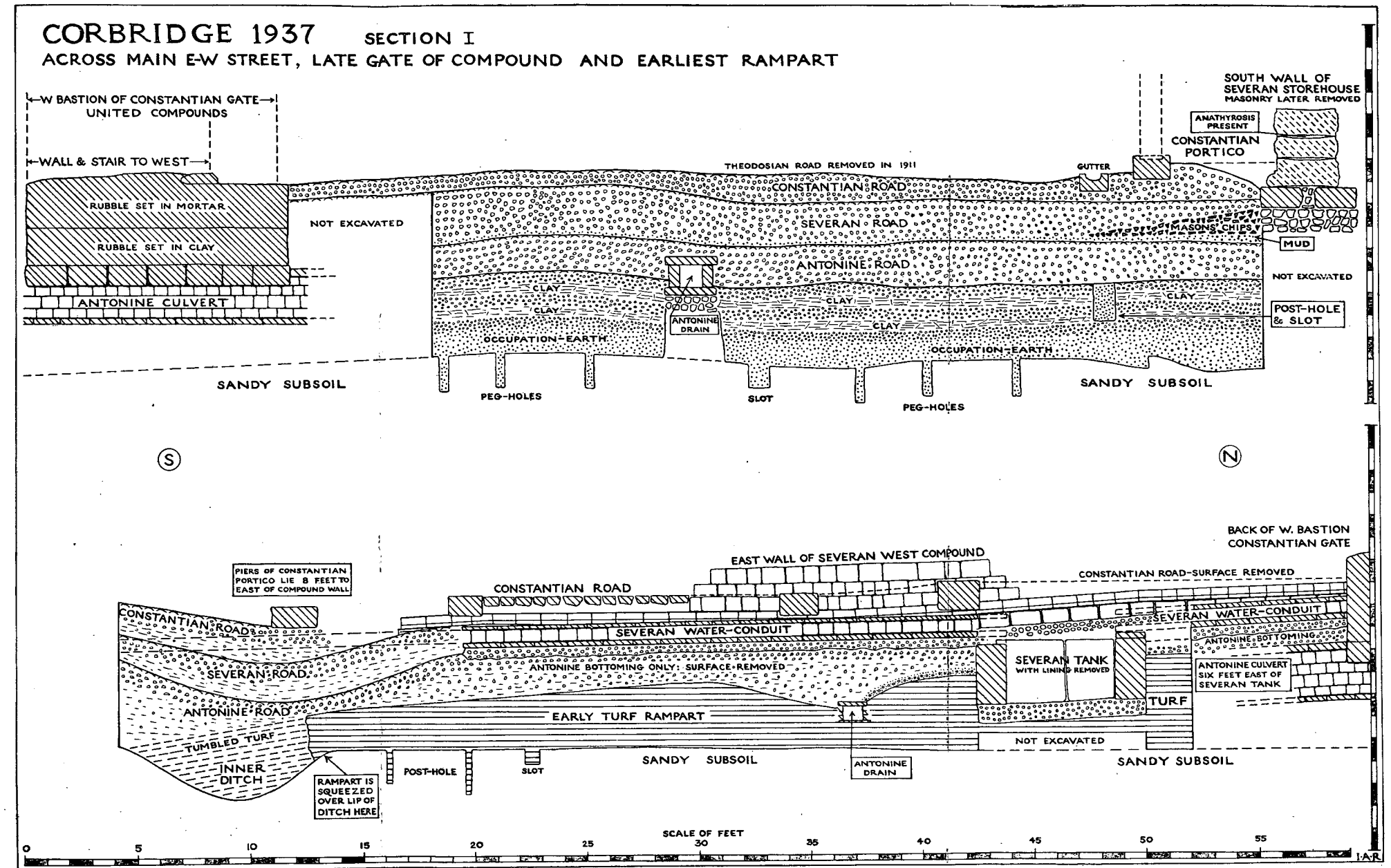


FIG. 3.



100  
100

100  
100

100  
100

100  
100

(2) *Earliest levels: the pre-Hadrianic fort.*

It has long been realized that earlier levels existed below the visible buildings at Corbridge. The report of 1909<sup>23</sup> records, in front of the fountain (site 8), "resting on the clean sand . . . a layer one foot eight inches thick of mixed earth," in which "several pieces of decorated Samian of shape 29 were found"; while "nine post-holes, which must have belonged to a timber structure of the same period, were also discovered." The post-holes, evidently for mere pegs, were "pointed at the bottom and penetrated some inches into the clean sand." Ditches productive of early pottery were also found<sup>24</sup> in 1907 and 1912. Since these explorations, no further knowledge had been gained of the earlier levels until 1936, when two parallel ditches, running from east to west, were found<sup>25</sup> below the houses on site 39. The north ditch had been noted in 1907 and 1912, but defined as a "natural depression"; the south ditch, though equally disturbing to superimposed foundations, was not mentioned. The occurrence, however, of two such features on the very rim of the river-terrace leaves no doubt that they must be ditches; while their profile (see fig. 3) bears the unmistakable stamp of the Roman military engineer. Their early date is shown by pottery from them, described below (see p. 282, fig. 13, 1).

The two ditches thus described, of which one is known<sup>26</sup> to run straight for at least 250 feet along the south edge of the plateau that carries the Roman site, would naturally fall into place as the south defences of an early fort. In search of a rampart behind them, section I (PLAN and fig. 3) was cut to north of the inner ditch, at the foot of the east wall of the west compound. The sandy subsoil was then found at 5 feet 6 inches below the bottom of the

<sup>23</sup> 1909 *Rep.* 12-3=AA<sup>3</sup> VI 214-5.

<sup>24</sup> 1907 *Rep.* 41=AA<sup>3</sup> IV 245; 1912 *Rep.* 11=AA<sup>3</sup> IX 239.

<sup>25</sup> *Durham University Journal* XXX 102.

<sup>26</sup> 1912 *Rep.* 9=AA<sup>3</sup> IX 237.

plinth of the compound-wall. It runs almost level until it reaches the line of the ditch, where it drops into an excavation 9 feet 6 inches wide and 2 feet 6 inches deep, very largely filled with fallen turf. This is both narrower and shallower than the ditch further west, a reduction in size which was only explained at a later stage. Meanwhile, the fallen turf, devoid of lamination, gave way to built turfwork, squeezed somewhat forward over the lip of the ditch by superincumbent later levels. With this exception, the built turfwork was laid directly upon the level subsoil, and extended northwards for at least 40 feet, where its presence was first detected by re-opening an earlier excavators' trial-hole, on the north side of the west tank. There can be no doubt that this mass of turfwork represents a very large rampart, at least 40 feet broad at the base, left standing nearly 3 feet high. Timber-work was also noted. At 2 feet 6 inches behind the north lip of the ditch, and approximately at right-angles to its line, two post-holes occurred 3 feet 6 inches apart; and at 3 feet still further back, a trench for a beam lay parallel with the ditch-system. The beam had been a large one, but the post-holes (see fig. 3) had evidently held small pegs, resembling those described in 1909.<sup>27</sup>

While it was impossible to guess from these remains the nature of the timber structure embodied in the rampart, timber-work and reduced fort-ditch were suggestive of an approach to a gateway. The suggestion was tested by cutting a new trial-hole, 27 feet further east and 6 feet north of the centre-line of the ditch. The sandy subsoil was there found (fig. 6) to carry turfwork on the east side of the hole and on the west a gravel road, kerbed in large stones and running at right-angles to the ditch; while, between the road and turfwork, the writer's trowel almost lost itself in a large slot or post-hole. It was evident that the trial-hole had fortunately struck the east side of a

<sup>27</sup> 1909 *Rep.* 13=AA<sup>3</sup> VI 215.

metalled roadway, bordered by a timbered gateway-passage and turf rampart. The width of the newly discovered gate remains unknown, but the timber-work previously described may well belong to its west tower, while the reduction of the ditch marks, as suspected, the approach to the usual causeway of undisturbed subsoil interrupting the ditch-system. The discovery is of great value for the general history of the site, since it gives the position of the south defences and gateway of presumably the first Roman fort erected at Corbridge. The massive rampart suggests a fort of large size; and if faith can be placed in the continuation of the ditch-system for at least 250 feet westwards, the south front may well have been over 500 feet long. This dimension, indeed, just extends to the early north-to-south ditches discovered<sup>28</sup> east of the storehouse (site 11) in 1910; but it would be idle further to conjecture dimensions which excavation may yet be expected to define exactly.

It was to be expected that the internal buildings of a first-century turf-and-timber fort would themselves be of wood. Their remains are doubtless to be associated with the peg-holes observed<sup>29</sup> in 1909 at subsoil level in front of the fountain. New light, however, was shed on the significance of these pegs by discoveries in the cross-section (figs. 3, 4) of the main east-to-west street. Below a complicated stratification, yet to be described, the sandy subsoil was covered by a thick occupation-layer, associated, as in 1909, with South Gaulish samian ware. The wooden buildings were marked by trenches for foundation-timbers; and the small peg-holes occurred in pairs (fig. 4) at each side of the trench, as if the pegs had been used in fixing the beams, perhaps with shuttering. The wood had rotted in position and fibres could be seen adhering to the side of both holes and trench, defining the beams as one foot square and the pegs as squared, with tapered points. The

<sup>28</sup> 1910 *Rep.* 23-6=AA<sup>3</sup> VII 174, pl. III.

<sup>29</sup> 1909 *Rep.* 13=AA<sup>3</sup> VI 215.

slot, being so large, was less easy to recognize in the narrow section than the little peg-holes, and the whole arrangement greatly puzzled the men at work.

Above the debris of the primary fort, gravel covered by clean earth had been spread in three distinct layers, in which, however, associated relics were absent. A precise interpretation of these layers must await further deep digging. In the topmost layer, however, a timber building is denoted (fig. 3) by a large sleeper-trench and vertical hole for an upright piercing the gravel; and this appears still to be associated with the fort, since the turf rampart is not replaced by any structure until this level and the turfwork are together overlaid by a very thick new layer, which evidently marks a complete break in tradition and a re-planning of the site.

(3) *Intermediate levels, between those of the early fort and the visible remains.*

Thus far, only one large level, just described, has been noted to separate the stratification of the early fort from the visible remains of the compounds and storehouse (site 11). A further division at this stage is introduced by sections II and III, now to be described. Section II (fig. 5) is taken just south of the ditches of the early fort, below the south range of rooms in the southern officer's house in the east compound. The sandy subsoil was here littered with Flavian-Trajanic pottery, lying in shallow excavations and a deep soak-pit. Then follow two well-marked levels, the earlier associated with two carefully dismantled walls and occupation-earth, the later with a surfacing of masons' chippings, marking an open space. Both levels produced Antonine pottery. Section III (fig. 6), passing through the east tank from north to south, also shows two levels, below the drain contemporary with the tank and east compound-wall and dissociated from the early rampart. The earlier level is marked by a fine column-base, obviously unrelated to the earlier rampart, and perhaps marking the west front

# CORBRIDGE, FLAVIAN TIMBERWORK. SECTION I.

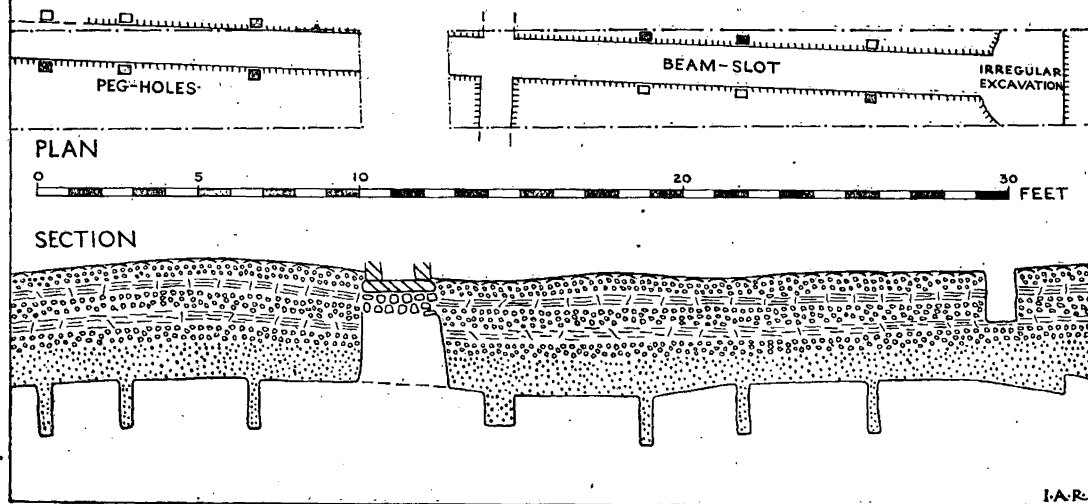


FIG. 4.

of a building on the north-to-south street. The later is represented by a new street-surface, burying the moulded base without otherwise damaging the column, which was removed only when the tank was built. Thus, the two levels, dated to the Antonine period in section III by pottery and in section II by their position between tank and rampart, show a demolition or an alteration in progress which looks less like reconstruction after a disaster than drastic innovation. For dating these periods, epigraphy comes to our aid with a series of magnificent dedication-tablets,<sup>30</sup> which attest building by Lollius Urbicus in A.D. 139-40, and notable new work or repairs (see fig. 14, and p. 286) by Calpurnius Agricola in A.D. 162. The actual nature of the works carried out in these periods is, however, highly obscure, and the only hope of understanding them lies in further exploration.

(4) *Some correlations of structural changes with history.*

The preceding paragraphs will have shown that it is impossible, in this stage of the excavations at Corbridge, to correlate with history all the periods of occupation so far discovered. A site containing so many different levels is not to be explained without further labour. The deep sections, however, by relating to the subsoil and to one another buildings of which the planning has long been known, mark a new departure in our understanding of the site. It is now possible both to describe and to date the work of later periods; while the fact that the problems concerned with early periods can be defined, may be regarded as the first step towards their solution.

A start may be made from the penultimate period of occupation, for the remains of the last period now exist only as isolated and often meaningless fragments. This has long been recognized as belonging to the first half of the fourth century. Three Constantinian coin-hoards have

<sup>30</sup> Lollius Urbicus: 1907 *Rep.* 58=AA<sup>3</sup> IV 262-3; AA<sup>4</sup> XIII 274-8. Calpurnius Agricola: 1911 *Rep.* 50-1=AA<sup>3</sup> VIII 186-7 and below, pp. 285-7.

# CORBRIDGE 1937 SECTION II

## THROUGH ROOMS 7 AND 1 OF S. HOUSE : SITE 39

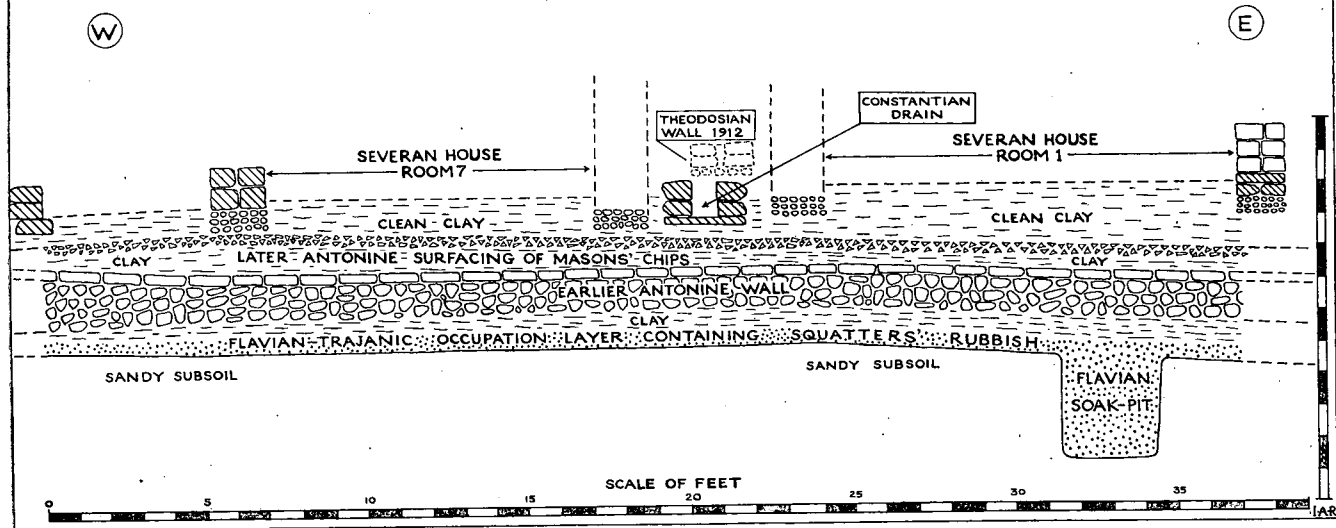


FIG. 5.

been found<sup>31</sup> in association with it; and while doubt exists as to their latest limit, they are in this direction safely controlled; first, as Craster<sup>32</sup> observed, by a *siliqua* of Julian (A.D. 360-63), from the contemporary level in the storehouse (site 11, from 6); secondly, by a coin<sup>33</sup> of Valentinian I below the topmost level of the main east-to-west street. Thus, few will be likely to quarrel with Craster's hypothesis<sup>34</sup> that while the final period was initiated by the elder Theodosius (*circa* A.D. 369), the penultimate level coincides with the period *c.* A.D. 300-A.D. 367, later defined<sup>35</sup> at Birdoswald as typical of the Great Wall. Structurally, the Constantian period was marked by adaptation rather than innovation. A portico was provided<sup>36</sup> on the south front of the storehouse (site 11), turning the south range into a sort of bazaar. The wall uniting the two military compounds, with bastioned gate, represents a rationalization of an old arrangement, probably long overdue, with which must also be connected the conversion of the officers' houses into stables and industrial quarters (see above, p. 246).

By contrast, the previous level is associated with many new buildings. It would perhaps be unwise, until more is known of still earlier levels, to claim that these new buildings mark the very first remodelling of the site as a base for storage and supplies. But the great storehouse is the unfinished product of a new building-scheme; the granaries denote completed arrangements for corn-stores; while the military compounds mark the presence of armourers' workshops and military administration of a

<sup>31</sup> (i) 1907 Rep. 78; (ii) and (iii) 1908 Rep. 57. These hoards, which are still intact, have never been examined in detail; but the current belief (cf. Sutherland, *Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain* 77) that they stop at *c.* A.D. 340 is belied by the fact that they include at least one coin of Valentinian I, shown to I.A.R. by Mr. Percy Hedley.

<sup>32</sup> 1910 Rep. 9, 23=AA<sup>3</sup> VII 151, 165.

<sup>33</sup> 1907 Rep. 43=AA<sup>3</sup> IV 247.

<sup>34</sup> 1910 Rep. 23=AA<sup>3</sup> VII 165.

<sup>35</sup> CW<sup>2</sup> xxx 198-203.

<sup>36</sup> 1911 Rep. 28, fig. 3=AA<sup>3</sup> VIII 164.

# CORBRIDGE 1937 SECTION III

## SOUTH OF E. TOWER OF N. GATE, UNITED COMPOUNDS

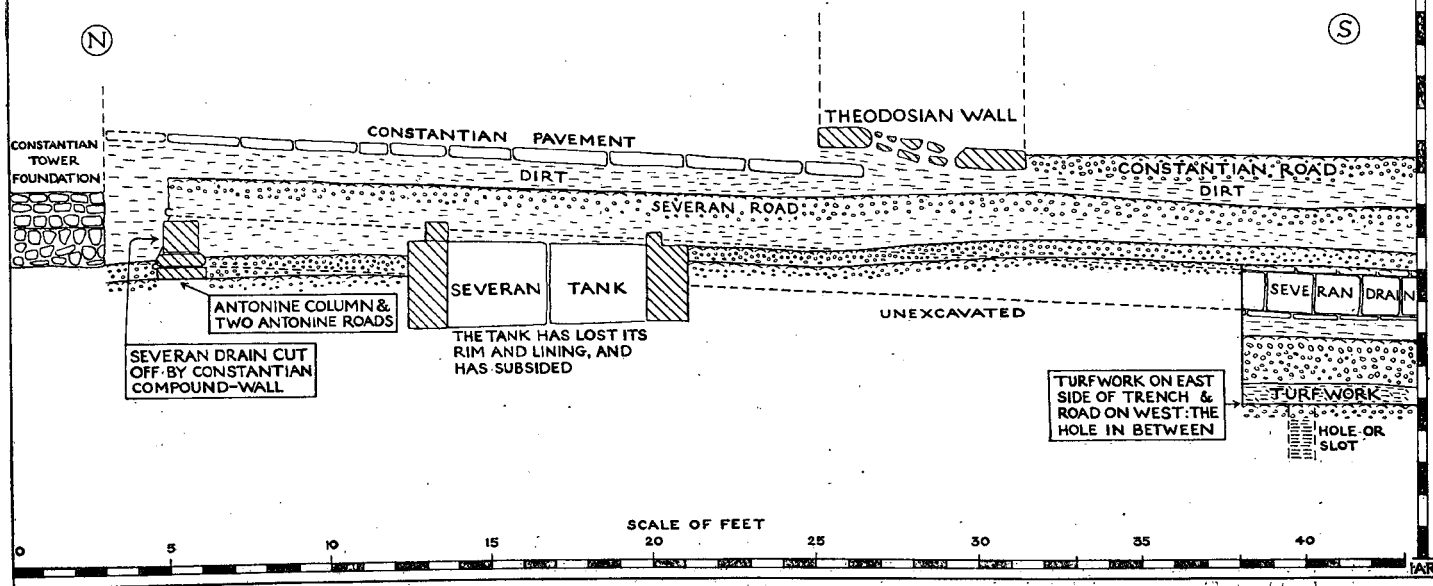


FIG. 6

specialized kind. A water-supply was also provided, and distributed from the decorative *castellum aquae*, known as the fountain (site 8). Thus, even if an earlier supply-base existed, the depot as now to be seen was devised and established in this period. The date of this important work is supplied by the useful series<sup>37</sup> of coins from the storehouse (site 11, court 7 and court 10) which take it down to Carausius and back to Julia Mamaea. The pottery is discussed below (p. 268 f.). In summary, it may be noted that the few floors left undisturbed by previous excavations in the officers' houses yielded third-century pottery; while the level is sandwiched between Constantinian deposits above and Antonine deposits below. There can thus be no doubt that this stage belongs to the third century. The notable Hexham inscriptions<sup>38</sup> of Severus must not be forgotten. Indeed, it is not difficult to see in the unfinished storehouse an epitome of the abandoned Severan schemes for the re-conquest of Scotland, while the completed military compounds mark provision made for the unchanged routine of supplying the nearer frontier.

Below the compounds, two Antonine levels have been observed. There can be little doubt (see below, p. 267) that these are to be equated with the great building-programmes of Lollius Urbicus in A.D. 139-40 and Calpurnius Agricola in A.D. 162, each proclaimed by magnificent dedication-tablets<sup>39</sup> of a kind associated only with fine buildings. But structural remains are as yet so meagre, that it is impossible to estimate what manner of place was second-century Corbridge.

It is possible, however, to say that the Antonine periods mark a complete break in the history of the site. The column-base north of the eastern tank, planted (fig. 6) above the levelled remains of the early fort's rampart, shows that the fort no longer existed. Further, just out-

<sup>37</sup> 1910 Rep. 10, 12=AA<sup>3</sup> VII 152, 154.

<sup>38</sup> C. 482, 483.

<sup>39</sup> See note 30.

side the fort, the Antonine levels are laid directly upon a surface strewn with squatters' leavings of Flavian-Trajanic pottery. This pottery is distinct from that recovered from the early levels of Hadrian's Wall, which does not occur on the site. It is, therefore, to be inferred that in the first economy of the Wall Corbridge had no place, just as the forts on Dere Street to the north were not used<sup>40</sup> as Hadrianic outposts. Renewed importance came only in connexion with the occupation of Scotland by Urbicus<sup>41</sup> and the British command of Calpurnius Agricola.<sup>42</sup>

It is equally clear that, before the erection of Hadrian's Wall had changed the emphasis of military traffic, the site occupied a notable place among early frontier positions. It must have been one of the first points in the north to be reached by Roman troops, whether under Cerialis or Agricola. Its strategic value, as the Tyne bridge-head and a great road-centre, is emphasized by the newly-discovered massive permanent fort, of which the full size still remains unknown. If the Hexham tombstone, of this period, recording<sup>43</sup> the *ala Petriana*, which was Britain's only milliary *ala*, may be counted as evidence, then that fort was not only of primary importance but very large, occupying an area commensurate with the fine plateau chosen for its site. Such a fort, commanding a nodal point in the frontier road-system, should reflect in its stratification, as yet imperfectly understood, the changes through which Agricola's frontier passed before the reforms of Trajan and Hadrian swept it away. But these expectations are for the future. Meanwhile, the recent explorations, examining old trenches and cutting new ones, have given fresh mean-

<sup>40</sup> AA<sup>4</sup> XII 180, 194.

<sup>41</sup> See note 30.

<sup>42</sup> See note 30. It may be added that, though the inscription of Iulius Verus might be cited as suggesting structural activity at Corbridge about A.D. 158 (cf. Haverfield, 1911 *Rep.* 52=AA<sup>3</sup> VIII 188), it is not an ordinary dedication-tablet, but a fragment from the corner of a monument framed in pilasters, and therefore probably free-standing. A detailed study of the stone is in preparation.

<sup>43</sup> EE VII 995.

ing to an old-established excavation, which has long been among the sites of outstanding interest to students of Roman Britain.

### III. THE POTTERY.

The pottery illustrated and described below all comes from stratified deposits. The total amount attributable to the occupation of the visible buildings is very slight; with the exception of half a dozen pieces from below a secondary tank in S 4 and one from a drain in S 1, this later material comes from the portion of 39 N which has settled over the northern ditch; there, the excavations of 1912 did not go below the secondary floor, and a relatively small but important group of pottery, with close affinities to third-century deposits at various sites on Hadrian's Wall, remained to confirm the attribution of the existing buildings to the time of Severus. The levels underlying these buildings were tested in various places: a section was cut across the two early ditches which run from east to west below 39 N, and yielded one notable potsherd, part of a samian bowl of form 29 in the style of the pre-Flavian potter **MVRRANVS** (fig. 13, 1 and p. 282 below), which seems to confirm the assumption, to be made from passages in the elder Pliny and Silius Italicus, that the first Roman governor to occupy Corbridge and many other sites in the north of Britain<sup>44</sup> was not Agricola but Petilius Cerialis, the conqueror of the Brigantes. The floors of S 1, 7 and courtyard were removed, and the underlying levels excavated down to the subsoil sand, which was also reached in trial pits sunk to the west of S 7, to the east of S 3, and inside N 3. The deposits below S 1, 7 and courtyard were the most instructive. In each case, two levels, separated by a layer of gravel and cement, yielded pottery obviously of Antonine date, and below the lower of these two layers

<sup>44</sup> Carlisle is another obvious instance; cf. J. P. Bushe-Fox in *Archæologia* LXIV 311.

there was an extensive deposit which produced pottery of clear pre-Hadrianic character. In so far as comparative material from stratified deposits exists, the upper Antonine level compares very closely with deposits of period I B on Hadrian's Wall; and the lower level, with the exception of three much earlier pieces best interpreted as waifs from the earliest occupation of the site, produced nothing that was not consistent with an occupation beginning with Lollius Urbicus. It seems unnecessary to quote extensive parallels in support of this point; the illustrations and descriptions should speak for themselves; but we have thought it worth while to note all parallels between pieces from the upper Antonine level and those from I B deposits, where they are clearly defined, on Hadrian's Wall. At present the amount of material is insufficient, on the Wall as well as at Corbridge, to warrant a definite statement; but it seems possible that the beginning of the second Antonine period, clearly to be associated here with the activities attested by the inscriptions of Calpurnius Agricola (p. 286 below), and with the joint reign of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, was the occasion for the work of renovation on the Wall which has long been recognized and described as period I B.<sup>45</sup>

The lowest level of all, some of the material from which was covered by the clay-and-cobble foundations of the earlier Antonine period, yielded a rich series of pottery, both samian and commoner wares, which forms a useful supplement to the material from Chesterholm published earlier in this volume.<sup>46</sup> While the series extends up to the time of Hadrian, as the associated coin-evidence indicates, it seems to stop abruptly at the point from which the deposits on the Wall start; there could be no clearer picture of the break in the occupation of the site than that given by the contrast between this material and that from the overlying Antonine stratum.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. AA<sup>4</sup> VII 169 f.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. pp. 222-37 above.

It will be convenient to give the list of stratified coins from the early level at this point; we are indebted to Mr. Percy Hedley for the following note, the preparation of which was not lightened by the poor condition of the coins :

1. *Denarius* of Titus, A.D. 79 (39 S 1, L-IV).
2. *As* of Domitian, A.D. 81-96 (as no. 1).
3. *As* of Domitian, A.D. 81-96 (as no. 1).
4. *Sestertius* of Domitian, A.D. 81-96 (as no. 1).
5. *As* of Domitian, A.D. 81-96 (39 S 7, L-IV).
6. *Denarius* of Domitian, A.D. 90-91 (as no. 1).
7. *Dupondius* of Hadrian, A.D. 119-121 (as no 5).

It is immaterial whether the last coin was dropped at the close of the first occupation or, as some may prefer to think, at the time when the site was being re-occupied under Lollius Urbicus; but the early complexion of the rest of the short series, and in particular the absence of coins of Nerva or Trajan from a deposit which yielded undoubtedly Trajanic pottery, is most remarkable. And the pieces of samian ware of Trajanic type included in the early deposit (fig. 13, 8-10) are, though not unexpected, a welcome reinforcement to the argument, now widely accepted, that the Roman hold on Scotland, where such types do not occur, had come to a close before the reign of Trajan.

Fig. 7. Pottery of the second and third centuries.

(a) *Deposits later than the construction of the existing buildings on site 39.*

1. 39 N 3. Wall-sided mortarium in light buff ware, pink in fracture; sparse white grit, mostly worn away. This vessel, like no. 8 below and a close parallel at *Birdoswald* (no. 8), immediately underlay the secondary floor which we assign to the Constantian reconstruction, having been in use up to the destruction of the building at the close of the third century.

2. 39 S 1, in a secondary drain. Black fumed cooking-pot, whose rim-section suggests that it may belong to the early years of the fourth century rather than the latter part of the third.

3. 39 N courtyard. Black polished cooking-pot rim of typical third-century style (cf. *Denton Hall* 15); there are one or two unpublished examples from *Camelon* in the National Museum of

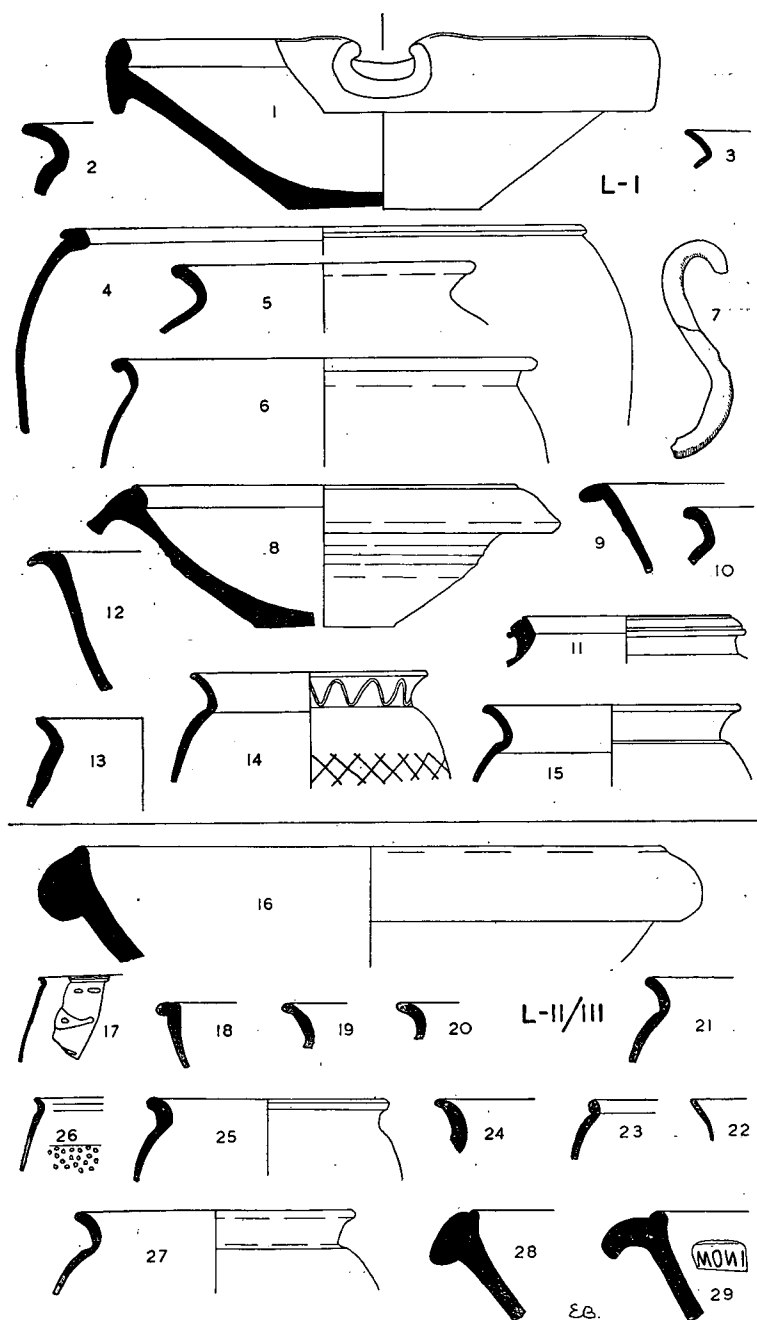


FIG. 7. POTTERY OF THE SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES. (1.)

Antiquities in Edinburgh, which we take to indicate Severan re-occupation of that fort rather than the emergence of the type before the close of the second century.

4. 39 S 4, over the original floor and sealed by a tank. Much of a large storage vessel, once probably grey, but now, through burning, a clear reddish buff. A parallel, in grey ware, occurs among the material from Binchester, as Mr. Kenneth Steer informs us.

5. As no. 4. Jar rim in hard ware, rough to the touch; the out-bent rim accords with a date in the third century. Now reddish buff, but probably originally grey.

6. As no. 4. Rim of a wide-mouthed jar, in fine grey ware, polished.

7. As no. 4. Coarse drab ware. Both ends of this S-shaped object are broken away; we have found no parallels, but suggest that it may have been the ornamental handle of a large goblet.

8. 39 N 3, immediately below the secondary floor. Mortarium in fine pipe-clay ware with yellowish slip-coating and small black grit thickly sprinkled over the interior. *Wroxeter* type 118; an unpublished example of the same type, from building IV in the *vicus* at Housesteads, immediately underlay the secondary floor in that building, whose reconstruction must also be assigned to the time of Constantius.

9. 39 N, from pit (see PLAN) cut in the west side of the north-east bastion foundation. Platter rim in hard, blue-grey ware, such as is often met with in early fourth-century deposits (cf. Newbold in *AA<sup>3</sup> IX* 74).

10. As no. 9. Cooking-pot rim in similar fabric.

11. East of eastern tank, over Severan road-metalling and sealed by Constantian flags. Rim of an unusual jar, in polished light brown ware, blue-grey in fracture. We have noted no parallels, but the stratified position demonstrates a date in the third century, which is not unsuitable in view of the fineness of the fabric.

12. 39 N courtyard. Black fumed platter rim, of the type characteristic of the third century, with a slight groove which converts the inner edge of the rim into something resembling a bead.

13. As no. 12. Rim-fragment from a small cooking-pot of native type, in a rough, hard ware with white grit in the body of it.

14. As no. 12. Black fumed cooking-pot, of the high-rimmed type which is found frequently in early third-century deposits; note the persistence of the wavy line on the neck (cf. *Denton Hall* 13).

15. As no. 12. Grey fumed cooking-pot.

(b) *Pottery from the second-century levels underlying the existing buildings on site 39, in deposits where it was not usually possible to distinguish between the two levels—L-II/III.*

16. 39 S courtyard. Buff ware mortarium of *Wroxeter* type 94, examples of which have already been noted in a late second-century context at Corbridge (*Corbridge 1911* no. 108; cf. *Benwell 1926* no. 7). No example of this form in the Corbridge collection bears the stamp of any potter.

17. As no. 16. Rim-fragment from a Castor-type beaker, chocolate coloured, with matt surface and appliqué decoration.

18. As no. 16. Grey fumed platter rim, with very faint lattice decoration.

19. As no. 16. Grey fumed cooking-pot rim.

20. As no. 16. Rim in similar ware.

21. 39 N, from occupation layer cut through by the north-east bastion. Black fumed cooking-pot.

22. As no. 21. Grey fumed beaker.

23. As no. 21. Blue-grey Castor-type rim.

24. 39 N, over the cobbling covering the demolished (Lollian) wall and below the foundation of the north-east bastion. Grey fumed cooking-pot.

25. As no. 24. Black fumed cooking-pot.

26. East of eastern tank, below Severan roadway. Reddish buff beaker, smoothed, with large and coarse rough-cast decoration.

27. As no. 26. Black fumed cooking-pot.

28. 39 N courtyard. Mortarium rim in orange tinted, hard light buff ware, grey in fracture. The fabric and rim-section resemble the work of the potter **BELLICVS**, who is represented by nearly thirty stamps in the Corbridge collection; his two main types of rim are figured in *Corbridge 1911* nos. 102 and 105, both from the late second-century deposit on or below site xxx.

29. As no. 28. Mortarium rim in drab ware, with brown grit thickly sprinkled inside, showing part<sup>47</sup> of the retrograde stamp of **MINOMELVS** (and at *Newstead*, p. 266, 16; *Mumrills*, p. 528-9, misread; *Rough Castle*, unpublished: five other examples at Corbridge).

Fig. 8. Pottery from the deposits below 39 S 1.

(a) *From the upper Antonine deposit, overlying the gravel and cement layer that covers the remains of the earlier Antonine walls—L-II.*

1. Mortarium in reddish buff ware, grey in fracture, with cream

<sup>47</sup> See the case of **LOCCIVS**, p. 274 below.

wash and dirty white grit. Cf. *Birdoswald turret* xvi 3 and p. 347 ("another fragment, from floor I B, of pink clay with cream surface wash, is much like no. 3").

2. Rim of a samian platter, form 18/31.
  3. Black fumed platter rim.
  4. Similar rim; in this case the cross-broaching is replaced by an undulating line.
  5. Grey fumed platter rim.
  6. Grey fumed platter; note the absence of any chamfer at the base.
  7. Black fumed beaker; cf. *Chapel House milecastle* 55 (period I B).
  8. Cooking-pot in black fumed ware, with external wavy line. For the shape cf. *High House turret* xvi 43 (period I B).
  9. Grey fumed cooking-pot.
  10. Similar ware.
  11. Similar ware.
  12. Large jar, similar ware.
  13. Native type cooking-pot, with rudimentary bead-rim, in hard, coarse ware embodying white grit. A somewhat similar vessel, as yet unpublished, comes from a second-century deposit at Housesteads milecastle.
- One piece of figured samian from this deposit is illustrated as fig. 13, 11, and described on p. 284.

(b) *Between the foundation-level of the early Antonine wall and the later layer of gravel and cement which seals its remains—L-III.*

14. Carinated bowl rim of pre-Hadrianic type and fabric (cf. *Throp* 4; *Chapel House milecastle* 34 is a less close parallel). No doubt this piece, which is very worn, is a stray from the earlier occupation of the site (like the small piece of South Gaulish figured samian from the same level, fig. 13, 6), rather than a survival still in use in the Antonine period.
15. Grey fumed ware, bead-rim cooking-pot.
16. Black fumed platter.
17. Grey fumed platter.

(c) *From below the foundations of the early Antonine wall, and immediately above the subsoil sand—L-IV.*

18. Cooking-pot in the pre-Hadrianic fabric (ii).<sup>48</sup>
19. South Gaulish figured samian bowl, form 37; cf. fig. 13, 7 and p. 284 below.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *Fourth report on excavations at Chesterholm-Vindolanda*, above p. 229.

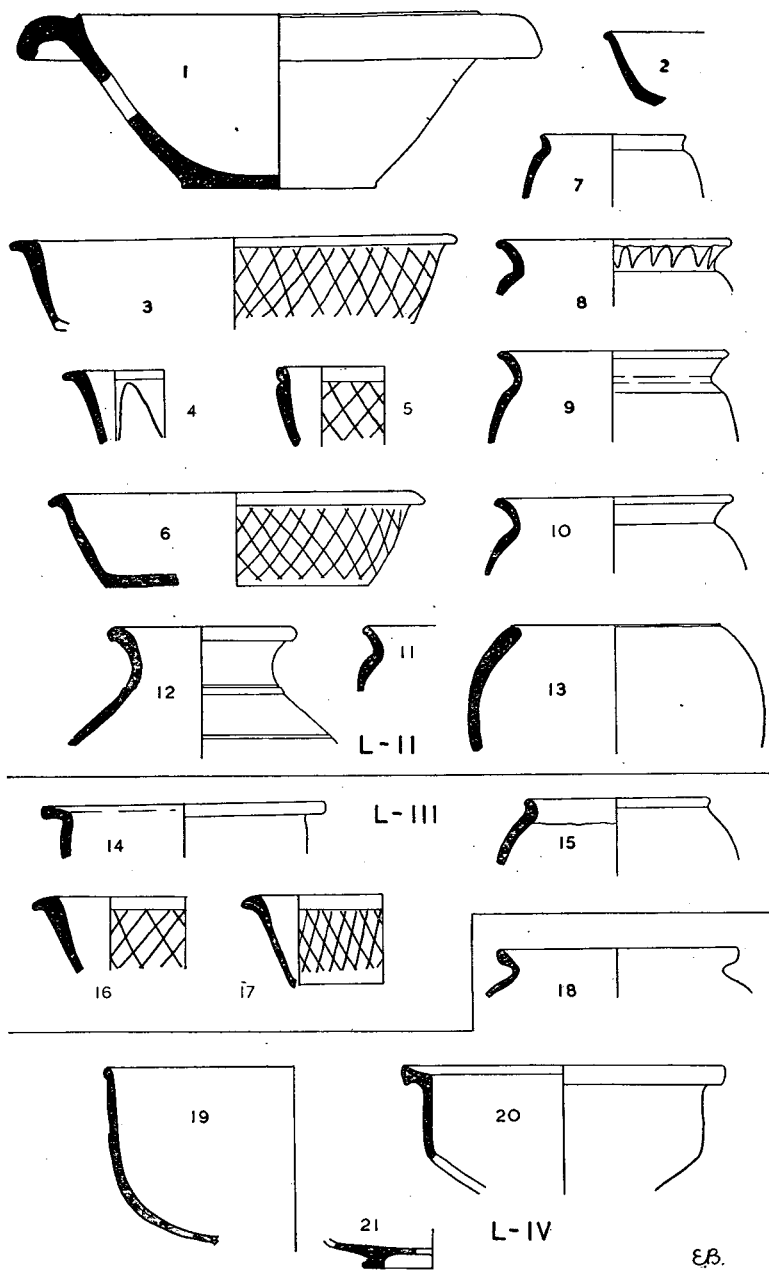


FIG. 8. DEPOSITS BELOW 39 S I. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ .)

20. Carinated bowl in fabric (ii).

21. Footstand of a Central Gaulish samian bowl of form 37, with part of a potter's signature in cursive letters between the foot and the decoration. Insufficient remains to identify the potter, but the practice of signing bowls in this position was most popular in the time of Trajan (cf. Oswald in JRS xvii 162 f.), to which this small and neat footstand clearly belongs.

This deposit also produced fragments of rustic ware, window-glass, part of a glass bottle, and parts of a jug, of which most was found in the soak-pit cut in the subsoil sand (fig. 11, 1 and p. 277); the figured samian is illustrated below (fig. 13, 3, 7, 9 and 10).

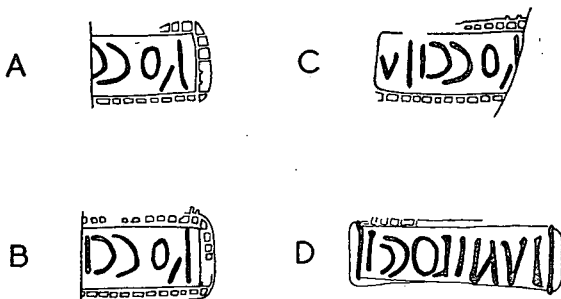
Fig. 9. Pottery from the deposits below 39 S 7.

(a) L-II.

1. Black fumed cooking-pot, with wavy line on the neck. Cf. *Appletree turret* xvii 72 (period I B).

2. Black fumed cooking-pot; cf. *Chapel House milecastle* 53 (period I B).

3. Large jar, in hard, dark grey ware, lighter grey in fracture.

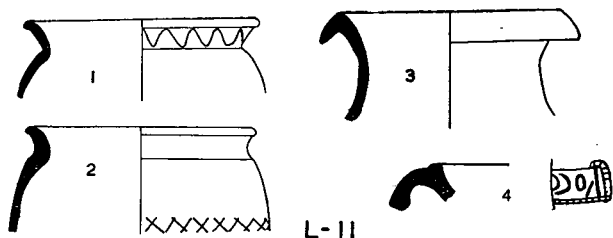


EB.

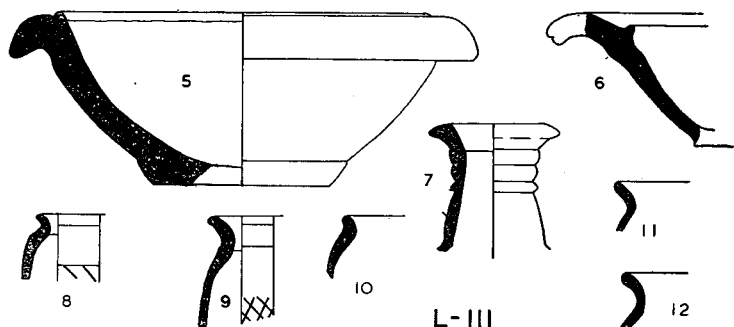
FIG. 10. STAMP-TYPES OF LOCCIUS. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ .)

4. Mortarium rim, in hard cream ware with dark specks in it, stamped **LOCC** retrograde (fig. 10, A). Four other examples of this stamp, all on similar mortaria, are included in the Corbridge collection; another, unpublished, comes from Ardoch.

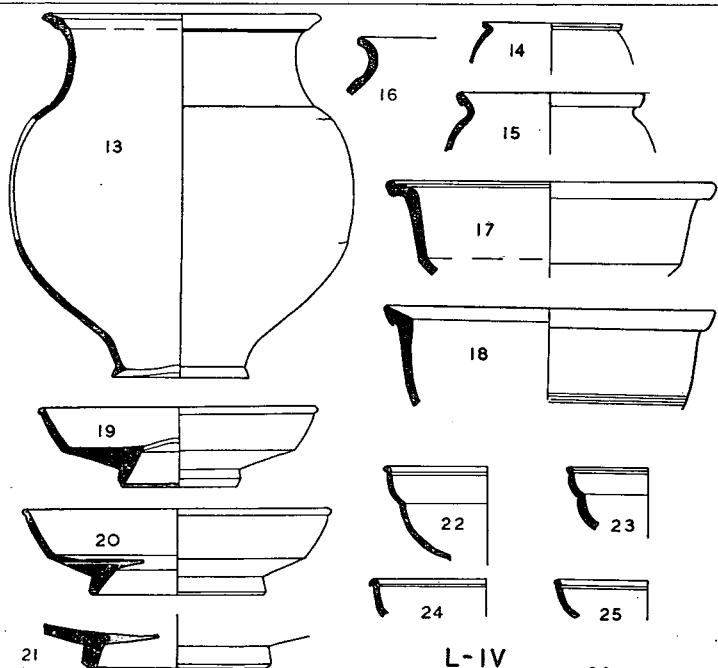
Like many other makers of mortaria, *Loccius* (whose name is clearly Celtic, romanized from the original form *Locco*, which is known as the name of at least one maker of samian ware) was content to use one and the same stamp for mortaria of different sizes; consequently, on a small rim there was room only for a partial impression, as in this case. In three of the other four



L-II



L-III



L-IV

ΕΒ.

FIG. 9. DEPOSITS BELOW 39 S 7. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ .)

instances the stamp reads **LOCCI** retrograde (fig. 10, B), and in the fourth, on the largest rim of the series, apparently **LOCCIM** retrograde (fig. 10, C): in no case is the impression very uniform, as the die has been applied rather carelessly.

Two other mortaria in the collection, one of them with a rim approaching the wall-sided type, have the stamp **IVNI LOCCI** retrograde (fig. 10, D); another, also a wall-side, comes from Rough Castle (unpublished); this stamp may be assigned to a later phase in the activity of the potter, after he had received Roman citizenship; possibly he also made the mortaria, in the same fabric, that have been found at four sites in Scotland (*Mumrills*, p. 528 and fig. 91, 2;<sup>49</sup> *Old Kilpatrick* XVIII B 7 and XIX 3; *Balmuildy*, p. 78 and XLI 14 and 26; Newstead, unpublished) and at South Shields (AA<sup>2</sup> x 274) and Binchester (Hooppell collection),<sup>50</sup> though the stamp **LOCCI.PR** retrograde which they bear is a different one, suited to the larger and flatter rims on which it occurs. Evidence for the potter's working place is lacking; the clay does not look like a local one:

This deposit also produced the piece of figured samian illustrated below, fig. 13, 12.

(b) L-III.

5. Mortarium in reddish buff ware, grey in fracture, with hard, smooth surface, and white grit. Fabric and form are analogous to those of the mortaria stamped by **BELLICVS** (cf. p. 271 above).

6. Mortarium fragment in hard reddish ware with cream slip, and fine white and brown grit. Though much of the rim is missing, its outline can be restored with confidence after a large number of rims in the Corbridge collection, in the same fabric, bearing the stamp of the potter **ANANVS**, whose products occur on a number of sites, from Bainbridge in Yorkshire as far north as Camelon, and from South Shields as far west as Carlisle and Birrens. This deposit indicates that his wares were on the market in the earlier part of the Antonine period.

7. Jug neck in buff ware with cream slip; note the swollen upper lip, typical of the screw-neck jug in the Antonine period.

8. Grey fumed cooking-pot with bead-rim.

9. Black fumed cooking-pot; cf. *High House turret* xvi 39 (period 1 A).

10. Black fumed cooking-pot.

<sup>49</sup> This stamp, like all the others, should be read as retrograde.

<sup>50</sup> Our attention has been drawn to this unpublished stamp, and that from South Shields, by Mr. Kenneth Steer.

11. Cooking-pot rim in the pre-Hadrianic fabric (ii), probably a stray from the earlier occupation. Another stray was the piece of figured samian, fig 13, 6.

12. Black fumed cooking-pot.

(c) L-IV.

13. Much of the rim and base of a jar in fine, thin, black fumed ware of Belgic type; we have not noted a parallel to the form.

14. Rough-cast beaker of the imported type discussed above (p. 234); this vessel has a glossy graphite-coated surface, and is white in fracture.

15. Cooking-pot in grey ware, lighter grey in fracture; cf. fig. 8, 18.

16. Cooking-pot in fabric (ii).

17. Carinated bowl with upturned reeded rim, in hard grey ware, rather coarse to the touch; burnt in places.

18. Carinated bowl in hard, light buff ware, blackened on the rim and outer surface.

19. Samian platter, form 18/31, once with high central kick.

20. Similar platter, nearer the basic form 18.

21. Platter of the large variety of form 18.

22-25. Rim-fragments of form 27.

The same deposit yielded a number of vessels additionally sealed by the foundations of the south early Antonine wall, which was removed in order to recover them; these vessels are illustrated on fig. 11, 3-7. Fragments too incomplete for drawing included part of a bowl of the type *Birdoswald* 59, in hard, light buff ware with traces of mica dusting; a reeded rim in very hard light grey fabric; two or more cooking-pots of rustic type; four or five mortaria; a small fragment of a samian platter, form 15/17; and a quantity of window-glass. The figured samian is illustrated below, fig. 13, 2 and 4.

Fig. 11. Pottery from the earliest occupation of the site.

(a) L-IV.

1. Soak-pit below 39 S 1. More than half of a jug of an uncommon type, which is represented by one example (rather different in shape and fabric) at *Mumrills* (p. 544), by two or more at Colchester (May, *Colchester Pottery* LXVI 314 is a very close parallel) and a few others in Britain and the Rhineland. Hard, drab ware; the handle is missing; a vertical rib adorns the front of the spout, and a collar runs round the neck; above the carination, which gives the type its most distinctive feature, there are two well defined grooves, separated by a slight bulge; the base is neatly moulded.

2. To the west of 39 S 7. Rim of a rough-cast beaker of the imported type discussed above (p. 234, no. 53). The same deposit yielded part of the side of a jug in blue-grey ware with cream-washed surface.

3. Sealed by the (Lollian) wall below 39 S 7. Base of a samian platter, form 18, burnt nearly black. It is stamped **LOGIRNI**; a similar stamp was found at Corbridge in 1910, in a rubbish-pit on site xiv,<sup>51</sup> and the potter is also represented by an incomplete stamp at Carlisle, and two at Camelon (*PSAScot.* LXV 438). *Logirnius* is assigned to the Flavian period by Dr. Oswald in his *Index of Potters' Stamps*; but his stamp has been recorded at Aislingen, whose occupation was mainly pre-Flavian; and the distribution of his wares, recorded by Dr. Oswald (*loc. cit.*), suggests activity in the period Nero-Vespasian and no later.

4. As no. 3. Cooking-pot in soft, reddish buff ware.

5. As no. 3. Hard grey ware cooking-pot, no doubt once rusticated; note the groove at the shoulder (cf. p. 229 above).

6. As no. 3. Large storage vessel in hard, fairly smooth ware; once grey, but most of the pieces have been burnt a clear reddish buff.

7. As no. 3. Half of a mortarium in hard, dark red ware with slight traces of a cream slip surviving. An exact counterpart occurs at Carlisle (May, *Tullie House Catalogue* 148).

8. 39 S courtyard. Cooking-pot rim in fabric (ii).

9. As no. 8. Lid in the same fabric; for the shape cf. the lid from Chesterholm, p. 229 above, no. 21.

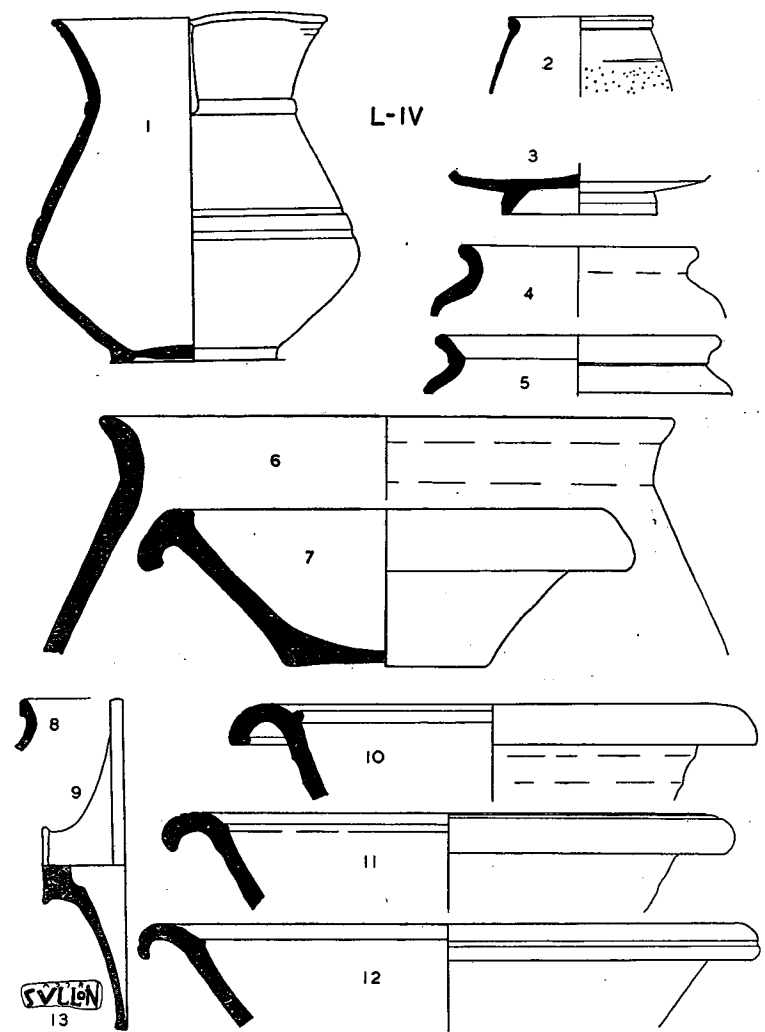
10. As no. 8. Mortarium in hard, dirty white ware.

11. As no. 8. Mortarium with rudimentary bead well below the level of its rim, which hooks over sharply and is slightly undercut. The grooves on the top of the rim seem accidental. Hard, orange-buff fabric, grey-buff in fracture, and rather rough to the touch.

12. As no. 8. Mortarium in the same fabric and of similar form; the rim is rather more upbent from the bead, and the hook rather more abrupt; on its outer side is a shallow groove.

13. As no. 8. Fragment, too close to the spout for a section to be drawn, of a mortarium of the same fabric and form, stamped **SVLLONI**. The occurrence of this stamp, and of the two mortaria nos. 11 and 12, which are clearly the products of the same potter, in a clearly defined pre-Hadrianic deposit, justifies an examination of the large series of mortaria stamped by *Sullonius* (a Celtic name;

<sup>51</sup> AA<sup>3</sup> VII 197; in AA<sup>3</sup> XII 281 it is listed as **LOGIRN M.** The stamp is now missing (as Mr. William Bulmer informs us), so that the true reading cannot be verified.



MORTARIA STAMPED BY SVLLONIVS

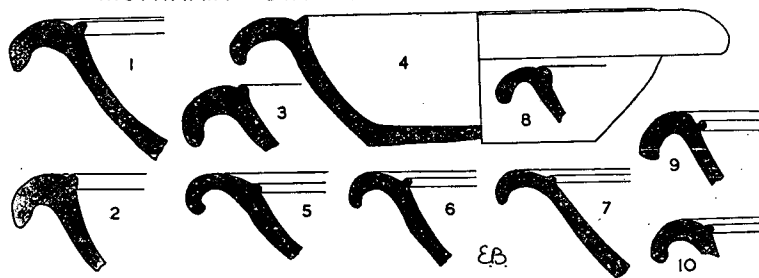
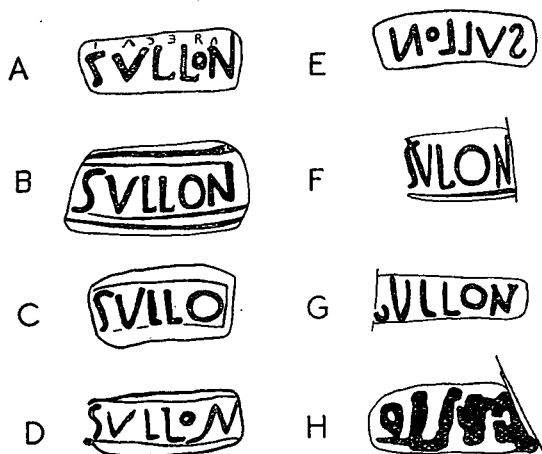


FIG. II. POTTERY FROM THE EARLIEST OCCUPATION OF THE SITE, AND MORTARIA STAMPED BY SVLLONIVS. ( $\frac{1}{4}$ .)

cf. the place-name *Sulloniacae*) that are included in the Corbridge collection.

(b) *Mortaria stamped by Sullonius.*

Altogether there are twenty-seven mortaria from Corbridge (including no. 13 above) on which one or other of this potter's stamps has been impressed; sections of ten rims are illustrated in fig. 11, while the eight principal varieties of his stamp are given in fig. 12. The form represented by nos. 11 and 12 from L-IV and by the stamped rims 5-7 is the commonest;<sup>52</sup> all eight examples of stamp A,



EB.

FIG. 12. THE STAMP-TYPES OF SVLLONIVS. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ .)

and the single specimens of stamps E and H, occur on it. Stamp B occurs on rims 2, 4 and eight others of the same general type. Stamp C appears on nos. 1, 3 and one other (where the terminal *NI* is preserved; presumably the other two impressions, from one of which the type-drawing has been made, represent the use of a broken stamp cut down). Stamps D, F and G occur once each on rims 9, 8 and 10 respectively.

<sup>52</sup> Compare Collingwood's types 3 and 4 (*Archæology of Roman Britain*, 218-19).

The wide variety in the rim-sections and stamps is all the more remarkable in view of the virtual absence of other records of the potter; apart from an incomplete example of a stamp in type nearest to A, on a mortarium somewhat similar to rim 6, at Carlisle (May, *Tullie House Catalogue* 140 and xvii 8, where the stamp is not well represented), we have failed to find any record of *Sullonius*. But there are a few sites where unstamped mortaria closely resembling those of type 5-7 have been found and recorded (*Amble-side*, CW<sup>2</sup> xiv 456 and fig. 15, 42; perhaps *Hardknot*, CW<sup>2</sup> xxi fig. 5, 9; *Templebrough* 197b; *Alchester*, *Antiquaries Journal* vii, fig. 6, 3), and it is probable that he worked on a large scale, and that his stamps will yet turn up on many more sites throughout Britain, rather than that he was merely a local potter supplying sites in the Tyne gap; the period before Hadrian is characterized, so far as mortaria are concerned, by the use of vessels supplied by a few large-scale makers; the local potters of the north of Britain do not seem to have turned their attention to this class of ware for another generation.

The main characteristics of type 5-7 are the rudimentary character of the bead, which comes well below the highest point of the upward sloping rim; the latter bends over sharply into a hook, which is often undercut as in rim 5; occasionally there is an external groove on the outer side of the hook, as in L-IV no. 12; the grooves on the upper part of the rim of L-IV no. 11 have been noted on no other example. Short notes follow on the different stamp-types (fig. 12).

A. The small letters above the main inscription present a difficult problem; that indicated over the N is perhaps not really a letter, and in that case it might be possible to read REGVL, the R being upside down and reversed: in any case, we seem to have here the signature of the man who made the stamp for *Sullonius*, whose own effort at calligraphy is presumably represented by the appalling stamp H, which occurs on a large rim of type 5. If that is the case, it may be suggested that H is the earliest of the stamp-types, followed by A and E (on the same rim-type, and retaining the small o). The small o recurs on D, but the lettering of the stamp and the rim 9 on which it is used stand to one side of the general series. F, omitting one L and merging the first two letters, is suitably adapted to the narrow rim 8 on which it occurs. Rims 1-4 and stamps B and C have obvious affinities; the variation in the relationship between bead and rim in these examples is noteworthy—in no. 2 rim and bead are of the same height, while the bead comes above the rim in nos. 3 and 4, below it in no. 1; it is obvious that great care must be exercised in using shape alone as

a criterion of date, when one and the same potter, in the same phase of his activity (as the stamps demonstrate), could produce such variations in shape.

The fabric of these mortaria is normally a hard, well-baked light buff, though some pieces have an orange tint, and others are almost white; the examples of types 5-7 are mostly better fired than the rest; all are rather rough to the touch.

Fig. 13. Figured samian; all pieces except no. 1 are of form 37.

1. 39 N, section across the northern ditch, at ditch bottom. Part of the side of a bowl of form 29 in the style of **MVRRANVS** (cf. Knorr, *Schumacher Festschrift* 313 and fig. 3, with a closely similar group of animals, separated by a similar row of thin, flat beads from a group of the same leaves, in that case arranged horizontally; this vessel, from Bregenz, bears the stamp of **MVRRANVS**; Hermet, *La Graufesenque*, pl. 66, 4, is even closer to the Corbridge piece, but unstamped). *Murranus*, to whom this fragment must be attributed, was a South Gaulish potter whose work rarely appears as late as the time of Vespasian, though he is represented by undecorated vessels at Rottweil, Corbridge (AA<sup>3</sup> XII 283) and Chesterholm (p. 226 above). The presence of decorated work in his style, as well as his stamp on plain samian, supports the view that Corbridge was first occupied, not by Agricola, but by Cerialis; it seems that there is no site in Wales, let alone Scotland, that has produced a piece of decorated samian so early in style as the present one.

2. 39 S 7, L-IV. Fragment in the style of **GERMANVS**; Vespasianic.

3. 39 S 1, L-IV. South Gaulish, from a worn mould; Domitianic.

4. As no. 2. Two pieces from a bowl in the style of **BIRAGILLVS** and **MERCATO**, both of whom used the Hercules, O. 786. The figure to the right of the upper piece is not given by Oswald or Déchelette; it may be a South Gaulish prototype of O. 224. The *Nile-geese*, *hound* and decorative motifs are typical of Flavian South Gaulish work (cf. Knorr, *Rottweil 1912*, XXVII 1, a near parallel, clearly by the same potter).

5. 39 S courtyard, L-IV. The *lion* charging to right, O. 1400, was used by at least eight different South Gaulish potters working in the period Nero-Domitian (cf. AA<sup>4</sup> XIII 248 and fig. 6, 10); the conventional *leaves* below this animal, the *ovolo* and other decorative details, suggest a date late in the period, which the poor glaze and roughness of execution confirm.

6. 39 S 7, L-III. Fragment in the style of **BIRAGILLVS** (cf. Brecon, S 66 and 69); like fig. 8, 14 it is presumably not a survival,

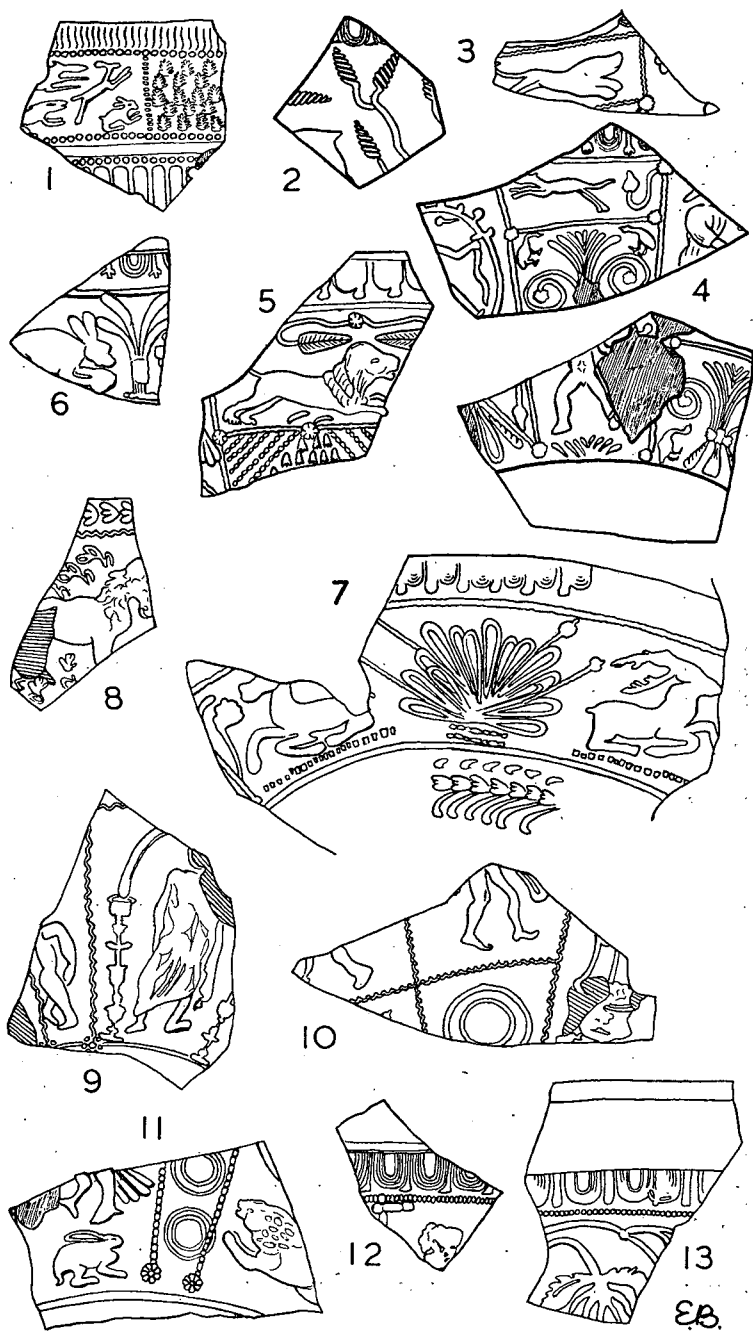


FIG. 13. FIGURED SAMIAN. ( $\frac{1}{2}$ .)

but a stray piece lying about from the earlier occupation of the site.

7. As no. 3. Part of a bowl, whose section is given fig. 8, 19 above; late South Gaulish work. Note in particular the degradation of the *stags*, first introduced by **GERMANVS**, and perpetuated with increasing crudeness by his successors; and the awkward effect of the ornament produced by carelessly repeated application of a single stamp; the *ovolo* and lower *straight wreath* are of the contemporary coarseness. Late first or early second century.

8. As no. 5. Small piece in the style of **IOENALIS** and his school; note in particular the repeated *leaf* in the field, and the fine *wavy line* (cf. JRS xxv 62 f. and xiv 23). Central Gaulish; Trajanic.

9. As no. 3. Piece in the style of the "leaf-cross" potter (cf. AA<sup>4</sup> XIII 254, no. 19; *Caerhun*, S 219; *Colchester Museum Report* 1929, pl. iv 2 and 4), who uses the *prisoner*, O. 1146, *robed figure*, O. 905, *upright ornament*, D. 1095, fine *wavy line* and *seven-bead rosette*. Central Gaulish; Trajanic.

10. As no. 3. Central Gaulish piece, carelessly executed, whose very fine *wavy line* (made with a metal tool) indicates its Trajanic date. To the right, the base of a tripod, D. 1068, is set carelessly on a large *mask*. We have not been able to identify either of the figures whose legs appear.

11. 39 S 1, L-II. Part of a bowl in the least common style of the "potter of the small s" (cf. CW<sup>2</sup> xxxvi 136), whose work occurs regularly on Antonine sites, for example on the Scottish Wall; its occurrence in the second of the two Antonine levels at Corbridge is a useful indication of his relative lateness.

12. 39 S 7, L-II. Fragment from a Lezoux bowl; Antonine.

13. 39 N, from occupation layer cut through by the north-east bastion (found with fig. 7, 21-23). Part of a Lezoux bowl with a scroll of vine-leaves, in the style of **CINNAMVS**. Antonine.

#### IV. INSCRIPTIONS AND SCULPTURES.

In this section we have thought it best to include a number of inscribed and sculptured stones found outside the area with which the preceding sections are concerned, in order that their publication need not be delayed further. All the following items are now displayed in the museum on the site.

1. An inscribed fragment, found among the surface soil between site 39 and the wall enclosing the western

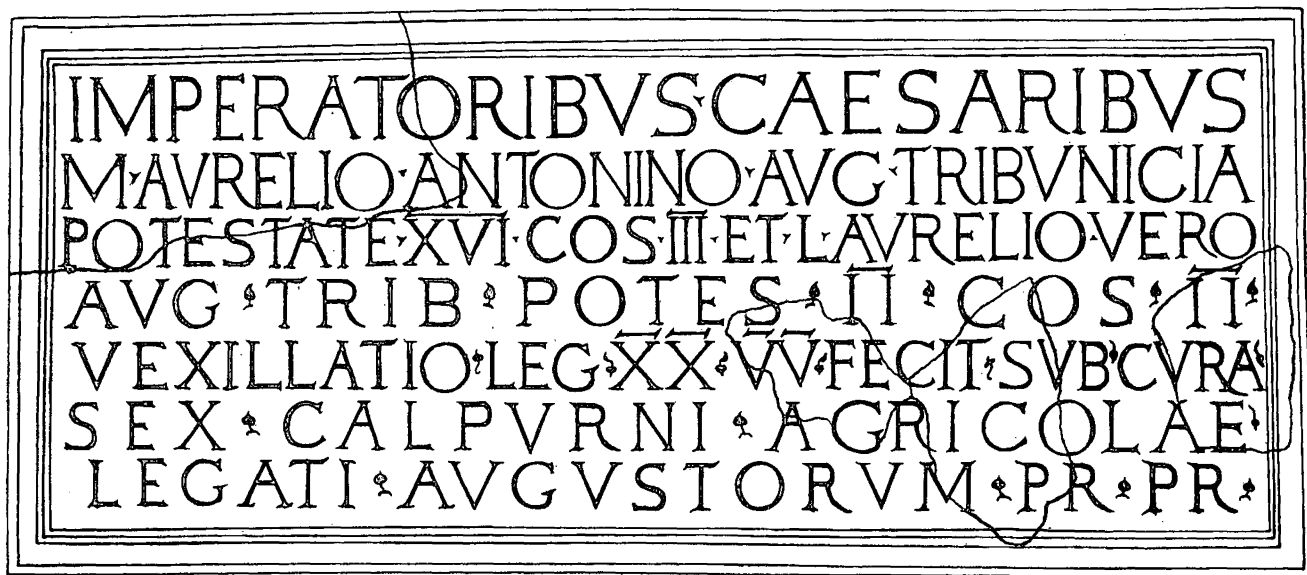


FIG. 14. INSCRIPTION OF CALPURNIUS AGRICOLA, A.D. 162, RESTORED.

compound, proves to be part of an important inscription, two further fragments of which were found in 1912 "on site XL,"<sup>53</sup> while another remains where Horsley saw it, built up in the south wall of the pele tower at the east end of Corbridge village.<sup>54</sup> A comparison of the letters and the surrounding mouldings of the latter fragment proves it to be part of the inscription; the newly discovered fragment just fits on to the smaller of the two found in 1912, and helps to reduce the gap separating it from the other. In Mr. William Bulmer's careful restoration-drawing of the whole text (fig. 14) the outlines of the individual fragments are shown. The letters are notable for their bold serifs; they are neatly drawn and well cut, in two sizes 4 and 3 inches in height; the spacing varies according to the requirements of each line, being widest in the last two lines; the words are separated by leaf-stops which show considerable variation in form.

The restoration, of whose substantial accuracy there can be no doubt, gives a text of considerable interest. It is dated by the sixteenth tribunician year of Marcus Aurelius and the second of Lucius Verus to the period 10th December 161 to 9th December 162, and so gives the first precise date for the presence of the governor Sextus Calpurnius Agricola in Britain;<sup>55</sup> the new fragment shows that it has been set up, not by soldiers of the second and

<sup>53</sup> Published by Haverfield, AA<sup>3</sup> xi 265-6 and EE ix 1382.

<sup>54</sup> C. vii 473.

<sup>55</sup> At the accession of Marcus, a British war was threatening (we are not told if active hostilities broke out), and Calpurnius Agricola was sent against the Britons (*Script. Hist. Aug., Vita M. Aurelii* viii 6-8)—in succession to M. Statius Priscus, whose services were more urgently needed in Armenia. The latter's appointment to Britain had been due to Marcus and Verus, under whom he was still serving as governor of Upper Moesia (cf. Miltner in *Pauly-Wissowa*, iii A col. 2220); so that Calpurnius Agricola cannot in any case have come to Britain before the close of 161. The other British inscriptions mentioning him are not dated (EE ix 1381, Corbridge; C. vii 225, EE ix 1114, Ribchester; EE vii 1050, Chesterholm; C. vii 758, 773, 774, Carvoran—the last three are not building-records), but an inscription from Greatchesters, on which no governor's name survives, is to be dated A.D. 166-9 (C. vii 731, with AA<sup>4</sup> xii 197).

twentieth legions, as Haverfield proposed,<sup>56</sup> but by a vexillation of the twentieth legion alone; the presence of a similar detachment from the sixth legion at Corbridge under the same governor is attested by the fine slab from a temple to "the unconquered sun" found there in 1911,<sup>57</sup> and the activities thus indicated (though not defined in the present inscription) seem best connected with the drastic remodelling of the site, itself almost entirely obscured by the later work of Severus, for which the recent excavations below the buildings on site 39 have provided evidence.

2. Found in clearing the north-east quarter of site 11. A small statue on an inscribed pedestal (pl. XII 1); the head, which was once dowelled on, is now missing. Overall height now  $20\frac{1}{2}$  in.; height of inscribed panel  $4\frac{5}{8}$  in., width  $9\frac{1}{4}$  in. The statue represents a male figure, standing

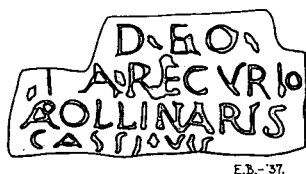


FIG. 15. ( $\frac{1}{8}$ .)

in a relaxed attitude, nude but for a cloak which covers the upper part of the chest and the shoulders, and appears again behind and below the left arm; in the left hand is an indeterminate object, perhaps a cup, while the right hand seems to have been holding something, not now to be made out, over a small pot<sup>58</sup> standing on a miniature altar, 5 in. high, whose base is let into the top left-hand corner of the inscribed panel. The inscription (fig. 15) reads as follows: *deo Arecurio Apollinaris Cassi (filius) v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit)*—"Apollinaris son of Cassius

<sup>56</sup> AA<sup>3</sup> XI 265.

<sup>57</sup> AA<sup>3</sup> VIII 136-7, EE IX 1381.

<sup>58</sup> For a close parallel to its form cf. *Antiquity* x, pl. III facing p. 40 (from the Bartlow Hills, Essex).

willingly fulfils his vow to the god *Arecurius*." *Apollinaris* has the single name that distinguishes the *peregrinus*, but that name, like his father's, is not native but Latin. The god, however, who is met with here for the first time, is Celtic but for the latinization of the terminal letters. Dr. Siegfried Gutenbrunner points out that the first element is *are-*, "in the region of"; the second, *curi-*, comes in the common place-name *Curia*; *arecurius* will then mean "of the district of Curia." *Corstopitum* seems to be hopelessly corrupt; but the Ravenna list records, hereabouts, a place-name *Corie Lopocarium* (432, 5 and 6, ed. Parthey and Pinder), which should represent *Curia* followed by a tribal name in the genitive, *Lopocares*; in this name the first element is the common Celtic *Lopo-* (as in *Lopodunum*), but the second element remains obscure. Dr. Gutenbrunner adds that, palæographically, the corruption from the name given by the Ravenna list to the *Corstopitum* of the Antonine Itinerary is readily intelligible. We may take it, then, that the new discovery supports the Ravenna list against the Itinerary, and that in Roman times the place was called Curia, and distinguished from other places of the same name by the addition of the tribal genitive. It must be added that no other evidence exists for the Lopocares, who may be supposed to have been merged by the Roman administration into one of the *civitates* recorded in Ptolemy's Geography.

3. From the same area. A small "portable" altar, 11 in. high, inscribed in rude lettering *deo Veteri* (fig. 16). The dedicatory's name, as often on altars to this deity (for whom now see R. G. Collingwood, *Oxford History of England* 1, 2nd ed., 1937, 268-9), has been omitted.

4. Unstratified, from site 39. Fragment from a circular panel, surrounded by decoration in relief, with the letters LE deeply cut, and connected by a guide-line (fig. 17); there has never been any further lettering, and we must suppose that for some reason work on the stone was abandoned.

5. Unstratified. The lower part of a robed figure, seated on a throne which stands on a projecting balcony supported by two free-standing columns (pl. XII 2); the total surviving height of the sculpture is  $10\frac{1}{2}$  in., and its maximum width  $7\frac{1}{2}$  in. The workmanship of the piece is good and careful; we are unable to suggest an interpretation.

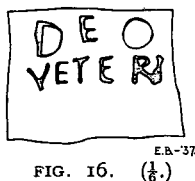


FIG. 16. ( $\frac{1}{8}$ .)

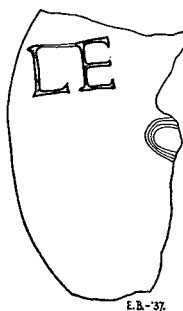


FIG. 17. ( $\frac{1}{8}$ .)

6. Unstratified. Sculptured slab, in low relief, of the shape normal in antefixes; no doubt it comes from the front of a shrine. Height and maximum width 18 in. The relief (pl. XII 3) shows a winged Victory, with a palm-branch in her left hand, holding a long ansate panel in front of her; the panel seems to have been inscribed, but the inscription has been completely erased. She is wearing a long, divided skirt, which covers her right leg only; her left foot rests on a small example of the customary globe. Below, there are two reclining figures: on the left is Neptune, holding an anchor in his left hand and an object that we are unable to identify in his right; he is wearing drapery from the waist downwards; on the right is Mars, helmeted and clad (it seems) in a cuirass with Medusa head, kilt and greaves; he is unarmed, but his right hand points to the panel which Victory is holding.

7. Tombstone, found face downwards, re-used as a paving-stone in the road between site 11 and the wall which encloses the combined compounds. It is 62 in. high and

21½ in. wide. Above the inscription is a figure, remarkable for its remoteness from classical tradition, showing the dead child wearing a dress reaching to its ankles, and clutching a ball in both hands (pl. XIII 1). The inscription itself is difficult to make out satisfactorily; lines 2-4 are in an erasure where (it seems) the mason has had to correct an error in cutting; the letters are slightly cut, and rather weathered, 2-1½ in. high. So far as we can make it out, the reading is as follows:

**D                      M**  
**SVDRENVS**  
**ERIONOMIN**  
**VELLI . . . . ISSI**  
 5. **MEVIXITANISIII**  
**DIEBVS IX**

The child here commemorated died at the age of four years and nine days; it seems to have been a boy, but his name, his father's, and the adverb which describes his way of life require further study than we have been able to devote to the inscription.

8. Tombstone, 54 in. high and 26 in. wide, found in the same circumstances as no. 7 above. Over the inscribed portion are the crude head and shoulders of a figure which requires the inscription to define what it represents. The inscription itself (pl. XIII 2) is exceptionally clearly cut, in letters averaging 3 in. in height; Professor Collingwood points out to us that the form of the lettering has many parallels on British inscriptions of the latter part of the third and the beginning of the fourth century. The reading is clear: *d(is) m(anibus) Ahteh(a)e fil(iae) Nobilis; vixit an(n)is (quinque)*—"To the shades of Ahteha, daughter of Nobilis; she lived five years." Through the good offices of Professor Kurt Stade we have received the following note on the name of the child from Dr. Siegfried Gutenbrunner of the University of Vienna:

The name *Ahtehe*, given by this inscription, is reminis-

cent both of Iberian forms which occur on inscriptions from Aquitania, and of *Matronae*-names ending in *-e(i)h(i)ae* in the Rhineland.

The Iberian parallels are cases of dedications to deities, for example *Artehe deo* (C. XIII 71) and *Fano Herauscorritshehe sacrum* (C. XIII 409). In this case the letters *-ehe* probably indicate an Iberian ending in *-e* (cf. *deus Leherennus* = *Lerennus*), although forms like *Artahe* occur as well. The resemblance of *Ahtehe* to *Artehe* is so close, that one might suspect a slip of the chisel on the new inscription, if it was not cut so very clearly (cf. pl. XIII 2). In itself, it would not be surprising to find grammatical forms peculiar to an Iberian dialect occurring in Britain, since J. Pokorny has proved the strong influence of an Iberian substratum on Irish Gaelic (*Zeitschrift f. celt. Phil.* 16-18). But the occurrence of a purely Iberian form, supposing *Ahtehe* to be one, would be most remarkable, as the inscriptions from the neighbourhood of Hadrian's Wall have hitherto produced nothing of the sort.

An entirely different picture presents itself when we consider the points of contact with the names of *Matronae* in the Rhineland. Britain has produced inscriptions set up by a number of German regiments—of Frisians, Tungrians, Vangiones and other tribes—all coming from the Rhineland, in the centre of which lies the land of the Ubii, with its wealth of monuments to the *Matronae*. We know that there really were Germans serving in these regiments, by personal names such as *Scarm(io)*, *Fersomaris*, *Crotilo*, *Leubasnus*, or *Hnaudifridus*, and by the names of the deities they worshipped—*Mars Thincsus*, *Beda*, *Fimmilena*, *Baudihillia*, *Friagabis*, *Garmangabis*, *Alaterv(i)ae*. And it is no valid objection to connecting *Ahtehe* with such people, to point out that no German regiment is known to have been stationed at Corbridge—to which even Greeks and Orientals found their way.

The names of *Matronae* in *-ehae* and their parallel

forms, like the other names whose root ends in an *-h* suffix, are virtually confined to the Ubii. But there is an inscription, to the *Matronae Cantrusteihiae* (C. XIII 3585), found at Hoeylaert near Brussels—that is to say, in the territory of the Tungrians, who were represented by an *ala* and two cohorts in the army of Britain (cf., for example, C. VII 1073 with EE IX p. 614, from Birrens: *deae Virade[c]thi pa[g]us Condrustis milit. in coh. II Tungror. sub Silv[i]o Auspice praef.*—the Condrusi were a subdivision of the Tungrians). The names in *-e(i)h(i)ae* are formed partly from the names of Germanic tribes and districts (*Hamavehis* from the *Chamavi*, *Textumeihis* from the *Textumus pagus*, “South district,” and cf. the *Texuandri*), partly from Celtic district names (*Mediotautehis*, cf. the Cymric *tud*, “land”; *Lanehiabus*, cf. the Gallic *lānon*, “field,” and the place-name *Mediolānum*, “middle field”). One of these names, which reads *Cantrusteihiabus* on the inscription from the neighbourhood of Brussels already referred to, and *Cantrus[tei]habus* on an inscription from Tetz near Jülich (C. XIII 7880), seems to have been formed from a half-Germanic form of *pagus Condrustis*, the Celtic name of a district which was originally Germanic.

While the stems of these *Matronae*-names take us into the Germano-Celtic borderland, their *-h-* suffix shows that they are Germanic formations, for such suffixes do not occur in purely Celtic territory. The radical form of the Germanic *-h-* suffix is still a matter of dispute. I attempted, in my essay *Die germanischen Götternamen der antiken Inschriften* (p. 134 f.), to show that the sound-value of the *-h-* was *j*, particularly on the basis of those cases in which the forms *-eihae*, *-eihiae*, *-ehiae*, occur alongside *-ehae*. This view is opposed by Walter Steinhauser (*Wiener prähist. Zeitschrift* 23, 173 f.), who wishes to attribute two different sound-values to the *-h-*: where *i* occurs in all, or nearly all, instances next to the *-h-*, he accepts the value, *j*, that I have proposed; but where the spelling is preponderantly or entirely with *-h-* alone, he

gives it the sound-value of a Germanic *h*. In the case of *Ahtehe*, this difference in interpretation is not very important; if it is necessary to assume a radical form which, by Steinhauser's rule, requires an *i*, one might postulate the accidental omission of the *i* in an isolated document such as the present inscription. But it is clear that new discoveries may still be made in Britain, to make a decision in the case of the *Matronae*-names easier.

Still closer than the *Matronae*-names to the form *Ahtehe* is the example of the goddess-name *Avehae* on an inscription from Gleuel near Cologne, as that, too, is in the dative singular: *Ahveccaniis Avehae et Hellivesae Sextii Val. Peregrin. et Val. Felicio fratres ex reditu ipsarum l. p., Muciano et Fabiano cos.* (C. XIII.8161, A.D. 201). This name *Aveha*, if the *-h-* stands for *j*, could be explained either by Germanic *awī*, *aujōs*, "river" (modern German *Au*, "river" or "holm"), or by *auja*, "luck," as on Runic inscriptions.

The many points of contact of the suffix with the Germanic Rhineland make it probable that the stem *Aht-* should be interpreted in the light of the Old-Germanic vocabulary. There the Germanic *\*āhtō-* (in Cæsar's time still to be taken as *\*anhtō-*) suggests itself, with the meaning "judicial pursuit, outlawry" (modern German *Acht*). This word is not uncommon in Scandinavian and West-Germanic personal names, both masculine, as O.N. *Öttarr*, O.E. *Ōththere*, O.S. *Āhtard*, and feminine, as West-Franconian *Āctohildis*. There is no example of such a name attested in a classical source, as *Actumerus* in Tacitus, Annals XI 16, must be emended to *Catumerus* as in XI 17 (Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch*, 61 f.). The falling of the Primitive Germanic *-n-* before *-h-*, and the rendering of the guttural by *h*, as against *Tencteri* and *Bructeri* in Cæsar and Tacitus, is justified by the dating of the new inscription to the third or early fourth century.<sup>59</sup> On the

<sup>59</sup> *H* precedes a consonant in another instance, *Matronae Mahlinehae*, C. XIII 8221 and *Germania* 19, 132.

other hand, the spelling *-ht-* tells against *Ahtehe* being Celtic, for the Celtic *-akt-* (from which the British *aeth-* was formed by way of *aXt-*) is always rendered by *act-* or *axt-* in classical times.

*Ahteha*, then, is probably a pet name derived from a Germanic compound like *Āhtard* or *Āctohildis*. In the case of a pet name it is reasonable to infer a *-j-* derivation, so that *Ahtehe*, like *Avehae*, may be placed alongside the *Matronae*-names in *-e(i)h(i)ae* or at least alongside those of them which in Steinhauser's view have a *-j-* suffix. On the other hand, one should not forget that Germanic pet names in *-h-* did exist; but among the names that have been preserved they play no part. That may be due to the increasing weakening of the Germanic *h*, for in pet names a strongly articulated final sound was favoured, as the geminations show. But if that were the only reason for the disappearance of the *-h-* suffix, the alternate forms in *-g-* should be more strongly represented, as in the adjectival suffix *-ag-*, *-ig-*. Thus, in the case of *Ahtehe* we probably have a *-j-* derivation, so that, just as in the *Matronae*-name *Fahineihiae*, the first *h* renders the Germanic *h*, while the second represents the rendering of a *-j-*.

If the name of *Ahteha* is Germanic, this presupposes that in the family to which she belonged Germanic was spoken; otherwise she would have been given a pet name formed on Latin lines, for example *Ahtilla*. In that case, Germans must have been more strongly represented among the population in the neighbourhood of Hadrian's Wall than one might infer merely from the names of gods, soldiers or regiments. In this connection one is reminded of the fact that the Tuihanti on both inscriptions to Thincsus and the Alaisiagae at Housesteads call themselves *civēs Tuihanti*, and that Conventina, the goddess of the spring at Carrawburgh, may have been named after a *conventus Germanorum* (or *Cubernorum?*), in the sense of a "community of citizens."<sup>60</sup>

<sup>60</sup> *Germanischen Götternamen*, p. 49 f.



INSCRIPTION AND SCULPTURES FROM CORSTOPITUM.





1



2

TOMBSTONES FROM CORSTOPITUM.





Fig. 1.  
CORBRIDGE: SECTION 1. SOUTH OF WEST TANK SHOWING  
EARLY TURF RAMPART THREE FEET HIGH. THE WEST  
COMPOUND WALL IS IN THE BACKGROUND.



Fig. 2.  
CORBRIDGE: LATER GATEWAY TO UNITED DEPOT,  
LOOKING WEST. THE NORTH-EAST ANGLE OF THE  
EARLIER WEST RAMPART IS IN THE BACKGROUND.





Fig. 1. CORBRIDGE: LATRINE OF SOUTHERN HOUSE, SITE 39, LOOKING WEST. ONLY ROBBED FOUNDATIONS REMAIN ON NORTH SIDE.



Fig. 2. CORBRIDGE: NORTH FRONT OF LATER GATEWAY TO UNITED DEPOT, LOOKING SOUTH-EAST.



