

VIII.—THE CLOSE OF PERIOD IA ON
HADRIAN'S WALL,
AND SOME GAULISH POTTERS

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An important reconsideration of the evidence for the history of the Roman Frontiers, Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall, during the period when both were in existence, was presented to readers of these Tracts in the previous volume, XLVIII, by Mr. Gillam and Dr. Mann. In their paper they refer to the decorated samian bowl, no. 3, found at Solway House Milecastle 79, in 1949, by Richmond and Gillam. This bowl is reproduced here as fig. 1. Milecastle 79 had been located by F. Gerald Simpson in the previous year, and was excavated because it was close to the western end of the Wall and might be supposed to have been one of the last structures of the Turf Wall to be replaced in stone. It was hoped that evidence for the period of the building of the stone, or Intermediate Wall, as it is called in the western sector, would be found.

The excavation by Richmond and Gillam, of the eastern half only, uncovered the Turf Wall milecastle below the stone one, with much coarse pottery from its occupation sealed below the gravel of the replacement. Afterwards they carefully compared the coarse pottery, piece by piece, with the material from High House Milecastle 50 TW. They concluded that, as expected, the original Turf Wall milecastle was built slightly later than 50 TW, and it was possible also to conclude that the replacement at MC 79 had come later than at 50 TW. The most typical early Antonine coarse pottery forms were absent, and "what is indicated is an occupation prolonged considerably later within the

principate of Hadrian".¹ The only exception seemed to be the samian bowl no. 3, for the other samian sherds were certainly Hadrianic.

The note on this Dr. 37 which I wrote in 1951, with the approval of Professor Birley, is used by Gillam and Mann in support of their suggestion that the Turf Wall replacement by the Intermediate Wall in that western sector was as late as the beginning of Hadrian's Wall Period IB, that is after the first occupation of the Antonine Wall.² The possibility of such a late period, *circa* A.D. 160, was noted by Birley in 1961,³ following the conclusion by Richmond and Gillam,

"... that the Stone Wall milecastle had been built either just before the changes of A.D. 139-40, which were accompanied by a dismantling of milecastles" [i.e. the removal of the doors with the consequent breaking of the pivot-stones], "or at the moment when the Wall was reconstituted as a continuous frontier barrier, presumably under Calpurnius Agricola in A.D. 162-163; a fragmentary bowl of figured samian ware ... seems to point towards the latter date..."⁴

This bowl has too small a fragment of ovolo surviving for the style of decoration to be attributed to an individual potter with certainty. I had noted that its general design was like bowls by certain Central Gaulish potters, but at that time it was not possible to say more about the period of manufacture of such styles than that "... it seems difficult to suppose that the present bowl can have been made before A.D. 150, if so early".⁵

By 1958, however, I had suggested earlier periods of production for two of the potters I had mentioned in the note: for SACER *c.* A.D. 125-150, and for ATTIANVS *c.*

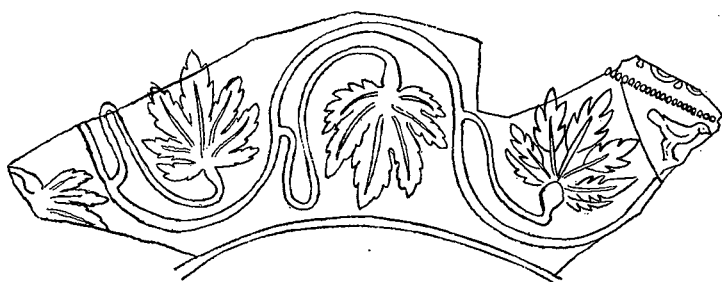
¹ *CW*², LII, 1952, 29.

² Gillam & Mann, *A.A.*⁴, XLVIII, 1970, 16.

³ Eric Birley, *Research on Hadrian's Wall*, 1961, 126.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, 29-31.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 39-40.

FIG. 1 DR. 37 FROM MILECASTLE 79 ($\frac{1}{2}$)

A.D. 130-160.⁶ Now I think that the latter decade for ATTIANVS was unjustified, and that both potters probably worked slightly earlier: c. A.D. 120-140-45. This allows for their few products in Scotland, at Cadder and Falkirk, both forts on the Antonine Wall. The other potter relevant to this re-assessment is CINNAMVS.

During the past twenty years, sigillata studies have advanced greatly, by the work of many specialists in many countries. Recently Mr. George B. Rogers and I have been studying the early work of CINNAMVS, as it is represented in Gaul and Britain; in particular, noting material in the Musées de Rouen, de Sèvres, and des antiquités nationales at Saint-Germain. Our conclusion in 1969 was, "Pour le moment, on peut suggérer 150-165 pour cette première période".⁷ It has indeed been only for a moment, for a very short time after we have had to consider placing his first products as early as, at most, A.D. 140, although as an apprentice potter, not using his name, he may have been at work in the last years of the principate of Hadrian. I have Mr. Rogers' kind permission to note these changes, which we hope to explain in more detail elsewhere.

Most helpful for the bowl from Solway House MC 79, was the observation made by Mr. Rogers that at Holt, the

⁶ Stanfield & Simpson, *Central Gaulish Potters*, 1958, 165, 169.

⁷ Simpson & Rogers, *Gallia* XXVII, 1969, 9, "CINNAMVS de Lezoux et quelques potiers contemporains".

Works-Depot of the Twentieth Legion, and apparently not occupied after A.D. 140, for the legionary vexillations were building the Antonine Wall, the three latest sherds (apart from a few very much later pieces) are two in the early CINNAMVS style, nos. 140 and 169, and one in the ALBVCIVS style, no. 167.⁸ We have already associated ALBVCIVS with the early CINNAMVS style by the little festoon, also used by SACER.⁹ It is possible that a small detachment remained at Holt after the main body of legionary technicians had been moved to the northern frontier; but the coin series supports a break in the occupation between Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius.

Dr. H.-G. Simon of Bad Nauheim has kindly sent a rubbing from an AVENTINVS II style Dr. 37 from the small fort at Hesselbach in the Odenwald in the Inner Limes, a fort which was abandoned about A.D. 150. This bowl also shows a simple vine-scroll, although with smaller leaves. AVENTINVS II at Corbridge has the ovolo 3B of the early CINNAMVS group, and Dr. Simon re-examined the Hesselbach bowl and informed us that its ovolo is 3B.¹⁰

Finally, in 1970, Mr. B. R. Hartley gave us the news of the re-discovery of a large group of decorated bowls from Newstead, not published by James Curle in 1911. This makes plain that CINNAMVS and his group, as represented on the Antonine Wall, are earlier than potters such as PATERNVS and CASVRIVS now known to be represented at Newstead. This is not the place to comment further on this momentous re-discovery.

The question whether SACER, ATTIANVS, early CINNAMVS, or a contemporary potter, made the Solway House Dr. 37 remains open at present; but that the development of the large vine-scroll was by the three named potters is clear, and early examples are at Corbridge by SACER,

⁸ W. F. Grimes, *Holt, Cymmrodorion Society* XLI, 1930.

⁹ Simpson & Rogers, 10, fig. 4.31, a Dr. 30 by ALBVCIVS. See also S & S, pl. 84.15 for the festoon on a SACER Dr. 37, and see pl. 157.6 in CINNAMVS style.

¹⁰ S & S, pl. 156.3.

and at Heronbridge, also associated with the Twentieth Legion, by CINNAMVS.¹¹ The Solway House MC 79 no. 3 bowl could have been made before A.D. 140.

Returning to the paper by Gillam and Mann, they had noted two exceptional pieces, one of which, the samian bowl no. 3 we have seen need no longer be regarded as late or exceptional in a late Hadrianic context. The other vessel was a black-burnished cooking-pot, no. 20 in the original report, and in the B-B1 group, fig. 1, no. 4, in their paper, and Mr. Gillam noted that although the type is late in the early series, it is nevertheless represented in the forts of Throp and Haltwhistle Burn.¹² Therefore, whether the reader prefers to assign such pottery at Throp and Haltwhistle Burn to the late Trajanic or early Hadrianic periods, it is a type represented in deposits dated before A.D. 125, by which time these little Stanegate forts were given up, and the single example from milecastle 79 does not have to be assigned to the early Antonine period or HW IB, as Gillam made clear from the first.

Another potter mentioned by Gillam and Mann is CETTVS or the Small S Potter, and they suggest that the fragment found in a pit in the annexe at Mumrills on the Antonine Wall "could well have reached the site after 185".¹³ This potter worked at Martres-de-Veyre,¹⁴ and he has long been a problem: the second most commonly represented potter on the Antonine Wall, after the CINNAMVS group; common also on Hadrian's Wall; only once recorded in Wales, at Caerhun; his style is not associated with other potters since he was working after the main period of production at Martres. In *Central Gaulish Potters* a period of production c. A.D. 160-195 was suggested. Mr. Hartley in the Mumrills

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pl. 83.8 by SACER with CINNAMVS ovolo 3B; and pl. 162.57 by CINNAMVS with an ovolo very like ATTIANVS ovolo 1, in Chester Museum.

¹² *CW*², LII, 1952, 32-3.

¹³ *AA*⁴, XLVIII, 1970, 38.

¹⁴ J.-R. Terrisse, *Les céramiques sigillées G-R des Martres-de-Veyre*, XIX Supplement, *Gallia*, 1968.

report suggested after A.D. 170,¹⁵ but more recently he noted that he may have worked before A.D. 160.¹⁶ But a re-discovery in France has at last made plain that CETTVS was working c. A.D. 135/140-160, and I have Mr. George Rogers' permission to mention it here. He has already prepared for publication in *Revue Archeologique du Centre* an illustrated paper about it.

He observed in the museum at Clermont Ferrand in 1970 a group of about five bowls of Dr. 37 fused together during firing, and bearing the styles of CETTVS, early CINNAMVS with the 3B ovolo, the D ... Potter and one other style, probably the Large S Potter. The importance of the D ... Potter will be discussed next, but the early dating for CETTVS implies that his bowl reached Caerhun before about A.D. 140.¹⁷

The style of the D ... Potter was identified by Birley and Stanfield at Corbridge, Chesterholm, Birrens and Milking Gap. It is the last named site which is most interesting for the end of HW IA and the beginning of HW IB, for this was a native settlement "... in the time of Antoninus Pius, when the Vallum had been slighted and the neighbouring M/c 38 and Turret 38a closed down", as Professor Birley commented in his book.¹⁸ The coarse pottery report had been written by Birley, and his original conclusion was that "apart from nos. 16 and 35, which might be Trajanic, all the pieces seem to belong to the time of Hadrian or later in the second century".¹⁹ His later comment, only part of which has been quoted above, accords with that earlier conclusion. The sherd in the style of the D ... Potter was the only piece of samian ware at Milking Gap settlement, and it may well have come from one of the disused mile-castles. Stanfield dated it A.D. 110-115. About the same time, Birley and Stanfield were studying the D ... Potter sherd

¹⁵ K. A. Steer, *P.S.A.S.*, 1960-61, 110.

¹⁶ J. S. Wachter, *Brough-on-Humber*, 1969, 126.

¹⁷ *Arch. Camb.* CXI, 1962, p. 135, S24.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, 275, note.

¹⁹ H. E. Kilbride-Jones, *AA4*, XV, 1938, 347-348.

from Birrens, found below the flag footing of the north rampart with an interesting group of coarse pottery dated Hadrianic-Antonine.²⁰ The Chesterholm Dr. 37 was found at a low level in the headquarters; and the style of this potter is well represented at Corbridge.

Stanfield had completed Plates 27-34 as the "RANTO group" potters although the "MEDETVS-RANTO" style (both were really only bowl makers) changes on plate 28 to that of the D . . . Potter, and although he had discussed the two styles in the Birrens report already mentioned. The close-packed tiny details of the "RANTO group", as crowded as many other Trajanic styles, change to the open, spacious style of the D . . . Potter, using some of the same details and figure-types, notably the special dolphins. Because of this stylistic advance, I extended the suggested period of production to A.D. 125.²¹ But the fused wasters show that the D . . . Potter was still working at a time when the styles of CETTVS and early CINNAMVS were already individually distinctive. This suggests that the D . . . Potter was already working c. A.D. 115/120-140.

During the past eighty years, samian studies have been progressing, by trial and error, and there is still a long way to go. If samian studies now offer more information about potters associated with Hadrian's Wall IA period, and the intermission before IB, the material available is small, as yet. It is certain that more will be found, in Britain or on the Continent, sooner or later. However, there already exists another class of material, centurial stones from the curtain of the Great Wall, and the evidence of one of these is most important for the problem of when the Intermediate Wall was built.

²⁰ E. Birley, *PSAS*, LXXII, 1937-38, 310-12 and 324 fig. 29. See also S & S, pl. 30, 363 and 365.

²¹ S & S, 34.

Centurial Stones in the Western Sector

The series of centurial stones which each mark the length of curtain built by a century from the Legions of Britain have been especially studied by C. E. Stevens in his two repositories of thought and detailed information "The Building of Hadrian's Wall".²² The survivors of the centurial stones are remarkably numerous in the east and centre. Stevens has implied that perhaps there were centurial stones on the Turf Wall, but that none had yet been found. This is still the position today.²³ In his Epilogue²⁴ he noted that there was, by then, one exception to the absence of centurial stones in the western sector—Cassius Priscus.

In 1962 an old newspaper record of the year 1813 was noted by Mr. C. R. Hudleston, and interpreted by Professor Birley as reading "Century of Cassius Priscus". It came from the Intermediate Wall Sector at Old Wall, west of Irthington, Milecastle 59 to Turret 59a.²⁵ Cassius Priscus is already recorded twice with his Century at work on the stone Wall, once in the east and once in the centre. None of his three stones has an exact provenance, but one comes from the Broad Wall Sector near MC 16 at Harlow Hill, and the third comes from the Narrow Wall Sector just east of Birdoswald near MC 49.²⁶

Birley and Hudleston have thus shown that, although presumably late in the Hadrianic period, there was still at least one serving centurion who had worked on the earlier parts of the Great Wall, and who was finally building the Intermediate Wall. It is strange, but fortunate, that Cassius Priscus was one survivor known to us who built sections of the Wall from end to end.

There is another centurial stone from the Western Sector,

²² C. E. Stevens, The Third Horsley Memorial Lecture, *AA*, XXVI, 1948, 1-49; revised *C.W.*, Extra Series, vol. XX, 1966.

²³ *Ibid.*, 83 and n. 368.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 135, no. 248b, 141, n. 33.

²⁵ *Carlisle Journal*, 28 August 1813; *JRS* 53, 1963, 161, 9 & n. 13.

²⁶ *RIB* 1415, 1869.

"... found long ago at Glasson. I saw it at Boulness ..." (Bowness), wrote Brand in 1789.²⁷ Glasson is a mile north-west from Drumburgh, and half a mile south-west from MC 77. Birley has noted the likeness to elaborately decorated centurial stones set up, like the Glasson stone, by the Second Legion and without exact provenance except from the area between MC 6-8. These stones have sometimes been thought to be Antonine because of this elaborate style, although there are many degrees of elaboration on centurial stones. However, since the recognition of Cassius Priscus near MC 59, the LEG. II AVG. COH III stone from Glasson is not the only certain centurial stone from the Western Sector. Thus the argument to place it in the Antonine period and therefore date the Intermediate Wall as Antonine, is now less important. A stone found in Carlisle may be yet another centurial stone, and it too is decorative, though less so than the Second Legion stones just mentioned.²⁸ Two other stones from the Wall are certainly Antonine repair-records: one is dated A.D. 158 and was found somewhere near Heddon-on-the-Wall, and the other comes from Pike Hill Signal Tower.²⁹

If the Turf Wall replacement by the Intermediate Wall took place in late Hadrianic times, as the ceramic evidence noted above together with Cassius Priscus allows, then some milecastle gates of the Intermediate Wall may still retain traces of broken door-stones marking the end of Period IA. Only the pier foundation pits remained of the stone gates at Solway House MC 79, and at the few other Milecastle excavations in the Western Sector the remains were badly robbed. However, it is possible that enough masonry survives at a Milecastle gate somewhere to retain this evidence which is required to settle the matter.

²⁷ J. Brand, *History and Antiquities of Newcastle upon Tyne*, 1789, i. 616.

²⁸ *RIB* 2032.

²⁹ *RIB* 1389, 1957, and see E. Birley *CW*², LXIII, 153-5.

Conclusions

The dating in 1951 of a samian bowl compelled my father, Richmond, Birley, Stevens and Gillam, to leave open the question of when the Turf Wall was replaced by the stone Intermediate Wall. It was a small thing to check such a formidable band of archaeologists. I hope that I have now offered a better comment on the samian bowl, and it is fortunate that during the interval the ceramic evidence has been reinforced by Cassius Priscus and his century.

The pottery and the centurial stone suggest that the Intermediate Wall was completed in late Hadrianic times and, as I recall that this was my father's belief, which he wished to prove by the test of excavation, I hope that eventually that proof will be found.

My grateful thanks are due to Mr. C. E. Stevens and Professor Birley for kindly reading this paper.