

IV.—THE SHRINE OF THE NYMPHS AND THE GENIUS LOCI AT CARRAWBURGH

D. J. Smith

With a note by Eric Birley on M. Hispanius Modestinus
iuvat integros accedere fontes—LUCRETIUS

The following abbreviations are used:

CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
ILS H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*
LS *Lapidarium Septentrionale*

I. THE EXCAVATION

Carrowburgh¹ is exceptional—indeed, unique—among the sites on Hadrian's Wall in being best known for remains of buildings of a religious rather than a military character. While the fort itself is still virtually untouched, two shrines—one of the local goddess Coventina,² the other of Mithras³—have been excavated with spectacular results in the little valley just to west of it. To these may now be added a third, that of the Nymphs and the Genius Loci,⁴ though, as will be seen, it cannot compare in importance with either of the other two.

It was in 1957,⁵ when workmen of the Ministry of Works

¹ J. C. Bruce, *Handbook to the Roman Wall* (11th ed. by I. A. Richmond, 1957), 105-111, 232; E. Birley, *Research on Hadrian's Wall* (1961), 175-178.

² *AA2* VIII, 1-49.

³ *AA4* XXIX, 1-92.

⁴ The tutelary or guardian deity of the place; literally the generative power or force manifesting itself in the surrounding phenomena of nature. Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiquités grecques et romaines*, s.v. *Genius*; for texts of some ancient literary references to *genii* see H. Wagenvoort, in *Mnemosyne*, 4th Ser. IV, 163-168.

⁵ Birley, *op. cit.* 178.

were setting back the ground about the Mithraeum in order to conserve and display its remains, that a large altar inscribed with a dedication to the Nymphs and the Genius Loci was found. An exploratory excavation,⁶ limited to a square trench immediately surrounding the altar and afterwards filled in again, showed that it was standing *in situ*. By the summer of 1959, however, the filling of the trench had begun to subside, exposing part of the top of the altar, and it became desirable that the stone should be removed to a safer place. Permission to remove it, and at the same time to excavate a larger area around it, was accordingly sought from the landowner, Mrs. W. J. Benson, and from the Ministry of Works, as guardians of the site, and was readily granted. The work, carried out in June 1960, was sponsored by Durham University Excavation Committee and directed by the present writer.⁷ Two paid workmen were employed, but thanks to the voluntary assistance of Messrs. J. Cassidy, N. Forster, J. Inglis, N. Shaw, and my wife, and especially to the enthusiastic co-operation of Mr. C. Anderson, the excavation was completed in three weeks at well below the estimated cost.

I also acknowledge with thanks my indebtedness to Professor Eric Birley for his note on the dedicator of the altar (below, Sec. II), to Mr. J. P. Gillam for discussing the pottery with me, to Miss D. Charlesworth, Mr. B. R. Hartley and Dr. J. P. C. Kent for opinions on the glass, figured and stamped samian ware, and coins respectively, to Miss M. M. Hurrell for the drawings reproduced in this report, to Mr. R. Cessford for lettering the plan (Fig. 1), and to Mr. Noel Shaw for cleaning the bronze figurine and doorkey and for conserving the pieces of wood described below.

It was found that the altar was associated with a well and with a small apsidal structure, and these three features may best be described in this order.

⁶ This excavation was carried out by Mr. J. P. Gillam and others.

⁷ *JRS* LI, 163, Fig. 13, Pl. XIV, 1.

CARRAWBURGH
1960

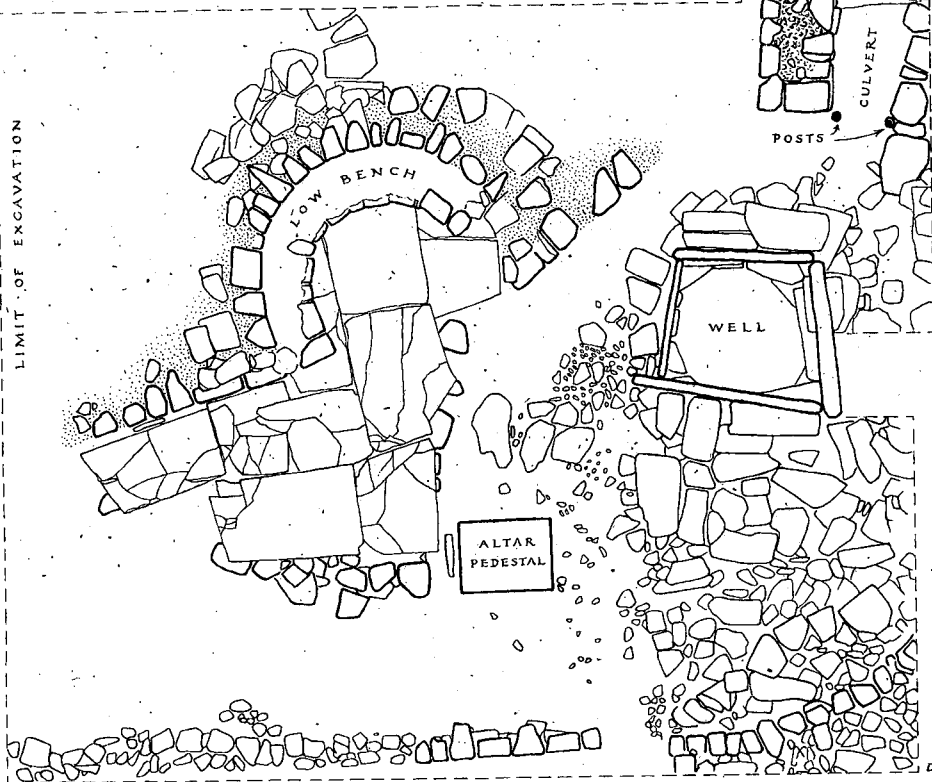
SHRINE OF THE NYMPHS
AND THE
GENIUS LOCI



TRENCH IV

SCALE OF FEET
0 5 10 15

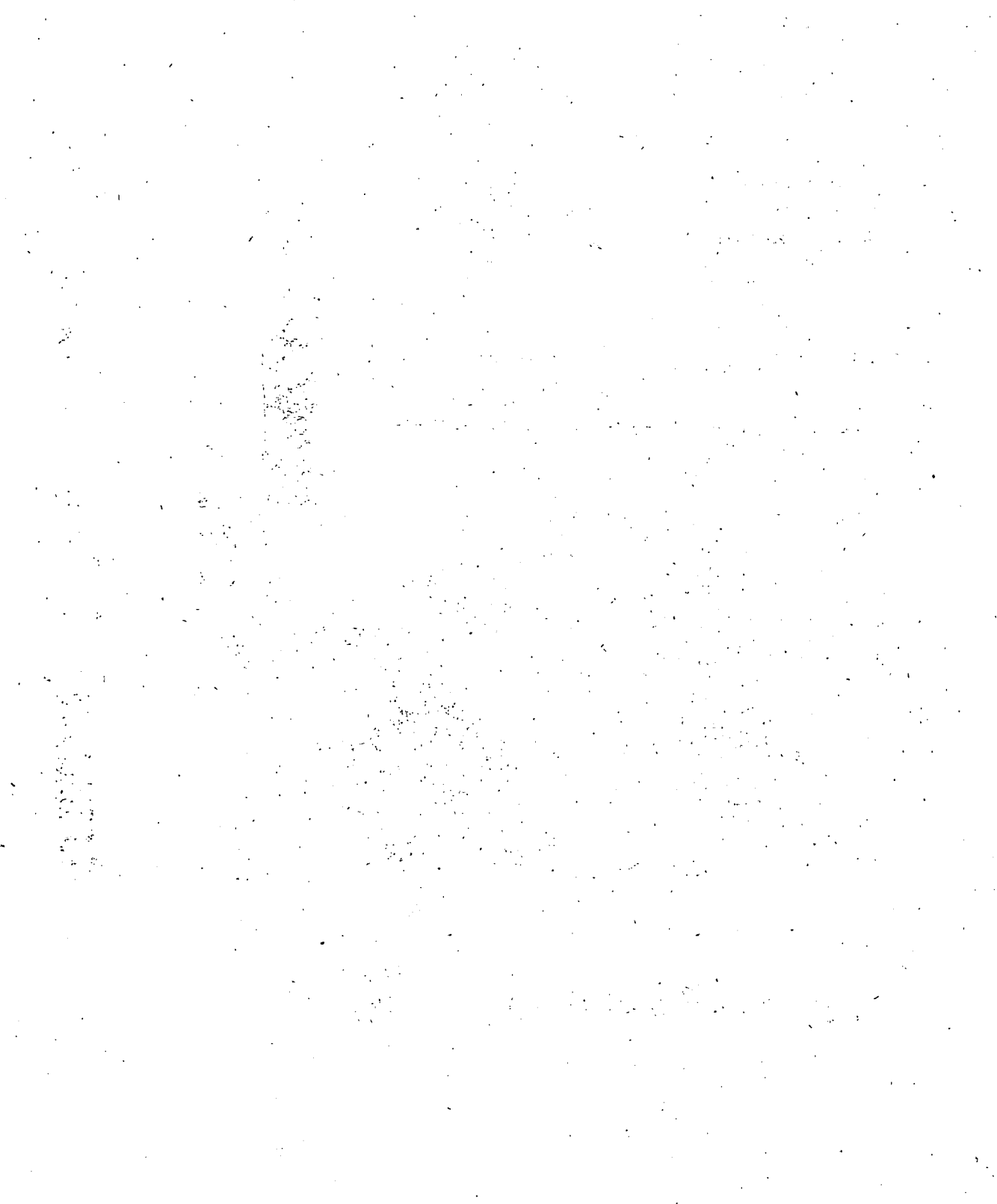
LIMIT OF EXCAVATION



THE MITHRAEUM

DJS del. AC inser.

FIG. 1.



I. THE ALTAR

The altar⁸ was standing on a separate moulded pedestal, 12 ft. 6 ins. from the south-east angle of the Mithraeum and in line with its north-east wall (Fig. 1). Its dimensions are $20 \times 42 \times 16$ ins., those of the pedestal $26\frac{1}{2} \times 8 \times 20$ ins. Both altar and pedestal are of the same buff sandstone. The former was found to have been slightly tipped over, with a chip of stone inserted like a wedge under its base on the south-west side, and had been moved almost off the pedestal (Pl. VIII, 1). The earth under the latter was carefully searched for anything in the nature of a foundation offering, but, apart from a little carbonised wood, probably of no significance, nothing whatever was found. Both stones are now, with all other finds, in the Museum of Antiquities of the University of Durham and the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne.

The dedication (Pl. VIII, 2) is inscribed in identical form and style on both faces of the altar. On one side of the shaft a ewer and a patera are carved in low relief, on the other a ladle (*simpulum*) or strainer⁹ and a cleaver. The ends of the bolsters are decorated with the usual six-petal ornament but there is no trace of any other embellishment, whether carved or painted. The bolsters themselves have been deeply scalloped by the sharpening upon them of weapons or implements.

⁸ *Ibid.* 193, No. 9.

⁹ The handle measures $12\frac{3}{4}$ ins. in length, the bowl $3\frac{1}{2}$ ins. in diameter. Though possibly a strainer, as described in *JRS loc. cit.*, note 13, no perforations are indicated in the bowl. There appears to be no parallel for it on other altars, at least in the north of England, the closest analogies being the paterae with exceptionally long handles—unmistakably paterae, however—on three altars from Chesterholm, *LS* 250, 251, 255. For a (?) ladle from Ornavasso, Italy, cf. H. Willers, *Neue Untersuchungen über die römische Bronzeindustrie von Capua und von Niedergermanien* (1907), Abb. 11, Nr. 7, and for ladles with strainers to fit them, both having long handles, *ibid.*, Abb. 40, Nr. 5, 6, and Abb. 51: I am indebted to Mr. R. P. Wright for bringing this work to my notice. It is conceivable that the object represents a type of ritual shovel (*vatillum*), though it does not resemble the shovel found in the Mithraeum, *AA4 XXIX*, 84, Pl. XV, 3, or that from Litlington (Cambs.), *Jour. Brit. Arch. Assn.*, 3rd Ser., XXII, Pl. VII, 3.

The text of the inscription reads as follows:

NYMPHIS ET GENIO
 LOCI · M · HISPANIUS
 MODESTINVS · PRAEF
 COH · T · BAT · PRO SE
 ET SVIS · L · M¹⁰

It may be translated, "To the Nymphs and the Genius Loci, Marcus Hispanius Modestinus, Prefect of the First Cohort of Batavians, willingly and deservedly (dedicated this altar) on behalf of himself and his family."

Professor Birley assigns the dedicator's period of command at Carrawburgh to the beginning of the third century, after the construction of the Mithraeum¹¹ but before A.D. 213, and beyond remarking that he appears to have been descended from a slave of the provincial council of Hither Spain, further reference to him at this point is unnecessary. The dedication itself, however, cannot be left without a comment here, for though there are numerous dedications to *genii loci* alone—including one from Carrawburgh¹²—and several to the nymphs alone, altars dedicated jointly to these deities are exceedingly uncommon: an extensive search has so far produced only one other example, from Aïn Chkour,¹³ site of a fort 4 km. north of Volubulis, capital of Mauretania Tingitana (Morocco).

On the other hand, the Genius Loci was frequently associated in dedications with the highest gods of the Roman pantheon, often with great Jupiter himself and, after him, particularly with those most venerated as protectors of the

¹⁰ There are two stops in the last line on one side of the stone but not on the other.

¹¹ *AA4* XXIX, 28, 49.

¹² *LS* 925. It is said to have been found in the centre of the fort but may have been taken there from some other place for re-use as a building stone.

¹³ *Année Epigraphique* 1939, No. 166, dedicated by the procurator Vallius Maximianus, whose period of office fell between 117 and 180; see R. Thouvenot, *Rev. des études anciennes* 1939, 20-38. The same site, like Carrawburgh, has also produced a dedication to the Genius Loci alone, by a prefect of Coh. I Ast. et Call., *CIL* VIII 21820 = *ILS* 9175 = *Inscr. latines du Maroc*, No. 43.

army and the state: Juno, Minerva, Mars, Mithras, Hercules, Mercury, Fortuna Conservatrix, Roma Aeterna and the *di militares*.¹⁴ In comparison with such a list, his association with nymphs may seem to a modern mind almost flippant; but dedications to the nymphs¹⁵ reveal the reverence in which these primordial deities were held, and Virgil¹⁶ himself had provided a precedent, if one were needed, for a dedication associating them with a Genius Loci.

In addition to the rarity of its dedication, the altar itself has three unusual features. The first is the repetition of the inscription on both back and front: this is very seldom found and can only mean that the stone, unlike most altars, was intended not to stand with its back to a wall but to be seen from both sides. The second is the representation of a ladle or strainer instead of the pole-axe normally associated with a cleaver when the instruments of blood sacrifice are depicted on the side of an altar. The third is the provision of a pedestal: this is not altogether uncommon, being paralleled in the case of altars which were destined to stand in the open, such as those of Jupiter¹⁷ on military parade grounds, or in buildings with unpaved floors.¹⁸

There are reasons for thinking (see para. 3) that Hispanius' altar did, in fact, stand in the open, where the pedestal would have served to render it less liable to subside and fall over, as well as to raise it to a level where it might be less likely to suffer accidental damage to the base. Both in the provision of a pedestal and in its dedication it recalls the altar from

¹⁴ ILS 1653, 2320, 2418, 2444, 3022, 3024, 3091, 3656, 3657, 3891, 3913, 4400, 4553, 4615, 4634, 4837. Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.* 2630 (*Nymphae sanctissimae*), 3863 (*Nymphae aeternae*), 3865 (*Nymphae salutaris*), 9179b (*Nymphae perennes*).

¹⁶ *Aen.* vii. 135ff.

¹⁷ E.g. LS 846 (Maryport), *Ephem. Epig.* IX, 1157 (Wallsend) = R. G. Collingwood, *Roman Inscriptions and Sculptures belonging to the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne* (1926), No. 19.

¹⁸ E.g. one of the shrines of Vinotonus near Bowes (Yorks.), I. A. Richmond and R. P. Wright, *Yorks. Arch. Jour.* XXXVII, 107-116, Fig. 2, Pl. I. Here the floor was not regularly paved but a platform had been made for the seven altars, at least three of which had been provided with pedestals; the two pedestals actually found in the shrine were, however, too large to have been entirely accommodated on the platform.

Chester erected by the Twentieth Legion "to the nymphs and the springs",¹⁹ but it is not known whether this altar stood in the open or not.

2. THE WELL

The well was found 5 ft. to the west of the altar. Two upright stone slabs forming the north-west and south-west sides of what appeared to have been a water-tank, almost opposite the entrance to the Mithraeum, had been discovered but not investigated during the excavation of that building and had been visible since the setting-back of the surrounding ground in 1957. Excavation in 1960 revealed that the slabs forming the other two sides were still *in situ* but that the supposed tank had no bottom, the earth and stones which filled it giving way to a wet, sandy layer. As excavation proceeded it became evident that the four stone slabs had actually been ranged about the mouth of a well and were a later feature of it.

The well was neither wide nor deep, having an average diameter of a little over 3 ft. and a depth of 3 ft. 6 ins. It filled (in June) at a rate of about 50 gallons an hour and contained some 200 gallons of good clear water. The water rose to the top of the six stones which formed its roughly hexagonal mouth and the overflow was carried away in a stone-built culvert (see below, para. 4).

Below the mouth the wall was approximately circular and of excellent construction (Pl. X, 1). Six courses of good masonry formed its sides, and its bottom was marked by a large flat stone lying in sand. It was completely choked with sand, silt, earth and stones, and little was found while clearing it out except a handful of pottery (see below Sec. III, para. 1, Group F) and a fragmentary, corroded coin, probably of the

¹⁹ *Cat. of the Roman Inscribed and Sculptured Stones in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester* (1955), p. 16, Ex. 3, Pl. XLVIIa. The writer is indebted for this reference to Mr. R. P. Wright.

late third century (see below, Sec. III, para. 3). Compared with the discoveries, particularly of coins, in the admittedly larger well of the arch-nymph Coventina, two hundred yards to the north-west, the paucity of the finds here was both striking and disappointing. It suggests that the well may have been cleaned out at least once, if not periodically, in Roman times, and what appears to have been a dump of pottery (see below, Sec. III, para. 1, Group E) which may represent the result of such a cleaning, was actually found about 5 ft. to the south-west beside the wall running parallel with the culvert (see para. 4). This pottery comprises types forming a consistently third-century group, while that found in the well presents as consistent a fourth-century appearance and includes two sherds from different vessels in Crambeck Ware, showing that the well remained open until at least the later fourth century and certainly for a considerable time after the adjacent Mithraeum had fallen into disuse.²⁰

Of the slabs ranged upright about the mouth of the well, those forming the south-east and south-west sides may have been re-used flags from the pavement of the apse (see para. 3); the other two, much thicker and larger, were perhaps originally lintels or thresholds, and these had been placed on a rough foundation of re-used building stones, without bonding of any kind. All except the slab on the south-east side had been backed with a packing of similar but larger re-used building stones.

All around, and mixed with the packing stones, was a thick layer of masons' chippings, from below and amongst which came pottery of the late third century (see below, Sec. III, para. 1, Groups C, D). This layer extended as far as the north-west and south-west sides of the altar pedestal, occupied the whole of the area between the well and the remains of the apsidal structure, and overlapped on to the surviving flagstones in the apse. There can be little doubt that it represents the demolition of this structure *c.* A.D. 300 and the re-dressing of its masonry for use in the immediate

²⁰ A44 XXIX, 40ff.

vicinity. The fact of its presence just outside the entrance to the Mithraeum and the date of the pottery associated with it point strongly to a connection with the restoration of that building at the end of the third or beginning of the fourth century (Mithraeum Period III).²¹ It seems probable, in fact, that it was the masons charged with that restoration who set up the four stone slabs about the mouth of the well in order to prevent building débris from falling into the water.

It is interesting to note that, in addition to the steps taken to protect the well at this time, the altar also was spared, presumably because the restorers of the Mithraeum, being themselves men of the First Cohort of Batavians, regarded with respect a stone dedicated by a former commandant and bearing the name of their regiment. It was probably very much later in the fourth century, when the cohort had been withdrawn and not replaced by any other regular unit, that, like the slabs forming the secondary wellhead, it began to be used as a sharpening block, and that an attempt was made to dislodge it from its pedestal.

3. THE APSIDAL STRUCTURE

Immediately to south of the altar and the well lay the remains of a small apsidal structure, the apse facing north towards the altar (Fig. 1; Pl. IX, 2). The apse, 4 ft. deep and 6 ft. across the chord, survived, with remains of wing-walls on either side of it, part of a pavement of large flags, and, in the apse, a low bench. But the clay-bonded walls, which were about 2 ft. thick at the base, had no proper foundation and did not seem to have been strongly built: they had collapsed outwards and only a few courses of the masonry of their inner face were still more or less in position.

The best part of the building was its flagged pavement, which had been well laid with lines of stones supporting the

²¹ *Ibid.* 29ff.



1. THE ALTAR, AS FOUND.



2. THE ALTAR, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST.

Photos. D. J. Smith.



1. THE EXCAVATION, FROM THE NORTH-WEST.



2. THE EXCAVATION, FROM THE SOUTH.

Photos. D. J. Smith.



1. THE WELL.



2. THE APSIDAL STRUCTURE, WITH FLAGSTONES REMOVED.

Photos. D. J. Smith.



1. BRONZE FIGURINE OF A GENIUS ($\frac{2}{3}$).



2. BRONZE DOORKEY ($\frac{1}{2}$).

flags near their edges (Pl. X, 2). The flags themselves were approximately rectangular, measuring 4 ft. \times 2 ft. \times 1½ ins. thick, and extended over the whole of the apse, alongside the remains of the east wing-wall and up to about 6 ins. from the altar pedestal and the three stones in line, immediately to the south of it, which appeared to have formed part of a curb bounding the pavement on its north side. In all, six large and four smaller flags remained, most being extensively cracked.

The bench or ledge in the curve of the apse was 7 ins. high and just over a foot wide. It was built on the flags and, when uncovered, consisted of one course of stones set in puddled clay with, apparently, a rendering of the same material on the top; it is possible, however, that one or more courses may have been removed in Roman times.

Walls, pavement and bench were all of one build and period, an offset having been provided in the apse upon which the edges of the flags that were to carry the weight of the bench could rest. Pottery found under the flags (see below, Sec. III, para. 1, Group A) gives a *terminus post quem* in the second century for the whole structure, but there are structural considerations which indicate a date later than the erection of the altar. The evidence lies not merely in its alignment, vis-à-vis the altar and the well, but also in the lay-out and level of the pavement in relation to the altar pedestal. The level of the pavement was 6 ins. above that of the ground on which the pedestal was standing, and it is clear from the placing of the flag nearest to the pedestal (Fig. 1), and still clearer from the direction of the lines of stones that supported this flag (Pl. X, 2) that the pedestal was already in position when the pavement was laid. A fragment from a flagstone, probably broken at the time of construction, had been inserted, upright, into the rather large gap between this flag and the pedestal (Fig. 1).

How long the altar had been standing before the construction of apse and pavement is uncertain, but it may be noted that the large stones set in the ground about 2 ft. south-west

of the altar (Fig. 1; Pl. IX, 1)—apparently forming a rudimentary, earlier paving—were worn quite smooth.

It is evident from the plan that the remains cannot have been those of a building enclosing the altar, or the altar and the well, or even of a building at all in the usual sense of the word, but it is easier to say what it was not than to suggest what its form may have been or what purpose it could have served. A building associated with a spring and a dedication to the Nymphs would normally be described without much hesitation as a *nymphaeum*,²² which in the Mediterranean world could be anything from a fountain adorned with columns, niches and statues to a magnificent public hall with an ornamental fountain as its main feature.²³ Not by any stretch of the imagination, however, can the structure—or what remains of it—at Carrawburgh be visualised in these terms, though it may well be that its builder's intention was to create something at least reminiscent of a Mediterranean *nymphaeum*. It appears to have consisted simply of a paved area, open to the sky, bounded on the south by the apse and its wing walls and on the north by a curb (or possibly a low wall), the altar and the well. The apse, whether or not it was covered with a half-dome, would have provided a suggestion of an architecturally-conceived *nymphaeum*;²⁴ and even if it did not contain a piece of sculpture it may have sheltered votive objects, on the bench or in niches, amongst them perhaps the bronze figurine of a *genius* found, in the topsoil, during the excavation (Pl. XI, 1; see below, Sec. III, para. 5).

Such a reconstruction, though somewhat conjectural, explains the reason for the duplication of the inscription on opposite faces of the altar, for the dedication was to be visible to passers-by as well as to anyone standing on the pavement, between altar and apse, where such rites as were entailed in

²² Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* XXXV, 43.

²³ Cf. Libanius' description of a *nymphaeum* at Antioch, *Or.* xi, 202.

²⁴ Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, *op. cit.*, s.v. *Nymphaeum*: "l'abside représente la grotte primitive". *Nymphaea* built at springs generally approximated more closely to the primitive types than the developed, monumental fountains in the towns and cities.

the worship of the Nymphs and the Genius Loci must have been performed.

The nymphaeum—if such it may for once be called—was structurally much inferior to the adjacent Mithraeum, and it seems likely that, whenever it may have been built, by the beginning of the fourth century its condition enabled those who planned to restore the Mithraeum to persuade themselves, or authority, that its demolition would be justifiable as well as providing material for their own purpose.

4. OTHER FEATURES

Other features revealed during the excavation may be briefly described, though owing to robbing and previous disturbance not all of them can be satisfactorily accounted for. They will be described in order from north-east to south-west.

From the east corner of the main area of the excavation (Fig. 1) ran a line of small stones, resembling a rough foundation, at approximately the level of the altar pedestal (Pl. IX, 1, 2). On the stones at the north-west end of the line were several larger stones, shaped and placed as though they had been part of a course of masonry (Pl. VIII, 1) on the north-west side of a wall resting on the line of smaller stones. No stones of the south-east side of this hypothetical wall were found, and the line terminated abruptly at its north-west end (Pl. VIII, 2) as though it had never continued further or had here been cut by a robber trench. It may be noted, however, that the characteristic features of a robber-trench were not in evidence, and it seems likely that the wall did, in fact, terminate at this point. It will be seen from the plan that its direction was the same as that of the three stones forming what appear to be the remains of a curb on the north side of the flagstones, just east of the altar, and it may be that there was a wall enclosing the area of the altar, the well and the apsidal structure, of which this was the part on the north-east side of the precincts.

To north-east of the well, extending from its north-west and north-east sides to the limits of the excavation on the one hand and up to about 2 ft. from the altar on the other, was a mass of closely packed stones (Pl. IX, 2). Though having a suggestion of wear they did not appear to have been laid as paving and may be more convincingly explained as building débris possibly thrown down to render a naturally boggy spot more easily crossed. If so, this must have happened early in the fourth century, for they were intimately associated with the four stone slabs set upright about the mouth of the well (see above, paras. 1, 2). A line of small stones formed the edge of a curving step near the north corner of the excavation. On one of the stones near the altar lay the lower stone of a worn and evidently discarded quern (Fig. 4).

To south-west of the well was a V-shaped stone-built culvert, covered with large, irregularly shaped flags, which conveyed its overflow in the direction of the stream running down the valley from Coventina's Well. It appeared to begin 4 ft. 6 ins. from the well, its mouth being marked by two wooden posts, 1 ft. apart and each 3 ins. in diameter, well preserved by the wet nature of the ground, and still *in situ*. In the water behind them was found a large stout oaken board (Sec. III, para. 6) which apparently had served in place of a flagstone and must have been supported by, and was possibly nailed to, the posts. The level of this culvert is such as to suggest that it may originally have been part of the drain which ran out under the threshold of the first Mithraeum²⁵ and the wooden board and posts may represent a slightly later adaptation of it to take the overflow from the well. Its course was found to have been interrupted by the trench cut in 1950 to drain the site of the Mithraeum, and now containing drainpipes laid in 1957, and it was not pursued beyond the point of interruption.

On the south-east side of the culvert, partly built over its cover-slabs, stood a wall of which six courses still survived.

²⁵ *AA4 XXIX*, 5, Fig. 2.

It began beside the wooden post on the south-east side of the mouth of the culvert and continued parallel with the south-east wall of the Mithraeum for a distance of 6 ft. 6 ins. before beginning to peter out: it had been at least about 10 ft. long. It seems possible that, if there was in fact a wall enclosing the precincts of the altar, as has been suggested above, this wall may have been another part of it. In that case it probably returned in a south-easterly or easterly direction, but no evidence of a wall was found in Trench IV (Fig. 1), towards the south-east, where further remains might have been expected, and further extension of the excavation in this direction was prevented by the fence bounding the site.

Trench IV actually yielded nothing of interest or significance except some pieces of thin oak boarding²⁶ and the roots of small trees which had overgrown the site in post-Roman times.

II. A NOTE ON M. HISPANIUS MODESTINUS

Eric Birley

The reading of the text is straightforward: *Nymphis et Genio loci M. Hispanius Modestinus praef(ectus) coh(ortis) I Bat(avorum) pro se et suis l(ibens) m(erito)*—"To the Nymphs and the Genius of the place, Marcus Hispanius Modestinus, prefect of the First Cohort of Batavians, (dedicated this altar) willingly and deservedly on behalf of himself and his family."

The prefect is otherwise unknown, but something can be inferred about him from his *nomen*, Hispanius. It implies that an ancestor of his had been a slave of the provincial council of *Hispania citerior*, and on receiving his freedom had taken the provincial name as his new Roman *nomen*;

²⁶ These recall the remains of oak planking found in the nave of the Mithraeum (Period IIC); *ibid.* 24, Pl. V, B.

the same inference may be made in the case of L. Hispanus Fronto, the dedicator of an altar at Tudae in Hither Spain (*CIL* II 5612), the only other known bearer of the name. Originally it was the rule that public slaves, on receiving their freedom, should take the name *Publicius*, which proclaimed their servile origin, and there are plenty of instances of this practice persisting under the Empire: for example, *CIL* II 2230, from Corduba, gives a *C. Publicius provinc(iae) Baetic(ae) lib(ertus)*---. But it became a fairly common practice for the new name to be fashioned out of the geographical name, whether of a province or of a town; to quote just one instance out of many, a freedman of the *municipium* of Saepinum in Italy takes the name *C. Saepinius municipi l(ibertus) Albanus* (*ILS* 6520 = *CIL* IX 2533).²⁷ Alternatively, it seems, he might take his names from those of the magistrate at whose instance he received his freedom: thus, the *L. Fabius provinc. lib. Victor* of an inscription from Tarraco, the capital and seat of the provincial council of Hither Spain (*A.E.* 1919, no. 25), may well have been freed during the year of office as its chairman—with the title of *flamen provinciae Hispaniae citerioris*—of the L. Fabius Silo who is attested by another inscription from the same place (*CIL* II 6094); and a similar origin must be sought for the names of a freedman of the council of the Three Gauls, *P. Claudius trium Galliar(um) lib. Abascantus*, attested by an inscription from Ostia (*ILS* 7023 = *CIL* XIV 327), though in this case we do not happen to be able to produce a specific chairman of council from whom the names P. Claudius were derived.

It may be noted that another of the third-century prefects of the cohort at Carrawburgh seems likely to have come from Spain, namely M. Flaccinius Marcellus (*ILS* 2549 = *CIL* VII 617): Schulze noted that the name Flaccinius only occurs elsewhere at Rome (a soldier, *CIL* VI 3361) and

²⁷ Cf. also Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen*, 524ff., who cites Varro, *L.L.* 8, 83: "*habent (sc. nomina ab oppidis) plerique libertini a municipio manumissi*," noting that Varro adds that not all such people "*servarunt proportione rationem*"; Schulze gives abundant instances of this practice.

on two inscriptions from Spain (*CIL* II 2561 and 5632), where the *cognomen* from which it has been formed, Flaccinus, is also attested (e.g. *CIL* II 983 and 1024). It will be remembered that the three prefects whose altars were found in the adjacent Mithraeum came from Italy (A. Cluentius Habitus), the Rhineland (M. Simplicius Simplex) and from almost anywhere in the Roman world (L. Antonius Proculus)—see my discussion in *AA4 XXIX* 45-51 = *Roman Britain and the Roman Army* 172-178; T. D(omitius) Cosconianus, who dedicated an altar to Coventina (*ILS* 4725 = *EE* III 185), is as colourless in his names as Antonius Proculus, whereas the balance of probability points to Italy in the case of Burrius [---]lactus, who was commanding the cohort in A.D. 237 (*CIL* VII 621), in view of the distribution of that rather uncommon *nomen*. That is to say, we have seven third-century commanders of the cohort, two of whom seem to come from Italy, two from Spain and one from the Rhineland, whilst there is no necessity for either of the other two to have come from the East or from Africa (the areas from which it has been customary to suppose that an increasing proportion of equestrian officers were drawn in that period).

As to the new altar's place in the chronology of the site, it may be noted that it is nearest in its style to that of L. Antonius Proculus in the Mithraeum, and employs the same abbreviation for the name of the cohort, though without the title *Antoniniana* which allows us to date his altar to the period 213-222. It seems best to suppose that Hispanus Modestinus's command fell a few years earlier, before the grant of such titles became usual, but after that of Cluentius Habitus (whose altar gives the name of the cohort in full). It thus appears that the Mithraeum was already there when Modestinus set up his altar to deities of a more conventional and Roman type, and from the position where he set it up we may conclude that he was going out of his way to emphasize that he personally was not interested in the Eastern cult to which one of his predecessors had dedicated

an altar: it may well be that the Mithraeum had to remain closed whenever the fort was commanded by a prefect who was not a votary of that cult.

A brief postscript may be permitted on L. Antonius Proculus. I have said that his names are colourless, too much so for us to be able to deduce his origin from them; but if he was in fact the man of the same names who served, on a higher rung of the ladder, as *epistrategus* in Egypt (*PIR*², A 867), he and his family might be expected to acquire in that province an interest in other oriental cults—and he might well be the parent of the *L. Antonius L.f. Gal. Sabinus* and *Antonia L.f. Procula* who dedicated an altar to Jupiter Ammon at Valentia in Hither Spain (*CIL* II 3729), evidently their home (as is indicated by the man's tribe *Galeria*): if so, he may join Flaccinius Marcellus and Hispanius Modestinus as a representative of the Iberian peninsula.

III. THE FINDS

1. POTTERY, EXCLUDING SAMIAN WARE (see para. 2)

References to "Gillam" followed by a number relate to his paper²⁸ on "Types of Roman coarse pottery vessels in Northern Britain", the number being that of the type-specimen in that paper.

Group A: below the flagstones in the apse

Two sherds from a second-century black burnished bowl. Not illustrated. (Also two fragments of second-century samian; see para. 2.)

Group B: below the stones to N.E. of the Well

Rim and sherds of a large narrow-mouthed jar or jars in a hard grey fabric; for the general type cf. Gillam 28, 30, 31, A.D. 120-130. Fig. 2, No. 1.

²⁸ *AA4 XXXV*, 180-251.

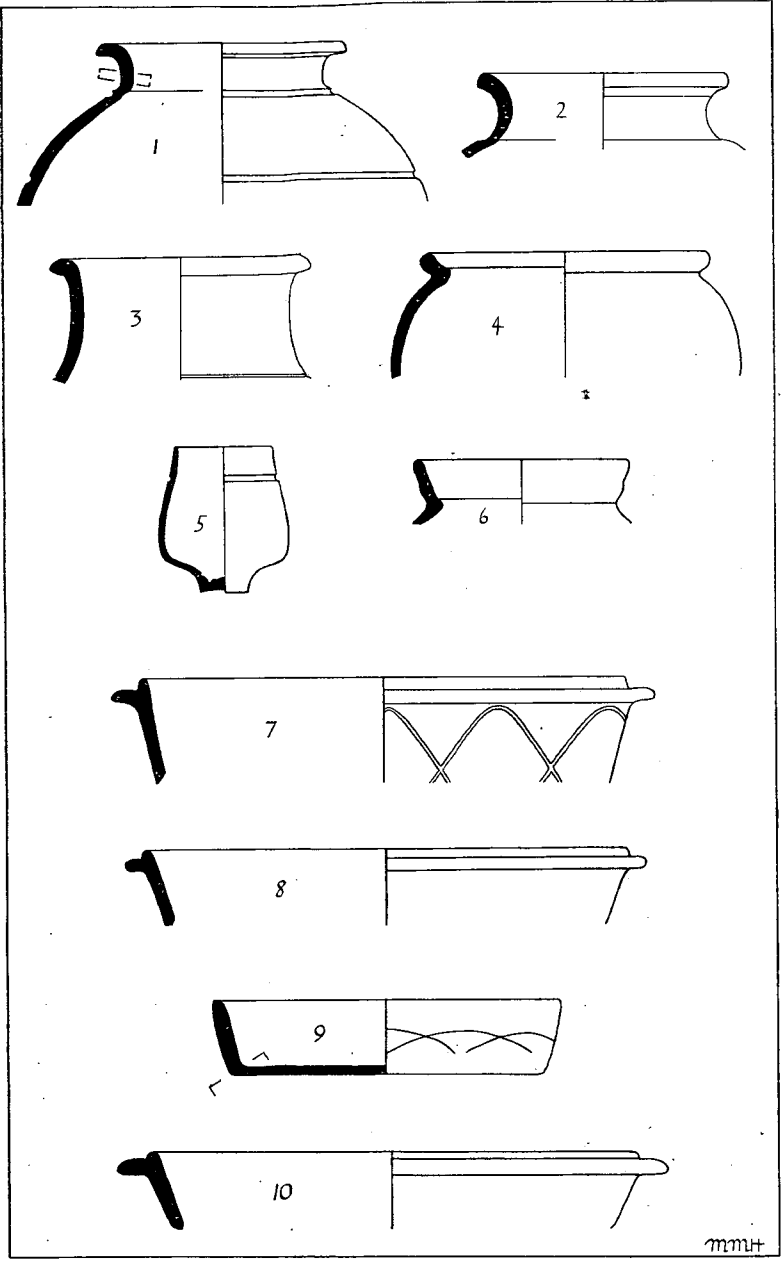


FIG. 2. POTTERY FROM CARRAWBURGH, 1960 (4).

Group C: in the bed of masons' chippings overlying the stones to N.E. of the Well

1. Rims and sherds from large narrow-mouthed jars in a hard, dark grey ware; for the general type cf. Gillam 28-31, A.D. 120-230. One sherd has rouletted decoration bounded by a horizontal groove; the others have only a groove or are quite plain. Fig. 2, No. 2.

2. Fragments of a narrow-mouthed beaker in Rhenish ware, Gillam (?) 46, A.D. 220-260. Not illustrated.

3. Fragments of a Water Newton cup, Gillam 53, A.D. 240-320. Not illustrated.

Group D: under the lowest stones used for packing the upright slab on the S.W. side of the Well.

High rim of a narrow-mouthed jar in a grey ware, Gillam 31, A.D. 160-230. Fig. 2, No. 3.

Group E: from the dump of broken pottery, perhaps from a cleaning of the Well, found against the S.E. side of the wall beside the culvert, at its N.W. end

1. Fragment of a rim, with internal ledge for a lid, from a cooking-pot in a grey ware, cf. Gillam 151, A.D. 190-260. Fig. 2, No. 4.

2. Complete section of a plain-rimmed beaker in Castor Ware, Gillam 81, A.D. 230-300; cf. *AA4 XXIX*, 83, No. 32 for the same type from the Mithraeum (Period IIC) dated to A.D. 300. Fig. 2, No. 5.

3. Fragment of the rim of a cooking-pot in Derbyshire Ware, late third century; cf. J. P. Gillam, *Romano-British Derbyshire Ware*, *Ants. Jour.* XIX, 429-437, Fig. 2, Nos. 11/12. Fig. 2, No. 6.

In addition to these, the following may be noted: sherds of a large narrow-mouthed jar in a pale buff fabric with bold painted decoration, part of a black burnished cooking-pot with fairly obtuse-angled lattice pattern, and a fragment of a somewhat coarse, colour-coated flagon, probably from the Water Newton kilns. The narrow-mouthed jar and the

cooking-pot may be assigned to the late third century (*possibly* the early fourth), the flagon perhaps to the same period. Together with the three types illustrated, this group may thus be dated to the third century. Fragments of second-century amphora, cooking-pot and mortarium in it are obvious survivals.

Group F: from the sand in the Well

1. Fragments of a flat-rimmed bowl in black burnished ware, Gillam 219, A.D. 125-150. Evidently a survival (cf. Nos. 2-9 below). Not illustrated.

2. Fragment from a mortarium in a pink fabric with buff slip, "hammerhead" rim, Gillam 282, A.D. 290-370. Not illustrated.

3. Fragment with rouletted decoration from a large narrow-mouthed beaker, Gillam 42, A.D. 300-360. Not illustrated.

4. Fragment of a calcite-gritted jar, Gillam 160/161, A.D. 300-370. Not illustrated.

5. Rim of a large flanged bowl in black burnished ware with external arcaded decoration, Gillam 228, A.D. 310-370. Fig. 2, No. 7.

6. Rim of a small flanged bowl in black burnished ware, Gillam 228, A.D. 310-370. Fig. 2, No. 8.

7. Fragment of a plain-rimmed dish with external arcaded decoration, Gillam 329, early to mid-fourth century. Fig. 2, No. 9.

8. Sherd from a mortarium in Crambeck Ware, Gillam 288 or 289, A.D. 360-400 or 370-400. Not illustrated.

9. Rim of a flanged bowl in Crambeck Ware, with internal undulating line and slightly reserved band, Gillam 231, A.D. 370-400. Fig. 2, No. 10.

2. SAMIAN WARE

Two fragments from bases of different dishes, both Dr.18/31, were found below the flagstones in the apse (cf.

above, Sec. III, para. 1, Group A). One bears graffiti which, though incomplete, seem to have been two names scratched one above the other, so:

---Jt
?Qulintil

The following were all unstratified:

1. Form 79, Central Gaulish. Stamp JINI. Curiously enough, only three of the 150 or so potters recorded as making form 79 and/or 80 have names in -TINVS in the nominative: This stamp is to be assigned to MARTINVS of Lezoux, as it is from the same die as one reading MARTINI in the Oswald-Plicque Collection. A stamp of his from Pudding Pan Rock (*V.C.H. Kent*, III, p. 165) suggests that his activity fell c. A.D. 160-190.

2. Form 31R, with stamp MARINVS. This belongs to the East Gaulish Potter (Oswald, *Potters' Stamps on Terra Sigillata*, pp. 187, 402), though this particular die does not seem to have been noted previously. Stamps of MARINVS from forts on the Outer Limes, and particularly from Niederbieber, suggest that he worked late in the second century, perhaps in the early third century, too.

3. A flake from the under side of a base, probably form 79. Central Gaulish ware of Antonine date.

4. A spindle whorl trimmed from a Central Gaulish cup of form 33. Probably Antonine.

5-7. These are all fragments from Central Gaulish bowls of form 37, all Antonine, and all having sharp wavy-line borders.

(5) The small leaf occurs on bowls by SERVVS II (Stanfield and Simpson, *Central Gaulish Potters*, pl. 131, 4).

(6) The same leaf as, or one very similar to, that on No. 5 is half impressed in the corner of a panel. Stag (Déch. 852 = 0.1720) in the festoon.

(7) Perhaps by IVSTVS, who used the Triton (0.19), bird (0.2292) and wavy-line borders.

Although these fragments cannot certainly be assigned to *SERVVS* and *IVSTVS*, the similarities with their work are such that manufacture *c. A.D. 160-190* seems certain.

8. Form 37, East Gaulish. The ovolo is apparently Ricken's No. 24 for Rheinzabern (Ludowici-Ricken VI, *Die Bilderschüsseln der römischen Töpfer von Rheinzabern*, Taf. 262). Late second or early third century.

9. Form 37, East Gaulish. Probably from a freestyle bowl. The inverted acanthus was used especially by *PRIMITIVVS* and *REGVLINVS*. Late Antonine.

10. Form 37, East Gaulish. Both the candelabrum between the Medallions and the dog (0.2039) were used by several Rheinzabern potters, including *B.R. ATTONVS*, *COMITALIS* and *BELSVS* (Ludowici-Ricken, *op. cit.* Taf. 40, 89 and 110). Recent evidence suggests that they were primarily late Antonine potters (*Forschungen in Lauriacum VI/VII passim*).

3. COINS

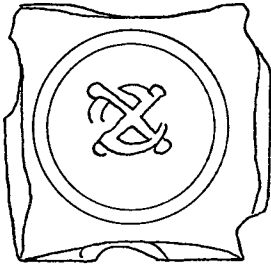
Three coins were found. One is a denarius of Elagabalus, *Rom. Imp. Coinage* 88, A.D. 221-222.

Obv. Laureate head of emperor R. Legend *IMP ANTONINVS PIVS AVG*

Rev. Figure of the emperor L., holding a (?) palm branch and sacrificing at an (?) altar. Legend *INVICTVS SACERDOS AVG*

This, the only legible specimen, was unstratified. One of the other two, which was found in the well, and the third, which was unstratified, seem on grounds of general fabric to be probably assignable to the late third century.

4. GLASS

FIG. 3 ($\frac{1}{2}$).

In the dump of pottery beside the wall S.W. of the well was the base of a bottle $2\frac{3}{4}$ ins. square with a "trade mark" in the form of a small raised cross in a raised circle 2 ins. in diameter (Fig. 3). The cross has been slightly obscured by the mark left by the pontil on which the bottle was held while the rim was finished. Miss Charlesworth is reluctant to assign this fragment

to any particular period but has noted another example from Carrawburgh in Chesters Museum (No. 2130) and other parallels from Corbridge,²⁹ the Folkestone Villa (East Cliff), Kenchester and, with two concentric circles enclosing the cross, from Silchester.

In addition to this base a small fragment from another square bottle and two colourless pieces of an indented beaker were found, all unstratified.

5. BRONZE OBJECTS

The excavation yielded three bronze objects, a figurine, a doorkey, and a bent piece of "edging"; all were in the topsoil. Only the figurine and the key necessitate description.

The figurine (Pl. XI, 1), $2\frac{1}{8}$ ins. high, represents a *genius* in the act of sacrificing. His head is wreathed and he wears a robe loosely draped about the waist and legs, with one end thrown over the left shoulder and the other over the left arm; the rest of the body is bare. His right arm is extended downwards and the hand holds an upturned sacrificial patera. His left arm is held close to the side, except for the hand which is

²⁹ Cf. *AA4 XXXVII*, 52, Fig. 9 (bottom row, left).

extended forwards, palm uppermost, with the fingers together and crooked and the thumb outstretched: whether this is merely a gesture or whether the hand once held a sceptre or cornucopiae is not evident. The neck and ankles are disproportionately thick, but the pose, with the head turned slightly to the right and the weight of the figure resting on the right foot, has a certain dignity which helps to offset these defects.

It is impossible not to regard this little figure as having been in some way associated with the shrine, but exactly where, in Roman times, it stood or was kept is entirely a matter of conjecture.

The key (Pl. XI, 2) was found in two pieces which, put together, give a length of $4\frac{7}{16}$ ins. The handle terminates in three loops. A small tongue, which has had an eye for attaching the key to a chain or cord, projects from the middle loop. The other end of the shaft is hollow, so that the key would fit a lock with a pin.

6. OBJECTS OF WOOD, BONE AND STONE

Wood: Dimensions of oak board found in the culvert are $23\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2} \times 1$ ins. (maxima), of the pieces of thin oak boarding from Trench IV $9 \times 2\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{8}$ ins., and $8\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{8} \times \frac{1}{8}$ ins. (maxima).

Bone: Half of a bone pin, unstratified.

Stone: The diameter of the quernstone found on the stones to N.E. of the Well is $13\frac{1}{4}$ ins. (Fig. 4).

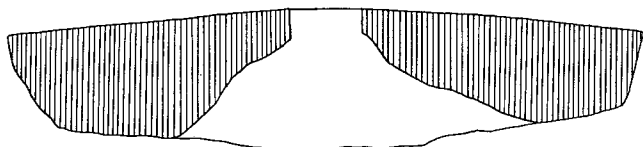


FIG. 4 ($\frac{1}{4}$).

