BY ERIC BIRLEY AND J. P. GILLAM.

[Read on 28th April 1948.]

The following abbreviations are employed :

AA^{3,4} Archæologia Aeliana, 3rd, 4th series.
CW² Cumberland and Westmorland Transactions, new series.
JRS Journal of Roman Studies.

Well-known excavation-reports are referred to by the name of the site in italics; it may be convenient to note the following equations:

Corbridge 1911=AA³ VIII (1912), 137-263.

Corbridge 1938=AA⁴ XV (1938), 243-294.

Newstead refers to James Curle's list of mortarium stamps in A Roman Frontier Post and its People &c. (1911), 266 and Wroxeter to Mr. Bushe-Fox's series of mortarium types in the Society of Antiquaries Research Committee Report, no. 1 (1913), 77.

The collection of stamped mortaria found at Corbridge from 1906 onwards is not only larger than any single series so far published, but is of exceptional value for its large number of closely datable pieces. The material was first prepared for publication by the first-named writer, during the twelve months immediately preceding the recent war, the outbreak of which interrupted his studies and made it necessary for him to lay the project on one side; further material has begun to come to hand, now that excavations at Corbridge have been resumed, but we have thought it

best to confine ourselves at present to the stamps available up to the end of 1938 rather than to delay publication still further by including the latest finds, the study of which would necessarily involve considerable additional work. We have made use of a certain amount of material from the past two seasons' excavations to establish the dates of one or two individual potters, but in general we have neither listed nor drawn stamps found in 1939 or later, nor have we taken such stamps into account in the statistics of pieces assignable to particular potters. Our list includes virtually all stamps found during the excavations of 1906-1914 and 1934-1938, and preserved in the museum on the site (where they are available for inspection); among the illustrations we have included a few stamps from Chesters museum, Tullie House museum (Carlisle) and one or two other sites, which happened to provide clearer or fuller impressions than were available in the Corbridge collection.

We deal with each potter in the following order : name, place of manufacture, date or period of activity, distribution of products, description of fabric and grit, analysis of stamp types and, finally, such further points as may emerge; some of these stages are omitted in the case of potters of whom insufficient is known, but the order of treatment is retained in all cases. For the date we give in round figures as close an estimate as possible of the period during which each potter's wares were in use-and being broken-using the evidence of stratification (particularly at Corbridge itself), distribution and fabric, but seldom of rim type. Corbridge is a primary site for the dating of pottery, and it will be remembered that Mr. Bushe-Fox's pioneer series of mortarium types¹ was largely based on Corbridge material; the quarter of a century which has elapsed since the publication of his series has seen a precise and firm dating of the successive periods of occupation at Corbridge, and has made it possible for us to date many stamps directly; in the process, we have been able to revise Mr. Bushe-Fox's dat-

¹ Wroxeter I, (1913), 76-80.

ing of rim types in several cases. In the tables of distribution we have followed Dr. Oswald's example² and excluded all references to publications or museums; a complete record of the evidence is maintained in our index of potters' stamps on mortaria at Hatfield College, Durham, and we shall be glad to supply any reference on request. The figures in brackets are the numbers of examples from each site; the Corbridge figures are correct up to the end of 1938, those for other sites up to 31 March 1948 (as far as the evidence at our disposal allows); we shall be grateful for any additional information which readers may be able to supply. The section immediately to the left of any stamp in the illustrations is usually of the rim on which the stamp itself occurs, and is always of a rim on which there is a stamp of that particular type; where a stamp is described as restored, two incomplete impressions, demonstrably from the same die, have been conflated.

I. ANAVS.

North of England

160-180.

Bainbridge, Benwell (2), Binchester (2), Birdoswald (3), Birrens (rim only), Carlisle (3), Chesters (4), Corbridge (24), Housesteads, Newstead, Risingham and South Shields (5).

Fine hard clay, light reddish-brown with pinkish grey core, sometimes with a soft white surface slip; the grit, mixed in size, is usually brown and white and begins at the bead.

There are six stamp types: A—ANAVS F, the AN and AV ligatured; B—apparently ANAV retrograde, with meaningless additional strokes; C—ANAV retrograde; D—ANAV[; E—A]NAVS F, the AV ligatured; F—ANAVS F, the second A unbarred and ligatured with the V (not drawn: cf. *Tullie House Catalogue*, pl. XVII, no. 1).³

> ² Index of Potters' Stamps on Terra Sigillata (1931). ³ CW² XVII (1917).

The commonest rim profile is that figured with the stamp A (i); the groove round the extremity of the rim, while not exclusive to this potter, is characteristic. Stamp B, the commonest, occurs on both grooved and ungrooved rims. Stamps c and D are only known by single examples, c impressed on either side of the spout on a grooved rim, D on an ungrooved rim; the two examples of F are both on grooved rims. With the possible exception of E, all the stamps are undoubtedly from the same workshop; that figured as A (i) is from Carlisle, and the remaining examples illustrated all come from Corbridge. It may be noted that the potter has not yet been attested on the Antonine Wall.

2. G. ATISIVS SABINVS.

Gallia Narbonensis.

70-100.

Caerleon, Corbridge; St. Remy; Vindonissa.

Rim type *Wroxeter* 50 (cf. *Corbridge 1911*, no. 112). Smooth ware, whitish buff throughout; very small dark grit.

3. ATPACA (?)

Place of manufacture unknown.

140-200.

Corbridge only (s 352).

Rim type *Wroxeter* 62. Sandy, pinkish buff throughout.

4. AVSTINVS.

North-west of England.

140-160.

Ambleside, Balmuildy (2), Bar Hill, Birrens, Camelon, Cardurnock (2), Carlisle (2), Carzield, Chesters, Corbridge (3), Durisdeer, Lancaster, Milton (Tassiesholm), Mumrills and Newstead.

Hard, brick-red with blue-grey core, white surface slip; multi-coloured large grit.

There are four stamp types, each in two lines : A—AVSTN MANVS; B—AVSTN MAN[; C—AVSTIN FIICIT; D—AVSTIN FECIT.

The style of lettering and the fabric of the mortaria leave no doubt that the different dies were all used in the same workshop. Both drawing of type A are from Carlisle; B (i) is from Birrens, B (ii) from Carlisle, c from Corbridge and D from Carzield (B and D both occur at Corbridge).

5. BELLICVS.

North of England.

180-200.

Chesters, Corbridge (28), Mumrills and Rough Castle.

Fine hard clay, greyish buff, often with dirty pink surface; small multi-coloured grit, with its upper limit well below the bead.

The stamp type, BELLICVS F retrograde (with the first six letters in a formal panel and the s and F disposed as decorative details at its end), is too long for a complete impression of it to occur on this potter's characteristic short rim. Our first example is restored; the remainder are all Corbridge specimens. Twelve examples of his stamp were found on site xxx in 1911; the level was unsealed, and contained some fourth-century pottery, but the bulk of the material is attributable to the destruction of A.D. 196, and it seems a fair inference that his wares were in use or on sale at Corbridge in the closing years of its second Antonine period (c. A.D. 162-196). The occurrence of his stamp on two Antonine Wall sites, and of his characteristic rimsection on others, suggests that the final withdrawal from that frontier did not take place immediately after its restoration by Ulpius Marcellus.

The palm-branch stamp (vi) occurs on a rim of very similar fabric and shape.

6. BDT.

Place of manufacture unknown.

140-200.

Corbridge (5) only.

The fabric resembles that of ANAVS, but has a yellow surface slip. The two examples illustrated are partial impressions from the same die. The significance of the letters BDT is not known.

7. BRVCIVS.

Probably Continental.

Chesterton (near Peterborough), Chesterholm, Corbridge (2), Templebrough, Wilderspool and Wroxeter.

Rim as *Wroxeter* 38; hard buff, sandy clay; sparse large white, opaque grit. The stamp type is BRVCI F retrograde.

8. BRVSCIVS.

Possibly Gloucester.

Aldborough, Corbridge (4), Duntocher, Gloucester, Mumrills, Newstead and Wroxeter (2).

Rim as ANAVS, B (ii); buff fabric with orange slip, medium sized reddish brown grit. The stamp type (not drawn, but cf. *Newstead*, no. 3) is BRVSCI.

9. BVDEA.

Place of manufacture unknown.

Benwell, Corbridge (4) and Newstead.

Rim as *Wroxeter* 114; hard, whitish buff throughout, fairly sandy; there is red paint round the stamp. The stamp type is BVDIIA retrograde, sometimes impressed twice, and always incomplete (not drawn, but cf. *Newstead*, no. 26).

IO. BVTR .

Place of manufacture unknown.

140-200.

140-200.

Corbridge only (US 19).

Rim style and fabric not noted (the piece has been mislaid). The last letter is not quite certain (not drawn).

II. CAIHS.

Place of manufacture unknown. Corbridge and Newstead.

Μ

140-200.

80-100.

140-200.

Rim as *Wroxeter* 54; grey, with red surface and white slip. The stamp is clearly legible, but its interpretation is uncertain (not drawn, but cf. *Newstead*, no. 15).

12. COERTINVS.

Place of manufacture unknown. 140-200.

Corbridge only (s 314).

Rim as *Wroxeter* 18; hard, orange throughout, with white or buff slip; grit large and white; this is a rare example of the shape of a Flavian mortarium copied by an Antonine potter in his own fabric. The stamp type is COERTINVS retrograde.

13. CRICO (?)

South Carlton, near Lincoln.

Balmuildy, Birdoswald, Bothwellhaugh, Chesterholm, Corbridge (2), Newstead (2), Rough Castle and South Carlton (4).

Hard white clay, with a thin sprinkling of flinty grit; an irregular groove round the extremity of the rim is a characteristic feature.

Two stamp types have been noted: A—apparently IRICOE, with a long tail to the C; B—apparently LRICOF, with a solid O.

The stamps are very similar, and together are quite distinctive; four examples (as against one hundred by VOROLAS) were found by Mr. Graham Webster in a kiln at South Carlton; we retain his reading of the name in our heading, for convenience, for want of a certain improvement on it.

14. CVDRE.

Corbridge.

160-200.

180-200.

Chesterholm (2), Chesters (3), Corbridge (19), Newstead and South Shields.

Rim type Wroxeter 22. Dirty yellowish buff clay, with

a rust-coloured slip, sometimes over the whole vessel, but usually confined to the area of the stamp; large, sparse multi-coloured grit.

There is only stamp type, CVDRE retrograde in bold letters, which join the plain rectangular border; it is never found completely impressed. The first example illustrated is restored; the second shows double impressions of the latter part of the die: the drawings are all of Corbridge examples. In 1939 a complete mortarium was found there, with DRE doubly impressed on either side of the spout, and CVD once opposite the spout. The fabric and rim-section both closely resemble those of the potter SATVRNINVS (II), who is known to have worked at Corbridge.

15. CVSEC.

Place of manufacture unknown.

160-200.

Corbridge (4) only.

Rim-section either as illustrated or similar to BELLICVS (iv); the fabric is orange with white or cream slip, sometimes with grey core; the grit, small and multi-coloured, begins well below the bead.

The stamp type, CVSEC retrograde, is either the beginning of an otherwise unrecorded name, or an abbreviation of *tria nomina*, C. V(alerius) Sec(undus).

16. DNC.

Probably North of England.

140-160.

80-120.

Balmuildy, Chesters and Corbridge (2).

Hard, brick-red clay with blue-grey core, thick white slip; mixed grit (the fabric resembles that of AVSTINVS). The meaning of the stamp type, DNC, is unknown.

17. DOINVS.

Probably Continental.

Castleshaw, Chester (3), Colchester, Corbridge, London (several), Ribchester, Verulamium and Wroxeter (2).

Rim type Wroxeter 38, buff sandy fabric, showing close affinity to BRVCIVS.

The only Corbridge stamp is DOINV; on other sites the stamp DOINVS, with the N reversed, has been noted.

18. DOCILIS (I).

North-west of England.

120-160.

Balmuildy, Birdoswald, Campfield, Cardurnock (6), Carlisle (2), Chesters (2), Moresby, Newstead and York.

The fabric is identical with that of AVSTINVS, but the rim-section is usually clumsier and with a far more developed bead.

There are two stamp types: A—DOC F, very roughly executed; B—DOCI E.

This potter is clearly to be distinguished from the DOCILIS (II) attested at Brecon Gaer, Caerhun, Heronbridge and Wroxeter; the latter's fabric, rim shapes and stamps are all entirely unlike those made by the present firm.

19. DVBETAVS.

Probably Colchester.

140-200.

Corbridge and Verulamium.

Pipeclay fabric, with sharply broken white and grey grit.

The stamp type, DVBETAVS retrograde in a decorative label, contrasts more than favourably with most of the rather crude northern dies.

20. FELICIO.

North of England.

160-180.

Ambleside (2), Benwell, Chesters, Corbridge (6) and South Shields.

Rim type *Wroxeter* 54; the fabric of some examples closely resembles that of AVSTINVS, except that the grit is

darker; other examples show some affinity with the work of CVDRE.

The stamp type is FELICIO F (not drawn, but cf. *Benwell*, fig. 6 B).⁴

21. GRATINVS.

Probably Midlands.

140-180.

Balmuildy, Birrens, Corbridge, Leicester (4), Lincoln, Margidunum (2), Newstead (3), Templebrough, Wilderspool and York.

Fairly hard, smooth white fabric, closely resembling that of other potters with a similar distribution and presumed origin.

The stamp type is GRATINI which, as in the case of BELLICVS above, is never found in a complete impression; the restored example is from Birrens, the other from Corbridge.

22. IBR.

Probably North of England.

140-160 (?)

Corbridge and Templebrough.

The rim profile is an exact parallel to the Raetian mortarium Wroxeter 70; the fabric is precisely that of DNC (no. 16 above); here, too, the expansion of the three letters remains an enigma.

23. ICOTASCVS.

Probably Midlands.

140-180.

Ambleside, Cardurnock (2), Chesters, Corbridge (2), Old Kilpatrick, Shenstone (Staffs), Wilderspool and York.

Rim profile as *Wroxeter* 110, but with more of a bead; unusually hard, smooth blue-grey fabric, with white slip.

The stamp type is ICOTASCI retrograde (not drawn, but cf. *Cardurnock*, no. 5).⁵ It seems possible that the initial I may be the abbreviation of *Iulius*, and the potter will then have had the cognomen *Cotascus*.

⁴ AA⁴ IV (1927), 167. ⁵ CW² XLVII (1948), 118f. and fig. 14.

24. IMEMITVOBON.

Probably Midlands.

160-200.

Corbridge (2), Leicester (2), London, Mumrills and Newstead (2).

Rim type *Wroxeter* 58; hard buff fabric, with dull yellow slip, red grit.

The stamp type is IMIIMI/TVOBON retrograde (not drawn, but cf. *Newstead*, no. 24, for a partial impression); its significance remains to be determined.

25. IVNIVS.

Probably Midlands.

140**-20**0.

Benwell, Brough under Stainmore, Corbridge (2), Ebchester, Gloucester, Heronbridge, Leicester, Mancetter, Margidunum, Old Penrith and Wroxeter (3).

Rim type *Wroxeter* 58; soft buff fabric, with buff slip; bright reddish-brown grit dying away well short of the bead.

There are two stamp types: A—IVNIVS and B—IVNIVS retrograde (Corbridge has only produced examples of type A).

26. LOB.

Place of manufacture unknown. 140-200.

Corbridge only (S 98).

Rim type *Wroxeter* 46; orange fabric, rather gritty, with white trituration grit.

The stamp type (not drawn) is LOB with decorative stops between the letters.

27. LOCCIVS.

Midlands.

140-200.

Ardoch (2) B and C, Balmuildy (5) A, Binchester A, Corbridge (9) B, C and D, Kenchester A, Margidunum C, Mumrills A, Newstead A, Old Kilpatrick A, Rough Castle D,

Sawtry A, Shenstone (3) A, C and D, South Shields A, Tiddington B or C and Watercrook C.

The fabric of the Corbridge examples is fairly consistent: it is usually cream throughout, resembling that of MINOMELVS, with small specks of black grit in the body of the clay; the trituration grit is large, sparse, bright red in colour and beginning well below the bead. Some examples are red with a white slip, but they are linked to the white mortaria by the use of the same die.

There are four stamp types: A—LOCCI PRO retrograde (not drawn, but cf. *Balmuildy*, pl. 40, 9 and 10, and *Kenchester*, pl. 38, 2); B—LOCCIIV retrograde, probably intended for LOCCI M (not drawn, but cf. *Corbridge 1938*, p. 274); C—LOCCI VIBI retrograde; D—IVNI LOCCI retrograde.

This is an exceptionally interesting group of stamp types. The style of the stamps is fairly uniform : all include the word LOCCI and all are retrograde; B and C are so similar to each other that they must have been cut by the same workman and at about the same time, while D compares with B and c in such a way as to suggest that it was cut either by a different man, or by the same man at a very different stage in his career : there can, however, be little doubt that these three stamps come from the same workshop. Stamp A is markedly different in style, but there is no good reason to suppose that it represents a different firm. The variety in rim shapes is very striking : the first two sections illustrated are so vastly different that one might have been inclined to regard them as the products of two entirely different potters, separated by a number of years-but they carry the same stamp, and are in closely similar fabric. Three different pairs of names are attested : Iunius Loccius, Loccius Vibius and Loccius Proculus; site evidence and rim shape combine to mark out the mortaria stamped IVNI LOCCI as the latest, while those stamped LOCCI PRO seem on balance likely to be somewhat earlier than the rest. It seems possible, therefore, that we have to do with three generations, (a) Loccius Proculus followed by (b) his son Loccius

Vibius followed by (c) his nephew or cousin *Iunius Loccius*; in any case, a long period of activity is indicated, during which the stamp types A, B, C and D were taken successively into use.

28. LEGVI or LEGVLI.

Place of manufacture unknown. 80-120.

Caistor by Norwich and Corbridge (2).

Rim type *Wroxeter* 38, but somewhat less deeply hooked; fabric is buff sandy; grit mixed, mainly white and grey.

The stamp type at Corbridge is LEGVI, the G closely resembling a reversed D; the more complete impression at Caistor, apparently from the same die, was read as TEGVLI by Professor Atkinson: the true reading and significance remain uncertain.

29. MA.

Place of manufacture unknown. 140-200.

One stamped example from Corbridge.

Exceptionally hard and neat, smooth red vessel with grey core and thin, dead white slip.

30. MAR.

North of England.

160-180.

Chesterholm, Chesters and Corbridge (2).

Red ware, with thick white slip; large multi-coloured grit.

There is probably only one stamp type, MAR F bordered above and below by crescent ornaments within a rectangular frame, though there are minor differences in detail between the impressions illustrated (one from Corbridge, the other from Chesters). Names beginning *Mar*- are too numerous for a certain expansion to be offered; the distinctive crescent ornaments no doubt served as a trade-mark.

31. MARCELLVS.

Probably Colchester.

140-200.

Corbridge and York.

Rim type *Wroxeter* 114; pipeclay fabric, closely resembling that of DVBETAVS.

32. MARCVS.

North of England.

140-180.

70-100.

Corbridge (3) only.

Brick-red fabric with grey core, yellow slip; mediumsize black grit. The stamp type is [M]ARCVS, never more fully impressed.

33. MARINVS.

Lugudunum.

Chester, Corbridge, Leicester, London, Newstead, Silchester (2), Templebrough, Verulamium (2) and Wroxeter.

Rim type *Wroxeter* 34; hard, sandy, pinkish buff fabric; white grit.

This potter used several stamp types and counter-stamps; we have listed only the sites on which the single stamp MARINVS in neat lettering occurs. The counter-stamps LVGVDV EECIT (*sic*) and F LVGVDV (not represented at Corbridge) establish his place of manufacture beyond doubt (not drawn, but cf. *Newstead*, no. 17).

34. MARTIALIS.

North of England.

140-200.

Carlisle and Corbridge.

Rim type *Wroxeter* 102; red fabric with white slip; large, multi-coloured grit, thick on the bottom of the vessel and thinning out towards the bead.

The stamp type is MAR in large letters, followed by TIALIS in much smaller letters on another line; the second stamp illustrated comes from Carlisle.

35. MARTINVS (I).

Colchester.

Canterbury, Colchester (2), Corbridge (2), London (2), North Ash and York.

Rim similar to those of VITALIS, but with a higher bead; yellowish pipeclay fabric, resembling those of CRICO and MINOMELVS; small, sharply broken white and grey grit.

There are two stamp types: A-MARTINVS F and B-the same retrogade, both in small, neat lettering within a decorative frame (not illustrated, but cf. *May*, *Colchester Pottery*, p. 240 and fig. 7, 15).

36. MARTINVS (II).

Continental (probably Lugudunum). 70-100.

Corbridge (2), London (several) and Verulamium.

Rim type *Wroxeter* 38; whitish buff, sandy ware, with white grit.

The stamp type, both impressions of which at Corbridge are fragmentary, was MARTINI, the TI ligatured.

37. MASCVLVS.

North of England.

140-200.

140-200.

Catterick, Corbridge, Housesteads and Mumrills.

Rim type Wroxeter 58; hard red fabric with grey core.

There are two stamp types: A—MASC[as drawn and B the same, retrograde, with the MA ligatured; neither occurs more complete.

38. MATVGENVS.

Lugudunum.

70-100.

Alchester, Aldborough, Brockley Hill, Caerleon (2), Carnarvon, Corbridge, Holt, London (4), Silchester, South Shields, Verulamium, Wilderspool and Wroxeter.

Rim type *Wroxeter* 38; fabric as MARTINVS (II) and other Lugudunum potters.

There are three stamp types: A-MATVGENVS in two lines (the division falling between the G and E), with

counter-stamp FECIT; B—the same in one line (no complete example noted); C—MATVGIIN[retrograde.

39. MATVTINVS.

140-200.

140-160.

North of England.

Chesters, Corbridge (3) and Inveresk.

Pinkish grey ware with small, sparkling white grit.

The two stamp types, neither of which has been found complete, are read as MATVTI[retrograde.

40. MESSORIVS MARTIVS.

North of England.

Midlands.

Chesters (3) and Corbridge (10).

Reddish brown, slightly gritty fabric, sometimes with pinkish grey core and cream slip; grit small, black and white.

There are two stamp types: A—MIISSOR MARTI M retrograde, in two lines, with an additional s disposed as a decorative detail after the final M (this stamp has never been found complete, and there are minor differences between the various impressions of it); B—MESSORIVS MARTIVS F, in two lines, in very small lettering. The first example of A is restored; the first of B comes from Chesters, the remainder are all from Corbridge; the two incomplete examples of B are impressed on the same rim, on either side of the spout.

41. MINOMELVS.

140-160.

Corbridge (6), Leicester (3), Mumrills, Newstead, Rough Castle, Shenstone, Wroxeter and York.

The rim type is particularly distinctive; the fabric is yellowish white (closely resembling that of GRATINVS), with small black or brown grit.

There are three stamp types : A—MINOMELVS retrograde; B—MINOMELVS; C—MINOMILVS retrograde. In most cases the rim is too short to take a complete impression of the die.

42. MINVCIVS.

Place of manufacture unknown.

140-200.

Corbridge and Newstead (2).

There is no exact *Wroxeter* parallel to the rim, which is short and curved, with a high bead; the fabric is sandy buff, with sparse multi-coloured grit.

The stamp type, MINVCIVS with NV ligatured, is in particularly neat lettering (not figured, but cf. Newstead, no. 18).

43. MORICAMVLVS.

Probably Continental.

70-120.

Cave's Inn, Colchester, Corbridge, London (several), Verulamium and Wroxeter.

Rim type *Wroxeter* 38; buff, sandy fabric, white grit. There are several stamp types, closely resembling each other, and seldom completely impressed; a counter-stamp FECIT has been noted also.

44. MOSSIVS.

Perhaps Colchester.

160-200.

Birrens, Corbridge, Lincoln, Rough Castle and Wroxeter.

Rim type *Wroxeter* 102; dead white clay, small black grit.

The present stamp seems best read as M]OSSIVS, not retrograde but with the letter s reversed throughout; the other stamp type (not represented at Corbridge) is MOSSIVS retrograde.

45. RBIVS.

Place of manufacture unknown. 140-200.

Bothwellhaugh, Corbridge (3) and York.

Pipeclay fabric, grit mixed in size and colour. The complete stamp is RBIVSI', presumably to be read RBIVS F: the potter's true name remains obscure.

46. RVCCIVS.

Probably Continental.

70-120.

Chesterholm, Corbridge, Godmanchester, London, Silchester and Wroxeter.

Rim type Wroxeter 38; sandy buff fabric (not drawn, but cf. Wroxeter, III, no. 54).

47. SARRVS.

Hartshill (Warwicks).

140-180.

Aldborough, Ardoch, Balmuildy, Bar Hill, Birrens, Camelon, Corbridge (15), Hartshill, Lanchester, Leicester, Lincoln (2), Margidunum, Newstead, Rough Castle, Shenstone and Templebrough.

Though the rim-sections vary greatly from vessel to vessel, the fabric is more consistent, with two main varieties: the first (and more usual) is a fine, hard pinkish buff with cream slip, its grit a mixture of large brown and a little white, while the second is a pipeclay fabric very similar to that of MINOMELVS. There are six different stamp types, all reading SARRI: in three cases there is a stop between the two R's, and in two cases palm-branches separate the first and second, and second and third letters. We hope to devote a short paper to SARRVS elsewhere; meanwhile it will be sufficient to note that he produced at least thirteen different types of rim-section in a very wide typological range (one example being almost identical with the second rim figured under SVLLONIACAE below), but there is no reason to doubt that all come from the same workshop.

48. SATVRNINVS (I).

North of England.

140-200.

Chesters and Corbridge (2).

Orange colour throughout, with large brown and grey grit.

There are two stamp types: A—S]ATVR, with VR ligatured; B—SATVR bordered above and below by small circles

in series. The fabric of the two Corbridge specimens leaves no doubt that the stamps, though different, represent the same workshop; but no point of contact is provided to permit its connection with that of the Corbridge potter of the same name, no. 49 below.

49. SATVRNINVS (II).

Corbridge.

160-200.

Corbridge (7) and Newstead (2). Dirty, yellowish buff clay, sometimes with pink core and orange surface slip; brown and grey grit.

The original die, from which the stamp SATV (with reversed s, unbarred A and small v) was obtained, was found at Corbridge in 1911 and may be seen in the museum there; there is no reasonable doubt as to the correct expansion of the name thus abbreviated.

50. SECVRVS.

Place of manufacture unknown.

180-200.

Corbridge (4).

Hard fabric, red throughout, with dead white slip; small brown and grey grit.

The stamp type, which has not occurred complete, is SECVRVS (the VRV ligatured); the very distinctive shape and fabric have been noted in deposits of the close of the second century at Corbridge. Cf. also CIL XIII 100006, 85 (Anthée near Namur : SECVRVSF).

51. SENNIVS.

Midlands.

160-180.

Bowness on Solway, Carlisle, Corbridge (6), Dowkerbottom Cave, Lancaster, Margidunum, Templebrough (2) and Wroxeter (17).

Rim type *Wroxeter* 54; smooth pinkish buff throughout, with red grit.

The stamp type, SENNIVS, is often doubly impressed;

it is too long for the width of the potter's normal rim, and commonly appears either as SENN or, more commonly, as NNIVS.

52. SENV.

North of England.

140-200.

Chesters (2), Corbridge (3) and Housesteads.

Rim type Wroxeter 58; red fabric with white slip.

The stamp type, OSENV, presumably stands for o(fficina) followed by the potter's name in an abbreviated form.

53. SIMILIS.

Probably Midlands.

140-200.

Balmuildy, Benwell, Carlisle, Corbridge (3), Maryport, Newstead, Old Kilpatrick, Templebrough and Wilderspool.

Rim type *Wroxeter* 118; pipeclay fabric with rustcoloured wash; red and black grit right up to the bead.

The stamp type, SIMILIS retrograde, is often doubly impressed (not drawn, but cf. *Benwell*, no. 5).

54. SOLLVS.

Probably Continental. 70-100. Alchester (2), Colchester, Corbridge, Ewell, Holt, Leicester, Lincoln, London (several), Mancetter, Silchester,

Verulamium, Wroxeter and York.

The rim is an even deeper hook than Wroxeter 34 or 38; the fabric is a sandy buff with white grit, such as is usual with Lugudunum mortaria.

The stamp type is SOLLVS F or SOLLVS FEC (the EC being laterally inverted).

55. SVLLONIACAE.

Brockley Hill (Middlesex) (?) 100-120.

Carlisle and Corbridge (28).

Hard, whitish buff ware, often with an orange tinge and sometimes gritty; the trituration grit is usually small,

copious and opaque white, but is sometimes mixed with black.

Ten stamp types have been identified to date (for the first eight cf. *Corbridge 1938*, fig. 12); all are either abbreviated or incompletely impressed, most of them appearing as svllon or svllon1: stamp type A seems to carry the name of a potter (apparently REGVL(vs), in very small letters) as well. The new types are: J—the normal abbreviation, svllon, from a die not hitherto recorded; K—an incomplete impression of a longer die, in larger letters than usual, s]vllonIAC[retrograde, the v and c being incompletely impressed. The example of J comes from Carlisle, that of K from Corbridge.

It may be noted that no mortaria so stamped were found in the recent excavations at Brockley Hill, the *Sulloniacae* of the Antonine Itinerary; but the mortaria found there, stamped MILVS/FIICI retrograde=Melus feci, are closely similar in fabric and style. It seems clear that in the present case we have to do with a place-name and not (as assumed in *Corbridge 1938*, p. 280) the name of a potter.

56. VALENS.

Probably Colchester.

160-200.

Chesters (2) and Corbridge.

Rim type *Wroxeter* 102; pinkish buff ware with faint orange slip.

The neat stamp, VALIINS retrograde in a decorative panel, is much like some of the undoubted Colchester stamp types.

57. VIATOR.

Probably Continental.

70-120.

Caistor by Norwich, Colchester, Corbridge, Hambleden (Bucks), Ilkley, Slack, South Shields, Templebrough (8) and Wilderspool.

Rim type *Wroxeter* 18; whitish buff, sandy ware reminiscent of that of the Lugudunum potters.

The stamp type, VIATOR, is matched by a counter-stamp FECIT.

58. VITALIS.

Lincoln.

100-120.

Benwell, Chester, Corbridge (2), Derby, Leicester, Lincoln (several), Newstead and Wroxeter.

The fabric is a rather coarse creamy white; the rim type often approximates to that of G. ATTIVS MARINVS.

There are four stamp types: A—VITA[LIS] repeated on successive lines; B—VITALIS on the first line, VITALIS F retrogade on the second; C—VITALIS retrograde; D—VITALIS. Of these, c and D have only been noted in a kiln at Lincoln, the former once and the latter several times; the type drawings are of pieces from Corbridge (A), Wroxeter (B) and Lincoln (c and D).

The occurrence of this potter's stamps at both Newstead and Benwell is noteworthy; the former example must have arrived at the site towards the end of its second pre-Hadrianic occupation, while the Benwell example may justly be regarded as a survival—comparable with the survival of an occasional carinated bowl with reeded rim, or a rustic-ware cooking-pot, in a Wall fort (or with the three or four pieces of South Gaulish figured samian also from Benwell).

59. VOROLAS.

South Carlton, near Lincoln.

180-200.

Aldborough, Corbridge (2), South Carlton (100) and Templebrough.

Buff, sandy ware with orange slip; an irregular groove round the extremity of the rim often occurs on this potter's mortaria, as on those of no. 13 above.

There are four stamp types: A and B—VOROL F; C— VOROLAS retrograde; D—VOROLATIS retrograde. Stamp A alone occurs at Corbridge, impressed twice on a rim fragment; for the Lincoln examples cf. JRS XXXIII, 73.

Ν

60. RAETIAN MORTARIA.

The Corbridge collection includes numerous examples of a series of mortarium types which never carry a potter's stamp, but are clearly the products of a single factory. The fabric is a fairly hard, porous clay, brick-red throughout; the surface of the rim, and the inside of the vessel down to a distinct margin, are covered by a crimson glaze, which has in the past been described as a "haematite wash," but that is not an accurate description, for it is a true glaze, similar to that on samian ware, though harder and darker. The interior of the vessel, below the margin, and the exterior, below the rim, are unglazed. Each vessel has diametrically opposed lugs, or handles, on the rim, and a neatly moulded spout. Almost all examples have a groove on the upper and outer surface of the rim, which stops short of the lugs and spout; the internal bead is low and vestigial. The grit, confined to the unglazed area of the interior, is medium-sized and chocolate-brown in colour.

The stratified examples from Corbridge are all from the second Antonine level (c. A.D. 162-196); an example from Birrens probably belonged to the period A.D. 158-196 at that site; parallels from the milecastles of Hadrian's Wall belong to period II (third century), so that the type was in use both before and after A.D. 200. It is an imported one, occurring principally in Raetia (where it was probably made) and the neighbouring districts of Upper Germany; it seems possible that it was not brought to Britain by way of trade, but in the kit of troops transferred to the island, as under Julius Verus and again in the time of Severus. An example is illustrated in fig. 3.

61. MISCELLANEOUS PIECES.

In addition to the stamps listed above there are 32 rims bearing one form or another of *palm-leaf* or *herringbone*

stamps, in 17 distinct stamp types. The rim types and fabrics vary widely; on the one hand there are typical examples of the deep hook-rim in buff, sandy fabric, characteristic of the Flavian mortaria made at Lugudunum; at the other extreme there are wall-sided profiles which would not look out of place in a fourth-century deposit. The only example illustrated, 5 (vi), is on a rim in the style and fabric of BELLICVS. There are also a number of rims on which the stamps are too fragmentary or too lightly impressed for a reading of them to be recoverable.

The study of mortarium stamps has hardly reached the stage when it would be profitable to formulate general conclusions, but in publishing the Corbridge series we feel justified in drawing attention to certain aspects of the problem and in indicating some of the positive results which are beginning to emerge. The bulk of the material from the site comes from one or other of its two Antonine levels. the remainder from the Flavian-Trajanic layer; within the period of some hundred and twenty years, from start to finish, there were many changes in the sources of supply and in the fabric and style of mortaria supplied to the site, and in many cases it is already possible to assign the work of individual potters to a particular point in the chronological scale: there is little need to emphasize the potential value of such correlation for the wider study of the chronology of other sites, particularly in the north of Britain.

In the Flavian period most, if not all, of the mortaria on the market were imported from the Continent—Gallia Narbonensis and Lugudunum accounting for the bulk of them. Of the potters represented at Corbridge, MARINVS, MARTINVS (II) and MATVGENVS certainly worked at Lugudunum, while the products of BRVCIVS, DOINVS, MORICAMVLVS, RVCCIVS, SOLLVS and VIATOR are so similar in fabric and style that we may be justified in inferring a similar origin for them, even though no continental examples of their stamps have yet been recorded; the Narbonensian group is

only represented by one stamp of G. ATISIVS SABINVS. Towards the end of the first century, a number of potters began to manufacture mortaria in the midlands, basing their products closely on continental models, as is shown by their rim-sections and, to a lesser extent, by their fabric; it may be recalled that the Radlett kiln of the potter CASTVS yielded a single stamp of the Lugudunum potter ALBINVS, whose bold hook-rim he imitated very faithfully. Other British potters assignable to the same period are G. ATTIVS MARINVS and MELVS and, represented at Corbridge, VITALIS and the firm or firms stamping the place-name SVLLONIACAE; it may be worth noting that VITALIS certainly and G. ATTIVS MARINVS possibly worked at Lincoln, where the establishment of mortarium factories may well have been one of the first industrial results of the founding of a colony.

Very little is known about Hadrianic mortaria; it will be recalled that there is no Hadrianic stratum at Corbridge, and stamps certainly assignable to that period are conspicuously rare on Hadrian's Wall: we can only quote two examples, one of SATVRNINVS (III) from milecastle 50 on the Turf Wall, and an unpublished stamp of MESSORIVS MARTIVS from a period IA deposit on the adjoining stretch of stone Wall; a mortarium stamped by the latter potter has recently been found stratified in the first Antonine level at Corbridge (A.D. 139-162), so that he cannot be claimed as a purely Hadrianic manufacturer. DOCILIS (I), one of whose stamps has lately turned up in the first Antonine level at Newstead, is represented by several stamps in the coastal mile-fortlet at Cardurnock in Cumberland, and seems to be an exact contemporary of the latter potter. The fabric of SATVRNINVS (III) seems to be British, but the distribution of his stamps suggests that his workshop was in the south rather than the midlands or north; DOCILIS (I) and MESSORIVS MARTIVS, by contrast, seem to be the first representatives of a northern group of mortarium makers, whose main period of activity falls about the middle of the

second century, and whose distribution area coincides approximately with the northern military zone: it also includes AVSTINVS, DNC, FELICIO, IBR, MAR and MARTIALIS. During the same period, or slightly later, the northern market also received the products of the two South Carlton potters, CRICO (?) and VOROLAS—further evidence for the industrial significance of the colony at Lincoln—whose mortaria resemble the contemporary products of Colchester rather than the earlier Lincoln ware; of the Colchester potters we have been able to identify MARCELLVS and MARTINVS (I) and (in view of their close stylistic resemblance) DVBETAVS, VALENS and, less certainly, MOSSIVS.

Another group of northern potters, represented at Corbridge by ANAVS, BELLICVS, BDT, CVDRE, CVSEC (or C.V.SEC), SATVRNINVS (I) and SATVRNINVS (II), differs in a greater or lesser degree from that of AVSTINVS and his fellows; on present evidence the activity of this group falls somewhat later, in the period A.D. 160-200, ANAVS being the earliest : CVDRE and SATVRNINVS (II) worked at Corbridge itself. In the same period there was renewed activity in the midlands, represented at Corbridge by the products of GRATINVS, ICOTASCVS, IVNIVS, the LOCCII, MINOMELVS, SARRVS, SENNIVS and one or two others (including BRVSCIVS, who may conceivably represent the industrial activities of the third British colony, Gloucester); at present there is no evidence to suggest unbroken activity in that region, from the time of CASTVS and his contemporaries onwards, but with sites like Castor still largely unexamined it would obviously be unwise to exclude its possibility.

By the third century stamped mortaria, apart from strays or survivals, were as rare as samian ware itself. A number of Corbridge vessels may be paralleled in rim style and fabric by third-century examples, but direct evidence for third-century date is lacking; the potters concerned are RBIVS and SIMILIS—and it may be noted that both

potters are represented in Scotland. The explanation is not, perhaps, far to seek: the potters' stamps are trade-marks, advertising the quality of the products of a large number of individual firms, the existence of which might in any case have been deduced from the wide variety of styles and fabrics which are met with in mortaria from Antonine deposits; by contrast, there is a dull uniformity in the mortaria of the third century, and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the industry had by then been rationalized (as it is fashionable to put it nowadays), one or two large firms or factories between them monopolizing the British mortarium market, and thus not needing to brand their products as the independent smaller firms of the second century had done. The historical significance of the change needs fuller consideration than can be given to it here, but it may be suggested that it is to be sought in the recovery of Britain by Severus, and the consequent elimination of the supporters of Clodius Albinus: that might well have led to the confiscation of private businesses and the creation of a state-controlled manufacture in their stead.

The large number of firms concerned, and the small scale on which, to judge by the recorded distribution of their products, many of them must have worked, will serve to explain why the variety of rim shapes is so great in the period from Hadrian to Severus, defeating any attempt to reduce it to any typological sequence, except of a very general and sketchy character; for that reason an accurate dating, within that period, is quite impossible if it is based solely on the apparent stage in a typological series reached by a specific rim-section. Twice recently, for example, rims of the LOCCII (whose Antonine date is not in question) have been mistaken for pre-Hadrianic types in otherwise sound excavation-reports. It must be emphasized that the height of the bead in relation to the rim is of no chronological significance whatever in that period; and rimsections are a useful guide only if studied in conjunction

with fabric, and when each shape is studied separately and linked with stratified parallels: and the value of stamped pieces in the search for genuine parallels thus becomes increasingly clear.

The foregoing observations do not apply to pre-Hadrianic mortaria. Imported vessels, and the earliest British copies, do not vary so much between potter and potter as those of the subsequent period; it is often impossible to assign an unstamped fragment of this early group to a particular potter, but it is usually possible to assign it to a particular school of potters, and to date it reasonably closely : thus, a deep hook-rim such as Wroxeter 34 or 38, or a broad, flat rim such as Wroxeter 14 or 18, may be dated with confidence, even if we cannot deduce which particular continental or early British potter made it. By contrast, a later second-century mortarium can be dated by profile only if it can be assigned to a particular potter. Some types are so distinctive that they can be so assigned : eight examples are illustrated on figs. 2 and 3, in each case from Corbridge specimens (the bases have in some cases been restored), and among other potters whose rim styles are as readily distinguishable are DVBETAVS, MINOMELVS and VOROLAS.

Fabric is at least as important as shape of rim, and is usually a safer guide to a general dating. The pre-Hadrianic imported wares are a whitish buff and somewhat sandy, and are sometimes burnt to a pink or blue shade; their trituration grit is usually small and white. The early British examples are not dissimilar, but tend to be smoother to the touch, and somewhat yellow or orange on the surface. The fabric of the northern potters of the middle of the second century is so consistent that it strongly suggests that they all worked in the same district, while it also allows us to date their products approximately by fabric alone; their mortaria are hard brick-red, often with a blue core, and look to have been made of the laminated boulder-clay still used for brick-making in the Carlisle area—which

would not accord badly with the distribution of the stamps of AVSTINVS or DOCILIS (I), for example. In order to give their products the fashionable white appearance of mortaria from other regions, the northern potters coated them with a thick matt cream or white slip which (at least when the vessel has been buried for eighteen hundred years) is easily rubbed off; by contrast, the contemporary potters of East Anglia and South Carlton produced vessels which are dead white throughout—the geology of their district supplying the reason. There is more variety in the fabric of the later group of northern potters, and the yellowish and somewhat coarse fabric of the mortaria made by CVDRE and SATVRNINVS (II) at Corbridge itself is particularly noteworthy.

It would be out of place here to attempt a detailed study of the names attested by the relatively short list from a single site, but it may be noted that it includes one or two welcome additions to the corpus of Celtic personal names; for example, MINOMELVS and MORICAMVLVS are compounds not otherwise attested, though the component parts were already well known. BRVCIVS, BRVSCIVS, LOCCIVS, MOSSIVS, RVCCIVS and SENNIVS are names whose termination in -ius fitted them for use as Roman nomina, but it is only in the case of LOCCIVS PROCVLVS and LOCCIVS VIBIVS that Roman citizenship can be inferred : MESSORIVS MARTIVS, presumably a Roman citizen, has a nomen of similar Celtic origin. But perhaps the most interesting names are AVSTINVS, COERTINVS and DVBETAVS, in which an inter-vocalic consonant has been dropped in a way characteristic of the Celtic world: AVSTINVS represents AVGVSTINVS, and is apparently the earliest attested case of that particular condensation, familiar to us now in the case of the Austin canons; COERTINVS represents an original COVERTINVS, not itself attested but to be connected with the Gaulish -coveros. while DVBETAVS presumably represents a dialect form of DVBITATVS. Some of the names which at first sight seem to have nothing Celtic about them pretty certainly belong

to the same non-Roman world; thus MARCVS may well mean the Gaulish word for a horse rather than the Roman *praenomen*, while MARINVS and VITALIS are of such frequent occurrence in the Celtic area that they probably represent native names in a thin Roman disguise.



FIG. I $(\frac{1}{4})$.

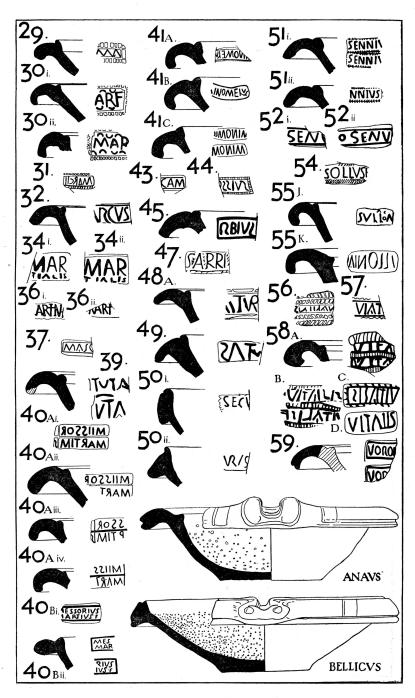


FIG. 2 $(\frac{1}{4})$.

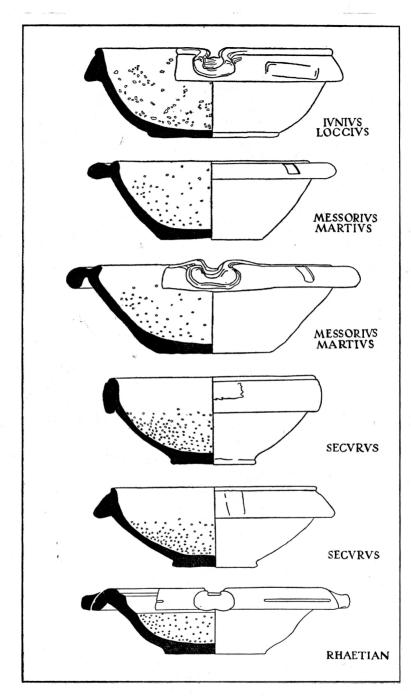


FIG. 3 $(\frac{1}{4})$.