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SEGONTIUM

AND THE ROMAN OCCUPATION OF WALES.

By R. E. MORTIMER ~~W~~LER, M.C., D.Lit., F.S.A.

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Segontium and the Roman Occupation of Wales.

EDITORIAL NOTE.

For several years past, Dr. R. E. Mortimer Wheeler, Keeper of the Archaeological Department of the National Museum of Wales, and Lecturer in Archaeology at the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire, has been engaged in investigating the story, and excavating the remains of the Roman occupation in Wales. During 1921-23 he devoted many months of assiduous research to the much-talked-of but imperfectly appreciated problems connected with the important Roman site at Carnarvon. His discoveries were made known from time to time in contributions to various archaeological journals, more especially to the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. A general desire, however, has been expressed that the main results of his investigations should be gathered together and made accessible in one volume. The Council of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion, therefore, very cordially accepted Dr. Wheeler's offer to summarise his labours and his writings and to publish them with a complete set of illustrations as one of the volumes of *F Cymmrodor*. The members of the Society and of the public who are interested in Archaeology are deeply indebted to Dr. Wheeler for the unremitting attention he has given to the task undertaken by him. It remains to add that the Council greatly value the services of Dr. Wheeler, who is solely responsible for the present production, and desire to acknowledge in the warmest manner the assistance rendered to him by Professor Bosanquet, formerly of the University of Liverpool, Mr. Wilfred J. Hemp, Secretary to the Advisory Board on Ancient Monuments (Wales), and Mr. W. H. Stevenson, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford.

On behalf of the Council, E. VINCENT EVANS,

Hon. Secretary and Editor.

Y Cymmrodor.

VOL. XXXIII. "CARED DOETH YR ENCILION." 1923.

Segontium and the Roman Occupation of Wales.

BY R. E. M. WHEELER, M.C., D.LIT., F.S.A.

With an Introduction by R. C. Bosanquet, M.A., F.S.A.,
and Appendices by W. J. Hemp, F.S.A., and W. H.
Stevenson, M.A.

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INTRODUCTION.

BY R. C. BOSANQUET, M.A., F.S.A.,

Late Professor of Archaeology in the University of Liverpool.

It was long a matter of course that ruined buildings should serve as quarries—especially Roman ruins, for they were the work of the heathen. Protests began in the eighteenth century, and the nineteenth saw a growing respect for the past; a romantic liking for castles and abbeys led people to study the history and antiquities of their own neighbourhood, and prepared the public conscience for the protection of monuments by law. It is only within living memory that scientific methods of excavation have made it possible to read the history even of a plundered site in the floor-levels, coins and scraps of pottery, hidden beneath the soil. You may give the stone-robbers a free hand for fifteen hundred years, and at the end the stratification will still be traceable; but if you build over the site of an ancient settlement, the evidence is sealed up or destroyed. So it is that in our own day town after town has repented at the eleventh hour, and tried to save the record of its Roman origin. South Shields led the way; the Ecclesiastical Commissioners offered the Roman area to builders, and Robert Blair, a sturdy lawyer of the old port, called a town's meeting, and secured a partial excavation. At Merthyr in 1904 Mr. F. T. James and others excavated and planned the Roman buildings in Pen-y-darren Park, which were being demolished by the blind haste of contractors levelling a football ground. Manchester bestirred herself a few years later. And in 1916, in war-time, Rotherham showed a fine

sense of civic responsibility, when the Roman site of Templebrough was required for the extension of steel works; the Corporation raised a fund, organized the exploration under skilled control, and published a fully illustrated report.¹

Now it has been the turn of Carnarvon. What remained of the site of Segontium, already in part built over, came into the market in 1913, and but for the patriotic action of a few enthusiasts, who had vision and courage, it would have been sold piece-meal and lain at the mercy of speculative builders. It is right that their names should be recorded here. They were Lord Boston; Mr. H. R. Davies, Treborth; Miss A. M. Davies, Treborth; Colonel Lloyd-Evans, Broom Hall; Sir E. Vincent Evans, F.S.A.; Mr. Willoughby Gardner, F.S.A., Deganwy; Captain G. H. Higson, F.S.A., Beddgelert; and Col. W. Ll. Morgan, F.S.A., Swansea. An Excavation Committee, consisting of these Proprietors and others interested in the undertaking, was formed in the summer of 1919. Sir Vincent Evans acted as chairman, Mr. H. R. Davies as treasurer, Mr. E. Neil Baynes, F.S.A., and Mr. W. J. Hemp, F.S.A., as joint secretaries. It was considered essential that there should be continuous supervision by a trained archaeologist; accordingly, Mr. A. G. K. Hayter, F.S.A., directed the work in 1920, and Dr. R. E. M. Wheeler, F.S.A., in the three following seasons. The results, recorded in *Archæologia Cambrensis* with exemplary fullness and promptitude, amply justified the public spirit of those who interposed at the time of the auction. Let there be no misunderstanding. These ruins are the title-deeds of the ancient borough of Carnarvon. Their late owner treated them with indifference, and missed an opportunity of public service. Perhaps it was fitting, certainly it was noteworthy and commendable, that some of his neighbours should club together to make his omission good. One wishes that the Town Council of Carnarvon had seen their duty plain and not left the work of rescue to private generosity. But it is pleasant to record their keen interest in the excavation, and the help freely given by their officials. The Committee are deeply indebted also to the owners and occupiers of adjoining ground, particularly the Vicar of Llanbeblig, who allowed them to explore part of his garden, fell trees, and discover beneath their roots the striking

¹ Thomas May, *The Roman Ports of Templebrough near Rotherham*, 1922.

remains of the south-west gate. The goodwill of the citizens of Carnarvon has done much, but it could not remove the real difficulties of the site. Besides the Vicarage and its grounds there were two more recent houses, the town reservoir, and the public road sealing up half the area of the fort; and the remainder had been disturbed on the eve of the excavation by industrious allotment holders—a minor tragedy of the war, for intensive spade-cultivation destroys floor-levels, and so confuses the evidence much more than the grubbing-up of walls. Nevertheless, four seasons of patient, skilful work have unravelled the plan and structural history of the essential buildings through successive periods of occupation and disuse. In the article which follows Dr. Wheeler summarizes the evidence and his deductions from it, unconsciously providing an exposition of modern archæological method. He learned in a good school, for he studied archæology under Professor Ernest Gardner, worked in the School of Architecture in the University of London, and was afterwards on the staff of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments in England. Nowadays a knowledge of ancient history and art are not enough to equip a scholar for research; he should also be a surveyor, draughtsman and photographer. Such men are few, and when the National Museum of Wales and the University College of South Wales united three years ago in establishing a joint archæological post they were fortunate in securing Dr. Wheeler's services.

In the life of Segontium there were three periods of military occupation, roughly 75-140 A.D., 210-290 or a little later, and a third less precisely defined, beginning 350 or 365 and ending about 380 or 390: and two intervals of disuse, 140-210 and 290-350. Naturally these dates are only approximate; the evidence is fully discussed in Dr. Wheeler's paper. If I anticipate his conclusions here it is in order to indicate their bearing upon the future study of the site. The fort proper has told its story, but it behoves the people of Carnarvon and the zealous antiquaries of North Wales generally to keep a watchful eye on its unexplored surroundings, which may at any time furnish evidence such as could not be preserved within its walls.

This will become clear if we consider the probable aspect of such a military station in its prime. A high rampart, crowned with towers and pierced on the four sides by gateways, shut in the professional life of the cohort. That life had its centre in the headquarters-building of which the

plan in its successive stages has been so convincingly recovered. One of the altars which stood there came to light in the strong room, confirming what had been gleaned by discoveries elsewhere about the administrative personnel of such outposts. Inscribed tablets over the arched entrance of the Prætorium and possibly in the walls of granaries and barracks showed when and by whom each had been erected or restored. Larger tablets, perhaps monumental sculptures were to be seen over the gateway of the fort. But the fullest record of the troops who served here would have been found outside the walls. The religion which found its expression in the altars of the Prætorium was a matter of official routine; it was in the sanctuaries on the adjoining slopes that we should have seen the monuments dedicated by successive commandants, officers and private soldiers to gods and goddesses in bewildering variety: to "Jupiter most good and great", to Mars and Victory, to German deities with uncouth names that meant much to recruits from overseas, and to local Celtic powers of mountain and stream, the real gods of the land. In the cemeteries lining the main roads were inscribed tombstones and rudely-sculptured groups, pathetic memorials of officers from Mediterranean shores, soldiers from the Rhineland, traders, it may be, from Greece or Syria, wives from the British hills, and the children of their intermarriages who were proud to call themselves Roman.

What has become of all these records? First, and most instructive if we could recover them, those of the unknown corps which was withdrawn from Carnarvon about 140 A.D., probably for service on the northern frontier. This, so far as we can judge, was a peaceful and orderly evacuation. At such a moment the outgoing troops sometimes buried the monuments which their piety had set up, to save them from possible desecration. The best known case is at Maryport on the Cumberland coast, where a large number of altars and some sculptured stones were hidden in pits dug for the purpose some three hundred yards to the north-east of the fort, a little beyond an embankment which probably enclosed the "canabæ" or camp-village.² In the same way at Auchen-

² Nine pits yielded 17 altars and other stones in 1872; about 40 other pits had been rifled long before, but fragments of altars in some of them showed what they had contained. Plans of pits in Bruce, *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, facing p. 429, and of the fort and its surroundings in *Trans. Cumberland and Westmoreland Soc.*, N.S. xv, p. 135, and xxiii, p. 153.

davy on the Scottish Wall five altars were found concealed in a pit to the south of the fort. Chance may some day bring to light a similar *cache* in the neighbourhood of Segontium. Even without deliberate concealment there was time for an outlying monument, whether altar or tombstone, to become overgrown and lost to sight in the interval between 140 and 210 A.D. But the possible area is so large as to put systematic search out of the question.³

When the fort was restored any inscriptions relating to former building operations would naturally disappear. Elsewhere the third century has left a rich harvest of inscriptions, but at Segontium only one of those set up during the second occupation has survived, the slab commemorating the restoration of the aqueduct by the new garrison, the First Cohort of Sunici. The period ended about 290 A.D. in violence and disorder. The arched entrance to the sanctuary of the standards was wrecked, as we may infer from the arch-stones found in the strong-room beneath it, in or soon after the reign of Carausius. But for deliberate destruction such an arch might have stood far into the Middle Ages, like those of Amboglanna and Corstopitum, which were taken down and re-erected as the chancel-arches of neighbouring churches. It is plain that barbarian enemies had possession of Segontium for a time, and vented their hate—as in many other places—on monuments and buildings. It is not surprising that within the camp only one inscribed slab has survived. In the external region there may not have been time for concealment of altars, but the interval from 290 to 350 A.D. would allow nature to perform the work of burial. Such old material as lay to hand was assuredly used in the last restoration, and those buildings in their turn fell a prey to mediæval stone-masons; but it is always the conspicuous central mass of ruins—in this case the fort—that bears the brunt of such ravages.

There is reason then for vigilance in the future: when new houses are built, trenches cut for water-mains or sewers, or old pasture broken up anywhere in the surrounding area. We know from the record of recent building operations, as well as from the careful work done by Mr. Hayter in 1920,

³ Thus at Housesteads, Northumberland, shrines and altars stood 250 yards S. of the fort; at Wallsend altars were found 300 yards W.; others at Rough Castle on the Scottish Wall 200 or 300 yards E.; at Bar Hill 240 yards N.E.; at Lanchester 200 yards N.; at Caergai 120 yards E. I have chosen cases in which there is reason to think the monument was on its original site.

that there was a considerable camp-village outside the north-west gate. Wells and refuse-pits may yield surprising finds, especially near a fort that has been twice evacuated. We want to know whether the area allotted to the *canabae* varied at different periods,⁴ whether for instance the stricter discipline of Hadrian's time kept the huts at a fixed distance from the fort-ditch, and whether the encroachments on the ditch, noticed under the shelter of the south-east wall and significantly dated to the end of the third century (p. 73 below), can be detected elsewhere. Moreover, as was pointed out in the Excavation Committee's first report, it is in this external region that "the greatly desired traces of early post-Roman occupation" may yet be found.

Lastly there is a problem to be solved in regard to the minor fortification on the river-bank 500 yards west of the main fort. It is obvious that Carnarvon, the furthest outpost of Rome in north-west Wales, must have been a port of call for ships bringing supplies to Chester and the military region to the north, and for any squadron employed in policing the coast. The evacuation of 140 A.D. implies that no danger was then anticipated either from Welsh hillmen or Irish seafarers. There is reason to suspect an evacuation also at Llanio in Cardiganshire, but before drawing any general inference we must learn by excavation for what periods not only Llanio but Tomen-y-mur and Pennal were held. Does the re-occupation of Segontium in 210 mean that raids or migrations from Ireland had begun? One of the Irish sources quoted by Kuno Meyer in the Cymmrodorion Society's *Transactions*⁵ speaks of Irish settlements in Britain before the close of the second century; another tells how Lugaid Mac Con returned from exile in Britain about the year 195, with a British king and a foreign army at his back. Dr. George Macdonald has suggested that Irish tribes reinforced the Picts of Galloway in the great rising which swept the Roman garrisons out of Scotland about 181 and the subsequent raids which penetrated as far as Yorkshire and were repeated at intervals until Severus restored

⁴ The supplementary excavations of the Cardiff Naturalists Society at Gellygaer have shown that the area adjoining the fort was laid out according to a regular scheme, drill-ground to north-east, bath-house within a compound to south-east, and *canabae* presumably on one or both of the remaining sides. See Fig. 9.

⁵ *Trans. Cymmrodor. Soc.*, 1895-6, pp. 59, 64.

order in the years 208-211. During those twenty-seven years Roman prestige sank very low; even Chester did not feel too safe and was girt with new walls.⁶ When the Tyne-Solway barrier was re-occupied, Bremenium, the eastern outlier of the Wall, was rebuilt while Birrens in Annandale, its counterpart on the west, was never recovered. Thereby Rome lost her last foothold in what is now Scotland. This surrender points to the growth of a formidable native state in Galloway. That the enemy had ships appears from the prolonged concentration of troops along the Cumbrian coast, which was only less strongly manned than the Wall itself. Forts more widely spaced guarded the harbours and river-mouths of Westmorland and Lancashire. But these precautions were useless if the north coast of Wales lay open; accordingly we find Severus restoring Segontium and the road to it. Doubtless there were wharves and other provision for a squadron based on Chester which could watch the adjoining coasts. The thoroughly Roman bath-house excavated by Major Charles Breese at Tremadoc shows that in the third century there was some kind of detachment posted at the entrance of Traeth Mawr.⁷ Once more we want information about Tomen-y-mur and Pennal.

Thus we have indications of a gradual southward extension of the maritime front which needed defence against raiders from the north-west, Piets alone in the earlier period, reinforced later by Irish adventurers who had heard of the wealth and weakness of the province. Pembroke-shire was not effectually held and we learn from Irish sources that the Dessi, immigrants from Meath, were able to establish themselves there about 270 A.D. Dr. Wheeler has called attention to the abundance of "coins of the Gallie and Carausius periods found in native Welsh sites"⁸ and, in the list of coin-hoards which he, with Miss M. V. Taylor and Mr. Willoughby Gardner, has recently compiled, the finds of that period are seen to occur chiefly on or near the coast. Some of them may represent bounty paid to

⁶ Of the many tombstones built into the north rampart none is later than the reign of Commodus. It must have been a pressing danger that induced the legion to desecrate its cemetery.

⁷ *Arch. Camb.*, 6 S. ix, pp. 473-494. I have not seen the pottery, but the *mortaria* of white clay with red and sepia colouring on the rim are probably of the third century, if not later.

⁸ *Trans. Cymmr. Soc.*, 1920-21, p. 92.

sailors of the fleet;⁹ we know that Carausius enlisted and trained large numbers of "barbarians," among them perhaps Irish settlers on the Welsh sea-board. It was probably at the time of the final stand made by Allectus (293-296), when every available man would be required in Southern Britain, that Segontium was captured and sacked. Dr. Wheeler shows that it was not rebuilt until 350 or later. But it is difficult to believe that Constantius and his successors, who made elaborate provision for coast defence elsewhere, left North Wales undefended. The little fort above the river at Carnarvon, of which Dr. Wheeler gives the first critical account (p. 95 below), has a strong family resemblance in its walls and round bastions—the latter destroyed—to the great fortresses of the Saxon Shore, and must have been constructed as a naval base and stores depôt which would require a smaller garrison, and guard ships in harbour and stores on land more effectually, than the old fort on the hill-top. It may well have been the work of Constantius.

Here Dr. Wheeler points out that we have a fort of the same type in the enigmatic walls and bastions of Caer Gybi, which now enclose the churchyard of Holyhead.¹⁰ It is most desirable that his discoveries should be rounded off by some exploration of these two sites. In spite of the later constructions which encumber them it may be possible by trial-trenches and pits to get some indication of their date and the period for which they were occupied.

This is a piece of work which might be taken in hand by the University College of North Wales, which has already made itself responsible for the custody of the Carnarvon finds. It was within its walls that Dr. Haverfield gave that address on the Romans in Wales, afterwards expanded and read to the Cymmrodorion Society, which prepared the way for so much useful excavation. Writing a few years later he pointed out that the older universities had long neglected the study of our national antiquities; "our newer universities have brought a change. They have taken up what

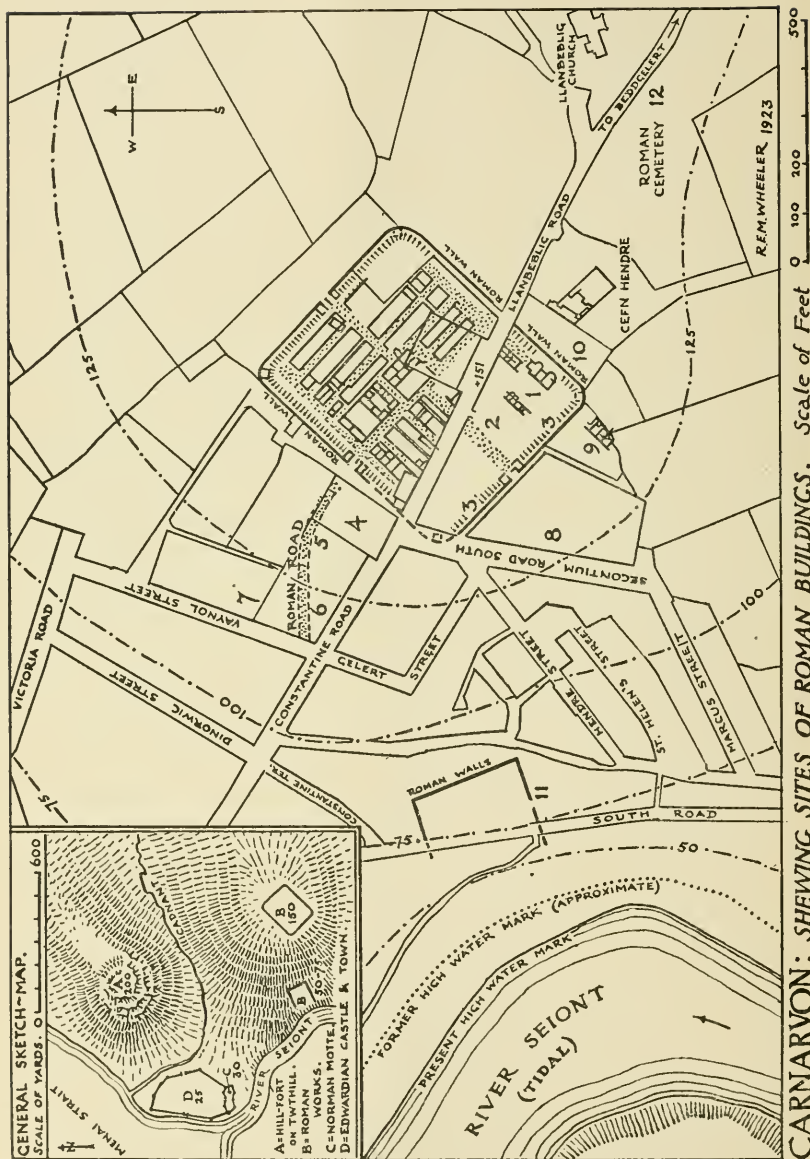
⁹ A case in point is the great hoard ending with Carausius, weighing "a hundred-weight or thereabouts", found near Newton North, $2\frac{1}{2}$ m. S.W. of Narberth, near the point where the Eastern Cleddau ceases to be navigable. The coins "had apparently been enclosed in a skin, and the impression of the leather on the verdigris was plainly to be seen". *Pembrokeshire Archaeological Survey*; cp. *Arch. Camb.*, 1857, p. 313, Laws, *Little England*, p. 46.

¹⁰ Prof. J. E. Lloyd recalled attention to these works in his *History of Wales*, i, p. 67.

older institutions have neglected; and actually they have done much good in a brief space of time." Dr. Wheeler's appointment at Cardiff and his successful researches should inspire some benefactor to endow a chair or lectureship in archæology at Bangor.

[To the names of those whose share in the exploration of Segontium has been acknowledged by Professor Bosanquet in his introduction must be added that of Professor Bosanquet himself. The excavations were in direct line of descent from those instituted by him and the Liverpool Committee for Excavation and Research in Wales and the Marches during his tenure of the Chair of Classical Archaeology at Liverpool before the War. In the midst of the many diversions which involved his resignation of the Chair, he has found opportunity not only to visit the site from time to time during the work but to illuminate many incidental problems which have been referred to or discussed with him. My indebtedness is recorded here and there in the following pages, but these particular acknowledgments convey an inadequate idea of all that the Segontium excavations owe to Professor Bosanquet for continuous, stimulating and characteristically unobtrusive support.

I may take this opportunity of adding another word or two of thanks where many thanks are due. The ungrateful duties of "Local Secretary" were cheerfully undertaken by Lieut.-Col. Ll. Lloyd Jones, whose effective energy took much of the less interesting work off my shoulders. Mr. Willoughby Gardner, F.S.A., with the sustained enthusiasm which has made him one of the pioneers of modern archaeology in North Wales, did perhaps more than any single individual to ensure the maintenance of the work through several difficult years to its allotted end. Amongst many who took a part in the actual excavations, my gratitude is due especially to Mr. A. W. Clapham, F.S.A., for invaluable assistance rendered at a time when the work was both complicated and widely scattered. Mr. E. Neil Baynes, F.S.A., and Mr. W. J. Hemp, F.S.A., shared the dreary secretarial work which in such cases is no sinecure, and Mr. Hemp has added to my debt by providing the photographs of *Caer Gybi* and the appendix on the Roman roads which no one better knows. In the preparation of the reports, Miss M. V. Taylor, M.A., has assisted with the greatest readiness in the discovery or verification of references; and Mr. W. H. Stevenson's full note on the etymology of the various name-forms of Segontium and its river (Appendix II) represents the first extensive and considered statement of this puzzling philological problem. To Sir Vincent Evans, the Chairman of the Excavation Committee, is due an additional meed of gratitude for facilitating the publication of this volume, and for seeing it through the press. Finally, this page would not be complete without a reference to the continuous assistance of my wife, of whom I will say no more than that she carried out the administrative duties of the excavation and has shared in all stages of the work.—R.E.M.W.]



CARNARVON: SHEWING SITES OF ROMAN BUILDINGS. Scale of Feet

Fig. 1. (For key, see p. 110.)

i. CARNARVON.

Carnarvon was, until modern times, one of the natural gateways into Britain from the west. To small craft sailing eastwards across the Irish Sea, the first comfortable shelter is that offered by the narrow strait which has hewn the low and fertile island of Anglesey from the foot-hills of Snowdonia. Two miles within its western outlet this strait is met from the south-east by a river now called the Seiont, and a rivulet, the Cadnant, which enlose and are flanked by a series of small, steep-sided knolls. These knolls, and the shore beneath them, are replete with the written and unwritten history of western Britain. The bare rock of Twthill, rising to the height of 200 feet on the eastern bank of the Cadnant, is the loftiest of the series, and appropriately bears the remains of a small "promontory fort" which, in the absence of evidence, may be claimed vaguely as pre-historic. Some 600 yards to the south-east, between the steeply cut valleys of Cadnant and Seiont, rises the less rugged hill of Llanbeblig, whereon the Romans built their two forts; a hill 50 feet lower than Twthill, but far more spacious and little less commanding. Beneath the hill, where the river joins the strait, the Edwardian town and castle straggle across the site of a Norman motte, and, finally, at the mouth of the strait itself lies a small fort of the Napoleonic era.

To the student of social or of stragetic evolution, no more concise example of the "valleyward drift" of population could be desired; to the student of legend or of history no happier meeting-ground for vivid fantasy and romantic fact. Scarcely less real than the great walls of King Edward's castle is the bejewelled palace of Maxen Wledig's Dream. It was to Carnarvon that the Maxen of the Mabinogion, mythical counterpart of the emperor Maximus, was borne in his dream-ship, and it was in the Roman fort there that he saw "a fair hall, of which the roof seemed to be all gold. . . . Golden seats in the hall, and golden tables, and two auburn-haired youths playing at chess; a silver board for the chess and golden pieces thereon. . . . And beside a pillar in the hall he saw a hoary-headed man in a chair of ivory, with the figures of two eagles of ruddy gold thereon; . . . a man of powerful aspect. A chess-board of gold was before him, and a rod of gold, and a steel file in his hand. And he was carving out chessmen". In Giraldus and the mediæval chronicles we occasionally catch

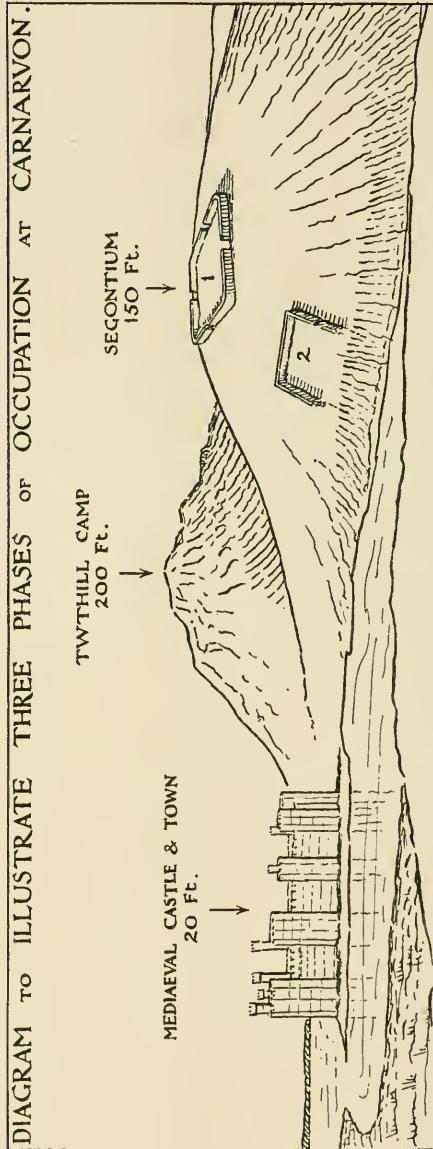


Fig 2. Diagrammatic view of Carnarvon from the south-west.

the glint of "golden roofs" in crumbling Roman towns and fortresses, and within a Roman site in Pembrokeshire a steadfast local tradition has buried a golden table. But the golden game of chess and the sinister being with the steel file strike a deeper note. They are the inspired self-expression of the un-Roman world to which the grandeur of Rome was a legend almost while it lived. In "Maxen's Dream" we hear the voice of an eloquent barbarism which testifies at once to the penetration and the remoteness of the Roman outpost civilization that is the subject of these pages. Carnarvon was intermittently occupied in the course of three centuries by Roman auxiliary troops drawn probably, in the first instance, from semi-barbarian frontier-regions overseas and from homes little more elaborate than those of the native villagers of North Wales. During these centuries, we may suppose that intermarriage between the soldiery and the local inhabitants, together with the increasing tendency to recruit the auxiliary regiments not merely from the children of such mixed marriages but from the natives themselves, must gradually have entailed a partial coalescence between the garrison and the population of the countryside. Nevertheless, if we turn from race to culture we see that the two civilizations—native and Roman—remained, in North Wales, essentially apart. The problem of Roman Carnarvon is not, in the full sense, that of imperial colonization, of the absorption and development of a subject population. It is, perhaps, one that is both more elusive and more intriguing—the problem of the gradual evolution of a timber-stockade, set up by an invading host of slave-drivers and exploiters, into a visionary palace with walls that "seemed to be entirely of glittering precious gems", a place still aloof and awesome and only half comprehended, but at least no longer unfriendly.

ii. THE FOUNDING OF SEGONTIUM.

The Carnarvon of the Romans formed a corner-stone of the imperial frontier-system in Britain. That frontier-system changed materially in the course of the three and a half centuries during which Britain remained an integral part of the Roman Empire. At the outset, however, its primary purpose was the consolidation of newly conquered or half-conquered territory amongst the hill districts of the north and west, where the less civilized and more independent elements in the native population carried on a

desultory warfare long after the pacification of the south and midlands. Geography determined that this frontier should take the form of two great salients; one stretching towards, or into, the lowlands of Scotland, the other coinciding with the peninsula of Wales. Roman strategy demanded that each of these salients should be covered with a network of forts and roads, converging towards the rear upon a series of large base-fortresses whence the whole system was controlled. The two salients necessitated three such fortresses. Towards the north, York lay centrally behind the hills of the Border country, and could at the same time cast a backward eye towards the Pennines in case of need. On the south, Caerleon held the Severn coasts from the foot of a valley which opened north-westwards into central Wales. In the re-entrant, at Chester, the third fortress overlooked North Wales, and could share with York the forts of Lancashire and Derbyshire. Each of these base-fortresses held a legion, or brigade of regular troops nearly 6,000 strong; in each of the dependent forts lay an auxiliary regiment of 500 or 1,000 men, variously equipped.

In Wales, this frontier system, based, as we have seen, upon Chester and Caerleon, covered a roughly rectangular area with its outer angles at Carmarthen in the south and Carnarvon in the north. Between these pivotal forts, at least three others—at Llanio, Pennal and Tomen-y-Mur—formed the main western frontier-line, within easy reach of the sea but comfortably secluded from it. Save perhaps for a few small and little-known outposts along the southern slopes of the Prescelly hills, the promontories of Pembrokeshire and Lleyrn were, with a sure instinct, omitted from the scheme. The interior of Wales was held by upwards of fifteen forts and posts, with Caersws in Montgomeryshire and probably the Gaer near Brecon as subsidiary points of convergence.

Such, in brief outline, was the frontier system which took shape during the last quarter of the first century A.D. Tacitus and the fragmentary evidence of the remains enable us to attach a fairly definite date to the work. As early as the year 60, the Roman governor Suetonius Paulinus had led a swift raid across North Wales into the native stronghold of Anglesey, but was immediately recalled by the rising of Boudicca and the Iceni in East Anglia. In those days, as in much later times, the Menai Strait was fordable under suitable conditions; but the principal fords lay nearer the north-eastern end of the Strait, in the neighbour-

hood of Bangor, and there was probably nothing to bring the army of Suetonius to Carnarvon. The real conquest

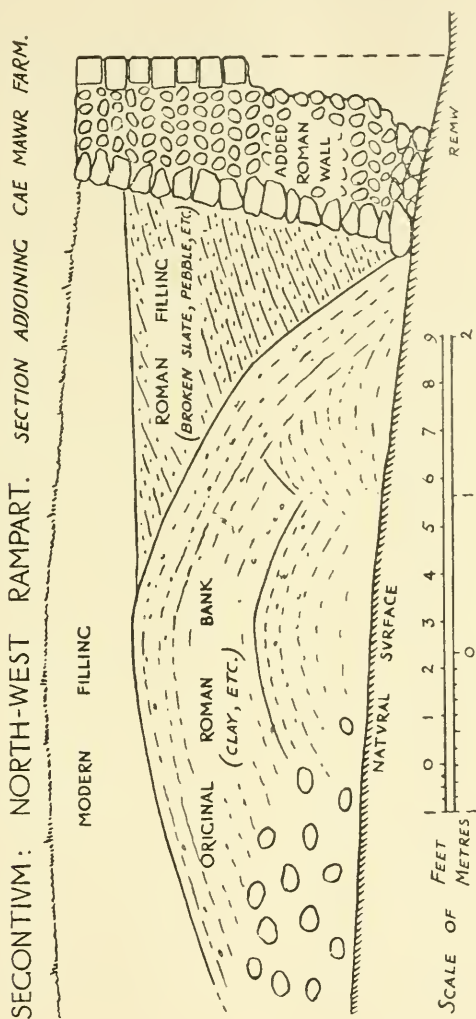


Fig. 3. Section through the north-west rampart.

of north-western Wales began with the successive campaigns of Petilius Cerialis and Julius Frontinus between the years

71 and 78. In the latter year, probably the first of Agricola's famous governorship,¹¹ the conquest of Wales was sealed by the final subjugation of the Ordovices. So far as is known the main body of this tribe lay rather in Mid than in North Wales,¹² and we may suppose that the first fort had been built at Carnarvon somewhat earlier. The year 75 may thus be taken as a central date for the founding of Segontium, with a maximum error of three or four years in either direction.

The argument from historical probability finds confirmation in the archæological evidence. From beneath the accumulated débris of three or more subsequent occupations, excavation has recovered the bare outline and some of the relics of the first fort built upon the summit of Llanbeblig Hill. Its defences enclosed an oblong, nearly square, area of $5\frac{1}{4}$ acres, and were carried on all sides to the sloping brow of the hill. They consisted of two double ditches and a bank of rammed boulder-clay 18 feet in width, but little more than five feet high (Fig. 3). Almost everywhere, however, the ground outside the fort fell away sufficiently to add another effective foot or more and thus to give the bank the minimum height of six feet demanded by the military writer Hyginus in the second century A.D. It is likely enough that the bank was crowned by a palisade, although no evidence of this was noted during the excavations.

The early date of these defences is indicated by direct evidence. In the body of the rampart at the northern corner were found fragments of a Samian bowl of a type (Form 29) which went out of use between 80 and 90 A.D. Fragments of about thirty similar bowls were found in various parts of the fort, and since the earlier strata were very imperfectly explored the proportion of this early type may be considered fairly large. Supplemented by a few other early Samian forms such as 15/17, 18, and "transitional" 37, it is sufficient to suggest an occupation not later, though scarcely earlier, than the beginning of the

¹¹ It is not quite certain whether Agricola reached Britain in 77 or 78, but the point is immaterial here.

¹² The name Dinorwic (near Carnarvon) has been thought to contain this tribal name. But in any case the period at which this name reached Carnarvonshire is of course unknown. See J. Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, pp. 220, 308.



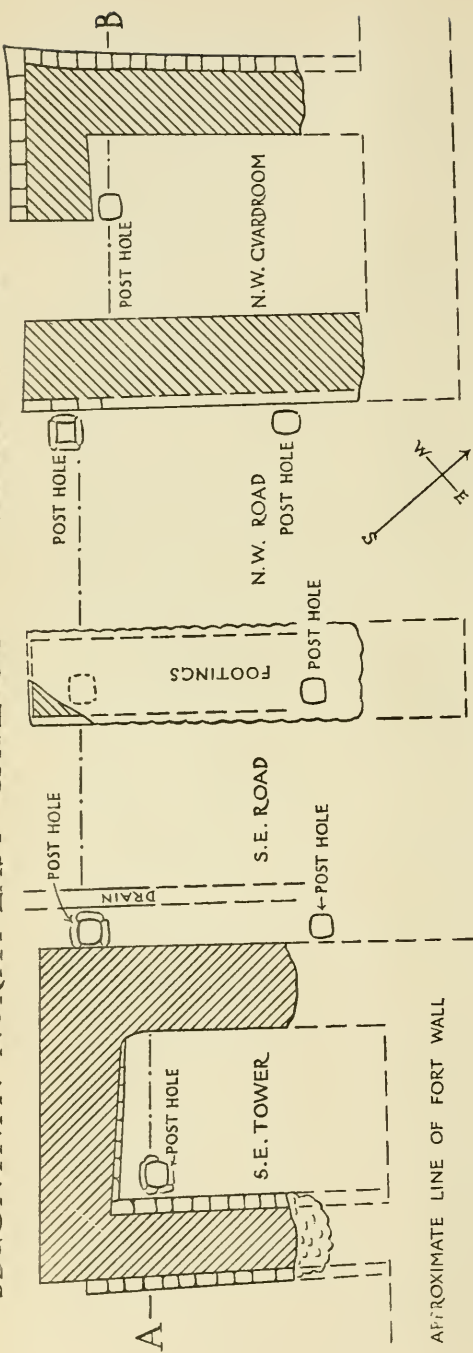
Fig. 4. Outer ditch of the fort, north-west side. The spade
(3ft. 2in. high) stands on the midrib.

To face p. 21.

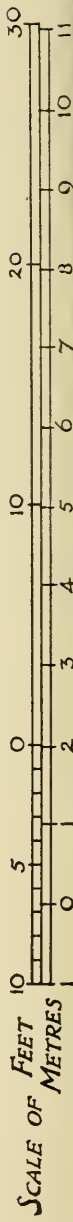
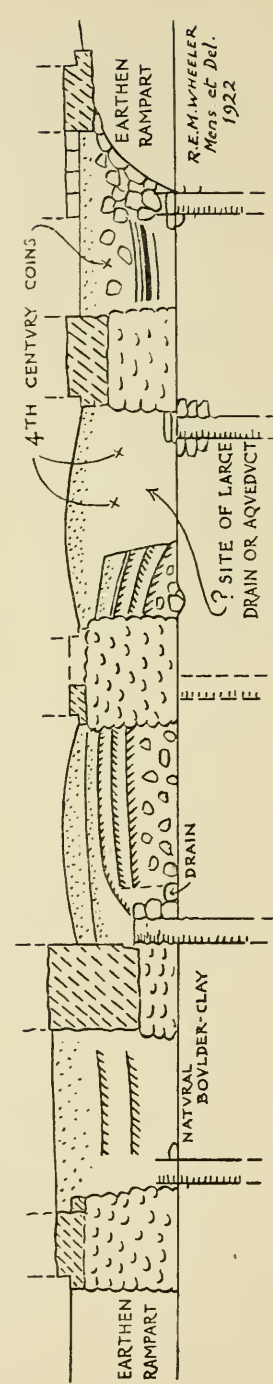
Flavian period (A.D. 69-96). The coins point to the same conclusion. The list (p. 121) shows that, omitting a few stray pieces—three Republican, an Augustus, a gold Tiberius, and one or perhaps two of Nero—the series begins effectively with Vitellius and Vespasian (A.D. 69-79), who are represented by 22 coins; whilst the few earlier coins are all such as may well have been in circulation as late as the end of the first or beginning of the second centuries.

The material of the ramparts was naturally derived from the ditches, which can be traced on all sides save the south-west, where modern buildings and gardens render observation impossible. On the north-west side near Cae Mawr farm-house and on the south-east side, near the southern corner of the fort, these ditches have been partially explored. The berm seems to have varied from 3 feet to about 7 feet, and the ditches themselves were roughly V-shaped, each about 17 feet wide, and subdivided by a central ridge (Fig. 4). This ridge presumably held some sort of *chevaux de frise*; evidence for this was not forthcoming, but it may be recalled that at Coelbren in Breconshire, for example, many wooden stakes, which had apparently served this purpose, were found in the double ditches of a first-century fort. Between the two ditches of Segontium lay an interval of about 15 feet, which may have been barricaded by a rough bank of piled boulders, although here again the evidence was uncertain.

The early gateways were, as usual, of timber. Of that in the north-eastern rampart 7 postholes were found beneath the later structures (Fig. 5). The holes had been prepared for timbers of nearly a foot scantling, and had been lined with heavy boulders. The gateway had consisted of two roadways flanked by guardrooms, the plans of which were imperfectly recovered. The roads were built of boulders covered by a thick layer of "pencil-slate"—a natural, broken shale which occurs locally. They were carried across the line of the central posts in a single camber, but curiously ended 4 feet from the north-west guardroom (see Fig. 5, section). The intervening space was presumably occupied by some structure such as a large built drain or conduit—it may even be conjectured that the aqueduct, which is known by inscription to have supplied the fort in the second century or earlier may have passed



PERIOD II. = PERIOD III (THIRD QUARTER OF 4TH CENTURY).



through the defences at this (the most favourable) point.¹³ Incomplete excavation within the fort failed to throw light on this problem. The structure, whatever it was, remained in position until the fourth-century reconstruction of the gateway, and its presence in the roadway may possibly have been a contributory cause in the early disuse of this part of the gate and in the omission to rebuild the adjacent guard-room in masonry before that late period. Whether or no, the original timber guardroom was maintained throughout the second and third centuries, this structure alongside it doubtless served in itself as a sufficient curb for the road surfaces which gradually accumulated within the gate. The deliberate curtailment of the earliest road-surface shows clearly that the vanished obstruction dates from the period of the original timber gateway; it follows (as the complete absence of all direct evidence independently suggests) that the gap is not merely the foundation trench of a removed flanking wall.

The south-western and north-western gateways were more heavily encumbered than the north-western with later masonry, but at the former and, less certainly, at the latter, single postholes represent the work of this early period; and it may here be noted that, a few feet outside the north-western gateway, the metalling of the road which approached it covered or contained two coins of *Vespasian* (69-79 A.D.).

Within the fort the buildings were, at this time, likewise of timber. Wherever the lower levels were extensively cleared postholes generally from 3 inches to 5 inches square, though sometimes rounded, were discovered. No complete plan was recovered, but the tendency of the postholes beneath the commandant's house to align with the later stone walls suggests that the first building on this site generally resembled its successor. In this building, the floors contemporary with the timber structure contained four pieces of *Samian* 29, several of 18 or 18/31, a few "transitional" 37, and fragments of rusticated and other early wares, together with a much worn *denarius*, minted

¹³ The large opening which admitted a built drain through the north gateway at *Caerwent* is a partial analogy. A closer parallel has been found at *Richborough*, where, as Mr. J. P. *Bush-Fox* tells me, a similar large gap in the road through the west gate must have contained an unusually large drain. I understand that recently a conduit of some size has been found in one of the gateways of the fort at *Ribchester*.

as early as 88-86 B.C. Such denarii are well known to have remained in occasional circulation until the latter part of the first century A.D.

Whether at this early period anything approaching an extra-mural settlement came into being, it is not at present possible to say. In 1893 and again in 1920 pits and wells (Fig. 6) together with ill-defined remains of wooden booths or hutments were found beyond the ditches on the north-west side of the fort, in some cases associated with first-century pottery. Moreover, it is likely enough that a bath-building of stone—the invariable accompaniment of a Roman fort—was set up on the southerly slope of the hill, between the fort and the river. In this region two bath-buildings are known to have existed. One was partially excavated as long ago as 1846 near the southern angle of the fort;¹⁴ the other was discovered and destroyed when the eastern side of Segontium Road South was built about thirty years ago. The baths lay beneath the middle of the present terrace (see Fig. 1), and descriptions received from workmen who unearthed and destroyed them leave no doubt as to their character. Whether either of these buildings stood there as early as the first century is obviously quite uncertain.

Such was the general aspect of the first Roman fort at Carnarvon. Of the men who built it we have no information. Forts of this type were sometimes, though perhaps rarely, constructed by legionary troops from a base-fortress and, in many cases, materials such as bricks were drawn from legionary workshops. Such bricks we might expect to find in the hypocausts of the bath-building, but this source at Carnarvon is denied to us, and no stamped brick is known to have been found on or near the site. The size of the fort indicates that the garrison was probably a thousand strong, but whether at this time of cavalry or infantry or mounted infantry we do not know.

The name of the fort, however, is certain. The eleventh route of the Antonine Itinerary gives the distance *a Segontio Devam* as 74 Roman miles, *i.e.*, 68-69 English miles, which, as Haverfield points out, is the actual railway mileage from Carnarvon to Chester. Of the two intermediary sites mentioned by the Itinerary, the first east of Segontium is *Conovium*, which must be identical with the *Canubium* of the Ravennas and the *Kanovium* of the well-known

¹⁴ *Arch. Camb.*, 1846, p. 284.



To face p. 24.

Fig. 6. Oak-lined well outside north-west defences.

Roman milestone found many years ago at Rhiwiau, near Llanfairfechan. This milestone places beyond doubt the identification of the name with the fort at Caerhûn, four miles south of Conway. But Caerhûn is $21\frac{1}{2}$ English miles east of Carnarvon by the Roman road described below by Mr. Hemp (p. 171); and, according to the Itinerary Conovium was 24 Roman (or approximately 22 English) miles in the direction of Deva (Chester) from Segontium. The coincidence of these distances and the absence of any alternative claimant, together with the obvious suitability of Carnarvon as the starting-point of the route in question, combine to establish the identification Carnarvon-Segontium, which has, indeed, never seriously been questioned since the time of Camden. If, however, the main problem is simple, the various side-issues which arise from the subsequent history of the name are full of difficulties which are discussed in detail by Mr. W. H. Stevenson on a later page (Appendix II., p. 177).

iii. THE FIRST FORT OF STONE.

To the buildings of timber succeeded, in the early years of the second century, others built of stone. The remains of these first stone buildings were often buried deeply beneath later walls and accumulated débris, and it is not possible to reconstruct the plan at this period with any completeness. Of the excavated buildings, however, four or five—the Prætorium (III.), the Commandant's House (II.), and two or three of the minor buildings (XIX., XX. and XXI.)—may, in part, be referred to this phase on direct evidence, whilst the two granaries (IV. and V.), block X. and the north-west gateway may be included upon more general grounds. The following summaries omit certain of the minor details already dealt with in the interim reports.

THE PRÆTORIUM:—The central site in the fort, facing the *via principalis* or main transverse thoroughfare, was, as usual, occupied by the headquarters-building. This building was at one time known to antiquaries at the *prætorium*, but the evidence of new inscriptions suggested in recent years that *principia* was the more normal term, at least in an auxiliary fort. It is possible that the nomenclature varied in ancient times, but Mr. Thomas May, after a fresh review of most of the literary and epigraphic evidence, has suggested that the actual headquarters was known as the

prætorium, and that the term *principia* was perhaps applied to the whole range of "principal" buildings—commandant's house, headquarters and granaries—which fronted the *via principalis*.¹⁵ The point does not merit further discussion until fresh evidence arises, and in the meantime the word *prætorium* may conveniently be retained.

The *prætoria* of Roman forts vary much in detail, but present two permanent features. That part of the building which faced the main street consisted of a courtyard wholly or partially surrounded by a verandah; and the back of the building consisted of a range of rooms, of which that in the centre formed the shrine or sacellum, where the standards, the imperial bust or statue and, often, the regimental cash were kept. Between these two constituent parts is commonly found a third, a long hall or partially roofed court, known to German writers as the "Querhof" or cross-hall. To these simple elements others were sometimes added. The verandahs of the main courtyard might be backed by ranges of small compartments, or might themselves be partitioned for this purpose; the cross-hall was frequently subdivided; the rooms flanking the shrine varied in number, and were rarely, as we shall see at Segontium, supplemented by the addition of small wings; occasionally, the front of the building was extended across the street in the form of a large hall which seems to have been used as a riding-school. These variations or elaborations were due in part to the exigencies of the individual station, but they also owed something to local fashion. The comparative immobility of the Roman frontier garrisons must have encouraged the upgrowth of local fashions in military architecture, such as we seem to detect in the plans of some of the German *prætoria* or, less certainly, in the elaborate multiple ditches characteristic of many of the Scottish forts. These problems, however, must be reserved for some future student of Roman castrametation—a rapidly enlarging, and increasingly fruitful, field of enquiry.

The new *prætorium* at Segontium was of the simple type characteristic of most of the forts in Britain (Figs. 11 and 12). A direct clue to the date of the work was afforded by the discovery of a good denarius of Nerva (A.D. 96-98) in the contemporary flooring near the northern corner of the main courtyard. This courtyard contained a well and was apparently flanked on three sides by verandahs carried on

¹⁵ T. May, *The Roman Forts of Templebrough* (1922), pp. 29 ff.

wooden posts. The proximity of one of the post-sockets to the well shows that the insertion of this almost universal feature of the *prætorium* either accompanied or, more probably, preceded the reconstruction. The shaft was carefully stoned, and was $13\frac{1}{2}$ feet deep. At a depth of 9-12 feet was found a large number of bones of *bos longifrons*, including the skulls or horn-cores of at least eight animals. Professor D. M. S. Watson, who has examined the bones, notes that, unlike most others from the fort, none of them had been cut for food: but what inference should be drawn is not clear, since it would be more than difficult to insert a complete carcase into the shaft.¹⁶ At the depth of 9 feet was a "Gloria exercitus" coin (c. A.D. 330-342), and at the bottom were a shale spindle-whorl and a coin of Valentinian I. (A.D. 364-365). The well was evidently cleaned out in the course of the fourth-century occupation.

The cross-hall at this period seems to have been subdivided by a wooden partition towards its north-western end; the opposite end was not available for excavation. Its undrained clay floor indicates with certainty that it was completely roofed. From it three doors offered access to the courtyard, whilst on the north-eastern side it opened into a range of five rooms. That in the centre was the shrine, whilst the others formed the principal regimental offices, the individual use of which will be considered at a later stage. As in many other forts, the fronts of these rooms were largely open, or were closed by screens and curtains.

THE COMMANDANT'S HOUSE (Building II.):—Immediately north-west of the *prætorium* lay a building of well-known type, consisting of four ranges of small rooms opening through continuous verandahs on to a central court-

¹⁶ Professor Bosanquet writes "Were these the heads of sacrificed animals, affixed to wooden architraves of the verandah? The South Shields excavators found in the *prætorium* the keystone of an arch, having sculptured on it in relief the head of a bull, *bos longifrons*, exactly similar to many skulls of that animal found in the station with evident marks of the butcher's axe upon them From its position it appeared to have belonged to the doorway leading from the forum', i.e., the outer court, 'to the *prætorium*' (Hooppell, *Nat. Hist. Trans. Northd. and Durham*, vii, p. 7 of reprint, with woodcut: another woodcut in *Arch. Ael.*, 2S, x, 234). I suggest that the mason there copied a familiar adornment—bucrania and wreath—as did classical architects elsewhere". The suggestion that the remains in the Segontium well were those of sacrificial animals is alluring, but the skulls were found with ribs and leg-bones and were therefore not merely discarded bucrania.

yard (Fig. 33). This plan is closely that of a private residence of a kind derived by the Romans from the Greeks, and the natural explanation of its regular occurrence amongst the principal buildings of a Roman fort is that it was there the residence of the commanding officer. Alternatively, or in addition, it may have fulfilled the function of an officers' Mess. Its residential character has not prevented certain antiquaries from claiming it for other purposes, as the regimental workshop or the like; but the presence of hypocausts in a number of these buildings is decidedly in favour of their common designation as "the commandant's house."

The general plan of the building at Segontium doubtless dates in the main from this early period. The walls as excavated, however, are of the fourth century, save for part of the north-eastern and south-eastern ranges. These were distinguished by better construction, by being built almost exclusively of red sandstone from Cheshire,¹⁷ and, above all, by being carried down to the top of the stratum which contained the postholes of the first century building. The floors—these are sometimes four in number—which had gradually accumulated within these walls had preserved part of the hard cement with which their inner faces had originally been rendered. The hard clay flooring which first sealed the postholes in several of the rooms, and was contemporary with the sandstone walls, contained a milled Republican denarius of L. Roscius Fabatus (c. B.C. 70), a denarius of Vitellius, a sestertius of Trajan and a sestertius of Hadrian. These coins may be regarded as in circulation at the period when the floor was being made or used. It has already been remarked that Republican denarii lasted at least until the end of the first century, and the general evidence of the coins is that the first stone building on this site, as on that of the prætorium, was in use early in the second century. The pottery from this level—Samian 27, 18/31, 35 (early) and "transitional" 37, together with rusticated and roughcast wares—might all belong to the period 90-120 A.D. It will be convenient to describe the building in greater detail at a later stage, in connection with the fourth-century occupation of the fort.

THE GRANARIES (Buildings IV. and V.):—South-east of the prætorium were two buildings, each approx-

¹⁷ The later walls were almost exclusively of local stone. See below, p. 84.

imately 139 feet long and 19 feet wide, with well-built walls three feet thick constructed almost exclusively of Chester sandstone. These buildings can only have been granaries, here, as at Castell Collen (Fig. 8), laid out parallel to the *via principalis*, instead of at right angles to it, as was more usually the case. A large part of these buildings is covered by modern dwelling-houses, but it was possible to ascertain the length of one and therefore, presumably, of the other. Their material and construction suggest that they should be assigned to the early second-century rebuilding of the fort, and it is in any case to be expected that the great store-houses, upon the contents of which the garrison was expected largely to depend from harvest to harvest,¹⁸ would be amongst the first structures erected in permanent material. The 3-foot walls were not originally strengthened by the usual buttresses, though at least two were roughly added to the more southerly building (V.) at some subsequent date. At the eastern angle of IV. at some period was added a small external chamber, about 5 feet square, with a clay floor. This chamber was very roughly built of re-used material bonded with clay, and is remarkable by reason of its rounded corners, a feature wherein it recalls the aleove built in the eastern angle of the sacellum during or after the time of Valentinian I. (see below p. 82). Its plan somewhat suggests that of an oven, but no evidence of fire was found.

A diagonal trench across the clay floor of IV. failed to reveal any of the usual arrangements for raising and ventilating the floor, but no further search was made. It is possible that wooden sleepers took the place of the more usual cross-walls or *pilæ*.

BUILDING I:—This building completes the principal range towards the north-west. It had been reduced to its bare footings of large boulders, and even these had been partly removed. It is apparently of earlier date than the last (fourth-century) rebuilding of the commandant's house, which is at a higher level and seems to cut across the south-eastern side of it. The purpose of the building is not clear.

¹⁸ For the supply and storage of the rations of a Roman fort, see the paper by Haverfield and R. G. Collingwood in *Cumb. and Westmoreland Arch. Soc. Trans.* (N.S.) xx, pp. 127 ff. The floorspace of the two Segontium granaries would be about 376 square yards, i.e., nearly as large as that of the High Rochester (390) and Newstead (393) granaries, which are amongst the most extensive known in Britain.

It seems to have consisted of a narrow range of rooms opening upon a large courtyard. Room I. was partially traversed and flanked internally by a slate gutter, and beneath the north-eastern end of the building runs a diagonal covered drain which joins a similar drain contiguous with the external wall on the north-west. Within this drain was a fair quantity of pottery mostly, perhaps entirely, of early second-century date. The building may well be later, and its construction is similar to that of walls assignable to the third century.

THE RETENTURA :—Towards the *retentura*, or that half of the fort which lay behind the *prætorium*, the ground rises very slightly, but sufficiently to assist the drift of soil away from this area. Partly perhaps for this reason, the buildings here had been almost completely stripped to their footings, and even these had in many cases been removed. The drastic disturbance of the Roman strata thus entailed, together with the comparatively summary excavation which alone was feasible, leave many points in doubt, and it is convenient at this point to consider briefly the general arrangement of the *retentura* without prejudging the chronology of the various buildings.

Save perhaps in the latest period, the buildings of the *retentura* seem to have been eleven in number, although it is not possible to assert that they were all in use simultaneously. In accordance with the normal (though not invariable) practice, they were laid out at right angles to the longer axis of the fort. If we disregard the exceptional buttressed building XXI., the larger buildings fall into three pairs (XII. and XIII., XV. and XVI., XIX. and XX.), each pair subdivided by a street. In these pairs though modified and distorted by successive re-buildings, we can still recognize the *strigæ* of Hyginus, each consisting of two *hemistrigiæ* or *centuriæ*, barrack-blocks capable of housing a century. The *hemistrigiæ* were commonly L-shaped, the projecting wing forming the apartment of the officer in charge of the unit quartered in the remainder of the block; the whole exactly resembling a common type of modern army hutment. In other cases, as at Housesteads, the blocks are a simple oblong on plan. At Segontium both types occur, but their chronological relationship with each other is not clear. Building XII. was, at some period, of L-shape with a verandah along part of the north-east side. It is possible, therefore, that the corresponding building XIII. was once of similar plan, but

no confirmatory evidence was traceable. Building XX. seems to have had a narrow passage or verandah only three feet wide along the central part of the south-west side, but was half-H rather than L-shaped. The other hemistrigia appear to have been simple oblongs with one or more partitions. The solitary compartment within the outer ends of XVI. and XVIII. may have been assigned to the platoon or company commanders; but the room in XVIII. contained the foundations apparently of an oven, though this was not necessarily an original feature. It is possible that the smaller buildings XIV. and XVIII., placed symmetrically on opposite sides of the fort, may rather have been the quarters of the minor officers, but their purpose is quite uncertain. Somewhat similar buildings adjoin the *via principalis* at Gellygaer. Building XVII. was probably of the same type, but its plan was obscured by alterations of various dates. Building XI. is of more interest, and might repay further exploration. Its curiously irregular plan is due to an almost complete rebuilding, but the partition and some parts of the lowest course of the main wall survive from an earlier building which contained a hypocaust. The north corner of room II. retained the socket for a wall-flue beneath the later superstructure, and the clay floor of the later work, containing coins of "Urbs Roma," a local imitation of Constantinian type, and Gratian, was laid partly upon a bedding or earlier floor of broken flue tiles, and was carried across the ruined partition. The period of the original building was not ascertained, but it consisted largely of Cheshire sandstone, and may therefore have been of second-century date (see below, p. 102).

The walls of these various buildings fall into three main groups, which were well illustrated in juxtaposition in Building XIX., room 6. The lowest (and earliest) were on the average two feet wide, built largely of Cheshire sandstone on footings of pebbles or small boulders. The succeeding walls were almost entirely reduced to footings from two feet eight inches to more than three feet in width, built of large glacial boulders (Fig. 43); where fragments of the main walling remained, it consisted of well-dressed local stones. The latest walls were narrower again, with an average width of two feet, but built of heterogeneous materials re-used from earlier buildings, with the addition of thin slabs of roughly-dressed local stone. This latest work will be more fittingly described in a subsequent section. Most of the main walls seem to belong to the middle phase,

but definite traces of the earliest buildings were found in three places.

In building XIX., a trial section outside the north-east wall of the main building as planned showed the footings of a previous structure. This could not be followed, but in the clay which overlay the footings, and actually on top of them, was found a worn second brass of Commodus, which can only have reached this spot after the demolition of the early building. Building XX. was more extensively explored and, in its original state, was constructed entirely of Cheshire sandstone. Trial-pits within its north-western end showed two post-holes of the first-century timber structure and, over the earliest occupation-level, a deposit of compressed burnt matter, still twenty inches in thickness, above which a foot of rammed earth and clay carried the stone walling. In the clay floor beside and contemporary with a partition-wall of the first stone structure was found part of an S-shaped brooch (Fig. 56), which may be assigned to the earlier half of the second century. This partition was an original feature of the building, but others, also of Cheshire sandstone, and at the same level, were not bonded in, and were presumably subsequent, though early, additions.

Attention may be drawn to the extent to which this and the adjacent buildings protrude into the main longitudinal street (the *decumanus maximus* of the surveyors) behind the north-east gateway. The effect of this upon the history of the gateway will be noted later (below, p. 58).

On the opposite side of the *decumanus maximus* lay a fragmentary building of different character (XXI). This had been entirely rebuilt in the fourth century (see below, p. 88), but part of the earlier walling had survived beneath the later footings (Fig. 7). It consisted of parts of the north-western end and north-eastern side of a long building which presumably extended to the full width of this quarter of the fort. The side was strengthened by upwards of six buttresses, each two feet square and bonded into the wall. Contiguous with this wall externally was a thick layer of burnt matter extending from the lowest course of dressed stone to the top of the ruined wall, a height of eighteen inches. This burnt layer has clearly formed subsequently to the building of the wall, and not improbably marks the nature of its end. In the layer were found some iron slag, and fragments of Samian forms 35 and Curle 11, a screw-necked jug of early type, sherds of rougheast, micaceous,



To face p. 32.

Fig. 7. Buttressed wall of building XXI, with footings of fourth-century wall at higher level.

and thin grey ware—all dating not later than the early part of the second century.

The extent and character of the building must remain conjectural, but we may suppose provisionally that it was a long oblong hall or magazine for the storage of arms (? military engines) or perhaps of forage. Buttresses presuppose outward pressure on the walls due either to heavy, tightly-packed contents or to a specially-heavy roof—in both cases forage would supply an adequate cause. An analogous buttressed building was found near one of the gates at Housesteads, and a number of somewhat similar structures are placed near a gate of the legionary fortress at Neuss.

THE PRÆTENTURA :—The area in front of the prætorium, known as the prætentina, was only in part available for excavation. Here again the walls were exceedingly fragmentary, and little information was forthcoming. The buildings, placed at right angles to the *via principalis*, seem originally to have formed four pairs, two on each side of the *decumanus maximus*. Their structural history is quite obscure. Building X., with well-built walls two feet wide, largely of red sandstone, may well date from the early second-century re-building, but contains partitions of subsequent period. In a corresponding position on the opposite side of the fort a similar building, partially excavated in 1847, was presumably contemporary. Building VIII. and possibly building VI. seem to have had verandahs. Building VII. in its present state is scarcely intelligible; it is a complex of fragmentary footings, evidently of different dates but indistinguishable. It possibly bears some slight resemblance to one of the blocks at Aesica (Great Chesters),¹⁹ but this resemblance is not helpful. It apparently consisted of a long narrow room or corridor on the south-east, with a series of separately-roofed rooms on the north-west. The flanking walls of these rooms project either to carry buttresses or to support pent-roofs. It is possible that these were store-rooms, and that some of the fragmentary footings within them may represent sleeper-walls for a raised floor,²⁰ but the evidence is very frail. Alongside the north-east wall of the block was a well-built gutter.

¹⁹ *Arch. Ael.* (N.S.) xxiv. plan.

²⁰ Cf., perhaps, certain buildings adjoining the *via principalis* of the South Shields fort.—*Arch. Ael.* (N.S.) xxv, p. 244.

THE NORTH-WEST GATEWAY :—Of the three surviving gateways, only one, the north-western, seems to have been re-built in stone at this period (Fig. 26). Here the later structures prevented the recovery of the first century plan, but the earliest of the three main road surfaces lay below the level of the first stone guardrooms, and was doubtless contemporary with a timber structure. This early road consisted of "pencil-slate," and was capped by a burnt layer, which was continually laterally beyond the road-metal. Beneath the burnt layer was found a piece of a Samian plate (form 15/17) of a type not later than the Flavian period.²¹

To this early gateway succeeded one of normal second century type, consisting of a double roadway flanked by rectangular stone-built guardrooms. The pier which divided the two roadways was entirely removed in the fourth century, but its foundation-trench still marks its position beside and partly below the later work. The two guardrooms are represented by fragments, but were also largely demolished in Roman times. They were well built of hammer-dressed local stone (largely carboniferous limestone) in blocks with an average surface of six inches by eight inches. The south-west guardroom (A on plan, Fig. 26) had two successive floors, each of sandy clay with some lime, and capped by a layer of burnt material. The lower floor, contemporary with the stone guardroom, was built up to an average height of two and a half feet above the natural surface on a filling of small boulders and soil. In this filling were a dozen pieces of pottery, including two fragments of Samian 18/31, one of form 27, three of form 33, all of good glaze and fairly early appearance; also a piece of buff ware with circles in thin white barbotine, a pinkish-buff mortarium with horizontal flange of early type (Fig. 75, 8), and part of a grey olla with a vertical strip of incised (combed) pattern. The whole group can scarcely be later than Trajan, and is sufficiently extensive to suggest an early second-century date for the floor which contained it.

The north-east guardroom was similar in character and period. It also had two floors, similar to those just described and, like them, capped by thick burnt layers. The lower burnt layer was continued through the entrance and down to the level of the second roadway, thus, by a striking piece

²¹ A possible post-hole found beneath the south-west guardroom A must obviously belong to this period.

of stratification, indicating the contemporaneity of the two works. Nothing save a few cut animal bones was found in these floors.

iv. WHY WAS THE FORT REBUILT?

The first building of the stone fort, which is thus fragmentarily represented amongst and beneath the débris of subsequent epochs, belongs perhaps less to the history of Carnarvon than to that of the Roman provincial administration as a whole. The conventional, and possibly correct, view of this and similar changes is that they were incidental to that general consolidation of the Imperial defences which busily occupied the first thirty years of the second century. The progressive military policy of Domitian and Trajan did not obscure the fact that the flitting armies of the earlier Empire were, at least in the north and west, already devolving into the immobile police of a hardening frontier-line. The more temperate but no less vigorous military policy of Hadrian finally accepted the principle of immobility and developed it intensively in accordance with a logical and, for the moment, effective scheme. The frontiers of the north and west were now permanent; the garrisons behind them were permanent; and in place of the temporary timber hutments which had, in some cases, stood already for thirty years or more, permanent buildings arose. But though the new frontier policy culminated under Hadrian, it was actually initiated by his predecessor. When Hadrian's legate Arrian described the re-building of an old timber fort in durable brick on the shores of the Euxine, many good forts of stone had already stood for more than a decade along the northern frontiers of Europe.

If such be the accepted view, we must nevertheless admit that the circumstances under which this change from timber to stone was achieved in Britain are still obscure. The reform may have been inspired merely by the decayed condition of the old timber forts. It may, on the other hand, have been determined by some phase of disturbance which demonstrated the need for general renovation and re-organization. There is a growing mass of evidence that forts in northern Britain were rebuilt more than once within the generation following the governorship of Agricola,²² and it is therefore probable that there was, at this

²² See G. Macdonald, *Journal of Roman Studies* ix, 111 ff.

time, a greater liveliness in the northern frontier zone than was at one time suspected. Whether this uneasiness extended to Wales cannot be inferred with any certainty from the evidence available. At Segontium, it has been seen that some of the timber buildings perished in flames. The lowest (first-century) occupation-level beneath and outside building XX. was covered by a thick layer of burnt material still twenty inches in depth. It may here be noted also that the lowest surface of the street, between buildings XX. and XXI., was crowned by a similar, though shallower, layer. The early road within the north-west gateway was likewise associated with a burnt deposit. Elsewhere, less extensive traces of burning were noted at this level, but they were not universal, and were absent from the commandant's house and the *prætorium*. It is not justifiable, therefore, to suppose that the flames which destroyed a part of the fort throw any light upon frontier history. Where all evidence is frail, however, it is permissible to consider them, without emphasis, in relation to another possible, if exiguous, source of evidence—that of Roman coin-hoards.

In Wales, upwards of eighty coin-hoards. have been recorded.²³ Unfortunately, the records are rarely adequate in detail, and, as always, it is not easy to assign to each hoard its just historical value. Some were dropped accidentally by the wayfarer; some, in the absence of savings banks, were hidden during normal conditions, and, for some fortuitous reason, forgotten; some were deposited hurriedly in a time of sudden danger. In a majority of instances, however, either the act of concealing, or, at any rate, the failure to recover, the hoard may be held to indicate a phase of lawlessness or unrest. Of the Welsh hoards, only thirteen are earlier than the third century. One of the thirteen, found in Montgomeryshire, belongs to the latter part of the second century. The remaining twelve fall into two distinct and equal groups, of which one ends with Hadrian and Pius, the other with Vespasian and Domitian.²⁴ The evidence is not sufficiently strong to stand alone but, so far as it goes, suggests periods of disturbance towards the close of the first century and towards

²³ A bibliography of these hoards will be found in the *Bulletin of Celtic Studies* (University of Wales), i. Pt. 4; ii. Pt. i.

²⁴ The distribution of the earlier group, with the latest recorded coin in each hoard, may be briefly noted: (i) Llanboidy, Carm.—Domitian (Camden's *Britannia*, 1695, col. 623); (ii) Llandyfeisant, Carm.—Domitian (*Arch. Camb.*, 1873, p. 130); (iii) Llanenddwyn.

or about the middle of the second. It will be seen that the latter period coincides approximately with an epoch in the history of Segontium, and further evidence may be found to show that the former also marks an episode in the occupation. The burnt barrack-blocks, the sudden concealment of valuables in the countryside, and the rebuilding of the fort followed by a term of comparative security may, if supported by evidence from future excavations, reveal an unsuspected resurgence of native independence in Wales at the turn of the first century. It will then remain to determine whether this resurgence was directed against the standing army of occupation, or whether it followed an attempted withdrawal of the troops such as seems to have been effected some thirty or forty years later. In support of the latter possibility, it may be urged that the campaigns of Trajan must have necessitated strict economy of personnel upon the more pacified frontiers, and it is at least possible to point to indications, both in Wales and elsewhere, that the rebuilding of the forts in permanent materials was sometimes accompanied by a reduction in the strength of their garrisons.

At this point, however, we are confronted with a further problem—a problem which may here be defined for further research. In Wales, it may be said to hinge upon the Roman fort of Castell Collen in Radnorshire. Here partial excavation has shown that the original fort, just over five acres in extent, was afterwards rebuilt on a reduced scale. The reduction was effected by drawing a new rampart across the middle of the old retentura, thus cutting off about one third of the original fort (Fig. 8). One of the new gateways yielded two coins of Trajan, of which one, in good condition, was found within the road-metal in such a position as to suggest that it was dropped during the progress of the work. Analogous reductions were carried out in the same half-century at Newstead in Scotland and probably at Templebrough in Yorkshire; of these the former is of Antonine date, and is therefore irrelevant to the present context, but the latter may perhaps be attributed, on

Merioneth—Vespasian (Roy. Com. Anc. Mons., *Merioneth Inventory*, 305); (iv) Llanmynech Hill, Mont.—Vespasian (*Mont. Collections* iii, 1870, p. 416); (v) Llanddewi-Velfrey, Pemb.—Vespasian (letter to E. Lhuyd, dated 1693, in MS. Ashmole 1815, fol. 307); (vi) On the Prescelly Mts., Pemb.—included a Republican denarius, and, therefore, probably not later than the end of the first century A.D. (*Num. Journ.* ii, p. 194).

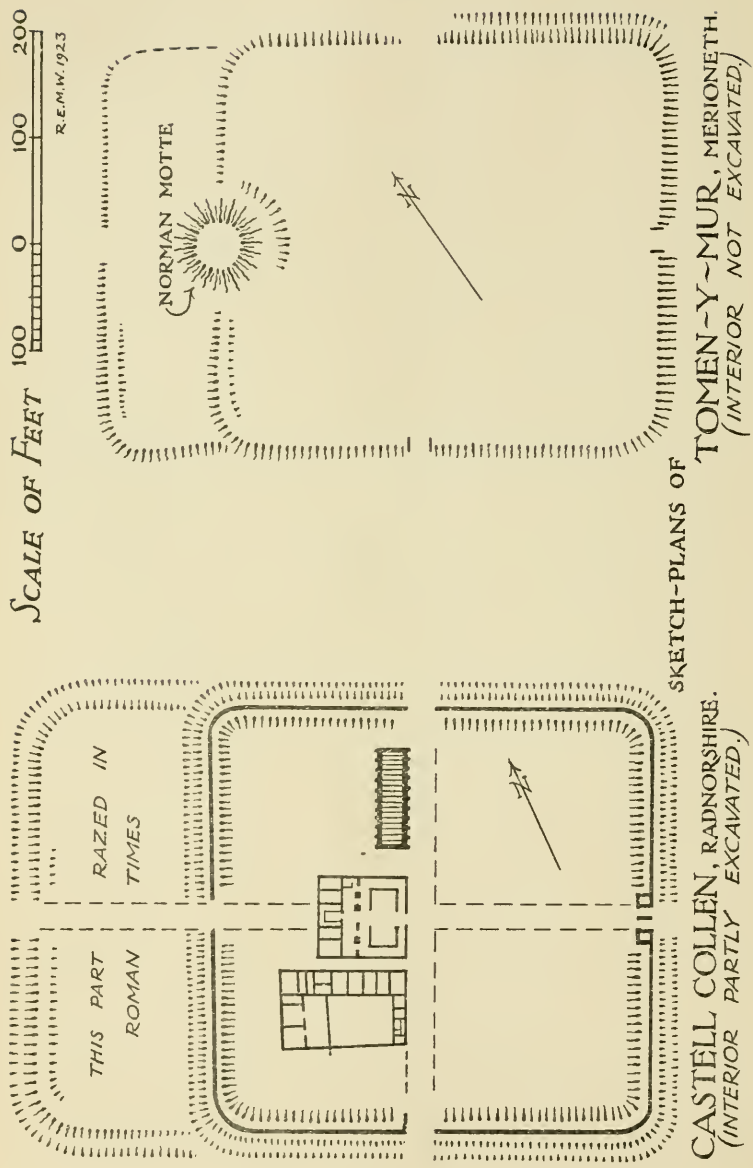


Fig. 8.

the general evidence of coins, approximately to the time of Trajan.²⁵ Again, at Tomen-y-Mûr in Merioneth, where a castle-mound of Norman type has been built within the main enceinte of a Roman fort, it appears to have escaped observation that the mound bestrides an *inner* bank of Roman rather than Norman type (Fig. 8).²⁶ This suggests the possibility of a similar sequence there, though we have at present no indication of date save that, of the few relics known from this site, none is of late Roman period. Even if we dismiss these possible analogies, however, it remains to explain the tolerably clear evidence at Castell Collen; and there two widely divergent inferences are possible.

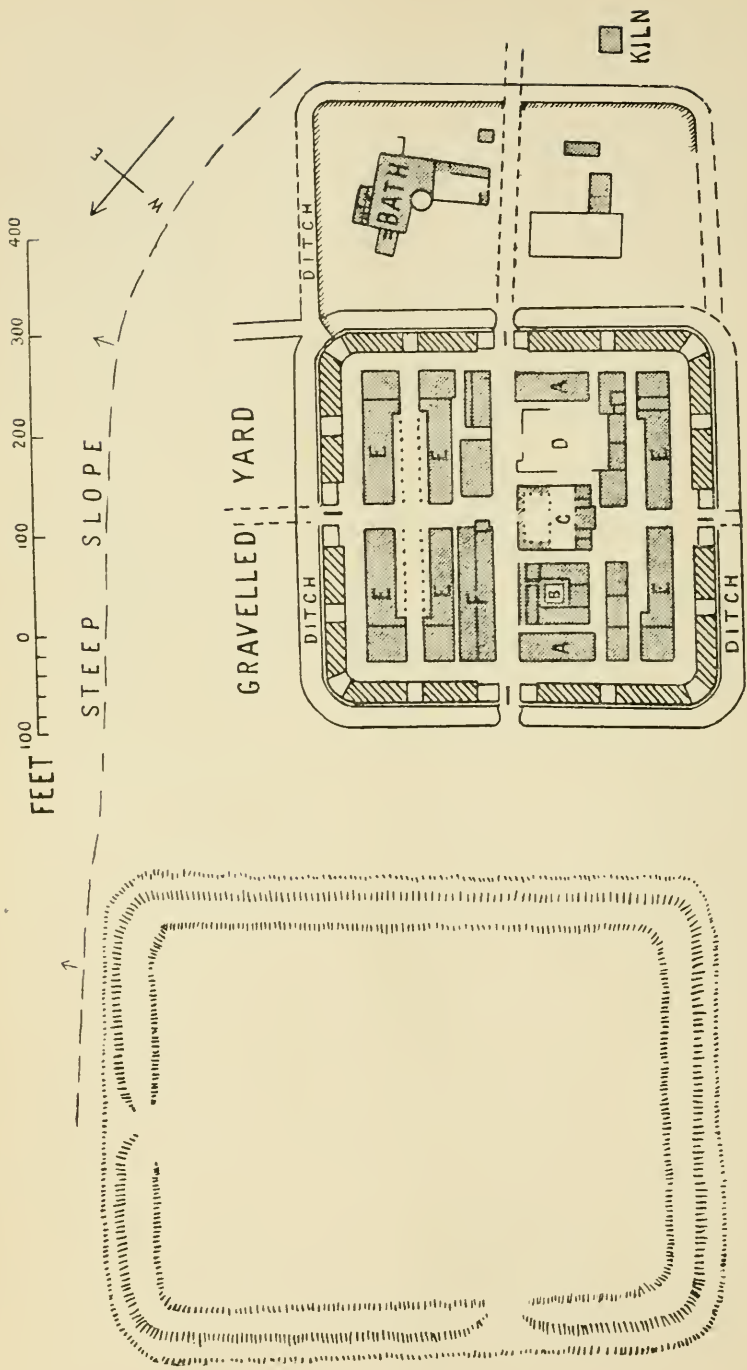
The obvious, and possibly correct, inference is that at some time during or immediately following Trajan's reign, it was found feasible and necessary to reduce the garrison and, with it, the extent of the fort. On this supposition, Wales was comparatively quiet at the time, and this reading of the evidence is supported by the observation that certain forts—notably Coelbren in Breconshire and Penydarren in Glamorgan—were abandoned apparently not later than the same reign. But there is another aspect of the problem. If a few forts were abandoned, others were, as we have seen, carefully renovated, and, at least in one case, at Gellygær in the Glamorgan hills, a new fort was established upon a

²⁵ May, *Templebrough*. Also, note in *Journal of Roman Studies*, xi, 120.

²⁶ This inner bank lines the crest of the hill and, on the supposition that it superseded the more northerly rampart in Roman times, would be the more likely to attract the builders of the post-Roman castle-mound. Moreover, the mound is built upon the site of the (conjectured) new north gateway, where the ruined masonry may well have been utilised in its structure. Incidentally it will be observed from the plans (Fig. 8) that the (supposed) reduced fort coincides in dimensions almost exactly with the reduced fort at Castell Collen. It may be found that small square forts of this type, from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 acres in extent, were specially characteristic of the Trajanic period—cf. Gellygaer, Caer Llugwy, and the reduced fort at Templebrough. The areas of five of these small square forts show a maximum variation of half an acre:—

Gellygaer	.. ..	.. ..	3.4 acres.
Castell Collen (reduced fort)	.. ..	about	3.6 „
Tomen y Mûr (supposed reduced fort)	.. ..	„	3.5 „
Caer Llugwy	.. ..	.. ..	3.9 „
Templebrough (reduced fort)	.. ..	.. ..	3.9 „

(Measurements all taken along the approximate summit of the rampart).



EARTH CAMP

FORT

ANNEXE

Fig. 9. Roman forts and annexe at Gellygaer, Glamorgan.

virgin site.²⁷ It has indeed been suspected that the stone fort at Gellygær may have been preceded by a wooden fort, of which the traces escaped the notice of the excavators. At the same time, the excavators were not unobservant; and, above all, their negative evidence seems to receive confirmation from a feature of which the significance has not perhaps been fully appreciated. It may be recalled that Roman Gellygaer consists of three units (Fig 9); (1) the main fort, the building of which is dated with probability by an inscription to the period 103-112 A.D.; (2) the fortified annexe; and (3) a separate oblong enclosure, with inferior defences, placed on the opposite side of the fort at a distance of fifty yards from it.²⁸ Amongst the theories proffered in explanation of this separate earthwork, is the suggestion that it may have sheltered the troops whilst building the main fort. This suggestion is both convincing and illuminating. Normally, as at Segontium, the builders of the second-century stone forts were able to carry out their comparatively lengthy task within the shelter of pre-existing ramparts of ample extent. On a new site, such as Gellygaer, this shelter was lacking, and it was obviously inexpedient to encumber the interior of a small fort (less than three and a half acres) with the tents or hutments of a fairly large working party engaged upon building-operations within the same area. Moreover, the unusually elaborate rampart, with its double revetment, may be thought to suggest a new-pattern work, laid out afresh, without the encumbrance of an earlier system.

Everything combines, therefore, to confirm the supposition that Gellygær, a small and well-built fort of a type which we may be tempted to describe as characterically Trajanic,²⁹ was newly built within the first twelve years of the second century. But how is this innovation to be reconciled with the supposed *reduction* of the Welsh

²⁷ The preliminary excavations on the site of "Caer Llugwy" near Capel Curig, Carnarvonshire, suggest that the history of this fort may have been analogous to that of Gellygaer.—See J. P. Hall, *Caer Llugwy*, (1923). On the other hand, if the eccentric position of the south gate is correctly identified, it may be that the original fort, like Castell Collen, was larger, and included the ramparts of the "annexe", and that the known fort is another Trajanic reduction. Further excavation is very desirable.

²⁸ For general plan, see *Cardiff Naturalists Society's Transactions*, xvi (1913), p. 20; and Haverfield, *Roman Britain in 1914*, p. 59 (here reproduced).

²⁹ See p. 39, footnote 26.

garrisons of the period?³⁰ The rebuilding of Segontium and, probably, Cærsws within their original defences; the active modification of Castell Collen and, possibly, other sites to meet the needs of new and re-organised garrisons; and, finally, the building of an entirely new fort at Gellygær and, probably, in the Llugwy valley—may not these events have accompanied a defensive forward movement on the Welsh frontier, or even a partial re-occupation by new units, rather than a cautious withdrawal of troops from a territory which was now quiescent and comparatively safe? In brief, was the re-organization of this period the reaction of local events in Britain, or, on the other hand, should it be regarded merely as a routine incident in the curtailment of garrisons necessitated by Trajan's costly frontier policy on the continent? The point is one worth bearing in mind during future excavations. A proved hiatus between the Agricolan occupation and the Trajanic re-organization would decide definitely in favour of the former alternative. At Segontium, unfortunately, the evidence in the area explored was indeterminate. It accentuates rather than solves the problem.

V. SEGONTIUM UNDER THE ANTONINES.

In reviewing the coins recorded to have been found at Carnarvon prior to 1908, Haverfield remarked that "the absence of second century coins must be accidental, but is complete." Since then, the numismatic evidence has been increased by over 1000 coins, and we can now safely infer that the hiatus was only in part accidental. Trajan is now represented by eighteen coins, Hadrian (with Sabina and Ælius Cæsar) by thirteen, Faustina Mater by four, including a denarius found in a third-century stratum. The occupation is therefore carried unhesitatingly down to the early years of Antoninus Pius. The following half-century is in a very different case. Not a single coin of Pius has hitherto been recorded from the site; and the two first and one second brass (minted respectively in 141, 145 and 152) which are amongst the local collection now exhibited in the Carnarvon Free Library are the only coins of this Emperor that can be attributed to the fort or its environs. Of

³⁰ Haverfield (*Roman Wales*, p. 97) suggests that Gellygaer was built to replace Penydarren. But the explanation is admittedly obscure.

Commodus (177-192) two have been found, but one of these was with third century coins. Faustina the Younger (died in 175) may be included by virtue of a single doubtful specimen which had been long in use before it was dropped. Excluding from this list the Commodus found in a third century stratum, we may say in summary that Segontium has yielded, out of a total of over 1,100 coins, only four which were minted between 142 and 193.

The Samian pottery hints at the same story. Late first and early second-century types are common. Rather less than 20 per cent. of the decorated sherds may be assigned to the potters whose maximum activity falls (roughly) between A.D. 125 and 175. There is unfortunately no dividing line between the types in vogue under Hadrian and those which flourished under Pius. The potter Cinnamus and his circle began during the earlier reign that mass-production which seems to have stereotyped design and form for a period of several decades, and it is rarely possible to say whether any individual example may have been made in A.D. 130 or some twenty years later. As in the case of coins, the variable factor of survival complicates the problem. Thus on a definitely Antonine site, Balmuildy on the Scottish Vallum, two or three Samian sherds may well have been made as early as the time of Trajan; and some of the plain pottery from that instructive site presents similar possibilities.

In spite of these difficulties, the general trend of the evidence at Segontium is tolerably clear. It is usually a safe rule to assign the latest possible date to archaeological evidence; but this rule is not rigid and is sometimes misleading. The comparative scarcity of Hadrian-Antonine types of Samian at Segontium suggests that these should, for the most part, be assigned to the earlier part of the period in direct sequence to the abundant series dating from the preceding reigns. Moreover, the German fabrics which are commonly found on mid or late Antonine sites are either very rare or even completely absent at Segontium. Considered by itself, the Samian pottery suggests strongly that the importation of this ware diminished almost to the point of cessation during the Antonine period. Considered in relation to the numismatic evidence, together with other circumstantial evidence which will be considered in the next section, it convincingly indicates that the reign of Hadrian was followed by a phase of neglect, during which money and pottery, at least of the more costly type, were no longer

reaching Segontium. The inference is, that the garrison was either withdrawn or at least materially reduced at this period, and it can be no accident that the period corresponds with that of the renewed advance in Scotland. The army which Lollius Urbicus amassed for his great campaign in the north between 140 and 143 included large detachments from the legions at Caerleon, Chester and York; and with them must have come a considerable proportion of the auxiliary troops from the adjacent frontiers. Amongst these drafts we may include most, if not the whole, of the garrison at Carnarvon.

It is perhaps worthy of note that the later decorated Samian seems to be rather more abundant outside than inside the fort.³¹ It is likely enough that the veterans and traders, who in the course of fifty years or more, must have settled on the slopes of the hill remained, at least for a time, in their homes beneath the fort, perhaps still remotely in touch with Chester and the Roman world. The evidence does not exclude, though it can scarcely be said to confirm, this possibility. The point is not without interest, and further evidence from excavation outside the fort is badly needed.

The reduction or evacuation of the garrison at Segontium is, as already remarked, not likely to have been an isolated phenomenon. In 1908 Haverfield was able to point to a similar trend of the evidence from certain other sites in Wales, and his suggestions have since received sufficient confirmation to ensure their general validity. Before the Antonine period was far advanced many, perhaps most, of the forts in Wales were either abandoned or were left with cadre garrisons. It is important, however, to distinguish between this episode and that earlier and perhaps less significant phase which has been discussed above (pp. 35 ff.). By A.D. 140, certain forts—Coelbren in Breconshire, and Penydarren, in Glamorgan—had already lain waste for many years. It seems that their evacuation preceded or was incidental to the re-organization of the frontier under Trajan, and, together with the subsequent (or contemporary) reduction of Castell Collen, perhaps foreboded, but should not be confused with, the more general with-

³¹ As in the collection of Mr. Charles A. Jones, C.B.E., of Bronhendre, Carnarvon (specimens found adjoining Constantine Road and Vaynol Road), and amongst the finds from the 1920 excavations outside the north-west wall.

drawal now in question.³² The evidence for this withdrawal, as already available before the excavation of Segontium, may thus be summarized:—

(i.) At Gellygaer, established under Trajan, the latest coin is of Hadrian. The thresholds at the gates and elsewhere were found much worn, and the bath-building had survived extensive alteration and enlargement. The inference is that the occupation lasted not less than thirty or forty years, but there is no pottery necessarily of Antonine date.

(ii.) At Caersws, in Montgomeryshire, Professor Bosanquet long ago deduced from the results of excavation that the fort was wholly or largely evacuated under the Antonines.

(iii.) At Caer Llugwy, in Carnarvonshire, the pottery begins under Domitian or Trajan, and seems to end with the reign of Hadrian.

(iv.) Less precise evidence from the Brecon Gaer and from Llanio in Cardiganshire was cited by Haverfield. An inscription, probably of first-century date, indicates that the Brecon Gaer was at that time garrisoned by a regiment of Spanish cavalry, which is shown by another inscription to have been moved to Binchester in County Durham before the end of the second century. Similarly, the second cohort of Asturians which was at some period quartered at Llanio is found at Aesica, on Hadrian's Wall, in the third century.

To these four sources of evidence may be added two others of some contributory value. The more important is the circumstantial evidence of a series of early third-century inscriptions which will be considered below (p. 47). The other is the insecure testimony of the coin-hoards. It has been noted above that, of the thirteen Welsh hoards dating from the first and second centuries, one is not earlier than Marcus Aurelius, and six are apparently of the period immediately before or after 100 A.D. The remaining six consist of coins ending apparently with Hadrian or Pius,³³

³² In my own summary in *Cymmrodorion Trans.*, 1920-1, p. 42, these phases are not clearly distinguished.

³³ Briefly, as follows: (i) At Cynwyl Elved, Carm.—aurei of Hadrian (*Arch. Camb.* 1875, p. 407); (ii) at Glyn Llivon, near Carnarvon—Vitellius to Pius, but only one of the latter (*Arch. Camb.*, 1875, pp. 128, 282); (iii) Graig Lwyd quarry, Penmaenmawr, Carn.—Nero to Pius (*Arch. Camb.*, 1871, p. 96); (iv) near Abergele, Denb.—Otho

but the latter emperor seems to be represented only by stray coins, and the suspicion arises that the hoards are not later than the beginning of his reign. The coincidence of this with the previous evidence is alluring. Were these coin-hoards the first-fruits from the newly abandoned forts or from the small, ill-protected *vici* which had in some cases sprung up in their neighbourhood? It is likely enough that the withdrawal or drastic reduction of the Roman military police would be followed by an outburst of lawlessness during which money, looted or treasured, would naturally be lost or hidden in the surrounding country. It is tempting to recognize this reaction in the six hoards, and to regard them, if not as a source of evidence, at least as an amplification of the evidence already collated.

On these various grounds, we may conclude that the history of Segontium under the Antonines was the history of a large part of Roman Wales. It was a period of inaction and decay, due largely to the demands of the costly experiment in Scotland, and based, we may suppose, upon the assurance that Roman prestige was by then sufficient alone to safeguard the frontier. It is a tribute to the weight of this prestige that for more than half a century it seems to have remained sufficiently effective to avert serious danger to Britain from the direction of the Welsh hills.³⁴ But by the beginning of the third century there were few in the more remote parts of Wales who could have felt or remembered the mailed fist of Rome, and it had become necessary for the Roman arms to advance once more, as it seems, against a resurgent native independence.

vi. THE SECOND RE-BUILDING.

Near Llanfairfechan, and close to the line of the Roman road which skirts the northern foothills of Snowdonia between the Conway river and Carnarvon, was found many years ago a Roman milestone, now in the British Museum.³⁵

to Hadrian and "Faustina" (Costello, *Falls, Lakes and Mountains of N. Wales*, 1845; and Rev. W. Davis, *Vale of Clwyd*, 1866, p. 39): (v) near Boverton, Glam.—mostly Trajan, but said to have included an "Antoninus" and a "Faustina" (*Cardiff Nat. Soc. Trans.*, xx, 1885, p. 50); (vi) at Oldeastle, Mon.—"Upper Empire, one of Aelius Cæsar" (*Archæologia* ii, p. 24).

³⁴ On this point the further excavation of Wroxeter may be expected to throw light.

³⁵ For references to this and to the other milestones along this road, see below, Appendix i.

Its well-known inscription includes the name of Hadrian, with the equivalent of the date 119, and accurately records the 8th mile "a Kanovio", the fort at Caerhûn, some four

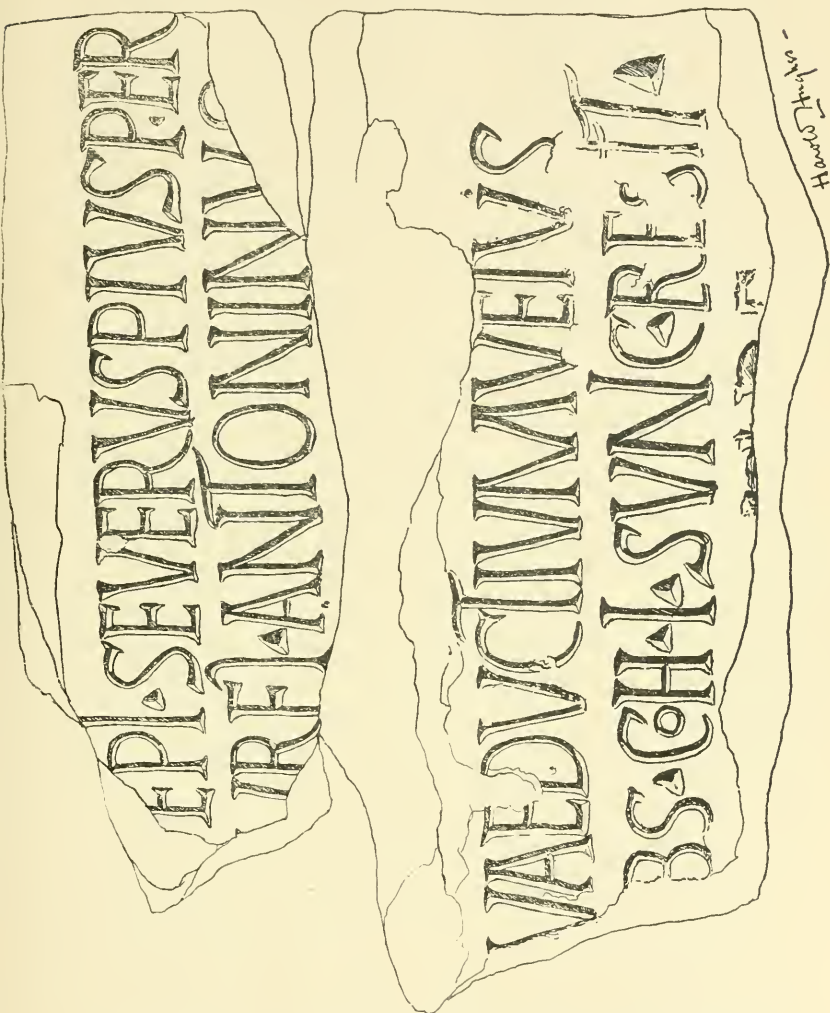


Fig. 10. The "aqueduct" inscription. (4)






miles south of Conway. Historically, this stone is now inferior in interest to another which was found ten yards from it and bears the names of Severus, Caracallus and Geta (the

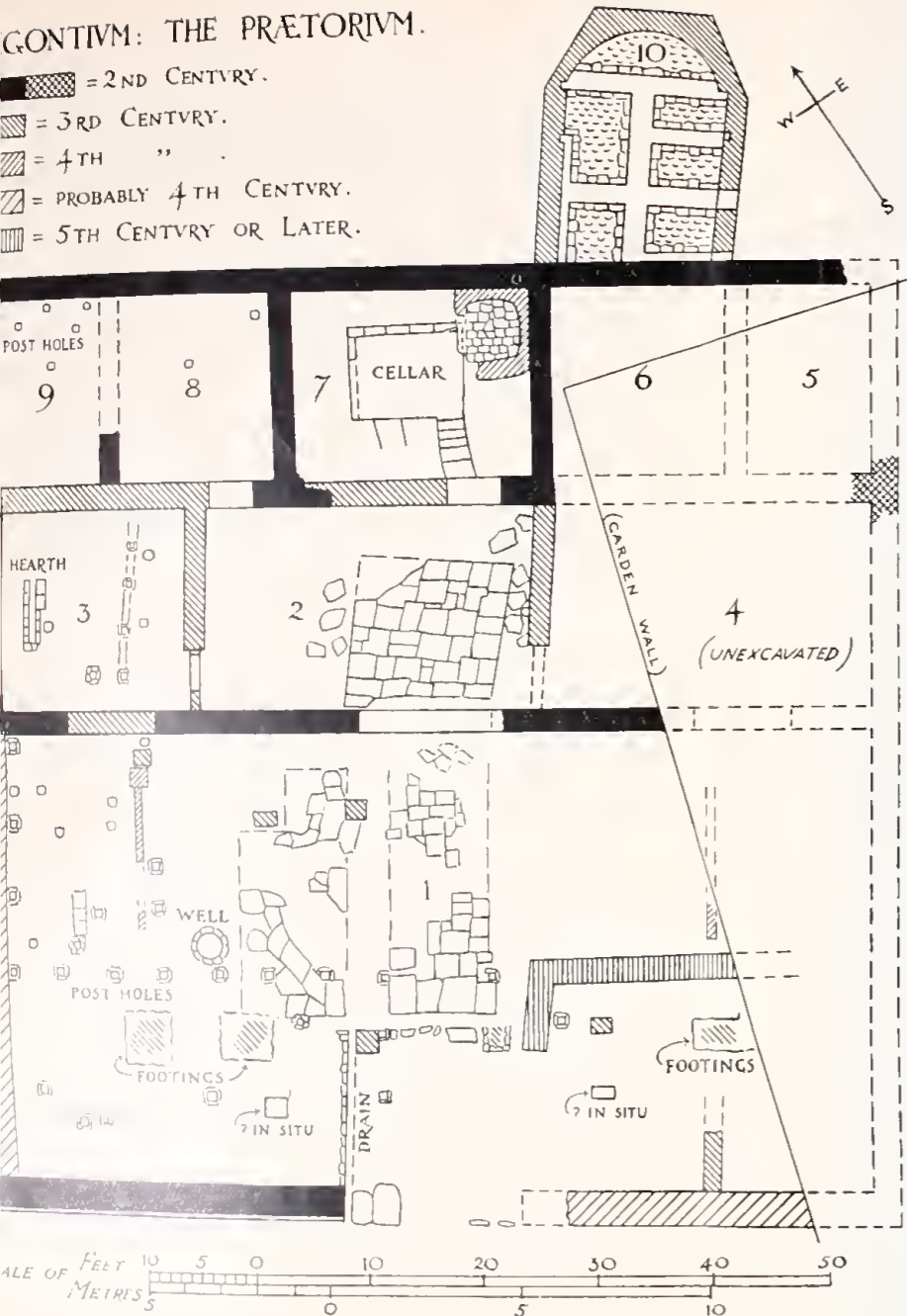
last, as usual, erased) thus dating from 209-211 (or, at the widest, 198-211). By the same road, at a point some miles nearer Carnarvon, has been found a third stone bearing the name of Caracallus alone, and therefore of the period 212-217. Such stones may sometimes have been set up merely as a formality on the accession of an emperor; but they at least indicate that the adjacent road was at the moment regularly frequented and tended, and they were probably, in many cases erected to commemorate some definite work of construction or reparation. In the present instance, the two stones of the Severi imply that in the early years of the third century the main landward approach to Carnarvon was in the public eye, and it is a reasonable supposition that some renewal of activity at Carnarvon had necessitated the restoration of a road which had fallen into disrepair. This inference is strengthened by the juxtaposition of the Hadrian and Severus stones, roughly limiting, as they do, an intervening period of apparent quiescence or neglect.

Again, re-used in late Roman buildings within the fort of Carnarvon have been found fragments of a large building inscription recording the restoration of an aqueduct, presumably one which supplied the fort, by the 1st cohort of Sunici during the joint reigns of the three Severi between 209 (or perhaps rather 198) and 211 (Fig. 10). The aqueduct had "collapsed through age"—*vetustate conlabsum*—and was rebuilt, it will be observed, at the same time that the neighbouring main road was apparently being repaved. It is clear, therefore, at the outset, that the closing years of the reign of Septimus Severus saw a renewed activity in the fort and its approaches which had been allowed to lapse into a state of decay. Before commenting further upon these valuable sources of evidence, however, we may turn once more to the results of excavation.

These were clearest in the prætorium (Figs. 11 and 12). Here, at some period which will emerge later, the second-century building was drastically altered and reconstructed. The work of this period could be recognised without hesitation by the hard yellow mortar, employed somewhat more lavishly than that of the previous period, and by the haphazard use of rough glacial boulders and other poorly trimmed stones, together with ashlar re-used from earlier buildings. The new builders were men of more spacious ideas than their predecessors. The partition between rooms 8 and 9 was almost entirely removed, and a new floor of

SEGONTIVM: THE PRÆTORIVM.

-  = 2ND CENTURY.
-  = 3RD CENTURY.
-  = 4TH " "
-  = PROBABLY 4TH CENTURY.
-  = 5TH CENTURY OR LATER.

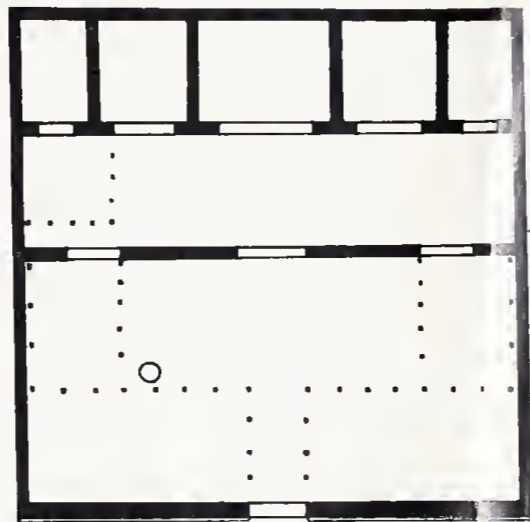


R.E.M. WHEELER *Mons. at Del.* 1922

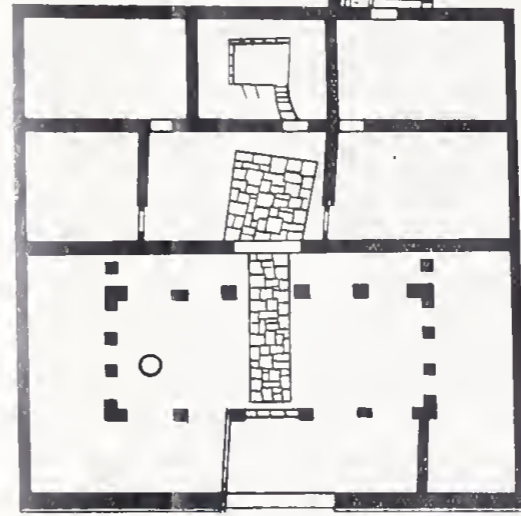
Fig. 11.

SEGONTIVM: APPROXIMATE RESTORATIONS OF THE PRÆTORIVM.

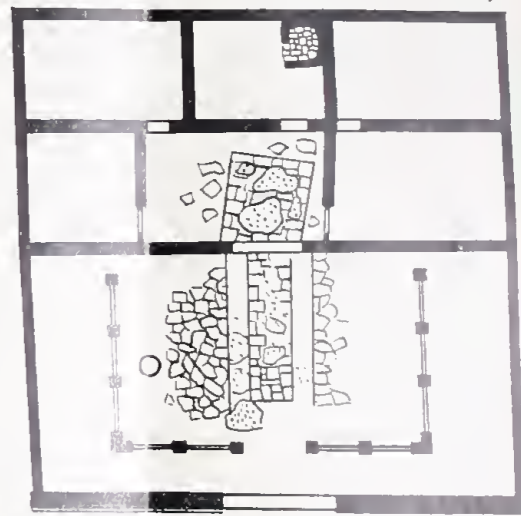
PERIOD II (EARLY 2ND CENTURY).



PER. III (EARLY 3RD C.).



PERIOD IV (LATE 4TH CENTURY).



SCALE OF FEET 10 0 10 30 50 100

Fig. 12.

R.E.M. WHEELER 1922

To face p.

yellow cement was carried across the site of it. Rooms 5 and 6 were probably united in a similar fashion, since no trace of the presumed partition-wall could be found in the small space available for investigation. New stone walls divided the cross-hall into three compartments, to which access was now obtained only from the central room (2), the former doorway from the north-west verandah (and doubtless that from the other also) being blocked. The front of room 7, the sacellum or shrine of the standards, was partially built up, and was now entered by a doorway of normal width. At the back of room 6 was added a room with an apsidal end (externally semi-hexagonal) and a channelled hypocaust (Figs. 13 and 14). The verandahs of the courtyard were replaced by a portico built on solid stone pedestals; and, finally, a large cellar or strong-room was inserted into the sacellum.

The period to which this work should be attributed can be determined with certainty. It will be observed from the plan that the entrance to the cellar in room 7 is deliberately set askew in order that it may coincide with the new entrance from the cross-hall. It is clear, therefore, that the (originally open) front of room 7 was built up before the cellar was inserted; that this was then sunk into the floor of the room and made as large as was possible without endangering the adjacent walls; and that then it was found necessary to twist the steps slightly in order that they might be approached from the new entrance. Now it has been seen that accumulative evidence sufficiently strong to amount to proof indicates that between the time of Hadrian and that of Septimius Severus the fort was either abandoned or at least neglected; and that certainly no extensive re-construction can be ascribed to that interval. Since the reconstruction of period II. cannot be dated much earlier than Hadrian, it is in the last degree improbable that so extensive a remodelling as that now indicated can have taken place within his time; indeed the structural changes on examination will be found to imply a transformation of military traditions or ideas that can only be associated with a considerable lapse of time. It is necessary, therefore, to suppose that the rebuilding of the *prætorium* took place not earlier than the time of Severus, though prior to the insertion of the cellar. But the cellar is shown by well-stratified coins (see below) to have been in use within the first thirty years of the third century. To this period, therefore, when the neighbouring main road and the ruined

aqueduct were restored to working order, and when Septimius Severus or his lieutenants had infused a new life into the Imperial army, must be ascribed successively to the rebuilding of the internal walls and porticoes of the prætorium and the insertion of the cellar in the sacellum.

Of the courtyard (1) of this period, details are obscured by the thorough denudation of the site in mediæval times, when the fort became a quarry for the builders of the Edwardian castle and town-walls. If the columns of the new porticoes were of stone, not a fragment has survived to tell the tale, but a few of the large base-stones and the rough footings for others remain to show that the colonnade was carried round the four sides of the courtyard (Fig. 12). A fragmentary wall near the southern angle indicates that, as at Housesteads and elsewhere, the verandahs were partially enclosed and partitioned.

Of the three rooms into which the cross-hall was now divided, the central room (2) was partly paved with stone slabs, the strips of paving being set askew to meet the new doorway in the sacellum. These slabs, like those in the middle of the courtyard, are much worn by traffic. Room 3 contains a stone-built trench-hearth,³⁶ which is set in the floor of this period but may be a later insertion.

The heated apsidal room (10) is an interesting addition without parallel in Britain. The stone-built channels of the hypocaust were lined and partly floored with slate. Sockets in the walls show that these were heated through vertical flue-tiles, fragments of which were found among the débris, together with pieces of painted wall-plaster. The furnace had evidently been on the south-eastern side, but no structural remains of a furnace-room could be identified; it may have been merely a rough shed. The very distinctive hard yellow mortar and the character of the masonry showed beyond question that the room was built during this period; and the absence of any extensive indications of fire or soot suggest that it was not long in use. As will be seen, there is evidence that it was demolished in Roman times.

What was this room? Heating arrangements of one kind or another are common enough in the headquarters-buildings of Roman forts. Often, as at Gellygaer, or as in room 3 at Segontium, open hearths or braziers sufficed to

³⁶ Compare the hearth at Cappuck, *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, xlvii, p. 460.

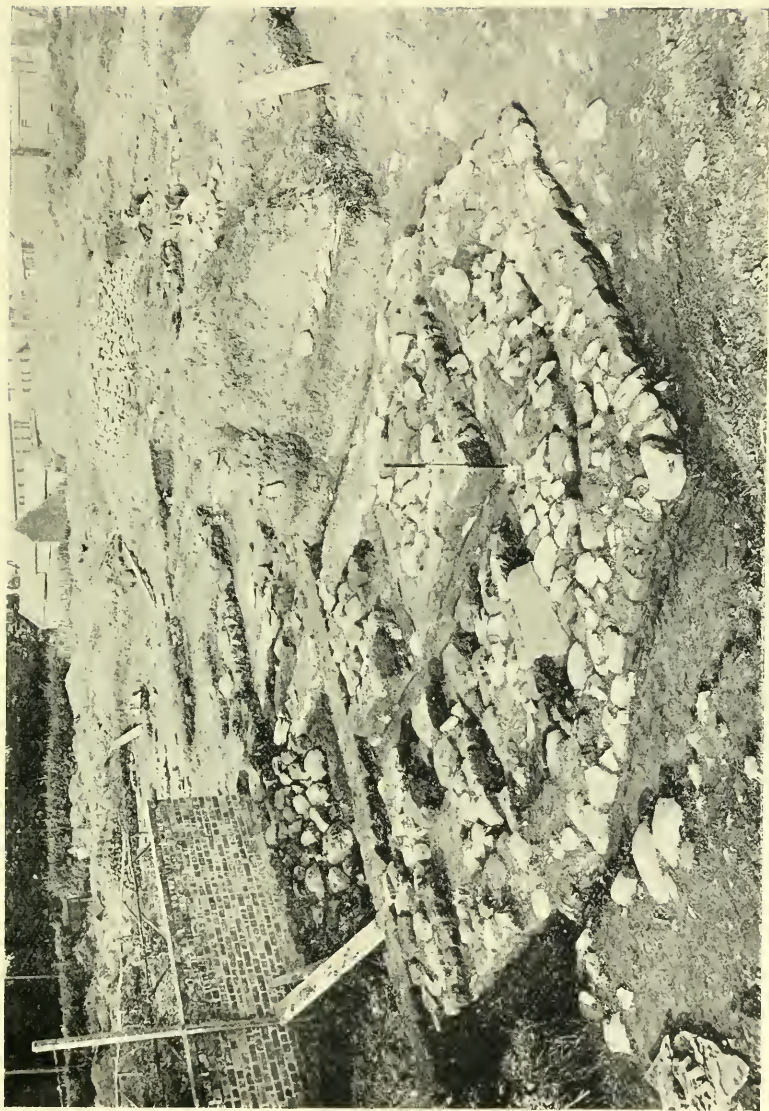


Fig. 13. The praetorium: room with hypocaust, from the east.



To face p. 50.

Fig. 14. The prætorium: room with hypocaust from the north-west.

warm the fingers of the officers and clerks who worked in these offices. But occasionally, even in the comparatively simple *prætoria* of the British forts, the more elaborate hypocaust system was introduced. At South Shields the room or rooms corresponding to our rooms 5 and 6,³⁷ and at Bremenium (High Rochester) a room in the same range³⁸ were so heated. In the little fort at Cappuck, in Roxburghshire, the building which may be regarded as equivalent to the *prætorium* contained the remains apparently of a channelled hypocaust; the structure is probably of Antonine date.³⁹ Less certainly, at Camelon the room corresponding to our room 5 was thought to have contained a hypocaust.⁴⁰ And, in the Housesteads *prætorium*, which has more than one feature in common with ours, a room with a hypocaust is thought to have been built as an upper storey over the space occupied by the equivalent of our rooms 5 and 6 during a remodelling of the building, perhaps in the early part of the third century.

In several of the Continental forts, one or more rooms of the *prætorium* were similarly heated, but it will be sufficient to cite two examples which seem to have a special affinity to the Segontium building (Fig. 15). At Butzbach, on the German Limes, a room built somewhat haphazardly of re-used materials was added at some uncertain but comparatively late period to the back of the *prætorium* adjacent to the room 5 of the Segontium plan. At Weissenburg the earliest stone sacellum with its flanking rooms was demolished in Roman times and replaced by new structures inserted into the cross-hall. These new structures were put up, not by the original garrison, but by a "relief" which was already in occupation in 153, although the actual date of the work was not ascertained. At some subsequent period, a room with hypocaust and furnace was added at the back in a position exactly corresponding with that of the apsidal room at Segontium. It is noteworthy that, in both these cases, the heated rooms are relatively late additions and elsewhere, also, the hypocausts of *prætoria* are not infrequently described as insertions into the original structure. Their obvious utility doubtless overcame by degrees such prejudice as may be supposed to have survived from the earlier and more rugged traditions of military

³⁷ *B. A. A.* xxxiv (1878), p. 375; *Arch. Ael.* (N.S.), x, 230, J on plan.

³⁸ *Arch. Ael.* (N.S.), xxv, p. 224.

³⁹ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* xlvi, p. 460.

⁴⁰ *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* xxxv, p. 365.

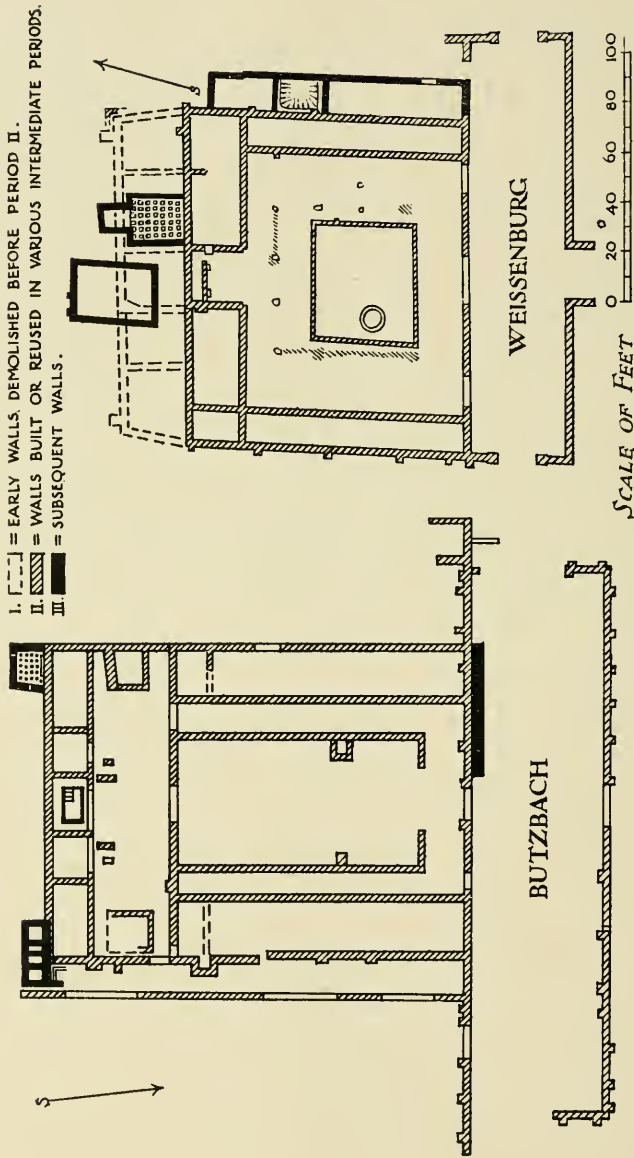


Fig. 15. The headquarters-buildings of the forts at Butzbach and Weissenburg, on the German Limes.

architecture. Moreover, from the beginning of the third century the administrative offices of the army increased rapidly in importance and indeed began more and more to assume a non-military aspect. It can be no mere accident that at Segontium it is at this period that the rooms occupied primarily by the administrative officers were enlarged and multiplied, and that one of the added rooms not only had a hypocaust but was decorated with painted wall-plaster,⁴¹ and made some pretension to architectural dignity. It may be recalled that at Housesteads a somewhat similar reorganization was assigned tentatively by Professor Bosanquet to the same period. The wider significance of these and other changes will be discussed at a later stage.

The precise purposes to which the various rooms were allotted in the *prætorium* of an auxiliary regiment, such as that which garrisoned Segontium, probably varied slightly in different places and epochs. At Niederbieber, on the German Limes, the room corresponding to our room 5 is shown by an inscription to have been the *tabularium*, or office where the quartermaster's accounts and other regimental records were prepared and kept.⁴² In the legionary fortress at Lambaesis were two *tabularia*; of these, the *tabularium legionis* (as distinct from the *tabularium principis*) was a room at the back of the *prætorium* to the left of one approaching the *sacellum*, and is identified by an inscription which indicates that it was occupied by the college of the *cornicularius*, *actarius*, *librari* and *exacti legionis* (see below, p. 127). Now it will be seen that the cellar in the *sacellum* at Segontium became, in Roman times, the receptacle of building stones mingled with large quantities of painted wall-plaster and a small altar dedicated by an *actarius*. This débris must have come from an adjacent building; there is evidence that room 10 was razed to the ground before the end of the fourth century; painted wall-plaster was found in this room but in none other in this part of the fort, except amongst the débris in the cellar. It is sufficiently probable, therefore, that this débris, doubtless including the altar, came from room 10, which

⁴¹ Painted wall-plaster is rarely found within an auxiliary fort. A building in the fort at Canstatt was thus decorated, but whether during or after the military occupation is not certain (see Goessler and Knorr, *Canstatt zur Römerzeit*, p. 9). At Segontium, I was at first inclined to regard the hypocaust and painted wall-plaster as evidence of civil occupation, but this view now seems to me untenable.

⁴² See Bosanquet, *Arch. Ael.*, (N.S.), xxv, p. 223.

may therefore be identified tentatively as the *tabularium*, or at least as part of it.

It remains to consider the evidence provided by the cellar in the sacellum (Fig. 16 and 17). This evidence was unusually varied and extensive, since the cellar had been gradually sealed up in Roman times, and 114 coins were amongst its contents. It measured 10 feet by 9 feet horizontally, was 5 feet deep, and was approached at the southern corner by a flight of five stone steps. North-west of the steps was a shallow ramp, possibly the sill of a low opening for the admission of light or air.⁴³ On the north-east and north-west sides, at a depth of nine inches from the top, was a projecting ledge to carry a floor or trap door; the south-east side had been partially demolished during the Roman period, but doubtless had a similar ledge. The work was all of one date, with the exception that the top step, unlike the others, was a re-used building stone made up with rubble, and may have been a subsequent repair.

The original floor was of large, well-squared slabs of local sandstone, carefully grouted with pink cement, and raised some 7 inches above the clay on boulders and other fragments of stone. These slabs were all lifted and the surface beneath them cleared, but only a tinned bronze ring (of "curtain-ring" type) and a bone counter were found in this layer. The surface of the floor was very clean and level, and showed no signs of wear.

Presumably this floor proved an inadequate protection against damp, for it was afterwards covered by a substantial layer of large and thick slates laid sometimes singly, sometimes two or three deep, with a solid backing and covering of yellow cement. This cement was carried up the steps, thus sealing every cranny through which moisture could percolate from below. On the surface of the original slab-floor, and under the centre of a large slate of the secondary flooring, was found a denarius of Elagabalus (218-222), almost in mint condition. The coin could not possibly have reached this position after the laying of this secondary flooring. Under the cement which covered the fourth step (from the top), lying on the stone tread, was a denarius of Julia Domna (died 217), in mint condition. Amongst the slates and cement of the secondary flooring were found the following denarii; one of Faustina

⁴³ Compare the sill in a similar position in the South Shields fort.—Hooppell. *Northumb. Durham, and Newcastle Nat. Hist. Trans.*, vii (1878), Pl. vii, and p. 9.

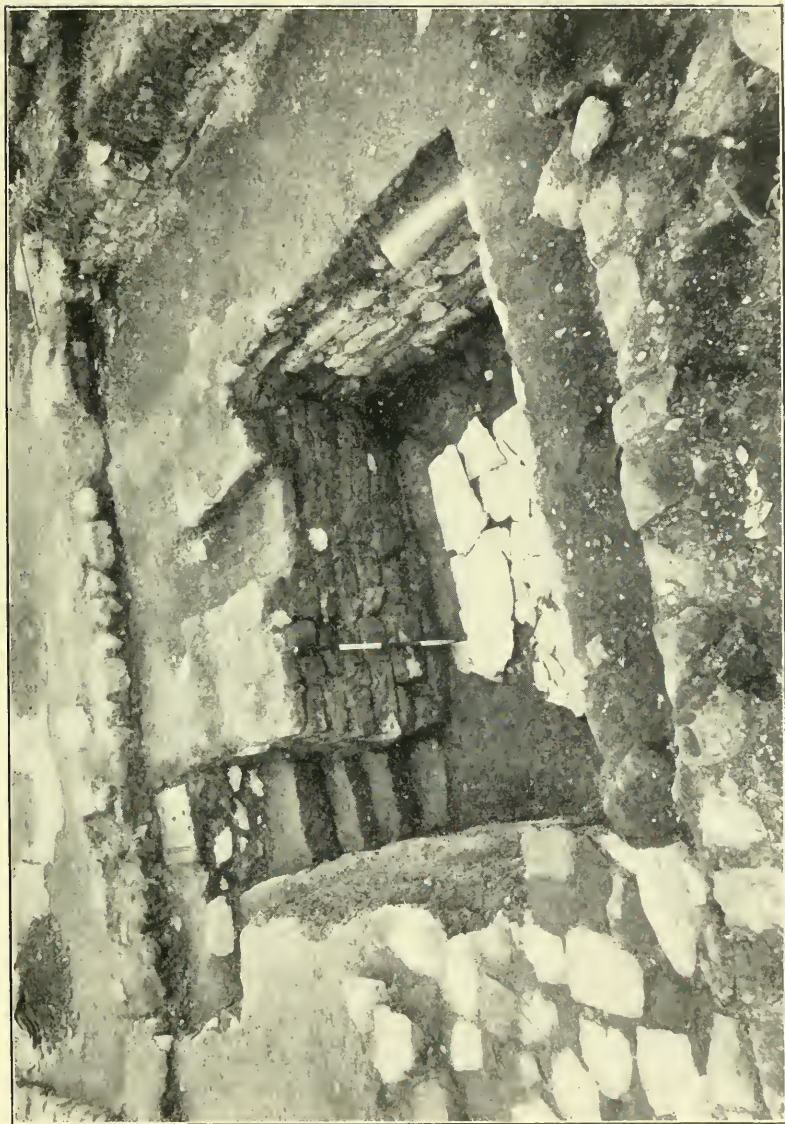


Fig. 16. Cellar in the sacellum, from the north-east.

SEGONTIVM: CELLAR IN SACELLVM. SECTION AT S.E. END.

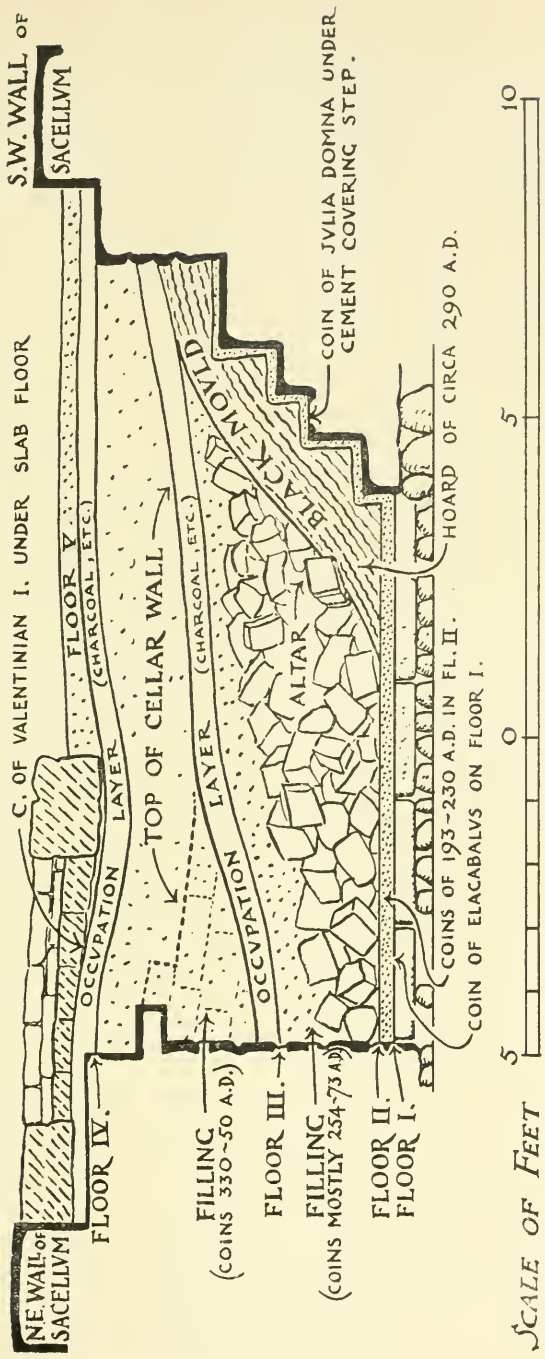


Fig. 17.

the Elder (died 141), two of Septimius Severus (193-211), two of Elagabalus (218-222), one of Severus Alexander (minted 222-230), and one of Julia Mamaea (died 235). These coins are all in mint or very good condition, except the Faustina, which is fairly good. It is abundantly evident that the secondary flooring was laid down not before, but not many years after, 218-222.

Now it should be explained that the purpose of this secondary flooring was not to replace a worn or damaged floor of considerably earlier date, since the very perfect condition of the stone floor was remarked as soon as the surface was uncovered. Its purpose, as already indicated, was purely protective against the moisture—perhaps even the flooding—which a single Carnarvonshire winter must have made an instant problem.⁴⁴ The secondary flooring was, more likely than not, added within a few months of the completion of the cellar. It has been pointed out above that the deliberate twisting of the entrance-steps implies that the insertion of the cellar was *preceded* by the general remodelling of the prætorium, and that this remodelling can scarcely be earlier than the reign of Septimius Severus. We may thus, on various grounds, assign the building of the Segontium cellar to the earlier decades of the third century.

If further support were needed for this conclusion, it might be found in analogy. With the uncertain exception of the example at Ambleside, which may be as early as Hadrian,⁴⁵ no cellar in a prætorium seems to have been assigned to a date prior to the Antonine period. At Brough, in Derbyshire, an inscription shows that the cellar (at least in its present form) was built some years after 158.⁴⁶ At Newstead no cellar existed in the prætorium of the early Antonine fort, but a cellar was inserted when the fort was rebuilt, probably *circa* 158. In the Antonine fort at Rough Castle the cellar is little more than a stone-cist, and suggests a tentative innovation rather than an established tradition.⁴⁷ At Housesteads, where the hard

⁴⁴ The cellar now holds water like a shallow well.

⁴⁵ *Cumberland and Westmorland Arch. Soc. Trans.*, (N.S.), xv, p. 38.

⁴⁶ *V.C.H. Derbyshire*, 1, p. 205.

⁴⁷ G. Macdonald, *The Roman Wall in Scotland*, pp. 224, 400. The fully-developed cellar of the prætorium at Bremenium (High Rochester) has sometimes been assigned provisionally to the early Antonine period on the strength of an inscription of this date recorded by Hübnér (*C.I.L.* vii, 1041) to have been found "in the wall

rock made the cutting of a cellar difficult, structural alterations were apparently carried out to form, as Professor Bosanquet suggests, a strong-room above ground. If, as seems not unlikely, these alterations are coincident with the later floor in the adjacent sacellum, a coin of Caracallus found in this floor suggests a third-century date. On the floor of the cellar at Cilurnum (Chesters) were found a number of denarii, chiefly of the reign of Septimius Severus.⁴⁸ At Butzbach, on the German Limes, a coin of Severus Alexander, found in the structure of the cellar, indicates that this was built not earlier than 227.⁴⁹ It is at least apparent that a large cellar like that at Segontium is very unlikely to be earlier than the second half of the second century. But since at this period the fort was in a state of decay, the construction of the cellar cannot be earlier than the following century. Thus structural evidence, the evidence of well-stratified coins, and evidence from analogy, all combine to indicate the date above suggested.

Thus far the *prætorium*. The extent to which the remainder of the fort was renovated or rebuilt under the Severi is less precisely indicated. On general grounds, however, we may tentatively assign to this exceptionally active period a distinctive type of walling which is shown clearly (especially in building XIX.) to have been chronologically intermediate between and essentially distinct from both the earliest and the latest buildings of stone. This

in front of the *prætorian* buildings." But Professor Bosanquet points out that "the slab recording (apparently) the building of the *prætorium* of Bremenium by a cohort of Lingones in the time of Lollius Urbicus was not found, as Hübner says, in the *wall* before the *prætorium*. This is a misprint for Bruce's *well*, and this in turn seems to be a loose description of the *big cistern*. So it is by no means certain that the existing *prætorium* is Antonine. The slab from an older *prætorium* may have been re-used, e.g., as a coping-stone for the cistern. One of the destructions of which the excavators found evidence must belong to the late 2nd Century or to the first years of the 3rd. Corbridge was probably taken and sacked twice in that period, and Bremenium, on the main road from Scotland, is not likely to have held out when the line of the Wall was lost. Further digging there is much needed."

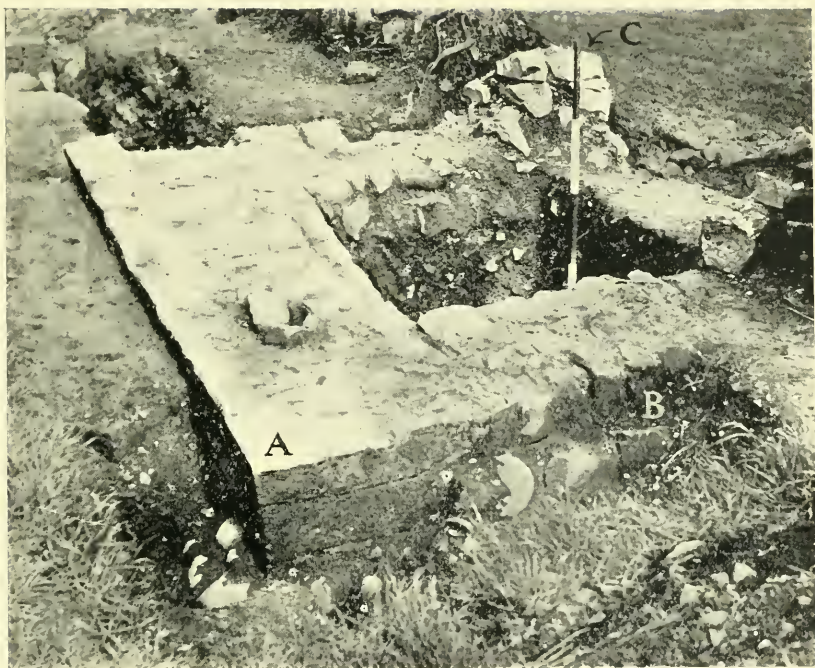
⁴⁸ *Arch. Ael.* (N.S.), xxv, p. 221.

⁴⁹ O.R.L. *Butzbach*, p. 9. It may be noted that extensive alterations and improvements carried out on the northern frontier of Britain during the reign of Severus Alexander show that the period was there marked by military activity and efficiency.

walling was almost everywhere reduced to its footings, which were marked by their unusual breadth (2 feet 8 inches to more than three feet) and by their massive construction of large glacial boulders. Where the facing stones were preserved they were of well-dressed local stones. This type of construction was characteristic of buildings I., XIII., XVI. and XIX. (main outline) and of several walls in other buildings. All these buildings have been briefly described in a previous section, and it will suffice here to note that the impression conveyed by their fragmentary remains was that they represented a drastic rebuilding on a massive scale distinct alike from the neatly built 2-foot walls of the second century and the equally moderate though more roughly built walls of the fourth century.

If we turn to the gates and defences, the evidence becomes a little more substantial. Throughout the first and second century occupations, the north-east gateway had retained its timber construction. Indeed, by a curious anomaly the north-western half of the gateway was not completely rebuilt in the more permanent material until the latter half of the fourth century. It is likely enough that the fort-wall was carried partially across the front of it, but the complete removal of the wall on this side of the fort leaves this point uncertain. The presence of a large conduit on this side of the gateway may already have contributed to the disuse of it (see above, p. 21), and the process of atrophy was completed by the obtrusion of the second century barrack block XX. across its inner face (see p. 85), Fig. 34). Access was thus restricted largely or entirely to the south-eastern half of the gate, and when it was at length determined to remodel the defences of the fort it was deemed sufficient to include this part alone within the scheme. Thus, in the north-west guard-room successive floors continued to accumulate in association with a timber structure. Four or perhaps five, of rammed earth or clay, were formed before the fourth-century occupation. The second floor from the bottom was capped by a well-marked burnt layer which covered a group of pottery (Samian 18/31, stamped CESORINI, and Fig. 76, Nos. 19 to 22) of early second-century date. It is possible that this burnt layer should be equated with the other early traces of burning which have been discussed above (p. 36).

On the other hand, in the south-eastern guard-room only two floors could be equated with the timber structure. At the bottom of the lower floor was found a 2nd brass of early

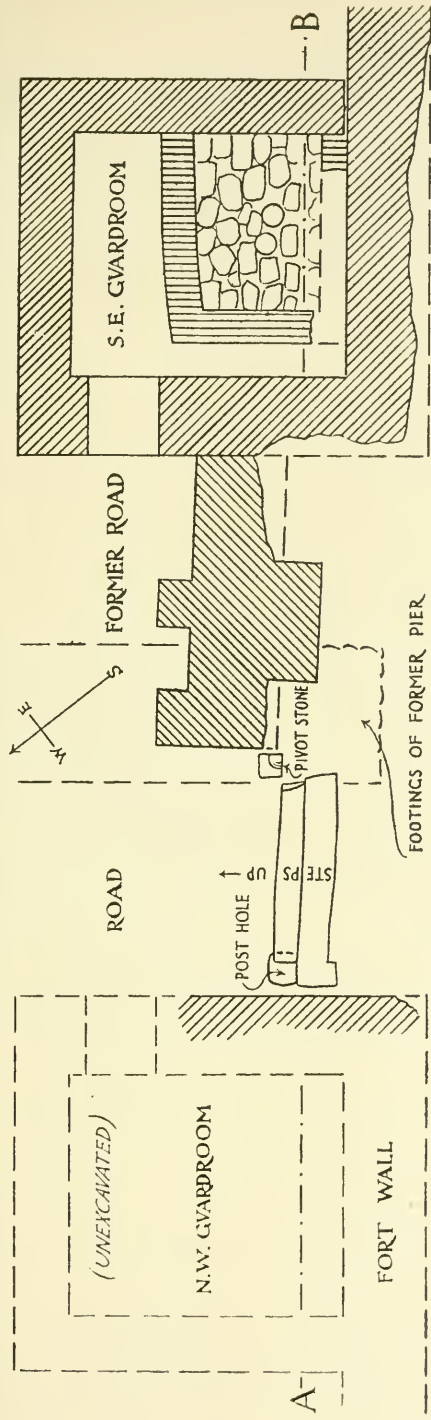





To face p. 58.

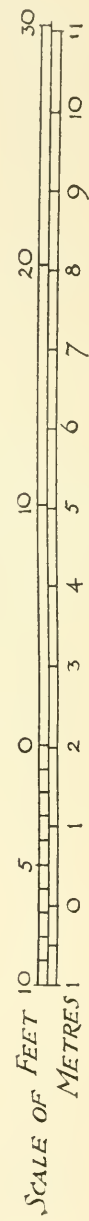
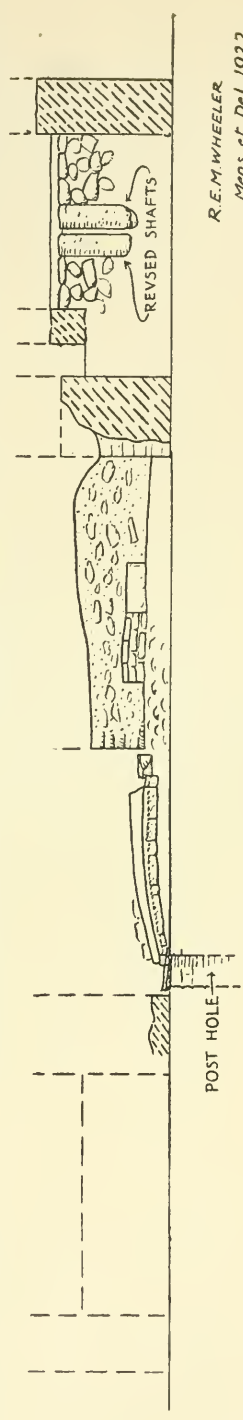
Fig. 18. North-east gateway: south-east tower from the south, showing (A) well-squared external masonry where originally exposed; (B) rough external masonry where originally covered by earthen rampart; (C) behind top of pole, rough inner face of tower, originally concealed by filling.



SEGONTIM: SOUTH WEST GATEWAY. PLAN AND SECTION A-B.



 = PERIOD II.
  = PERIOD III.
  = PERIOD IV. (? 5TH CENTURY OR LATER).



R.E.M. WHEELER
Mens. et Del. 1922.

Fig. 19.

but uncertain date, and on the top of this floor or in the bottom of the next lay a denarius of Nerva or early Trajan. The next structural phase was of considerable interest. The guardroom was replaced by a stone tower, faced externally with excellent ashlar, largely of local sandstone. The walls, however, were of irregular thickness, and internally were very roughly built. Where they had been protected by a field-bank, the side walls remained to a considerable height (Fig. 18) and there can be no doubt that the rough internal surface was intended by the builder to be concealed from view. Furthermore, the walls were carried round continuously, without provision for entry, and up to the present surface the interior was filled with a sort of loose yellow cement consisting of rammed sand and lime. The only possible inference seems to be that the tower was built as a solid platform, presumably to carry artillery. If this supposition be correct, we may see in this tower a forerunner of the solid bastions of the later Empire. The mode of construction suggests an experimental and transitional phase in military architecture. A partial analogy may be recognized in a square internal bastion "of solid masonry" on the west wall of Bremenium (High Rochester), and it may be no accident that two inscriptions from Bremenium—one found in the prætorium, and the other outside the same west wall—record the restoration of a ballistarium, apparently in the time of Elagabalus.⁵⁰ Again, at Elslack a gate is flanked by towers which appear to have been built solid with comparatively loose rubble. Their date is uncertain but thought to be not earlier than the third century.⁵¹

The relative date of the Segontium tower was readily apparent. It replaced a wooden structure which was, as we have seen, still in use in the time of Nerva or Trajan. On the other hand, the road-surface with which it was contemporary was definitely earlier than the construction of the fourth-century stone guardroom on the opposite side of the gateway (see section, Fig. 5). The period of possibility may be further reduced by the elimination of the second half of the second century and the first half of the fourth—both periods of decay at Carnarvon. It is again reduced by the discovery of a very worn 2nd brass of Hadrian in the sandy cement filling of the tower. This

⁵⁰ *Arch. Ael.* (N.S.) i, p. 72, *Arch. Inst. Northumberland Vols.* (1852) i, p. 144.

⁵¹ *Yorks. Arch. Journ.*, xxi, 131.

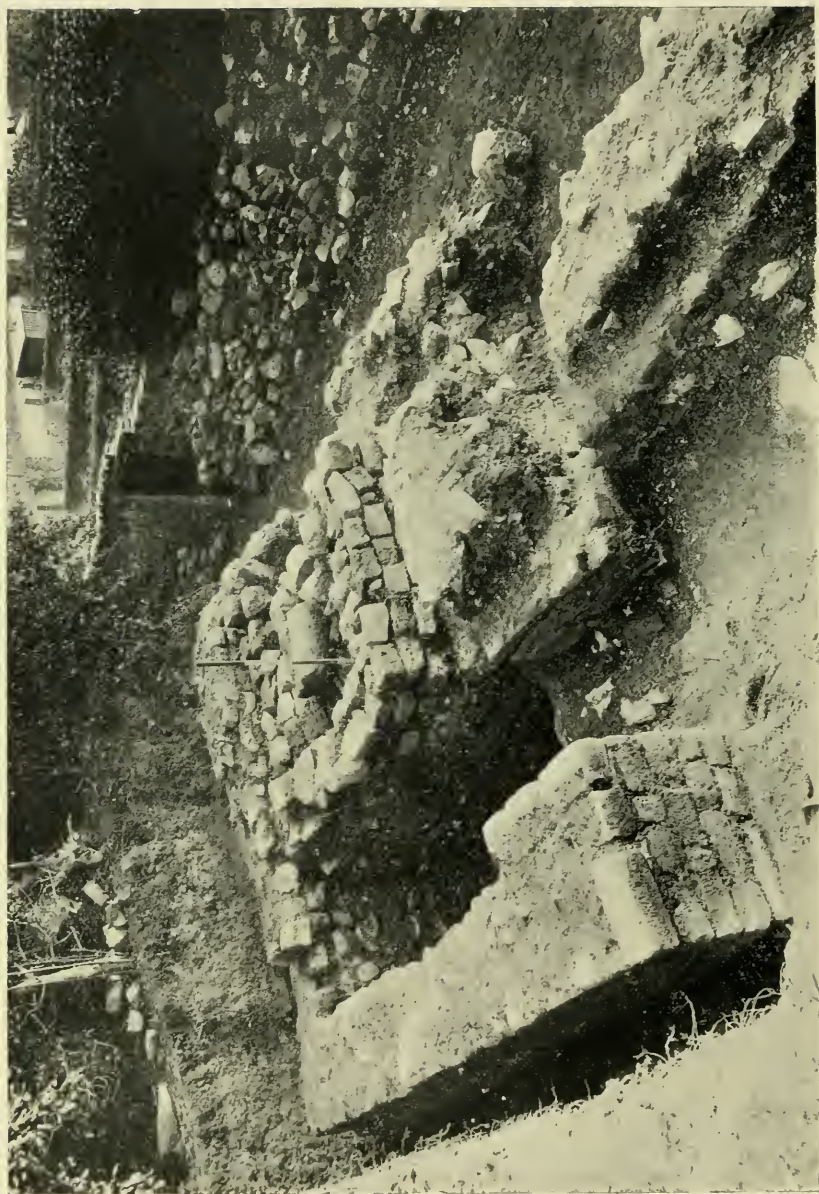


Fig. 20. South-west gateway: south-east guardroom from the north.

coin must have been introduced during the building operations, and had evidently been in circulation for many years before it was dropped. Its evidence almost certainly narrows the date of construction to the limits of the third century. At this point other factors may be considered.

The external masonry of the tower is strikingly good. The long, clean-cut blocks of local stone differ alike from the comparatively small ashlar of definitely second-century work and from the heterogeneous constructions of the fourth century. They are, however, exactly like those with which the gateway on the opposite (south-west) side of the fort was at some time rebuilt (Figs. 19 and 20). This gateway was partially excavated under conditions which prevented a close examination of strata. Its plan and structural sequence, however, were recovered, and it is clear that the original timber building, represented by a solitary post-hole, was succeeded by a fine double gateway with guardrooms entered through lateral doorways direct from the passage-ways—the only known instance of this arrangement at Segontium. Fortunately, on this side of the fort the core of the external stone wall is still fragmentarily preserved; it is carried round without a break as the core of the excavated guardroom, thus showing that the two works are of the same period. It is a safe assumption, therefore, that the solid tower of the north-east gateway was likewise built when the fort was walled, and the fort-wall is probably therefore of third-century date.

The relation of the fort-wall to the original earthen rampart was ascertained at two points. A section near Cae Mawr farm-house showed that the fort-wall was planted without footings upon the natural boulder-clay immediately adjoining the outer limit of the bank (see p. 19, Fig. 3). It consists of coursed rubble, with much white mortar, faced externally with hammer-dressed stones, mostly local limestone (average size 5 inches by 9 inches) (Figs. 21 and 22). A distinctive feature of the rubble core at the southern corner, where it is best preserved, is a series of small circular putlog holes, from $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches to $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, which apparently penetrate completely through the wall.⁵² The outer face of the wall is vertical. The inner face, which, being concealed, was left rough (Fig. 23), is battered from a thickness of 4 feet at the base to 2 feet 6 inches at the present top some 7 feet from

⁵² For these putlog holes, see below, p. 106.

the ground. When the wall was completed, the wedge-shaped interval between it and the bank was filled in with soil containing fragments of slate, oyster-shell and broken mortar, together with two fragments of thick and poor Samian pottery—a fragment of form 31 and of the rim of a 37. Neither of these can well be earlier and both might be later than the second quarter of the second century.

At the north corner, where fragments of a stone turret were discovered (Fig. 24),⁵³ the relationship between wall and rampart differed in detail. The builders of the wall, instead of erecting it independently in front of the original bank, gave additional solidity to the combination by slightly trimming the base of the bank and then building the lower part of the stone wall actually against it. In section, the wall is thus coved internally to a height of 2 feet, above which it was apparently carried up more or less vertically but has been almost entirely removed.

There was some indication that, after the building of the fort wall, the summit of the internal bank was paved with a rough cobbled flooring. Above this, the wall was evidently carried to form a high parapet. Near the southern angle of the fort, the core still stands to a height of 12 feet, and must originally have been some feet higher. There was, however, a marked tendency to level artificially the interior surface of the fort so that the external height of the wall at the southern, or lower, end may have been somewhat abnormal.

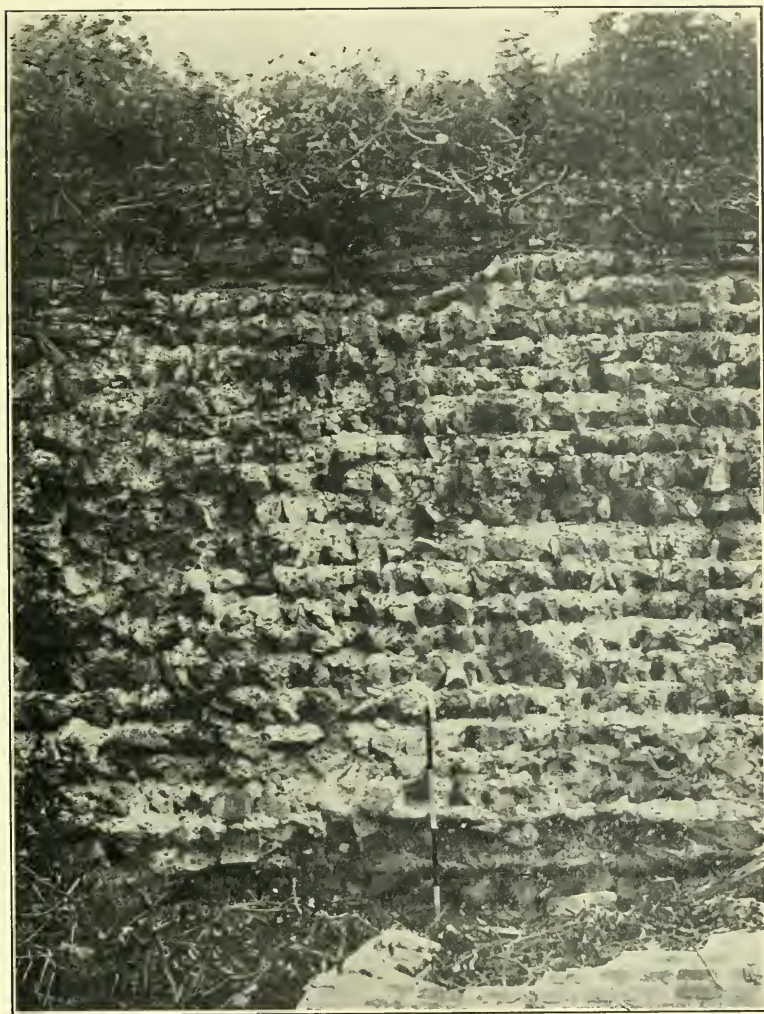
Nevertheless, the broken fragments of the fort-wall can scarcely fail to impress the observer as a direct anticipation of those great walls which, in the forts of the Lower Empire, ceased to be mere revetments, and were already formidable

⁵³ A fairly extensive search along the top of the rampart between the north-west gateway and the eastern corner of the fort failed to reveal any trace of intermediate towers. On the other hand, two "Roman towers" are marked on the line of the south-west wall of the fort on the Ordnance Survey map (see Fig. 1, sites 3, 3). The Director-General of the Ordnance Survey kindly informs me that the towers were inserted on the original plans of 1887 on the authority of the Rev. J. W. Jones, the Vicarage, and Mr. H. Jones, Llanbeblig Road. The description given was: "In the vicarage wall was discovered a culvert, and on the same wall, a few yards west, two towers or shafts". The culvert referred to is still visible externally in the fort-wall at the south corner (see plan, Fig. 83), and a slight rise in the ground immediately within the wall midway between this point and the south-west gateway seems to confirm the more southerly of the two towers.



To face p. 62.

Fig. 21. Exterior of north-west fort-wall adjoining Cae Mawr farmhouse.



To face p. 62.

Fig. 22. Core of fort-wall north-east of the south corner;
exterior. Height about 11 feet.

masonry barriers, almost of mediæval type.⁵⁴ At Segontium, the masonry itself, well and regularly built, with

SECONTIVM: NORTH CORNER. PLAN, & SECTION "AA".

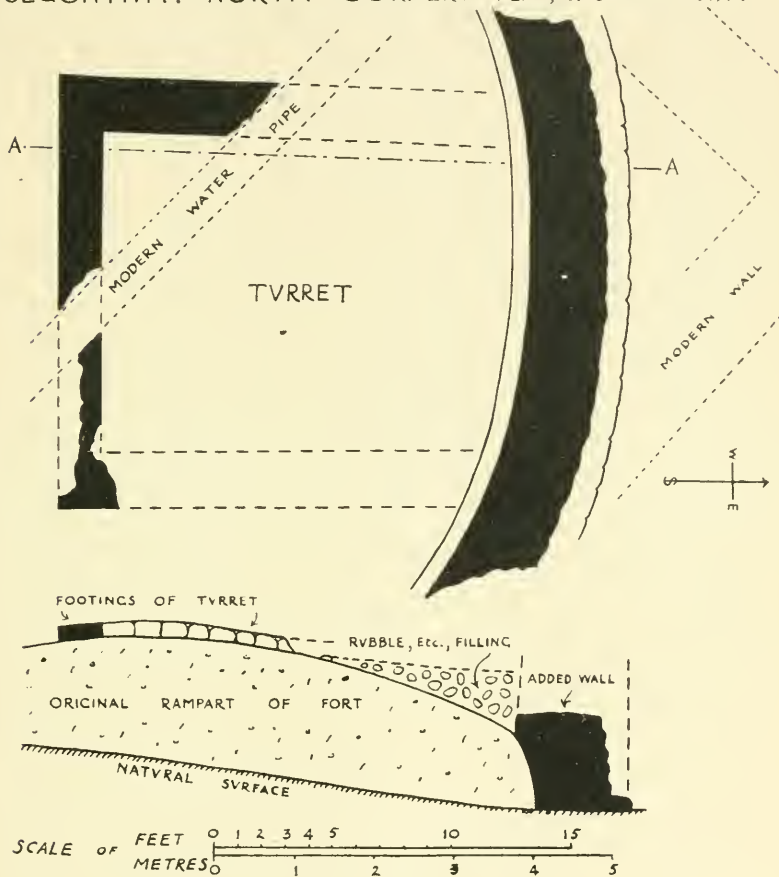


Fig. 24.

ample but not chaotic use of good, white mortar, contrasts equally with the second-century and the fourth-century

⁵⁴ There is little or no difference between the siege-operations of the fourth century described by Ammianus Marcellinus and those of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries described, for example, by Geoffrey de Vinsauf or Richard of Devizes.

masonry elsewhere in the fort. It falls naturally into place if we assign it provisionally to that early third-century rehabilitation which has left its mark in the form of inscriptions and of drastic structural alterations in the prætorium. It is known that early in the third century a new, if spurious, efficiency was infused into the army by an emperor who owed to it his throne; and that Britain was, for three or four years, the chosen field for the display of this renewed vitality. It is more than unlikely that, at this period, a Roman garrison would be content with mere earthen banks already 130 years old. The evidence, which has already converged upon the third century as the period for the renewal of the defences, seems finally to concentrate upon those years at about the end of the first decade of the century when the garrison of Segontium was actively putting its house in order. It is difficult not to suppose that the reinforcement of the old defences would be amongst the first of the new works. At Cærsws, in Montgomeryshire, Professor Bosanquet long ago assigned the building of the fort-wall to the military revival of this period; and, indeed, throughout the frontiers of the Empire almost numberless inscriptions reflect the anxious energy of Severus.

Such, we may suppose, was the fort in the early years of the third century—a more strongly fortified and at the same time, perhaps, a somewhat more comfortable place than in earlier times. The enlargement of the regimental offices in the prætorium and the addition of the hypocaust doubtless represent, as we have seen, the increasing importance, or self-importance, of the administrative staff. They recall the growth of the military *scholæ* at this period, and the gradual extension of their functions into the region of civil affairs. It is likely enough that the fort was now the administrative centre of a considerable part of north-western Wales—a region fruitful in metals, cattle, corn,⁵⁵ and possibly slaves. Nor was the increasingly civil character of the army confined to its administrative offices. When, in 193, Severus led his Pannonian legions to the gates of Rome it was clear to all that thenceforth the army was the *populus Romanus*. Moreover, the permanency of the frontier garrisons had led to the upgrowth of unofficial family life amongst the troops; in 197, according to

⁵⁵ At least in the days of Giraldus Cambrensis. Anglesey was “more fertile in corn than any other part of Wales”. *Itin. Kamb.*, ii, 7.

Herodian, this state of affairs was officially recognized by Severus, and the soldier was thereafter at liberty to marry and to live outside the fort. Politically and domestically, the Roman soldier was thus adopting more and more the mien of a privileged civilian, and the third-century fort was beginning to assume something of the complexion of a town. At Segontium it would be of interest to know whether, as is likely enough, some of the hypocausts which were partially excavated in 1847 within the southern quarter of the fort were built at this time—one at least is clearly an intrusion into the earlier plan. Elsewhere, notably in the smaller room of building XVI., numerous fragments of flue-tiles and brick pilæ represent destroyed hypocausts which may here, as in many other forts, have been additions of the Middle or Later Empire. Unfortunately, all decisive evidence has been destroyed with them.

Of the garrison at Segontium under the Severi we know little more than the name as recorded upon the aqueduct inscription. The Cohors I. Sunicorum must originally have been levied amongst the Sunici or Sunuci of Gallia Belgica, though it is more than doubtful whether in the third century it still retained its nationality, any more than did some of our own Scottish regiments, for example, towards the end of the Great War. Of its size (whether 500, *quingenaria*, or 1,000 strong, *miliaria*) and character (whether entirely infantry or whether partially mounted, *equitata*) we know nothing, and can only guess from the size and position of the fort that a large cohort which included mounted men would be appropriate. A diploma shows that the cohort was in Britain as early as 124, but, if we are right in inferring a break in the occupation of Segontium during the Antonine period, we are obviously not justified in assuming that this particular unit was at Segontium prior to the third-century re-occupation.

Finally, what was the cause of this re-occupation? One essential point at least is clear. The partial re-inforcement of the Welsh frontier under the Severi was not confined to the coast-line. It is recognised at Cærsws in Montgomeryshire; and stray finds—a denarius of Caracallus and perhaps a third-century Samian bowl with appliqué reliefs—combine with the imposing character of the defensive wall (said to be seven to nine feet thick) to suggest that the Brecon Gar may have shared in this revival. This contemporary rehabilitation of one or more forts in the remote interior of Wales suggests only one inference. The forward

movement was directed primarily, not against the overseas invaders who later harried the districts near the coast, but against the native inhabitants of the Welsh uplands. On this renewed restlessness in Wales history is silent, and it remains for future excavation amongst the Welsh forts to envisage its extent.

vii. FROM SEVERUS TO CARAUSIUS.

It is difficult, in the dim light of present knowledge, to appraise rightly either the extent or the endurance of the work of Severus in Britain. The dying Emperor, carried at the head of his harassed troops into the highlands of Scotland, and there levelling mountains, filling up morasses and observing the paths of the sun, may seem to rank amongst the most heroic and tragic figures of later Roman history. In spite of his African origin, he may be thought to have shared more than a little in that subtle combination of practical purpose and intellectual curiosity which was characteristic of the Roman genius at its best. On the other hand, he may have been merely a gouty old gentleman with a certain gift for opportunist action, a morbid passion for astrology, and an ill-bred family. The truth perhaps lies mid-way between these possibilities; but the truth, whatever it be, can only be expected to emerge as the excavation of Roman sites in western and northern Britain proceeds. In the meantime the conventional estimate of the achievements of Severus during his last years is at least suspect. Dio trumpets his great campaign in Scotland, but the searches of Scottish archæologists for actual traces of this campaign have so far been successful only on one site.⁵⁶ Spartian regards as the greatest glory of his reign

⁵⁶ Cramond, near the mouth of the Firth of Forth. See G. Macdonald, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 1917-18, p. 213. It must, of course, be borne in mind that the mobile armies of Severus can scarcely be expected to have left extensive or at least readily recognizable traces of their operations. The field forces of Agricola often left little enough. Still we are entitled to expect more evidence of Severus than is at present forthcoming in Scotland. On the other hand, *south* of the Border there are many signs of activity during his reign; e.g. inscriptions from Caerleon, Brough-by-Bainbridge, Ilkley, Ribchester, Corbridge, Old Carlisle, Risingham, etc. (*C.I.L.*, vii, 106, 269, 210, 226, 482, 343, 1003).—As these pages go through the press, Mr. R. G. Collingwood, in a paper read before the Roman Society, has cast further doubt upon the direct responsibility of Severus for the reparation of the northern frontier defences.

(*maximum ejus imperii decus*) the construction of a wall completely across the island; we know now that both the walls were standing half a century before he came to the throne. Dio, again, declares that after the death of Severus at York in 211, his son Caracallus abandoned his father's plans and gave up the struggle. Yet, at Segontium, a milestone probably indicates active work in the neighbourhood under the new reign; the cellar in the sacellum was re-floored and possibly built not earlier than the time of Elagabalus (218-222); and the third-century coins not merely continue but increase until the end of the reign of Severus Alexander (A.D. 235). The histories and the monuments agree in representing a phase of special activity during the later years of Septimius Severus; they seem to differ widely from each other in the delineation and evaluation of this phase.

Between the time of the Severi and the rise of the Gallie Empire coins are not numerous on British sites.⁵⁷ Nevertheless, if, as we reasonably may, we accept the coins now in the Carnarvon Free Library, this period is at Segontium bridged sufficiently to indicate a continuous, if not intensive, occupation there. This inference is confirmed by the witness of a fourth milestone, bearing the name of Trajan Decius (249-251), found near Dinas Dinorwic some three miles north-east of Carnarvon, and presumably from the same productive road which has already yielded three other stones of earlier date.

With the second half of the century the depreciated currency found its way into Segontium in large quantities, and it is not until the time of Carausius that we again seem to encounter a definite term in the occupation. This term is not apparent from the coin-list, which, as might be expected upon a site used actively in the fourth century, is continuous from the end of the third century onwards. It is, however, suggested by evidence which may conveniently be tabulated:—

(1) The history of the cellar in the sacellum has been carried to the period when, during or after the reign of Elagabalus, it was paved with slate and cement. Its subsequent history falls into four distinct phases of which the first must now be considered. It will be seen that during the fourth century the cellar was deliberately filled. Prior to this filling, a deposit of black natural soil, about eighteen

⁵⁷ Cf. G. Macdonald, *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, 1917-18. p. 252.

inches deep, had drifted down the steps from the entrance (Fig. 17), indicating that for a considerable time the sacellum was doorless and possibly roofless. The mould covered the broken fragments of an iron-bound box, and amongst the fragments lay fifty-six bronze coins, ranging from Gallienus to Carausius, the latter represented by a single coin in mint condition. The hoard was therefore deposited within a few years of A.D. 290.⁵⁸

(2) Amongst the material first used for the subsequent filling of the cellar were coins, pottery, building-débris and part of a human skull. It is clear that this material consisted of rubbish which, at the time, littered that or some adjacent part of the fort. The presence of a human skull amongst this débris is tolerably conclusive evidence that the previous period had been one of decay following, possibly, upon a hasty evacuation during which at least one human body had been left unburied. Most of the coins found with this material were of late third-century date (see below, page 80).

(3) Within the northern wall of building XII., beneath the thick clay floor of the latest occupation, was found a small hoard of coins, ranging from Volusianus to the Tetrici.⁵⁹

(4) Less decisive evidence, though of a kind which was especially impressive during the process of excavation, is suggested by the completeness with which the buildings of the fort were replaced or modified during the latest (fourth-century) period of intensive occupation. Thus, as will be seen, the north-west gateway was completely wiped out, and a new structure built at a higher level; both the north-east and south-west gateways were drastically altered; the buildings of the retentura were largely rebuilt on new plans, and the prætorium underwent alterations which, as already mentioned, included the filling-up of the cellar. These extensive operations suggest not merely that the fort had been abandoned but that it had been deliberately destroyed, perhaps by the departing garrison. The massive masonry of the gateways and the prætorium is not likely to have fallen into irreparable ruin unaided.

The evidence—especially the silting of the natural soil into the cellar, the human skull and the two coin-hoards—thus indicates a period at the end of the third century, probably not long before or after A.D. 290, when Segontium

⁵⁸ See below p. 113, Hoard i.

⁵⁹ See below p. 118, Hoard iii.

lay once more under the shadow of decay and, possibly, of disaster. This was, indeed, a time of chaos and disaster throughout the land. Everywhere money was buried and lost in large quantities, and no special local significance attaches to the fact that, of eighty-six coin-hoards known to have been found in Wales, at least thirty-four must have been buried within a few years of A.D. 300.⁶⁰ It may be noted, however, that with the exception of the two small hoards from Segontium, none of these had been found within the immediate vicinity of a Roman fort. As elsewhere, they clearly represent the reaction of political disturbance upon the civil and especially the native population. It may also be remarked that stray coins of late third-century date are not infrequently found upon native dwelling-sites, and it is clear that, whether by coincidence or otherwise, money circulated freely amongst the native population at the time of the rise of the native Gallo-British usurpers.

Segontium and its sister fort at Cærhûn are, at present, the only Roman auxiliary forts in Wales which have yielded coins of the late third century in any considerable numbers. At Cærsws, the latest coins are of this period; but, since they are only four in number at a time when coinage was remarkably abundant, they can scarcely indicate any significant occupation.⁶¹ The question arises, therefore, as to the nature and purpose of the occupation of Segontium during the middle and latter half of the century. If Cærsws was wholly or largely evacuated shortly after the time of Severus, did Segontium share its fate? If so, we must assume that the subsequent occupation during the third century was mainly or entirely civil in character. There is, however, no warrant for this assumption. We may conclude provisionally that the internal troubles to which we have ascribed the earlier third-century rehabilitation of the Welsh frontier did not long demand the active retention of forts in the hinterland, such as Cærsws; but that certain of the coastal forts, notably Segontium, and perhaps Kanovium, were still maintained, partly as police-

⁶⁰ *Bulletin of Celtic Studies*, I, Pt. iv, pp. 346 ff., and II, Pt. i, p. 91.

⁶¹ The only coins later than Septimius Severus at Caersws are a possible Victorinus, a Tetricus, and two other radiates of uncertain type. Professor Bosanquet, to whom I owe this information, suggests that after the period of Severus the fort was evacuated save, perhaps, for official "caretakers", who may have remained in charge of the site until towards the close of the century.

posts on the margin of the frontier zone, but largely now as watch-towers towards the darkening horizons of the west. For the frontier system of the province was already feeling the increasing pressure of new difficulties to which nothing short of a revolution in military policy could hope to adapt it. The Roman frontier was rapidly becoming a *Romano-British* frontier, in which the Roman and the provincial native were faced by common foes from overseas. Under the earlier Empire, that section of the frontier which coincided with Wales had faced inwards rather than outwards. During the third century it was able and compelled to effect a *volte face*. Early in that century the forts of the interior were, as it seems, abandoned for the last time, and, as elsewhere, all the available forces were concentrated upon an outer frontier against those Irish whom Agricola had long before threatened to tame with a single legion, and those Caledonians whom for a time he had actually subdued. It is something of a paradox that, at the moment when this new frontier scheme was first systematized by Diocletian, Segontium, where Agricola himself may well have uttered his repeated boast, was seemingly doomed to half a century of oblivion. To this problem we must now turn.

viii. SEGONTIUM AND THE REFORMS OF DIOCLETIAN.

The evacuation of Segontium apparently within the last ten years of the third century may be ascribed to one of two main causes. It may have been merely an incident in the period of turmoil which culminated in the usurpation of the purple by Carausius and Allectus. It may, on the other hand, have been a deliberate act in that general re-organisation of the frontier-system which was instituted by Diocletian. It may be observed, in passing, that a somewhat similar alternative presents itself in the case of the outpost-forts which lie to the north of Hadrian's Wall. Thus, at Woodburn, and High Rochester, Dr. Craster notes that "the few coins discovered carry on the occupation of those forts with certainty to Claudius Gothicus (A.D. 268-270) and include one coin of Carausius (A.D. 287-293)," and adds, "Whether the withdrawal of these outposts was due to the disturbed state of the empire under Gallienus and the Gallic usurpers, or whether it formed part of a scheme of re-organization and concentration carried out by Diocletian and Constantius Chlorus, after Britain had been re-united to the empire in A.D. 296, it is as yet impossible to determine.

The slight evidence which we possess seems to point to a change of system, and thereby to favour the later date.⁶² At Segontium, the evidence is more abundant and precise, and carries us definitely to the eve of Diocletian's reforms. We may, therefore, like Dr. Craster, incline to the view that the break was incidental to these reforms rather than an accident of the previous period of disturbance. The seemingly deliberate destruction of the buildings of the fort, presumably at this period, in itself suggests that the evacuation was an act of cold and calculated policy on the part of the High Command. True, the small (almost insignificant) coin-hoard in barrack-block XII. and the bronze coins found amongst the fragments apparently of a small wooden chest at the foot of the cellar-stairs in the sacellum may perhaps be interpreted as an indication of alarms and excursions. But the barrack hoard may be no more than the mislaid purse of some forgetful soldier; and the coins in the cellar, representing possibly the incomplete looting of a regimental cash-box, may merely remind us that the discipline of an auxiliary cohort at the end of the third century was by no means that of a regiment of Guards. The human skull found near the coins, if it be not that of some subsequent marauder, may be the relic of some such local "incident" at the actual moment of the departure of the troops.⁶³

The analogy between the case of the outlying forts north of Hadrian's Wall and that of Segontium at this period may well be more than accidental. The immediate problem which Constantius and Diocletian had to face, upon the re-union of Britain to the empire was that of protecting those vulnerable coasts which lay behind the established frontiers. The need was urgent and the change proportionately drastic. The new system, it will be recalled, consisted of two or possibly three main parts: (1) a garrison

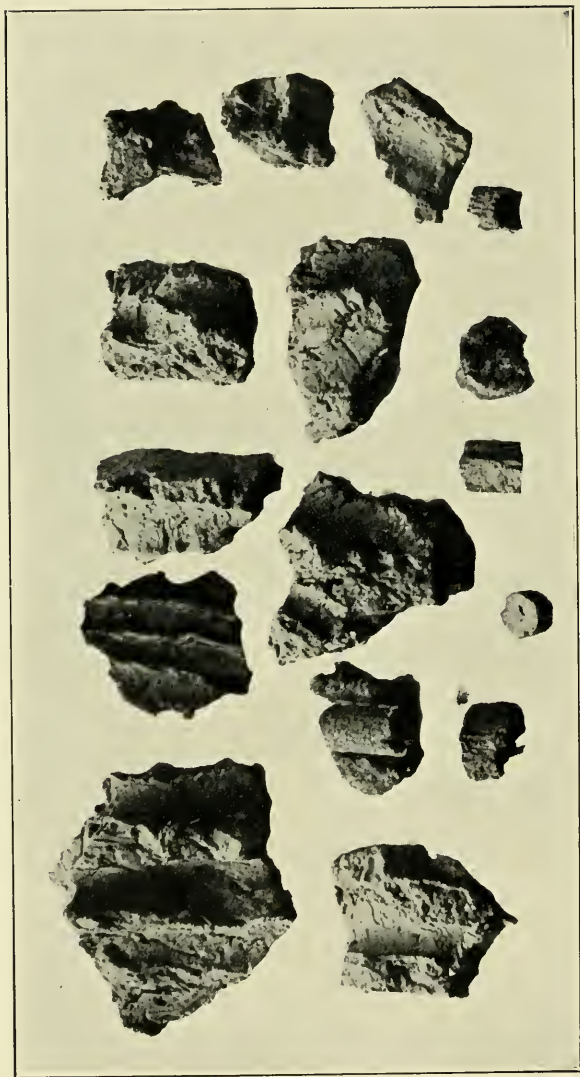
⁶² *Arch. Jour.* lxxi (1914), 25-6. The problem is not confined entirely to the outer fringe of forts; Ilkley is thought by its excavators to have been evacuated and perhaps deliberately destroyed c. 290. Woodward, *Yorks Num. Soc. Trans.*, 1922, p. 162.

⁶³ The evidence is of course quite indecisive, and it is equally feasible to conjecture that the third-century fort ended in disaster; that it was sacked by raiders (perhaps from Ireland); and that as a constant menace, it was deliberately razed to the ground by them. No special emphasis is laid upon the view suggested in the text; the one certain inference from the evidence is that the fort was evacuated at this time, and that this evacuation, if not instigated, was at least accepted by the authorities.

army, perhaps but little modified, was retained along the line of Hadrian's Wall with its base at York; (2) a new garrison army, partly or wholly made up from existing units under various guises, was distributed in a new system of forts along the south-eastern coast (the "Saxon Shore") from Brancaster in Norfolk to Porchester in Hampshire with a central headquarters, now garrisoned by the Second Legion, at Richborough in Kent; and (3) it is possible that a third army of more or less mobile character was allotted to a senior military commander to reinforce the stationary garrisons at need.⁶⁴ Of these three forces, the last, if it actually formed a part of Diocletian's scheme, was perhaps intended to supply the need hitherto met by such outposts as High Rochester and Segontium. Some such economy of garrison-troops must have been necessitated by the manning of the new forts on the southern and eastern shores, and, if in the longer perspective of history this policy must be regarded as opportunist, it is perhaps doubtful whether any better course was feasible at the moment.

It is elsewhere than in Carnarvonshire, therefore, that we may expect to find the handiwork of Diocletian (or Constantius) in Wales. One region alone had, in the course of the occupation, developed anything approaching a settled, Romanized, civil life. Monmouthshire and the Vale of Glamorgan, together perhaps with parts of Carmarthen-shire, had attracted Roman or Romanized settlers to their low-lying and fertile coast-lands. The legionary fortress at

⁶⁴ Seeck, in *Pauly-Wissowa* (s.v. *Comites*), prefers to regard this commander (the *Comes Britanniarum*) as an emergency officer appointed not earlier than 425, perhaps by Aëtius, in a last half-hearted attempt to recover the island. On the other hand, Professor J. B. Bury believes that the creation of the office "may probably be ascribed to" the general Constantius after the suppression of the Gallic tyrants Constantine and Jovinus, c. 413 (*Journ. of Roman Studies*, x, p. 144). The tangled skein of the British *Notitia* will never be unravelled, and in this instance the evidence is characteristically indecisive. In 369 the elder Theodosius came to Britain with the rank of *comes*, but though we may note, with Bury, that "he did not take the place of anyone else, nor is there anything to show that he was succeeded by a *comes* permanently stationed there", the negative evidence is altogether too weak to preclude the possibility that the office was already envisaged in Diocletian's scheme. The breaking up of the legions and their partial absorption into the front-line fortresses (such as Richborough) meant the dispersal of the old frontier reserve, and must strategically have demanded some new second-line such as a mobile field-force, working in conjunction with a fleet, might well supply.



To face p. 73.
Fig. 25. Burnt wattle and daub from top of filled ditch of fort, near the south corner.
(Scale nearly $\frac{1}{2}$).

Caerleon lay too far eastwards to secure adequately this long strip of territory from the peril of piratical raid or armed immigration, and perhaps at the time of the transference of the whole or part of the Second Legion from Caerleon to Richborough, a new fortress of Saxon-Shore type was established on the site of an older fort at Cardiff. The remainder of Wales, with its population of poor and un-Romanized natives was, like the Scottish Border, left for a time to its fate.

During these years of desolation, Segontium may not have been entirely without inhabitants. Excavation within the inner fort ditch near the southern corner, showed that the ditch had been filled up in Roman times, and had been covered with a rough clay-flooring upon which lay large quantities of burnt wattle and daub (Fig. 25). Beneath the clay flooring were found two coins, of Claudius Gothicus and Carausius. It may well be, therefore, that, at this period, squatters settled (or remained) in the immediate vicinity of the neglected fort. It was, perhaps, one of these who dropped a purse containing sixteen coins ranging from Gallienus to Crispus (A.D. 326) upon the floor of the courtyard of the prætorium.⁶⁵ The hoard was covered by the metalling laid down during the subsequent occupation, but the fact that after it had been dropped it lay unnoticed on the floor of the main building in the fort is in itself suggestive evidence against any regular habitation of the fortified area at this period.

IX. THE LAST ROMAN OCCUPATION.

During more than a century after the period of the Severi, no structural work is known to have been carried out within the fort. It is not until the third quarter of the fourth century that we again find evidence of the reconstruction or modification of the internal buildings, and then upon a scale which in itself suggests the intensive occupation, under circumstances of serious military stress, of a site which had been deliberately ruined or at least allowed to lapse into decay. Coins indicate the probability that Kanovium, and perhaps Maridunum (Carmarthen), were also held at this time; but Segontium is the first auxiliary fort in Wales from which we have any definite hint as to the character of this late re-occupation. The new work was first detected in

⁶⁵ See below, pp. 115 (Hoard i).

SECONDIVM: NORTH~WEST GATEWAY.

PLAN, AND SECTION ALONG LINE "X X"

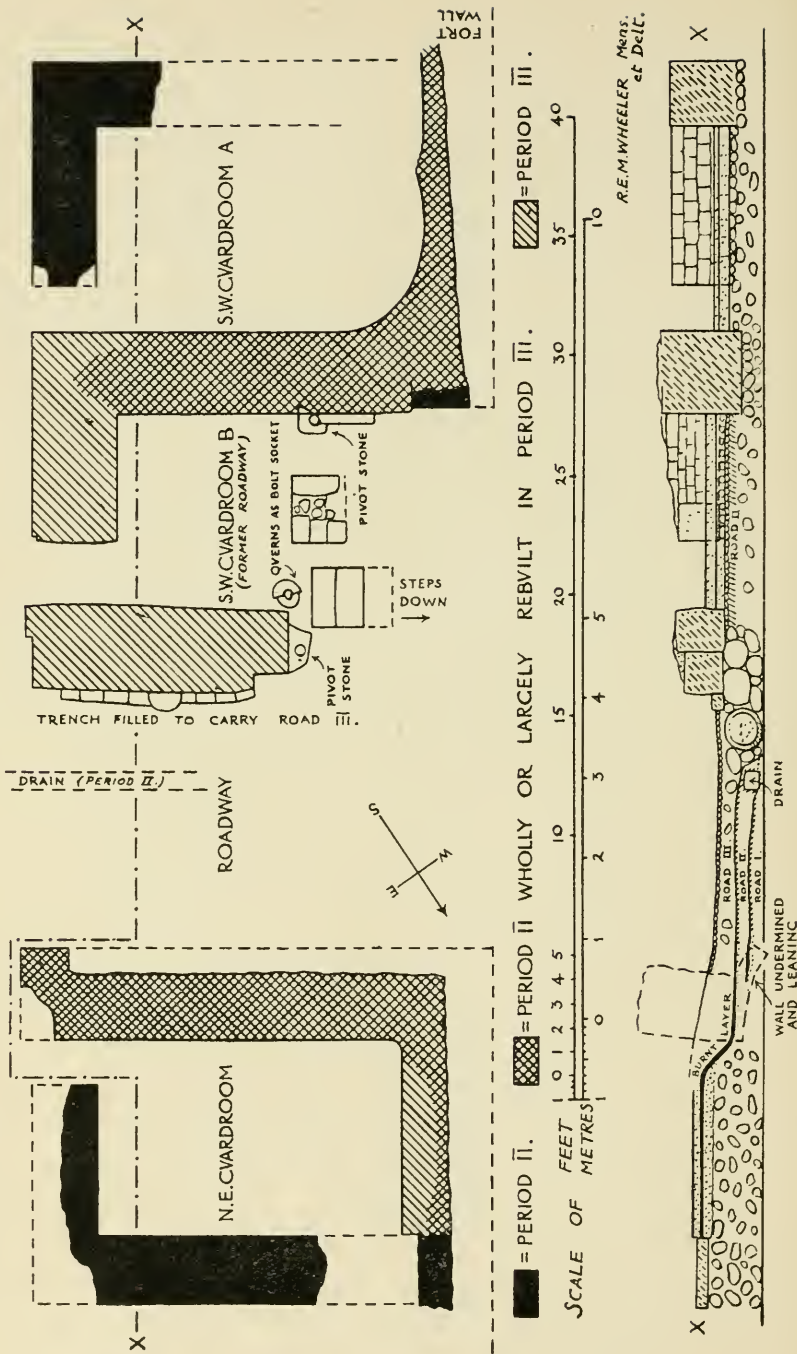


Fig. 26.

the gateways, and we will proceed from them to the no less definite evidence offered by the prætorium, the commandant's house, and the barrack blocks of the retentura.

The NORTH-WEST GATEWAY was, as we have seen, completely rebuilt in stone probably in the early years of the second century. This stone gateway was now obliterated and replaced by an entirely new structure (Fig. 26). The new plan included a single roadway, flanked on the south-west by a guardroom or postern of an anomalous and curiously illogical plan. This guardroom (B on plan) was built across the former south-west roadway, and the adjacent wall of the earlier guardroom was rebuilt with it. This wall was carried down to the older footings, but the south-east wall, which is definitely of one build with it, stands upon the slab-paving of the earlier road (Fig. 27). The north-east wall, dividing the guardroom from the new roadway, does not occupy the site of the earlier central pier. On the south-west side, the wall is built over the road-metal of the preceding period, and on the north-east side both it and the adjacent part of the latest road are carried over large boulders and damaged column capitals which had been used to fill in the foundation trench of the earlier pier (Fig. 28). The solitary roadway (Road III.) which was retained in full use in the new plan was thus wider than its predecessor on this side by some three feet towards the south-west.

The new guardroom B (Fig. 29) presents features which are as certain as they are remarkable. The outer, or north-west side was not walled in but was closed, more or less permanently we may imagine, by a heavy gate. The pivot stone for this gate was clearly re-used from the earlier structure but was, with equal certainty, used in its present position, adjoining a short length of plinth near the outer end of the south-west guardroom wall. The stone shows the two bearing grooves—that worn in its original position and that subsequently worn, slightly eccentrically, after the stone had been placed in its present position. The gate appears to have consisted of a single leaf which opened inwards over the level floor of the guardroom; on the opposite side, the halves of two separate quern stones, carefully levelled and placed centre to centre in the upper clay floor, seem in the latest period to have served as a socket for the bolt. A second pivot-stone, also re-used, at the outer end of the north-east wall must have held a gate which worked in the opposite direction across the adjacent roadway. The width of the gate, combined with the upward

slope of the road, necessitated this departure from the normal inward action of the gate. The use of a single-leaf gate of considerable size is also an exceptional feature.

Guardroom B showed two floorings (Fig. 30). The earlier, laid on the surface of the road of Period II. (second century), was of gritty clay, four inches thick, covered with a burnt layer containing animal bones, some of which had been cut for food. Under this floor, on the surface of the earlier road, were found two coins of Constantine I. and Constantius II. respectively.

- 1.—*Obv.* CONSTANTINVS AVG. Bust, laureate and cuirassed, r.
Rev. BEATA TRANQUILITAS. Altar inscribed VOTIS XX.; on it a globe; above, three stars. Mint mark PTR Trier. Cohen 16. 3 Æ. Condition when lost—good. 320-4 A.D.
- 2.—*Obv.* FL. IVL. CONSTANT[IVS]. Bust, laureate and cuirassed, r.
Rev. [GLORIA EXERCITVS]. Two soldiers, facing; between them one (? two) standards. 3 Æ. Condition when lost—fairly good. 330-340 A.D.

The later floor was eight inches thick (average) and of solid clay, which had been burnt hard either by a general conflagration or, more probably, by a long series of guardroom fires. It was covered by a burnt layer some three inches thick, containing many fragments of burnt branches and twigs (apparently alder), animal bones, a few nails, pieces of grey pottery (Fig. 75, Nos. 14-17) and a bone toggle (Fig. 61, No. 11). Some of the pottery was grit-laden or "calcited" in accordance with an old native custom which was revived in many parts of Britain during the latter part of the Roman occupation.

The outer front of this guardroom presents unusual features. The floors, by their height exaggerating the natural contour of the ground, rose considerably above the ground-level outside the Fort. The road, externally, was inclined upwards to meet them, but ingress was facilitated by a small flight of stone steps, of which two were found in position whilst a third lay loose close by (Fig. 31). The position of these steps, partly masked by the north-east wall of the chamber, suggests that they were built in the preceding period, in relation to a central pier situated slightly



Fig. 27. North-west gateway: inner entrance of guardroom B, showing fourth-century wall built over earlier paving. Pivot-stone of outer entrance in background.



Fig. 28. North-west gateway: section showing three successive roads, and a pilaster-capital used as filling under the latest (fourth-century) road.

To face p. 76.

further to the north-east. They were evidently retained for use, however, in the latest period (III.), and show signs of much wear. Between them and the south-western pivot-stone is a small rectangular platform of masonry, extended laterally by rough stone filling. It is contemporary with the last clay stratum, and served to anchor the thick clay floor above the sloping road-metal beyond. It may also have served as a bearing for the heavy gate. It was built actually into the clay floor, which filled the interstices between the stones, and was carried in a thin layer partially over them.

The roadway of Period III. covered the whole of its predecessors and, as already mentioned, extended beyond it towards the south-west across part of the filled foundation-trench of the earlier central pier. The filling over which it was carried included various architectural fragments, of which three much damaged pilaster and column capitals were extracted (Fig. 28), and three coins, all minted between 333 and 350 A.D.

- 3.—*Obv.* CONSTANTIVS PF. AVG. Bust, diademed and draped, r.
Rev. [VICTORIÆ DD AVGG Q NN]. Two victories facing, holding wreaths. Mint uncertain. Cf. Cohen 293. 3 Æ. 342-8 A.D. Condition when lost—almost mint.
- 4.—*Obv.* URBS ROMA. Bust of ROMA l.
Rev. Defaced. 3 Æ. 333-5 A.D. Condition when lost—fair.
- 5.—*Obv.* FL IVL CONSTANTIVS AVG. Bust diademed and draped, r.
Rev. [GLORIA EXERC]ITVS. Two soldiers facing; between them, one standard. Mint mark lost. Cohen 93. 3 Æ. 337-340 A.D. Condition when lost—fair.

As it approached the interior of the fort, the road rose to an increasing height above its predecessor. It was built of small boulders and pebbles cemented together with hard puddled clay, with a final surface of pebbles or cobbles and fragments of slate. Imbedded in the clay and boulders were found three fourth-century coins and a fragment of another of the same period.

- 6.—*Obv.* CONSTANTI[VS PF. AVG.]. Bust diademed and draped, r.
Rev. [V]ICT[ORLÆ] DD. AVGG. Q NN. Two victories facing, holding wreaths. Mint

- uncertain. Cf. Cohen 293. 3 Æ. 342-8 A.D. Condition when lost—fairly good.
- 7.—Similar to 1 (above), but mint mark PLON London. 320-324 A.D. Condition when lost—fairly good.
- 8.—*Obv.* [C]ON[STANS PF] AVG. Bust r.
Rev. FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO. Emperor r., head turned l., holding spear in one hand and dragging captive from hut. Mint mark R*P Rome. Cohen 18. 3 Æ. 348-50 A.D. Condition—poor.

The unanimous chronological evidence of the eight coins described admits of no doubt. With the possible exception of No. 8, found underneath one of the cobbles which formed the ultimate surface of the road, it is impossible to suppose that any of these can have filtered through subsequently to the completion of the work. It may be emphasised that Nos. 1 and 2 were found beneath twelve inches of flooring, more than half of which was of hard burnt clay, and that Nos. 3 to 7 occurred either in or beneath the clay core and boulders which carried the hard pebble surface of the final road. Again, excepting No. 8, none of the coins showed signs of much wear. The last re-building of the gate may be assigned to the third quarter of the fourth century.

THE NORTH-EAST GATEWAY. If we turn now to the north-east gateway we find equally definite evidence of rebuilding, though on a less extensive scale. It will be recalled that, whereas the south-eastern timber guardroom was replaced by a stone tower, which we have provisionally assigned to the time of the Severi, the opposite half of the gate-way, masked by the adjacent barrack-block, had fallen into disuse, and was not then replaced. Before or during the fourth-century occupation, however, the obtruding barrack block was razed to the ground and, as will be seen, the new buildings which were now erected upon the site were set back to allow free access to the whole gate. It thus became necessary to complete the rebuilding in stone. Now, for the first time as it seems, the roadway was subdivided by a central pier, built up on a filling of boulders and pebbles over the site of the original timber pier; whilst the timber guardroom was replaced by a stone structure of normal type (Fig. 5). This new guardroom was wider than its wooden predecessor, and built partly across the end of the original earthen rampart. Where the walls lay upon the rampart, no other footings were required; elsewhere

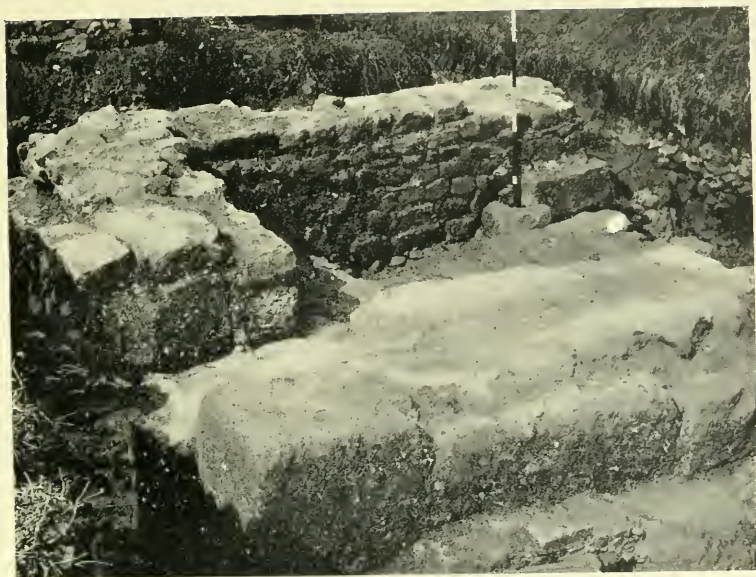
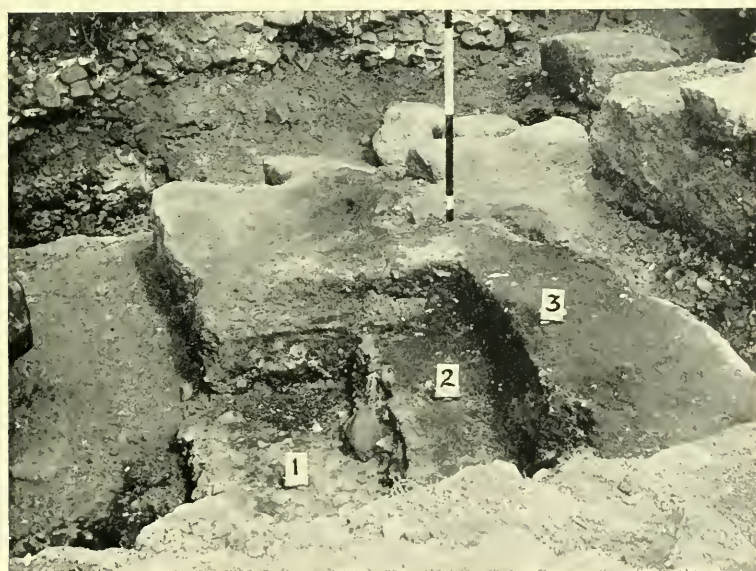


Fig. 29. North-west gateway: south-west guardroom B (fourth-century) from the east angle.



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Fig. 30. North-west gateway: successive floors (2 and 3) of south-west guardroom B, built over road-metal (1). Top step visible behind the pole.

trenches were cut down to the natural soil and filled in with boulders as footings.

The period of this work was indicated with certainty, and the evidence may be tabulated:—

(1) Its *relative* period was demonstrated by its perfectly clear relationship to the various road levels shown in a section across the gateway (see section, Fig. 5). Five main levels were distinguishable, of which the three lowest were all contemporary with the timber gateway, whilst the fourth from the bottom was contemporary with the building of the south-east tower. The fifth and top-most surface, however, was alone contemporary with the building of the stone central pier and north-west guardroom. It showed the normal camber on each side of the pier, and, in the north-western half of the gate, was carried completely across the site of the supposed conduit (see above, p. 21) to meet the lowest course of dressed stones at the foot of the new guardroom wall. The road-metal consisted of small gravel and sand with a considerable admixture of lime, and its unusually fine texture and light colour rendered it easily recognisable wherever it was encountered.

(2) The *absolute* date was indicated by equally unassailable evidence. The unknown structure (supposed conduit) which had, since the first century, filled the gap in the north-west roadway, was as has already been indicated, removed and the space was filled in with earth and stones to carry the new road across to the new stone guardroom. At a depth of two feet in this filling were found a third brass of Helena (died 328 A.D.) and another of Valentinian I. (364-375 A.D.). These coins must have been thrown in with the filling before it was covered by the seven-inch layer of metalling which formed the latest road. Again, the filling of stones and earth which carried the floor of the new guardroom contained a third brass of Constantine I., minted 333-5 A.D. The reconstruction of the gateway may be assigned to the latter part of the third quarter of the fourth century.

THE SOUTH-WEST GATEWAY. Although direct chronological evidence is lacking, we may reasonably assign certain drastic alterations in the south-west gateway to the fourth-century occupation (Fig. 19). The central pier of the former double gateway was razed to its footings, and part of a gate-socket was the only dressed stone left in position. Across the footings and the south-eastern roadway was built a heavy blocking with one external and two internal pro-

jections. The other (north-western) roadway was retained in use, but only for foot-passengers, and access to the increasingly higher level within the fort was now obtained by means of a broad flight of steps of which two and fragments of a third remained (Fig. 32). One of these steps, a single stone seven and a half feet long and one foot eight inches deep, has subsided at the north-western end into the top of a post-hole dating presumably from the earliest period. The use of steps at this gateway recalls the use of a smaller flight at the north-west gateway, already described.

THE PRÆTORIUM. In the prætorium, the fourth century occupation was marked by a series of important alterations (Figs. 11 and 12). The projecting apsidal room (10) was razed to the ground and the channels of its hypocausts were filled up with pebbles and broken stones to the level of the adjacent street. Amongst and partly under these stones, within the western angle of the room, was a rubbish-pit containing oyster-shells, several antlers and bones of red deer and other animals together with four well-stratified coins—one of Constans, one of Valentinian I. and two of Gratian.

Material, apparently from this discarded room, was used to fill the cellar in the sacellum (Fig. 17). Amongst the building stones, which formed the bulk of the filling, were a number of voussoirs together with part of a small sculptured figure in high relief (Fig. 50, middle), a stone carved with the letter V, the small altar dedicated by an *actarius* to Minerva (see below, p. 125), and the fragmentary human skull to which reference has already been made. Large quantities of wall-plaster, painted mostly in simple stripes of red, yellow, brown, blue or green, occasionally with a rough speckled pattern in red, are the link between this débris and the former room 10, the only other room where wall-plaster has been found. The filling was levelled with loose, yellow cement up to the height of the south-eastern wall of the cellar, which had been partially denuded of its two uppermost courses of stone. In the cement and the débris were twenty coins, all, with one exception, probably earlier than 300 A.D. The exception was a "Constantinopolis" minim, which was found near the bottom of the filling. The others were a Commodus (second brass), two of Gallienus, one of Salonina, two of Tetricus Senior, three of Tetricus Junior, two of Claudius Gothicus, one of Quintillus, one of Carausius, two local imitations of radiate



Fig. 31. North-west gateway: south-west guardroom B from the north-east, with roadway in foreground, two pivot stones, and (on right) steps.

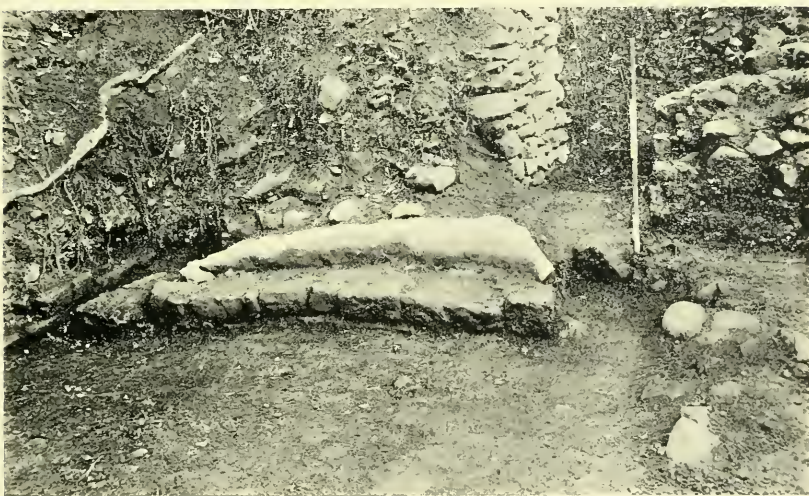


Fig. 32. South-west gateway: fourth-century steps, with end of blocking on the right and wall of north-west guardroom on the left. The pole stands by the pivot-stone of the previous period.

To face p. 80.

types, two radiate minims, and two undecipherable. The floor was capped by a well-marked occupation-layer containing many burnt twigs and the following four coins: A "Gloria Exercitus" (330-342), a minim of similar type, an "Urbs Roma" minim, and an undecipherable coin almost certainly of fourth-century date. Fifteen other coins were found either in or below this occupation-layer; the only doubt arises from the fact that they were found in the first trial pit before the line of demarcation between this and the subsequent filling was clearly established. Both fillings were of similar material, and the line of demarcation was irregular. These coins were: a very worn sestertius, probably of Nerva; an "Antoninianus" of Victorinus; a third brass of Tetricus Senior, two of Tetricus Junior; one of Claudius Gothicus; one of similar period; one of Constantine I., minted 313-317; another minted 320-324; one of Constantine II. as Cæsar; one probably of Constans; two fourth-century barbaric imitations and two "Gloria Exercitus" minims.

This second layer of loose cement was probably added at no great interval after the first. The building-stones thrown into the cellar naturally formed a higher heap towards the entrance from which they were thrown. Over this uneven ballast the sandy material of the new floor (floor III., Fig. 17) readily subsided into irregular hollows. The fresh layer which forms floor IV. of the diagram was therefore added to restore a level surface. It was not merely identical in character with the lower filling, but, like it, contained painted wall-plaster, though in very much smaller quantity. The plaster in this layer was in a notably inferior state of preservation to that from the earlier layer, but (on the reasonable assumption that all the painted plaster was from the same ruined building) the mere fact that a few fragments were still lying about the site suggests that no great interval of time elapsed between the two fillings.

This upper filling is without question of mid fourth century date. It contained the following coins: a "Constantinopolis" (330-337), an "Urbs Roma" (333-335), two minims (one with the "Gloria Exercitus" type of 330-342), a fourth-century barbarous imitation, and two undecipherable coins clearly of fourth-century date. It is tolerably certain that the lower filling also, in spite of the preponderance of late third-century coins amongst those which definitely belonged to it, should be assigned to

the same general period. It is likely enough that some of these third-century coins, like the human skull, were lying amongst the débris at the time of its insertion.

Finally, the renewed filling which formed floor IV. of the diagram (Fig. 17) was itself partially covered by a small structure which was inserted in the eastern angle of the sacellum. This structure was roughly square on plan, with sides slightly curved. Its floor was paved with re-used building-stones, one of which bore a roughly-cut and fragmentary inscription (see below, p. 127); another covered a third brass of Valentinian I. (364-375) in a position which it could not have reached subsequently to the building of the pavement. The purpose of this curious and primitive structure is doubtful. It had a slight resemblance to an oven, but showed no signs of fire. It may possibly have been a small strong-room or safe inserted to replace the cellar which, now doubtless forgotten, lay partly beneath it. Rough though its workmanship be, the masonry is held together with passable yellow mortar.

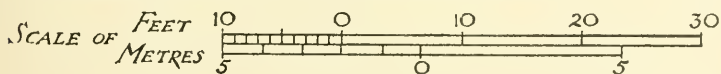
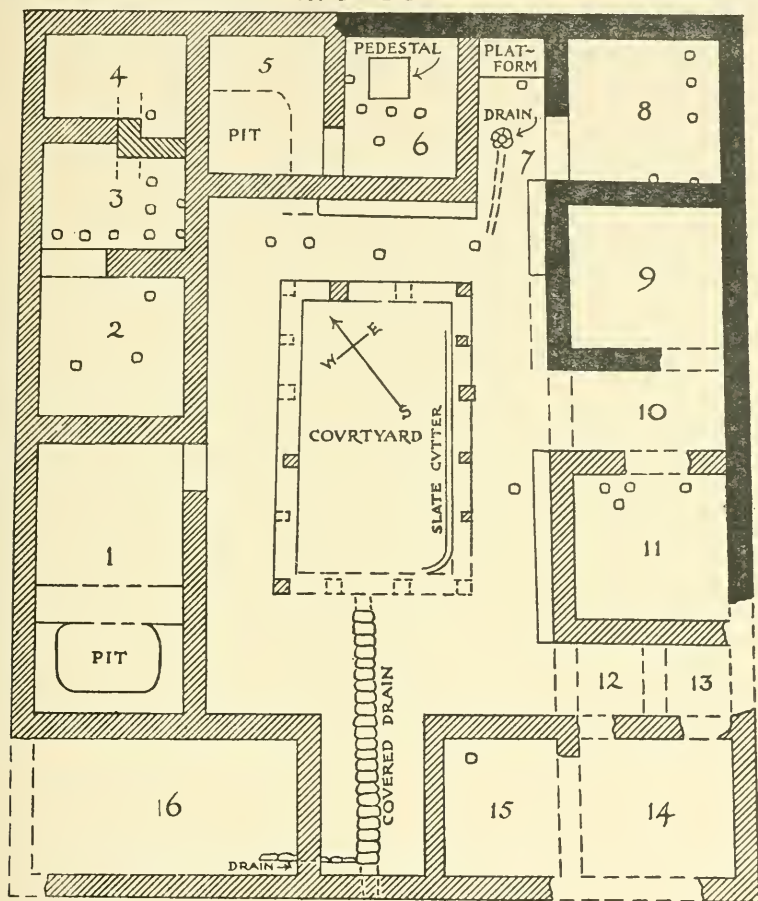
Other changes in the prætorium may likewise be assigned to the latest Roman occupation. In room 2, the paving stones, which had suffered much from wear, were levelled with cement. The courtyard was re-paved with gravel mixed with much broken slate, doubtless from the roofs of the previous period; the north-west wall of the courtyard was rebuilt slightly askew, probably at this period; and the south-west wall was patched and partly rebuilt from the footings upwards. The former colonnades, if they were still standing, were demolished; some of the large base-blocks were removed, others were incorporated in or covered by the new metalling of the courtyard. One of the blocks adjoining the entrance was actually concealed beneath a large slab of hard yellow cement, which incidentally filled the adjacent drain. A new colonnade was laid out with re-used base-blocks and a narrow straining-wall between them but, the materials being good and near the surface, it has been almost entirely plundered. The south-west verandah, if it is represented by two stone blocks which may or may not be *in situ* (see plan), was somewhat narrower than that of Period III., and there is no evidence for a verandah on the north-east side.

Coins from Constans to Gratian were found abundantly in or on the uppermost floors throughout the building.

THE COMMANDANT'S HOUSE (Fig. 33).—What mark, if any, the early third-century re-occupation of the

SEGONTIVM: THE COMMANDANT'S HOUSE.

= 2ND CENTY
 = 2ND-4TH CENTY
 = 4TH CENTY
 POST-HOLES SHEWN THVS ○ ○ (REBUILDING).



R.E.M. WHEELER, 1922

Fig. 33.

fort left upon the commandant's house is not clear. With the exception of a third brass of Tetricus Junior (267-273), no coin was found definitely in the third stratum, and no group of pottery from this level is sufficiently distinctive to supply the deficiency. The third stratum indeed contained a few pieces of rather coarse Samian and a number of ollæ which seem to be of moderately late type, but amongst these occurred fragments of earlier pottery, such as Samian 18/31, which had presumably been thrown in with the "make-up" of the floor. Between rooms 3 and 4 is an L-shaped piece of wall which was prior to, but incorporated in the final (fourth-century) reconstruction; it differs from the second-century work, and would appear, therefore, to be the relic of some intermediary alteration. It is possible that the north-western range was destroyed or remodelled when building 1 was erected, but definite evidence, though looked for, was not forthcoming.

It is at least certain that by the middle of the fourth century the building was in a ruinous condition and was largely rebuilt. As has been seen, the earlier walls (or at least the lower courses of them) were in some cases retained; in others they were entirely removed and are represented only here and there by rubble footings, indicated by dotted lines on the plan.⁶⁶ For the most part, the walls were entirely rebuilt, perhaps on a slightly different plan, with inferior local stone and very inferior mortar. The only stratum contemporary with this latest stonework contained coins of Constantine II. (as Cæsar and Augustus), Magnentius, and Valentinian I., and the soil covering the whole area might almost be described as "full" of mid or late fourth century coins. A striking additional indication of date was provided by the accidental dislodgment of a facing stone at the foot of the north-west wall of Room 1. In the mortar lay a "third brass" of Constans I. (minted 348-50 A.D.).

Obv. DN CONSTANS PF AVG. Bust, diademed and draped, r.

Rev. FEL. TEMP. REPARATIO. Phœnix standing on a rock, r. Mint mark TRS, Trier. Cf. Cohen 21. Condition—very good.

⁶⁶ The fourth century south-east range apparently followed the lines of the earlier structure in detail. The walls shown as "second century" on the plans retain the earlier masonry, whereas those shown as "fourth century" have been entirely rebuilt. The difference between the two periods of work was very marked.

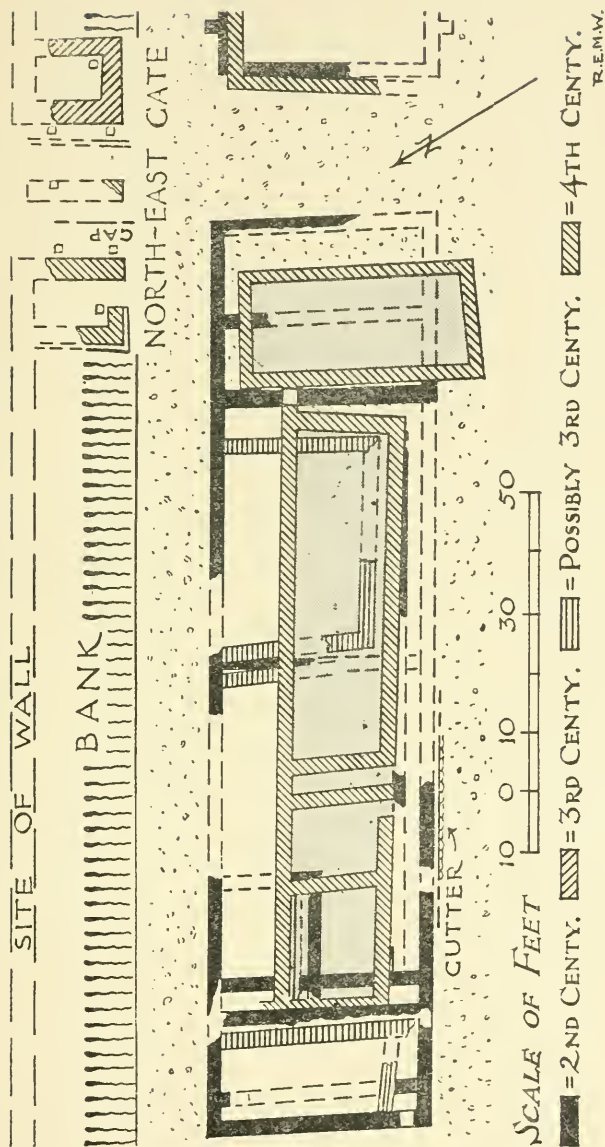


Fig. 34 Building XX, north-west gateway, and part of building XXI.

(NOTE.—The fourth-century building XX, stippled on plan, replaced all previous structures on the site these were demolished and the site levelled before its construction.)

In Room 1 a pit (8½ feet by 5½ feet), lined with roofing slates, was inserted through the earlier strata at this period. Such pits are occasionally found in the commandant's house of a Roman fort. Thus at Templebrough a room in this building contained a stone-lined pit or basement with two partitions, and other pits at Lyne and at Rough Castle may have served a similar purpose, though in these cases they were built in the open courtyard. Their use is problematical. At Templebrough, Mr. Thomas May suggests that the pit in the commandant's house may have been the regimental "safe," in the period before the strong-room was transferred to the sacellum in the prætorium. This line of argument suggests that at Segontium the pit in the commandant's house may have been re-introduced there after the cellar in the sacellum was, as we have seen, disused and filled up. Such an inference, however, may be very wide of the truth.

Two or three other features of this last reconstruction call for notice. Room 6, in the centre of the north-eastern range, contained a built pedestal at this period. It is not impossible that the room was a small domestic shrine, and that the pedestal held a statue or an altar. At the back of the adjacent room (7) was a dais, of quite uncertain use, extending the full width of the narrow room. In front of this dais, but in the penultimate level, and, therefore, of earlier date, was the circular, stone-lined opening to what had probably been a small drain, now represented only by a cavity which once probably contained a wooden pipe. This drain tended towards the courtyard, but its course was not certain beyond the point indicated on the plan.

The inner walls of the north-eastern and south-eastern ranges had been reinforced towards the courtyard with a line of rough masonry which is of no structural value, but may possibly have carried a low wooden bench. The verandah was probably held by posts carried by solid ashlar blocks, of which seven remained *in situ*. A slate-lined gutter carried off the rain-water on the south-eastern side of the courtyard.

THE RETENTURA. Amongst the maze of fragmentary walls and footings in the retentura, three groups may with certainty be assigned to this period. Building XX. (Fig. 34), as successively modified during previous centuries, was razed to the ground, and the site completely levelled by means of a thick layer of clay. To this covering we owe the comparatively complete preservation of the outline of

the early building.⁶⁷ Upon this clay platform was now erected a structure of irregular plan, though tolerably well built with heterogeneous, re-used material. The general plan, coinciding with the stippled area in Fig. 34, is that of an oblong barrack-block, with a larger room at one, if not at both, ends, and its special interest lies in the fact that it is amongst the very few buildings of the kind which can, in Britain, be assigned entirely to this late date. That it was a *de novo* construction of the latter half of the fourth century was shown clearly by the following evidence: (1) as already stated, its walls were above and entirely independent of all other walls on the site; (2) within the clay floor contemporary with room 4 and close to the footings were found a follis of Constantine I., minted 309-13, a third brass of "Constantinopolis", another of Valens and, in the clay at a point where it actually overlay one of the earlier walls, an "Urbs Roma"; (3) it will be observed that the south-eastern wall of the block is set back some 10 feet within the corresponding wall of the second-century building, in such a way as to leave free access, once more, to the northern half of the north-east gateway. It follows reasonably that this alteration was effected contemporaneously with the re-building of this part of the gateway; and the correctness of this inference is placed beyond doubt by the fact that the same distinctive yellow-white road-metal which was used in the new gate was carried from it in a thick layer across the earlier foundations of building XX. to meet the walls of the new south-eastern room. This metalling was the only road-surface contemporary with these structures, and formed a definite chronological bond between them.

Building XIX. similarly ceased at this period to exist in its earlier form, although here one or two of the walls, or at least their footings, were incorporated in the fourth-century re-building. The new work, however, bore no essential relationship to the earlier buildings, and consisted of a long, erratically planned barrack-block, generally similar to its contemporary neighbour. It should be noted, however, that the late work itself showed signs of alteration and extension. Thus, half of the double doorway of one of the smaller rooms was roughly blocked and the later walls

⁶⁷ The entire removal of the upper layers would doubtless reveal a more complete plan than that which was partially recovered during the recent excavations.

of an adjoining room on the west were subsequently extended towards the north-east. The plan at this point, however, has been obscured by denudation.

The same cause prevents us from recovering any details of the history of building XXI. We have seen that the original buttressed structure was destroyed perhaps at a comparatively early date, since the thick layer of burnt débris contiguous with it contained no pottery which seems to be later than the first half of the second century. At a distance of $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet north-east of the buttresses, a pebble road was at some period laid over the burnt deposit and this can only have been so laid after the débris had settled and consolidated during a considerable lapse of time. This road nowhere approached more closely to the building in the area opened and, therefore, throws no light upon its history. Finally, however, and at a period which is not in doubt, an entirely new building was constructed on the site. The buttressed wall had then long been reduced to its present level, for the boulder footings of the new wall were laid at a height of nearly a foot above it over a deposit of earth which had, for this purpose, been rammed and supplemented with clay (Fig. 7). At the same time, the yellow-white "metal" of the fourth-century road was carried up to it, and was the only road-surface contemporary with it. The extent of this late building, as of its predecessor, remains uncertain, in spite of several attempts to recover it.

Elsewhere, as in building XVII., broken lengths of walling probably belong to the same late period, but definite evidence is lacking.

THE PRÆTENTURA. Of the buildings in the prætentura less is known. Those recently excavated were too fragmentary to yield chronological evidence. That part of the fort which coincides with the grounds of Llanbeblig Vicarage is known to contain buildings in a far better state of preservation, due to the early silting up of this (the lower) end of the site. In this area, four buildings were partially excavated in 1846, and since they were in some cases re-buried immediately "for future antiquaries" it would probably be profitable to re-excavate them. Their character renders a further examination especially desirable. At least three of them contained hypocausts and, since the early third-century "aqueduct" inscription had been re-used as "the cover of a flue or drain" in one of them (under or immediately adjoining the vicarage on the north-

east), it is likely enough that here also rebuilding was carried out during the latest occupation. As has already been pointed out (see above), the inadequate report on these early excavations indicates that the hypocaust building within the southern corner of the fort is an intrusion into the plan.⁶⁸ In one of the apses of this building was found a human skull.

X. COMMENTS UPON THE LAST ROMAN OCCUPATION.

The intensive re-occupation of Segontium in or shortly after the middle of the fourth century falls naturally into place in the swiftly developing tragedy of the epoch. The fortresses which Diocletian (or Constantius) and Constantine the Great had established along the richer and more open coasts of southern Britain diverted rather than diminished the depredations of freebooters and unwelcome settlers. Between the old northern and new southern frontiers lay, on both sides of the island, long stretches of ill-guarded coast which, though poorer and less attractive to the invaders, were increasingly frequented by them as their numbers increased. In Wales, the fort at Cardiff, re-built as a westerly extension of the "Saxon Shore", seems from the evidence of coins to have been occupied at least as late as the time of Gratian (367-83 A.D.); but long before that period immigrants from Ireland had begun to settle in force beyond its reach in western Wales.⁶⁹ Towards the end of the third century, it seems that part of an Irish tribe, the Deisi, had found Pembrokeshire more hospitable or submissive than their native Meath. By the fourth century, we may well believe that the Scot from Ireland was, in the words of Claudian, "moving all Ierne to arms and Ocean whitened under the oars of invaders". It is significant that, during the first fifty or sixty years of the century, at least eighteen coin-hoards are known to have been lost in various parts of Wales.

In 343 A.D. pressure upon the frontier of Roman Britain

⁶⁸ *Arch. Camb.*, 1846, p. 284; also pp. 75 and 177.

⁶⁹ Kuno Meyer (*Cymmrodorion Soc. Trans.*, 1895-6, pp. 55 ff.) has collected more or less legendary records of the settlement of Irish in Wales as early as the second century; there is archæological evidence that interchange of this kind was in progress very much earlier. From the Roman point of view it does not seem to have become acute until the latter part of the third century.

had become so acute that the Emperor Constans was induced to come in person to encourage the defence. Seventeen years later, Constantius, prevented from doing likewise by the "fierce and war-like inclinations" of the Allemauni upon the frontier of Gaul, sent a successful general, Lupicinus, with strong reinforcements to repel new incursions of "the savage nations of Picts and Scots".⁷⁰ In the year 368 a period of desperate fighting culminated in the slaying of the Count of the Saxon Shore, the commander of the southern frontier, and the capture of the Duke of Britain, the commander in the north. Strenuous counter-measures were taken by the famous general Theodosius who was sent out to deal with this crisis, but, though he must have left his mark upon the defences of the island, it is difficult or impossible to distinguish his handiwork from that of others of the same era. He may, as has been suggested, have been responsible for the building of some of the small coastal forts or "coast-guard stations" which arose during the last thirty or forty years of the Roman occupation along the coast of Yorkshire as a link between the northern and southern frontiers. In 383 the usurper Maximus drained the province of some of its best troops for his campaign in Gaul, and it was not until the last six years of the century that Stilicho, in the time of Honorius and Arcadius, patched up the defences of the island on the eve of its abandonment.

This familiar story might seem to offer several possible points of contact with the archæological data. Nevertheless, established coincidences of the two groups of evidence are the exception. The abundance of copper coinage prior to 395 and its official cessation in the west after that date present a purely artificial break in the principal chain of archæological evidence at the most crucial moment; the spasmodic activities of various military commanders followed each other at short intervals throughout the half-century; and, not least, a mist of uncertainty surrounds the one document which might be of primary importance to archæology at this time—the British section of the *Notitia Dignitatum*. All these difficulties combine to complicate the problems of the period. Thus it is that neither the beginning nor the end of the last occupation of Segontium can be correlated with particular names or events, in a period when history is singularly full of both. We must

⁷⁰ Ammianus Marcellinus, xx, 1.

be content to see that, on what may be termed the "Irish Shore," Segontium was re-occupied as a northerly extension of the earlier system represented by the fortress at Cardiff, just as, on the "Saxon Shore", the Yorkshire forts already referred to were northerly extensions of the Porchester-Braceaster system, at a time when invaders from the east and west were pressing more and more upon the flanks of the harassed northern frontier. Some such outpost as Segontium towards the west is the logical complement of the eastern series. We may suppose that Segontium did not stand alone; that Kanovium and possibly Mariduum (Carmarthen) may have shared in this last stand on the ultimate frontier.

The vicissitudes of this occupation are scarcely less difficult to determine than its chronological limits. The comprehensive restoration and rebuilding of the fort was not, however, the work of a single moment. Thus the latest barrack-block of building XIX. was extended and altered after its fourth-century re-building (see above, p. 87). Again, the sacellum in the prætorium was wholly or partially re-floored on three occasions after the forties of the century, on the last occasion after 364 (see above, p. 81). The north-west gateway was entirely reconstructed not earlier than *circa* 350, whereas the north-east gateway was apparently not re-modelled until after 364 (perhaps after the disasters of 367-8). It may be noted that the latest work of the latter gateway with its jerry building and poor material is in marked contrast to the careless but lavish re-use of huge blocks of ashlar in the other (see below, p. 104), and scarcely suggests contemporary work.

The latest coins from Segontium are a Theodosius (379-395) and another either of the same emperor, or, more probably, of Valentinian II. (375-392). On the other hand, coins of Gratian (367-383) are numerous. A literal interpretation of the coin-evidence would, therefore, place the evacuation of the site approximately in the period 380-385; and it would be an easy further step to associate this evacuation with the withdrawal of troops by Maximus in 383. On the other hand, amongst a considerable number of coins known to have been found at Kanovium (Caerhûn), the next fort on the road to Chester, are, as Mr. Willoughby Gardner-tells me, one of Honorius and two of Arcadius. The occupation of this fort, therefore, seems to be carried down to the last decade of the century, and, whilst it is not impossible that

the withdrawal of troops from the western frontier was progressive or at least erratic, it is perhaps more natural to assume that the complete absence of coins of Honorius or Arcadius at Segontium is accidental, and that both forts were retained until the beginning of those reigns.

It may be noted incidentally that coins of Honorius and Arcadius are excessively rare in Wales except in Monmouthshire (where they are numerous).⁷¹ Indeed, the only other specimen known to me to have been found outside this county is a gold coin of Arcadius discovered, so it is said, on the actual pitching of the Sarn Helen (Roman road) in the parish of Llanbyther, Carmarthenshire.⁷² The whole evidence is thus consistent with Dr. Craster's views⁷³ that the British section of the *Notitia* represents, in the main, the state of the frontier about, though not earlier, than 395-400, when both the inner lines of the northern and, as it now seems, the western frontier had been recently evacuated, and were consequently omitted from the list. A minor mystery of the western frontier in the great *Notitia* problem, however, receives no new light from Segontium. It may be recalled that the 20th legion, previously associated with Chester, is nowhere mentioned in that document, and the fate of the base-fortress might be thought therefore to have been involved in that of its dependent fort. Such a supposition is scarcely warranted in the latter part of the fourth century, when the tendency was to break up the legionary unit and to rely solely or largely upon front-line troops. Thus, there is no reason to suppose that the partial or complete removal of the 2nd Legion from Caerleon to Richborough coincided with the military evacuation of South Wales; rather may it have been accompanied by the re-organization of coastal defence there upon a new and more adequate scheme.⁷⁴ Similarly, the active occupation in the fourth century of one or two forts along the North Wales coast in no way implies that the 20th Legion was still

⁷¹ For the numerous coins of these emperors at Caerwent and Caerleon, see *Bulletin of Celtic Studies*, ii, Pt. 1.

⁷² Roy, *Com. Anc. Mous. (Wales). Carmarthenshire Inventory*, 605.

⁷³ *Arch. Journ.*, lxxi (1914), pp. 25 ff. Mr. R. G. Collingwood's valuable and convincing re-statement of the *Notitia* problem in relation to the archaeological evidence (*Journ. Rom. Studies* xii, 74 ff.) has appeared too late for more than reference here. Mr. Collingwood is inclined to associate the evacuation of Wales with Maximus; he may be right (see above), but only on the assumption that the few later coins, now recorded, filtered into Kanovium through civil channels.

⁷⁴ See *Antiquaries Journal*, ii, 370.

in support at Chester. Its silent departure from history remains undated as it remains, in circumstance, unexplained.⁷⁵

xi. SEGONTIUM AFTER THE ROMANS.

It was hoped that Segontium might yield some definite evidence relating to the golden age of legend and half-legendary history which immediately follow the Roman period. Such hopes were almost foredoomed to disappointment. In Wales, the culture which, under various influences, flowered in the rugged but impressive sculptures of the later pre-Norman centuries, was singularly unproductive in the more domestic arts and crafts. Welsh archæology has, up to the present, searched in vain for evidence similar or parallel to that which is gradually illuminating the "Dark Ages" in England, and Segontium carries this search but little further. Two fragmentary structures have perhaps some slight claim to fall within the vacant period. In the courtyard of the prætorium, a very rough wall, L-shaped on plan, was built of large glacial boulders without mortar upon the uppermost Roman surface. This wall cannot be reconciled with the Roman plan, but was, on the other hand, added before any great accumulation had formed above the Roman strata. It may represent, in conjunction with part of the Roman structure, a rough hut or shed built in the southern corner of the ruined prætorium.

Of more interest is a small guardroom or sentry-box built within the south-eastern guardroom of the south-west gateway (see Figs. 19 and 20). It occupied about two-thirds of the area of the guardroom, and was clearly inserted when the main structure was in ruins. Its materials include a moulded cornice-stone and two broken column-shafts—

⁷⁵ The legion which, according to Claudian (*Bell. Got.* 416), Stilicho withdrew in 402 for the muster against Alaric in Italy—"the legion that protects the further Britains, the legion that curbs the fierce Scot and scans the patterns tattooed on the dying Piet"—has been identified by Dr. Hodgkin and others with the 20th; but, as Dr. Craster points out (*Arch. Journ.* lxxi, 42), it is more natural to suppose that the 6th Legion at York is indicated.—Professor Bury (*Journ. Rom. Studies*, x, 151) supports Dr. Craster's view. It may here be noted that the latest coins in the Chester Museum are a Theodosius I and an Arcadius (*Cat. of the Roman Coins in the Chester Museum*, 1923); a poor allowance if the Legion remained at Chester until 402!

the latter sunk upright as ballast for a rough stone floor (section, Fig. 19). Unlike the well-mortared work of the main guardroom, the flimsy walls of this new structure are roughly held together with clay. The building is of the poorest description, and may reasonably be assigned to the "Dark Ages". At a depth of 1 foot from the surface of the stone "floor", alongside one of the column shafts, was found a barbarous imitation of a fourth-century coin—so barbarous that the type is unidentifiable; but this coin may equally well be associated with the fourth-century occupation. Of more interest—though again of no particular chronological value—is a "styca" of the Northumbrian king Eanred (808-840),⁷⁶ found 2 inches below the top of the lowest step of the postern. This seems to be the earliest of the very few Saxon coins found in Wales, and indeed, Northumbrian coins are rare outside Northumbria. Three examples (in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester) dating immediately after Eanred were found in the settlement now washed away by the sea at Meols, on the Cheshire shore between the Mersey and the Dee. Later still, a few coins of King Edgar (959-975) were lost at Bangor,⁷⁷ but there are ample historical reasons for expecting Wessex relics in Wales (and not least in Bangor) at that period, and it is their rarity rather than their presence that might call for comment.

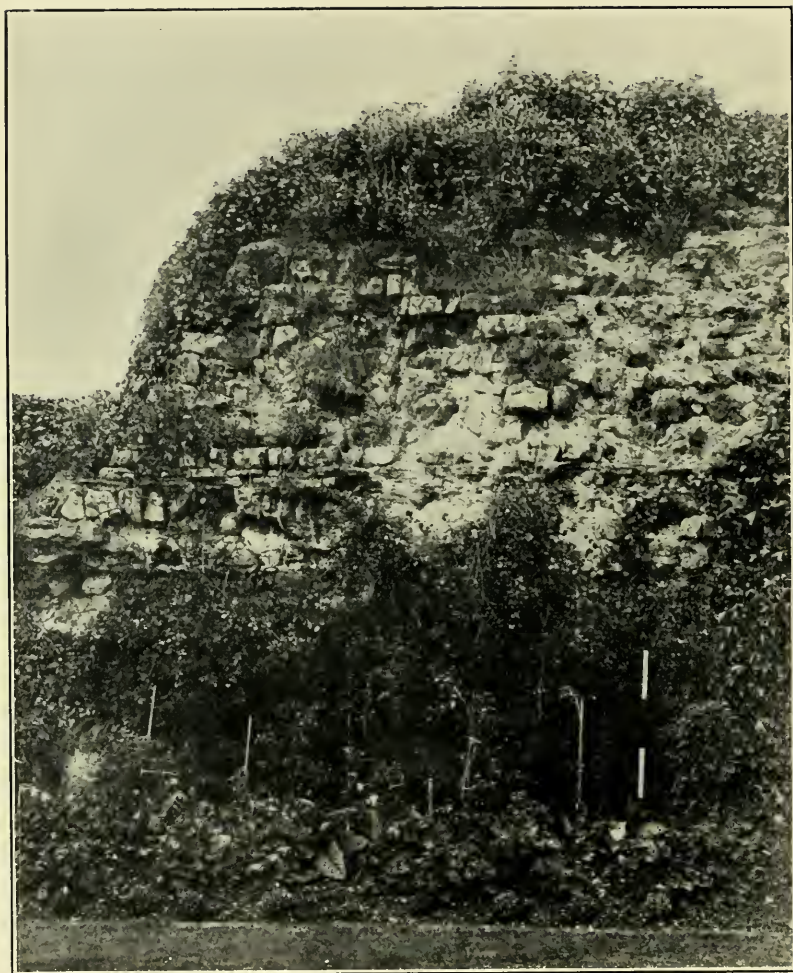
The last episode in the history of Segontium is not unrepresented. The builders of the Edwardian castle and town-walls paid for the ashlar of the Roman fort with a silver penny of Henry II. and five others of Edward I. or his son.⁷⁸ Thereafter it must have appeared much as a philo-
sophical traveller saw it in 1803: "Not the least building of any sort stands upon the seite of this once renowned city, the abode of princes; the whole is two fields of grass ground, or rather one, which the turnpike road divides. Hence cities die as well as men; all the difference is an unequal term."⁷⁹

⁷⁶ *Obv.*, Cross surrounded by inscription EANRED REX; *Rev.*, Cross surrounded by inscription EARDVVLPH. Of the latter name Mr. Willoughby Gardner writes: "This is the name of one of Eanred's moneyers, which is found variously spelled on different coins. He was one of twenty moneyers known to have worked for this King."

⁷⁷ *Arch. Camb.*, 1846, pp. 191, 276, 403.

⁷⁸ These were found during the recent excavations. Others of the same period have been picked up from time to time in and around the fort.

⁷⁹ W. Hutton, *Remarks upon North Wales*, p. 141.



To face p. 95.

Fig 35. The lower fort at Carnarvon: exterior of south wall
(Height about 12 feet.)

xi. THE LOWER FORT AND A POSSIBLE ANALOGY.

We may now turn for a moment to the western slopes of Llanbeblig Hill, where, at a distance of 150 yards west of the main fort, the cliff above the river Seiont bears the remains of a square or oblong enclosure of distinctively Roman construction (general plan, Fig. 1). This enclosure has been cut by the modern South Road, and its western end presumably perished when the steep slope or cliff was cut back to admit the railway at its foot. Otherwise, Pennant's description, with additions, still holds good. "On two sides, the walls are pretty entire; one is seventy-four yards long; the other, which points to the river, is sixty-four. The height ten feet eight inches. The thickness six feet [or rather $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet]. Much of the facing [of roughly squared stones varied by one or more lacing-courses of flat stones—see Fig. 35] is taken away, which discovers the peculiarity of the Roman masonry. It consists of regular courses [partly] disposed in zigzag fashion. Along the wall are three parallel lines of round [putlog] holes, not three inches in diameter . . . which pass through the whole thickness.⁸⁰ . . . Near the corner of one of the walls is a heap of stones, the ruins of a tower; for on digging, some years ago, the foundation of a round one was discovered. It was paved, and in it were found the horn of a deer and skeletons of some smaller animals;⁸¹ and seems intended to secure a landing-place from the Seiont, at time of high-water. I am informed that in Tre'r Beblie, on the opposite shore, had been other ruins, the work of the same people.'⁸² It may be added that the mortar of the existing walls is white, coarse, and contains a little broken brick.

The story that the enclosure formerly had a round tower at one of its corners is recorded also by King, who states that "near the corner of one of the walls here, was dis-

⁸⁰ [These curiously small putlog holes are identical with those in the wall of the main fort, and closely similar to those in the walls of Caer Gybi at Holyhead, and, apparently, of Verulam. See below, pp. 98 and 106.]

⁸¹ [At this point something seems to have dropped out of Pennant's text.]

⁸² *Tours in Wales*, (1810) ii. 412. Leland may have been referring to this cliff-fort when he wrote: "In the olde town of Cair Sallog, alias Cair saint or Segent. appere part of the old castel yn the old tonne, of the wiche castel is faulnen into the haven salt water."—*Itin. in Wales*, ed. L. T. Smith (1906). p. 79.

covered, on digging a few years ago [*i.e.*, before 1799] the foundations of a round tower."⁸³ Lewis's *Topographical Dictionary of Wales* (1833) repeats the substance of Penant and King, and adds that "on removing the earth there appeared to have been a similar bastion at each of the angles of the fort." It is possible that this addition has some basis in fact, for building operations were being carried out in the neighbourhood at about this time, and may have revealed further evidence. No trace of any tower, however, survives above ground, and at the south-eastern corner, the core of which is tolerably well preserved, the series of putlog holes is uninterrupted, thus showing that, if a tower existed here, it was not made in one piece with the wall.

In the southern wall, some 90-100 feet from this corner, a break in the Roman masonry may indicate a former gateway, but all structural evidence is obscured by dense ivy and by modern masonry. Immediately outside this gap, however, in the grounds of "Bron Hendre", a cutting is said to have revealed the surface of a road, and a little further exploration here might readily establish this point and so determine the probable axis of the enclosure.⁸⁴ The wall on the opposite side of the enclosure has been too extensively rebuilt to afford contributory evidence, and, in any case, a small fortification of this kind may not have had an entrance in both sides.

Within this enclosure, the surface was almost hopelessly disturbed by builders and road-makers during the earlier half of the last century. A little Roman pottery is found from time to time, but no foundations are recorded, save that a well is said, somewhat vaguely, to exist a few yards west of the South Road, in the kitchen garden of "Minmantan".⁸⁵

Beyond the certainty that the walls are of Roman origin, nothing is known as to their date or purpose. Their height, and the lavish use of mortar, suggest third or fourth century work. It has been noted that the curiously small putlog holes are identical with those in the main fort, though

⁸³ E. King, *Munimenta Antiqua*, ii, 65-6.

⁸⁴ I am indebted to Miss Sara Jones of Bron Hendre for the information regarding this road and for much assistance in investigating the lower fort.

⁸⁵ My informant is Mr. Morgan Humphreys, of "Minmantan." Excavation in this garden might be profitable; Mr. Humphreys has kindly offered every facility.

CAER GYBI, HOLYHEAD.

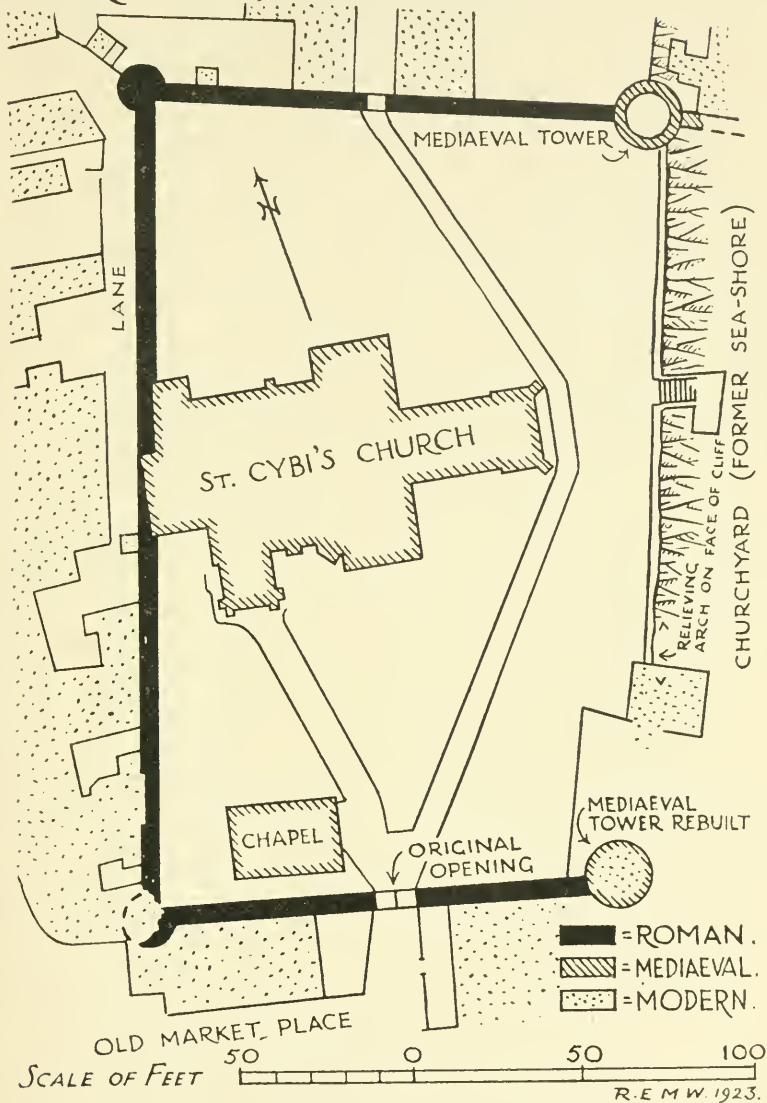


Fig. 36.

otherwise the two structures differ slightly in details (such as the character of the mortar and the arrangement of the rubble) and are probably not exactly contemporary. In some respects a closer analogy is offered by Caer Gybi, the fortification which encloses the old church and churchyard at Holyhead. This work has received less attention than it deserves, and may be briefly described in the present context.

Caer Gybi is an oblong enclosure about 230 feet in length and 150 feet broad, with an area of less than an acre (Fig. 36). On the north and west, the adjacent ground varies from level to a gentle upward slope; but on the eastern or seaward side the work, like that at Carnarvon, crowns a commanding cliff, here 40 feet high, below which, until the construction of the modern harbour, lay the sea-shore.⁸⁶ The rugged face of the cliff has at some ancient date been secured and rendered vertical by masonry, carried at one place upon a segmental relieving arch upwards of 20 feet in diameter (Fig. 37). This masonry is partly dry-built and partly held by mortar similar to that used in the main walls above. The brow of the cliff is now outlined by a low wall which replaces an earlier parapet shown in Grose's engravings; indeed, the careful revetment of the cliff suggests that a similar parapet was alone intended to complete the original seaward defences. On the three landward sides, the origin curtain-walls are still nearly complete on plan. They are $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, of cemented rubble with very roughly dressed stones often set herring-bone fashion and divided at intervals by rough stone lacing-courses on the inner face (Fig. 38). The mortar, like that in the lower fort at Carnarvon, is coarse and contains a sparse admixture of broken brick. The putlog holes, from three to four inches in diameter and arranged in two rows, were noted by Pennant as similar in size to those at Carnarvon;⁸⁷ their shape varies from circular to roughly square. At a height of about 13 feet from the present external ground-level are remains of a parapet 1 foot 10 inches in width, leaving a rampart-walk of about $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The north-western and south-western corners retain fragments of two original bastions (Fig. 39), about 11 feet in diameter, which seem to have been solid to a height of about 7 feet and

⁸⁶ The condition of the site in the 18th Century is well shown in the engravings published by Grose in his *Antiquities of England and Wales*.

⁸⁷ *Tours*, iii, 75.

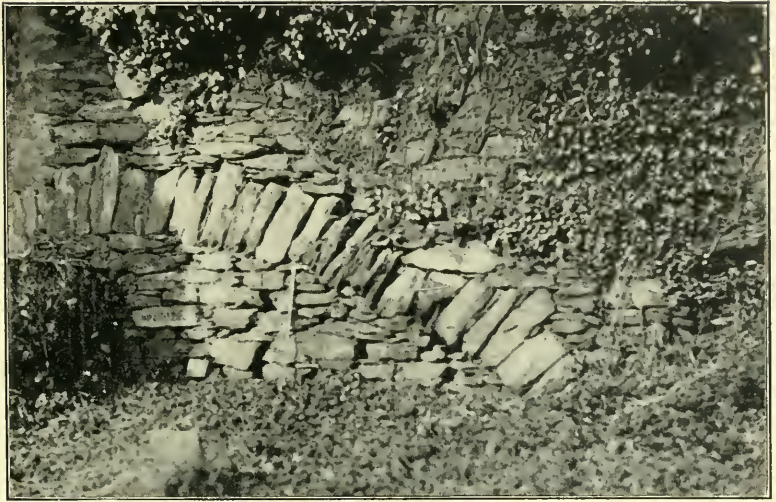


Fig. 37. Caer Gybi, Holyhead: masonry on face of cliff.

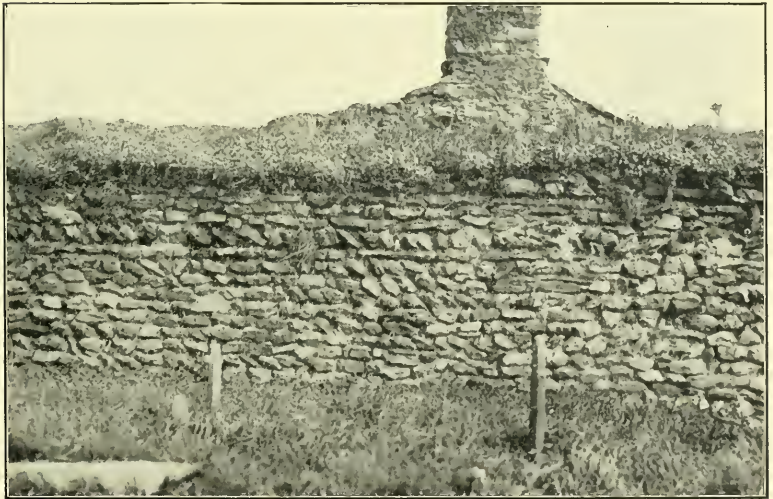


Fig. 38. Caer Gybi: inner face of north wall. *To face p. 98.*

hollow above that point. The corresponding bastions which presumably stood at the two seaward corners were replaced in mediæval times by hollow drum-towers 19 feet in diameter. That at the south-eastern corner has recently been again rebuilt; the other is carried down on the north and east to the foot of the cliff and there, towards the east, abuts upon a fragment of defensive wall 4 feet 8 inches thick. This defensive wall is apparently contemporary with the adjacent (rebuilt) tower, and indicates a mediæval extension to the sea. Of the two existing gateways, that on the north is an insertion, but the 12-foot opening in the south wall, though much altered, is original (Fig. 40). The walls generally are much obscured by ivy and by buildings.

The interior of the enclosure is filled by mediæval ecclesiastical buildings and by a graveyard which does not seem to have been used for more than half a century.⁸⁸ Nothing is known to have been found, or is now likely to be found, in this area. It is just possible that trenches cut close to the exterior of the structure might yield information, but in the meantime our only evidence as to the period of the work is purely circumstantial. Categorically, it is this:—

- (1) Herring-bone masonry is not in itself an indication of Roman work since it survives as late as the early middle ages. At *Caer Gybi*, however, it occurs in association with coarse brick-dust mortar and semi-solid bastions, both Roman rather than mediæval features.⁸⁹
- (2) These bastions were obsolete, if not ruinous, when, during the middle ages, those of special importance (on the seaward side) were entirely rebuilt as hollow drum-towers on a considerably larger scale. Moreover, the original walls were presumably ancient in 1283, when, on August 4th, Edward I. dated letters from "*Castrum Cuby*".⁹⁰ It is not unlikely that the drum-towers date from Edward's active régime.

⁸⁸ Probably not since the opening of the new church (St. Seiriol) and graveyard in 1857.

⁸⁹ Brick-dust mortar is found sometimes in sub-Roman building of pre-Conquest period, but its use rarely survives into the middle ages. When Villars de Honnecourt in the 13th Century recommends a specially water-proof cement made of equal parts of lime and "pounded pagan tile," we may suspect him of a conscious and even superstitious archaism.

⁹⁰ H. Gough, *Itinerary of Edward I*, i, 146 (from the Patent and Close Rolls and Inquisitions).

- (3) There is no adequate reason for doubting the general accuracy of the story that towards the middle of the sixth century St. Cybi founded his ecclesiastical establishment at Holyhead, presumably on the site of the church which bears his dedication, *i.e.*, within these fortifications.⁹¹ It is likely enough that he would settle within the walls of a deserted fortress,⁹² but almost incredible that either saints from Ireland or Welsh Britons of that period could have put up well-mortared masonry of this type. Nor is it reasonable to suppose that in the Norman or early mediæval period defences of this nature would be raised round a mere collegiate or semi-collegiate church. Incidentally, it may be noted that the college, in some form or other, was flourishing before 1291, when it was rated in the Lincoln taxation.⁹³

If, as we reasonably may, we accept this last premise, we can only infer that Caer Gybi was built either during the Roman occupation or within the 150 years immediately following the withdrawal of the legions. Of these alternatives, the former is rendered infinitely the more probable by the first premise. We have no indication that, even during the Roman occupation, the native inhabitants of north-west Wales acquired the art of scientific building in the Roman manner.⁹⁴ We cannot, therefore, suppose that their descendants in the chaotic fifth century became suddenly sophisticated after the departure of the master-builders from whom during three centuries they had failed to learn the barest elements of construction.⁹⁵ We are compelled, therefore, to recognize in Caer Gybi (in its original

⁹¹ See Baring Gould and Fisher, *Lives of the British Saints*, for references.

⁹² Compare the similar ecclesiastical foundations within or on the coastal Roman forts of Burgh Castle in Suffolk (Bede, *Hist. Eccles.* Bk. iii, Ch. xix), Bradwell-juxta-Mare in Essex (Bede, Bk. iii, Ch. xxii), and Reculver in Kent (*Saxon Chronicle*, A.D. 669). All these foundations date from the 7th Century. I understand that Mr. J. P. Gibson has recently found remains of a pre-Norman church within the Roman "coastguard fort" at Scarborough.

⁹³ *Taxatio Ecclesiastica P. Nicholai* (1802). p. 291.

⁹⁴ The only building in this area that need not be of military origin is the small bath-house at Tremadoc (*Arch. Camb.* 1909, p. 473). This exception, if such it be, is insignificant.

⁹⁵ There is no adequate reason for assigning the curious building on Dinas Emrys, near Beddgelert, to the age of "Vortigern". Roman pottery and bronze horse-trappings have been found in the Dinas, but are not yet published.



Fig. 39. Caer Gybi: exterior of west wall, and north-west bastion.



To face p. 100.

Fig. 40. Caer Gybi: south entrance, showing original opening and modern arches.

form) a small coastguard fort built during the Roman period, and doubtless late in that period, as an outpost to the Segontium-Deva defences.⁹⁶

The problem of the lower enclosure at Carnarvon is thus shared and enlarged by *Caer Gybi*. Both forts are little more or less than an acre in extent; both have walls of similar thickness, built with the same type of mortar and with the same distinctive type of scaffolding; both, if at Carnarvon we may believe Pennant and King, have or had corner-bastions; above all, both occupy identical sites, on the brows of steep cliffs overlooking convenient landing-places. The purpose of both is scarcely in doubt; the coastal patrols, both by sea and by land, must often have been glad of their shelter in those latter days when the black ships of Ireland swarmed eastwards across the sea "like dark swarms of worms which emerge from their holes in the heat of the noon-day sun."⁹⁷

xiii. BUILDING MATERIALS AND CONSTRUCTION.

In the preceding pages reference has more than once been made to the historical significance of structural details, and it may be profitable to discuss these details briefly in a separate section. In regard to building materials,⁹⁸ it will suffice here to note that, with an interesting exception, they are of local origin, and consist principally of Carboniferous and Ordovician sandstone and Carboniferous limestone, together with occasional blocks of tufa, a few pieces of dolerite from Griffith's Crossing, near Carnarvon, and con-

⁹⁶ Pennant (*Tours*, ii, 76) adds that "on Pen y Gær Gybi, or the summit of the (Holyhead) mountain, are foundations of a circular building strongly cemented with the same sort of mortar as the fort in the town. It seems to have been a Pharos, a necessary director in these seas." No remains of this have been observed in recent times, but Pennant's evidence in such matters is not lightly to be dismissed. Fourth-century Roman coins have been found on the mountain-top, but scarcely add to the evidence. In regard to *Caer Gybi*, Professor J. E. Lloyd some years ago pointed out that the name itself suggests a Roman origin for the work and that serious consideration should be given to Pennant's view that it was a small Roman fort (*History of Wales*, i, pp. 67-8).

⁹⁷ Gildas, xix.

⁹⁸ Dr. Edward Greenly, F.G.S., and Sir Aubrey Strahan, F.R.S., have very kindly assisted in the identification of these materials, and Dr. Greenly very kindly visited the excavations on several occasions for this purpose.

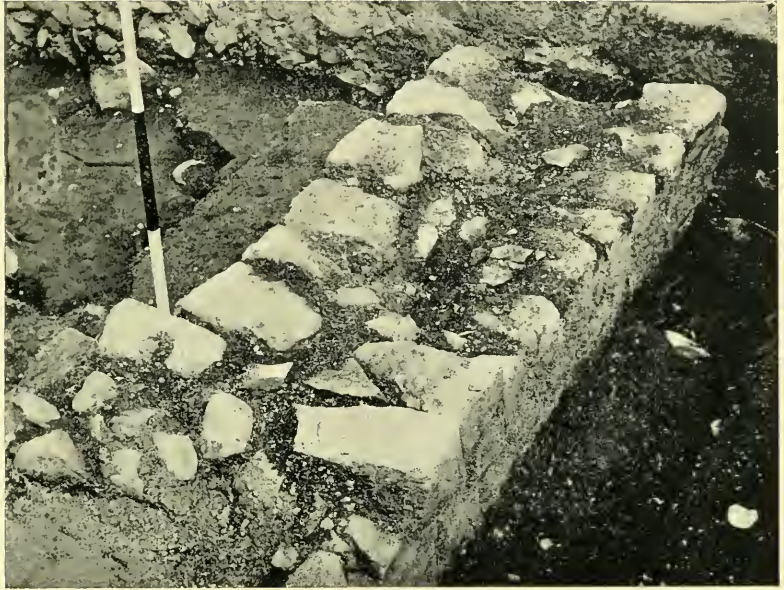
siderable quantities of slate. In regard to the last, Dr. Greenly observes: "Perhaps the most interesting circumstance in connection with the materials of Segontium is that the Romans discovered the now celebrated purple slates of the Cambrian system in Carnarvonshire, which have been so extensively quarried in modern times.⁹⁹ The slate may be termed a "local" rock, in the sense that it occurs in the district; but its nearest outcrops are five miles away, from which it is evident that the builders had appreciated its remarkable qualities. They used thick slabs of it for flooring, and thin ones for roofing, slates having been found which had been pierced for fixing on a roof. They do not appear to have obtained the finest and most fissile varieties, all the slates which have been seen at Segontium being slightly, though very slightly, sandy. This was probably because the finest beds tend to weather into smooth slopes, whereas the sandy beds are apt to outcrop in little escarpmental crags, and thus be much more conspicuous. No older record of the use of these slates is known, so that there can be little doubt that the Romans were the first to discover them."

It will be convenient to consider the materials in relation to the construction, and to divide the walls for this purpose into three main groups:—

GROUP 1 (Fig. 41) consists of well-built walls usually from one foot eleven inches to two feet one inch broad, based upon comparatively light footings of pebbles or small boulders. The material is all new, and the mortar varies from a soft brownish-yellow (in the north-west gateway) to a fine-grained white; clay, however, was generally deemed sufficient for binding the lowest courses which alone, in most cases, survive.

In some buildings, as in the north-west gateway and building XXI., the stone is comparatively rough local material (Fig. 7). But more characteristic of this group are the earliest walls of the commandant's house and of building XX., which are almost exclusively of a red sandstone brought from a distance. This sandstone is quite distinct from that which occurs in the neighbourhood of the

⁹⁹ The slaty flagstones used at "Caer Llugwy", the Roman fort between Capel Curig and the Vale of Conwy are quite different, and do not belong to the Cambrian system. Mr. Howel Williams has found that they contain *Monograptus colonus*, which proves conclusively that they belong to the Silurian system.—See Howel Williams in J. P. Hall's *Caer Llugwy* (1923), pp. 52 ff.



To face p. 102.

Fig. 41. North-west gateway: south-east wall of south-west guard-room A (probably second-century).



Fig. 42. Tile from Holt, Denbighshire, bearing the stamp of the 20th Legion and a graffito by a soldier of the Cohors I Sunnicorum. — *To face p. 103.*

IVLVS AVVENTINVS MILIS
CORTIS PRIMA(E) SVNICOR(VM).

Menai Strait, and again from that found further east in the Vale of Clwyd. Sir Aubrey Strahan writes: "I do not remember any stone of the same character or durability in the Vale. On the other hand, at Chester the Bunter Pebble Beds have been worked for building stone for centuries. The stone, however, is coarser and of a deeper red than your specimen. Ten miles east of Chester the Lower Keuper Sandstone forms a conspicuous range of hills, and has been quarried near Delamere, Helsby, Runcorn and elsewhere. The lower beds of this formation, which alone are quarried now, are much coarser in grain than your specimen, but the upper beds are finer in grain and correspond closely to it. Though it is not possible to state definitely that the stone was got from Cheshire, I will go so far as to say it may have been." Reinforced by the historical position of Roman Chester as the military base for North Wales, the geological probability that the sandstone came from the Chester district becomes a reasonable certainty. Furthermore, the walls which consist wholly or largely of this material are amongst the earliest on the site. It would appear, therefore, that when the fort was first rebuilt in stone, the local quarries were not yet fully developed, and were supplemented by red sandstone brought, presumably by sea—whether as cargo or as ballast—from legionary quarries near the base-fortress at Chester.

The roofing-materials from the fort suggest an analogy. The earliest levels throughout the fort contained roof-tiles but no slates, whereas the later levels contained numberless slates but very few tiles. It is possible that from the earliest times the local clays, which are still used for brick-making, were worked by the Romans. But a soldier of the Cohors 1 Sunicorum, which garrisoned Segontium in the third century, if not earlier, scratched his name on a tile (Fig. 42) at the legionary kilns at Holt, south of Chester,¹⁰⁰ and it is conceivable that he may have been sent out to bring tiles from the base depôt for the outpost fort at Segontium. At the same time, it must be confessed that no stamped legionary tiles are known to have been found in or near the fort.

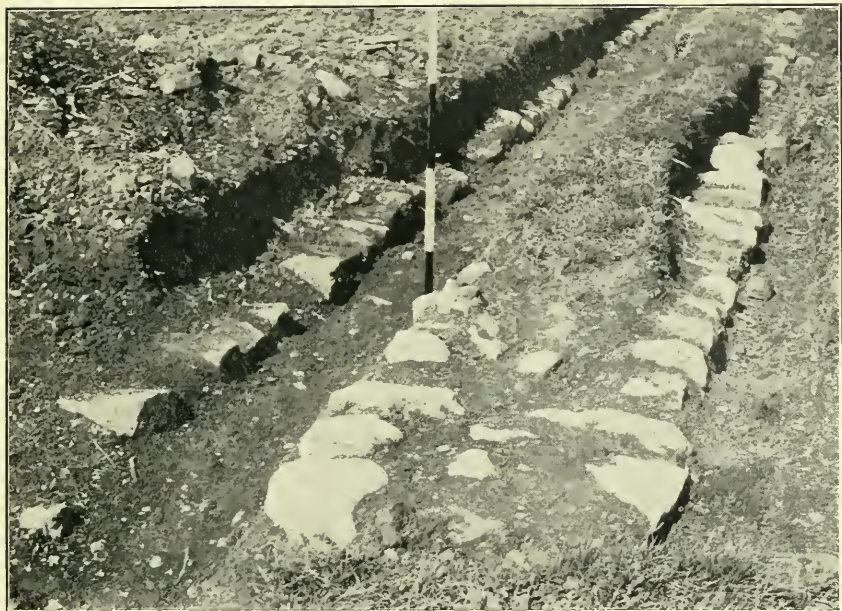
GROUP 2 includes (a) the fine ashlar, of local sandstone, wherewith the guardroom of the south-west gateway and the tower of the north-east gateway were faced (Figs. 17 and 19); (b) the fort-wall, mostly of local limestone (Figs.

¹⁰⁰ Haverfield, *Roman Britain in 1913*, p. 30; *Arch. Camb.*, 1916, p. 233.

21-23); (c) a number of very distinctive foundations reduced almost completely to footings. These footings are from two feet eight inches to more than three feet in breadth, and consist of large glacial boulders (Fig. 43). It has already been observed (above, pp. 57-58) that they are, on the one hand, later than the earliest stone buildings, and were, on the other hand, largely superseded in the fourth-century occupation. They belong, therefore, to some intermediate period signalized by building operations on a large scale; and this period can, at Segontium, scarcely be other than the busy era of the Severi. We may thus, with some confidence, regard Group 2 as of third-century date. The mortar of this period is white or yellowish-white in colour, hard, and coarser than that of Group 1, from which it was readily distinguished.

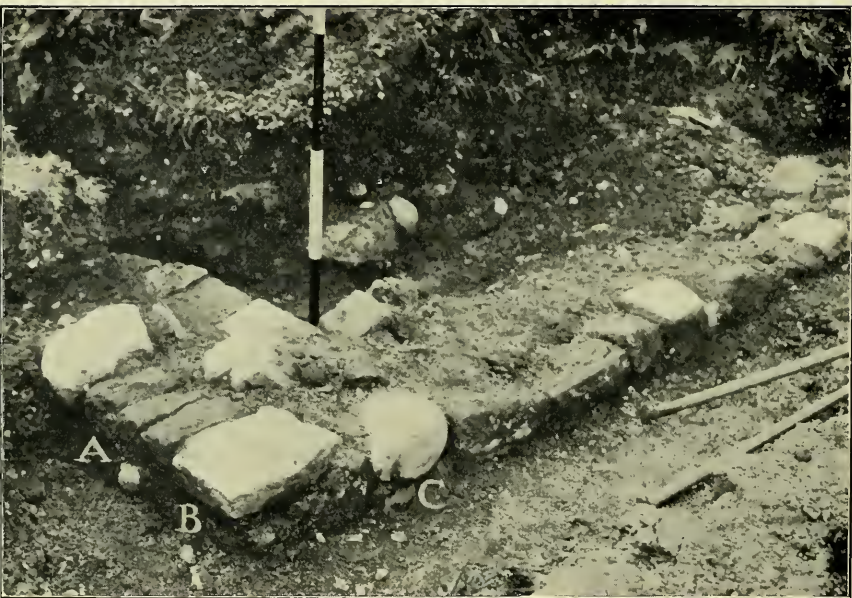
It would seem that the same period saw the change from tiled to slated roofs. We have seen that at that time the cellar in the sacellum was floored with slate, and that the channels of an adjacent hypocaust were lined with the same material. Moreover, in the fourth-century re-building, disused and damaged roofing slates were used to line a pit in room 1 of the commandant's house, and broken roofing-slates, usually of oblong but sometimes of hexagonal form, were mixed with other materials as metalling for the courtyards of this building and the prætorium. These slates may be presumed to represent the third-century roofs, since, as we have seen, the earlier half of the fourth century was apparently a period of neglect. It is clear that when the fort was re-occupied or re-inforced under the Severi the local resources both in building-stone and in slate were for the first time fully exploited. The consistent absence of slate from definitely second-century strata at Segontium is noteworthy in view of the use of somewhat similar material for paving at "Caer Llugwy," where occupation seems to have ceased before or early in the Antonine period (see Dr. Greenly's note above, p. 102).

GROUP 3 is definitely of mid or late fourth-century dates, and consists of walls built largely from re-used material. Thus, the guardroom-postern of the north-west gateway is built partly of huge though ill-assorted stones, sometimes as much as three feet long; whilst the south-eastern wall of this structure contains part of a damaged column-capital, and other capitals are used in the make-up of the contemporary road. This heterogeneous masonry is flooded with hard white mortar, used far more lavishly



To face p. 104.

Fig. 43. Footings of the adjacent walls of buildings XIII and XIX.



To face p. 105.

Fig. 44. Building XX; fourth-century walls at east corner, showing: A, Cheshire sandstone blocks re-used as "headers"; B, local limestone; C, local glacial boulder.

than in earlier work (Fig. 29). Other walls, on a smaller scale, present a similar mixture of material. A typical example, forming the eastern angle of building XX., is illustrated in Fig. 44. The three stones at A are Cheshire sandstone blocks, re-used; they were originally cut as "stretchers," but are here inserted as "headers" to give a better bonding in this loosely-built wall. At B is a flat limestone slab of a type not found in early walls on the site. It may have been re-used from a wall of Group 2, or cut from a larger stone of that period. Flat stones of this type were specially sought by the late builders. At C is a large glacial boulder taken from footings of Group 2 (compare Fig. 43). This clumsy utilization of ill-assorted material reflects the barbarian or semi-barbarian character of the fourth-century frontier garrisons, but it may perhaps be regarded as a testimony to the endurance of the tradition of Roman craftsmanship that these walls, rough though they be, are tolerably well laid out, and even, in their comparatively regular and narrow width (average two feet), resemble faintly the good work of Group 1.

A curious feature of the fourth-century work at the north-east gateway offers a further illustration of constructional decadence. It was evidently considered that a projecting footing of dressed stones was a necessary feature of all good building. The projecting course was therefore supplied, but without constructional validity of any kind. Thus the sole surviving dressed stone of the central pier has a projecting footing cut out of the solid, whilst the same feature of the guardroom walls is formed merely by building a line of quite useless stones against the outer face of the true wall.

This may be regarded as an instance of excessive sophistication; an example of the opposite quality is perhaps afforded by the curiously planned structures within the eastern corner of the sacellum and outside the eastern corner of the more northerly granary. The curved sides of these two small structures, of which the former was, as we have seen, built after 364 (above, p. 82), suggest the workmanship of men whose fathers had lived in round huts on the mountain. Such may well have been the case. The fourth-century garrison of the province must have been recruited largely amongst the native inhabitants; the Roman army of occupation in Britain had become a Romano-British army of defence.

A few other structural points may be noted. No laeing-courses of brick were found in the walls uncovered during

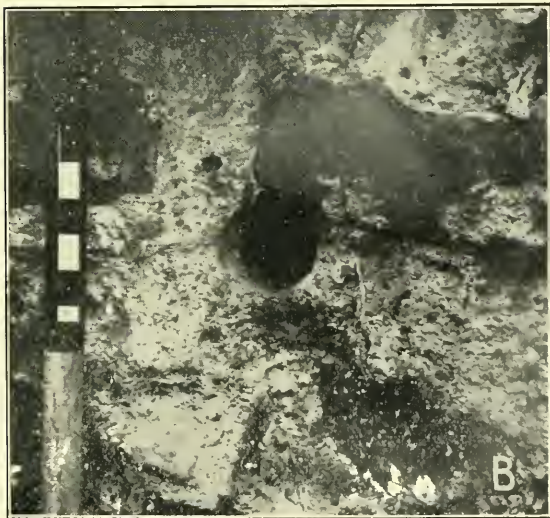
the recent excavations, but some of those excavated in the southern quarter of the fort in 1846 were "partly built with tiles" and had "bondings of tiles."¹⁰¹ The wall of the main fort has lost most of its facing, but shows no indication of lacing-courses of any kind. On the other hand, the wall of the lower fort retains at least one double lacing-course of flat stones (Fig. 35). The remarkably small putlog holes found alike in the walls of the two Carnarvon forts and of Caer Gybi at Holyhead have already been mentioned (Fig. 45, and pp. 61 and 95). These holes are usually circular or oval; very rarely they are slightly squared. They are seldom more than two and a half inches or three inches in maximum diameter. So far as can be ascertained, they seem to pierce the wall completely from side to side, and their smooth mortar lining shows without doubt that they represent the tranverse poles of the scaffolding or framework in which the heavily mortared wall was built. At Verulam, one of the best pieces of the Roman city-wall shows similar holes, two inches in diameter, which also, as Mr. W. Page informs me, go right through the thickness of the wall.¹⁰²

XIV. SEGONTIUM AND THE NATIVE INHABITANTS.

In the last section, certain structural details suggested the possible presence, or even prevalence, of local elements in the latest garrison of Segontium. If so, it is significant that these elements are recognized only by the uncouth and un-Romanized aspect of their handiwork. Save for the coastlands of the south-east, Wales was never Romanized, and the Roman military occupation of the strategic valleys in the north and west seems to have interfered but little with the life of the native shepherds and cultivators amongst the neighbouring hills. Indeed, paradoxically enough, we are led to suspect that the Roman pacification of Wales, by ensuring a comparatively tranquil milieu, may actually have contributed indirectly to the natural development of native culture, at least upon its social or political side.

¹⁰¹ *Arch. Camb.*, 1846, p. 285.

¹⁰² See V.C.H. *Herts*, iv, 129, note 64. The suggestion there made that these holes were intended for the attachment of rings for mooring boats seems to me entirely improbable. Nor can the holes have been intended as "weep-holes" for the drainage of an internal bank abutting on the wall; for there is no such bank either at Holyhead or in the lower fort at Carnarvon.



To face p. 106.

Fig. 45. Small circular putlog holes: A in the southern wall of the lower fort (scale of feet); B in the south-eastern wall of the main fort (scale of inches).

Certain it is that, if the present results of excavation are representative, native village-life in the uplands and out-

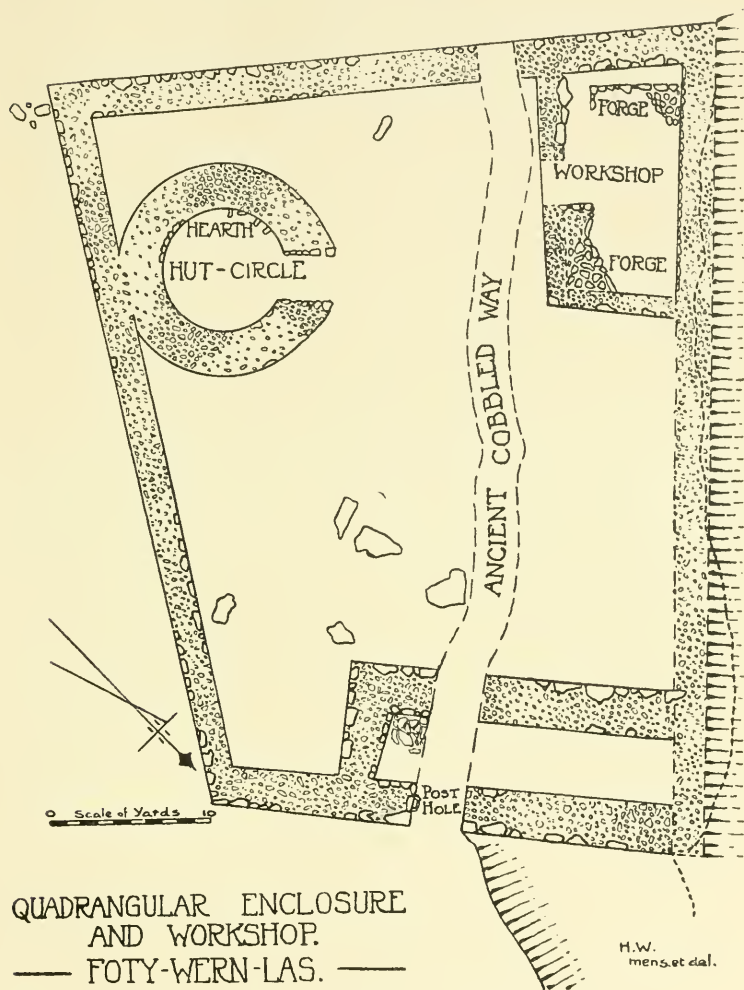


Fig. 46. Huts of the Roman period at Rhostryfan, near Carnarvon.

lands of North Wales received a great impetus during the Roman period. Hill-top towns, such as Tre'r Ceiri, Pen-

maenmawr, Dinorben and others were built or rebuilt and intensively occupied.¹⁰³ It is scarcely necessary to emphasize that these hill towns were fortified, not as military fortresses or as encampments during a campaign, but for the same reason that, in all ill-disciplined ages, towns and houses have been fortified against casual molestation. On the other hand, during the effective occupation of the Roman forts, many native villages in their vicinity were able to flourish with little or no fortification, and Anglesey may be said to teem with open hut-circle settlements which have yielded abundant evidence of habitation at this period. On the mainland, a village partially explored by Mr. Howel Williams at Rhostryfan, on the hillside three miles south of Segontium, is of the same kind.¹⁰⁴ Here, as at Din Lligwy (Anglesey) and elsewhere, circular and roughly rectangular huts are found side by side, sometimes within a small enclosure (Fig. 46). In the huts were found a second-century Roman finger-ring, Roman pottery of second and fourth-century dates, a few glass beads, fragments of iron and of a bronze plate decorated with repoussé pattern of a Late Celtic type which was in use both before and after the advent of the Romans. Native villages, on this humble scale, blossomed readily in the neighbourhood of Segontium, and the absence from them of any certain occupation either of pre-Roman or post-Roman date almost compels us to associate the two phenomena as result and cause.

If, however, on the social and political side native life may have developed rapidly along its own lines under the general police-protection of the Roman forts, on the creative or artistic side it may have lost rather than gained. There was, it is true, already a singular poverty in native craftsmanship in Wales on the eve of the Roman conquest; pottery of recognizably Early Iron Age type is at present entirely lacking there, and the contemporary metalwork is notably poor in quantity.¹⁰⁵ It might be expected that the (seemingly) new development of native communal life during the Roman occupation would be accompanied by a stimulation of latent native craftsmanship. Such was not the case. The Rhostryfan bronze and the Late Celtic brooch from Tre'r Ceiri are rare exceptions, and for the most part

¹⁰³ References to some of these and similar settlements may be found in my paper on "Roman and Native in Wales" in *Cymmrod. Soc. Trans.*, 1920-1.

¹⁰⁴ *Arch. Camb.*, 1922, pp. 335-345; 1923, pp. 87-113 and 291-302.

¹⁰⁵ See *Arch. Camb.*, 1921, pp. 10 ff.

these native Welsh settlements, no less than the Romanized towns of England, yielded willingly to the dull efficiency of Roman things. Their hut-floors are often littered with Roman pots, begged, bartered or stolen from the forts or their *canabae*, and frequently rivetted again and again before being finally discarded. Only occasionally, as at Din Lligwy, Rhostryfan and Dinorben, do we find a few fragments of rough hand-made vessels, manufactured presumably by the natives themselves in clumsy imitation of the coveted Roman wares.

It is possible that a detailed exploration of some of these native sites might reveal in them traces of reaction to the main episodes of the Roman occupation. At Dinorben, the fortified hill-town near Abergele, Mr. Willoughby Gardner's evidence suggests several such reactions.¹⁰⁶ Thus, in particular, the coins associated with the last rehabilitation of the defences are predominantly of early fourth-century date,¹⁰⁷ and may therefore represent a phase of special activity at a period when Segontium was wholly or largely deserted, and when, for a time, the native inhabitants of North Wales were left to fend for themselves against the increasing ravages of the Scots. Possibilities of this kind deserve further investigation, and the results may profitably be compared with those obtained from Scottish sites, such as Traprain Law, where, though the interaction of Roman and native must have been less immediate, the general circumstances were not dissimilar. If, however, in Wales we may hope to recognize a faint reflection of the larger history of the province in the vicissitudes of some of the native settlements, we must still regard them as a thing apart. To the native villagers, Segontium, even when it was perhaps manned partly by their own sons against invaders who were their own foes no less than Rome's, remained aloof and only half comprehended. In such a spot, rather than in the more smugly Romanized parts of the province, might we expect the upgrowth of legend. Wherever and whenever "Maxen's Dream," as we know it, came to birth, the cotter on the rough hillside of Rhostryfan must often have looked in awe towards that lower hill by the gleaming strait where shone the towers and pillared courts of a world beyond his ken.

¹⁰⁶ See summary in *Bulletin of Celtic Studies* (University of Wales), i, Pt. 3, pp. 276-9.

¹⁰⁷ *Brit. Association Report*, 1913, p. 234.

XV. HISTORICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL SUMMARIES.

(a) HISTORICAL.

1. c. 75 A.D. The building of the timber fort.
2. c. 100. The first rebuilding in stone.
3. c. 140. Evacuation.
4. c. 210. The second rebuilding.
5. 290-300. The second evacuation.
6. c. 300-350. Perhaps a desultory civil occupation.
7. 350-365. The third rebuilding.
8. 380-390. The final evacuation.
9. Post-Roman. Slight traces of occupation at uncertain periods.

(b) TOPOGRAPHICAL.

(See general plan, Fig. 1, p. 14).

1. The buildings (perhaps barrack-blocks, baths, etc.) found and roughly planned in 1846. *Arch. Camb.*, 1846, p. 284.
2. A well and numerous foundations with a hypocaust, found under and immediately north of the vicarage in 1846. The "aqueduct" inscription was found here, re-used as the cover of a Roman drain or flue. The site of the well is marked on the 10 ft. Ordnance Survey map. *Arch. Camb.*, 1846, pp. 75, 176 (with worthless plan); 1847, p. 275.
3. Two Roman towers marked on the line of the south-west wall on the Ordnance map. See above, p. 62, footnote.
4. Wells, remains of sheds, the two double fort-ditches, and the Roman road, found during the excavations of 1920. *Arch. Camb.*, 1921.
5. Workmen employed on buildings here report the discovery of an oven and much Roman pottery.
6. Eight wells, a road and much Roman pottery found here in 1893 during building operations. *Arch. Camb.*, 1893, p. 190 (sketch-plan).
7. Workmen employed on building here say that wells were found "under almost every house."
8. Workmen employed on building here say that the foundations of a large Roman house, including a cement bath with steps leading down into it, were found and destroyed. Some of the Roman material is said to have

- been used in building the modern houses, but these are now covered with cement.
9. A building containing a hypocaust was partly excavated here and roughly planned in 1846. *Arch. Camb.*, 1846, p. 284. The irregular field-wall which runs across this site is called a "Roman wall" by the Ordnance Survey. The attribution is very doubtful, and the wall is at least not contemporary with the building.
 10. Excavations carried out by Miss Sara Jones, of Bron Hendre, show that the two fort ditches here were wholly or largely filled in Roman times. On the filling was much burnt wattle and daub. See above, p. 73.
 11. Traces of a road are said to have been observed here in the garden of Bron Hendre. See above, p. 96.
 12. Three urn-burials have been found by grave-diggers in the new cemetery here. See *Arch. Camb.*, 1918, p. 350; and below, p. 163.

NOTE.—The objects found during the excavations of 1920-3 have been presented by the proprietors of the site to the National Museum of Wales, and are mostly stored in the affiliated museum at the University College of North Wales, Bangor. The College museum also contains the sword and a few other objects from the site. A few pieces of pottery, etc., are exhibited in the museum of the Carmarthenshire Antiquarian Society at Carmarthen. The "aqueduct" inscription, the Gnostic charm and the gold brooch, together with a small collection of pottery, etc., are in the Carnarvon Public Library. Amongst private collections, the most important is that of Mr. Charles A. Jones, C.B.E., of Bron Hendre, South Road, Carnarvon.

xvi. COINS.

"Nennius" relates of the father of Constantine the Great, Constantius, whose reputed tomb was once to be seen at Segontium,¹⁰⁸ that "upon the pavement of that city he sowed three seeds, of gold, silver and brass that no poor person might ever be found in it."¹⁰⁹ The crop has indeed been bountiful, and the 1,031 coins and three hoards here recorded can be but a small proportion of those

¹⁰⁸ According to Matthew of Westminster (*Flor. Hist.*, xxi), the body was solemnly translated to a neighbouring church (presumably Llanbeblig church) by Edward I, in 1283.

¹⁰⁹ *Hist. Brit.*, 25.

found at various times in and around the site.¹¹⁰ The number is perhaps noteworthy when we remember that there is no reason for postulating any extensive civil occupation of the fortified area, within which a large majority of the coins have been discovered. It has, indeed, been suggested above that Segontium fulfilled the role of administrative centre, as well as that of military outpost, in a district singularly rich in metals, corn and other possible sources of revenue. At the same time, it should be observed that the periods most amply represented by coins are precisely those which are most readily associated with known phases of offensive and defensive military activity in Britain, so that it is only reasonable to infer from the numismatic evidence that the immediate strategic value of the site remained the dominant factor in the retention and periodical renewal of the fortress.

Mr. H. Mattingly has very kindly assisted in identifying doubtful coins and in drawing up a detailed list of the three hoards. He has also kindly supplied comments upon the minims, of which a fair number were found. These small coins were at one time grouped together as of late fourth to fifth century date, but it is now recognised that in some cases they must be ascribed to the end of the third century. In Hoards II. and III. (below), for example, they are associated with coins not later than Carausius. Mr. Mattingly writes: "I will set down what I believe to be the truth, though possibly I could not prove it all. The minims seem to be derived indirectly from the Tetricus class of coin through the medium of the imitations of poor style and reduced size that were probably issued soon after the original issues. The minims themselves hardly begin before about A.D. 300, and go on for at least a century longer—perhaps more. The radiate busts would naturally be placed earliest, but they seem to differ little from the diademed busts, and may have gone on by the side of them. They were certainly unofficial, and were probably, as you suggest,

¹¹⁰ The sources drawn upon for the subjoined list are: (1) the coins found during the excavations of 1920-3; (2) the coins preserved in the Carnarvon Public Library; (3) those in the collection of Mr. Charles A. Jones, C.B.E., of Bron Hendre, Carnarvon; (4) those preserved at Llanbeblig Vicarage; (5) other private collections recorded in the interim reports in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1921 and 1922; (6) those recorded in the following publications:—*Arch. Camb.*, 1846, pp. 78, 180-1, 284 ff.; 1847 p. 275; 1850, p. 226; Pennant, *Tours in Wales* (1883), ii, 499; *Antiquary*, xli, 244.

copied from coins. May they not well be token coinage, representing the smaller denominations, which were neglected in the state coinage? The 'nummus' of Anastasius's coinage must have been a very tiny thing indeed, and was never issued by the state."

To the coins included in the following list may be added a Northumbrian "styea" and a number of mediæval coins, referred to above (p. 94).

HOARD I (*see* above, p. 68).

(All third brass. References to Cohen, *Monnaies de l'Empire romain*, 2nd Edition.)

GALLIENVS. A.D. 253-268.

1. *Obv.* GALLIENVS AVG. Bust radiate r.
Rev. DIANÆ CONS. AVG. Stag walking r.,
head turned back l.
Coh. 154. Struck c. A.D. 267-8.

VICTORINVS. A.D. 265-267.

2. *Obv.* IMP. C. VICTORINVS P.F. AVG. Bust
radiate, draped r.
Rev. [PIETAS] AVG. Pietas standing l. by altar,
holding patera and box of perfumes (?).
Coh. 93 (?).
3. *Obv.* As on No. 2 (?).
Rev. [SALVS AVG.] Salus standing r. feeding
snake held in her arms.
Coh. 112 (?).

TETRICVS I. A.D. 268-273.

4. *Obv.* [IMP. C. TETRICVS P.F. AVG. Bust
radiate, draped r. (?).]
Rev. LÆTITIA AVGG. Lætitia standing l., hold-
wreath and anchor.
Coh. 72 (?).
5. *Obv.* IMP. C. TETRICVS P.F. AVG. Bust
radiate, draped r.
Rev. [VIRTVS AVGG]. Virtus standing l., lean-
ing on shield and holding spear.
Coh. 207 (?).

LICINIVS I. A.D. 307-323.

6. *Obv.* IMP. LICINIVS P.F. AVG. Bust laureate, cuirassed r.

Rev. GENIO POP. ROM. Genius standing l., holding patera and cornucopiæ $\frac{\text{SIF}}{\text{PLN}}$ (London).

Coh. 49. 313-317 A.D.

7, 8. *Obv.* As on No. 6.

Rev. As on No. 6, but $\frac{\text{TIF}}{\text{STR}}$ (Trier).

Coh. 49. 313-317 A.D.

CONSTANTINE I. A.D. 307-337.

9. *Obv.* IMP. CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Bust laureate, draped, cuirassed, r.

Rev. SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Sol radiate standing front, head l., raising r. hand and holding globe in l. $\frac{\text{TIF}}{\text{PLN}}$ (London).

Coh. 519. 313-317 A.D.

10. *Obv.* As on No. 8.

Rev. As on No. 8, but $\frac{\text{SIF}}{\text{PLN}}$ (London).

Coh. 519. 313-317 A.D.

11. *Obv.* CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Bust laureate, draped, cuirassed r., with spear.

Rev. As on No. 8, but $\frac{\text{I}}{\text{PLN}}$ (complete?) (London)

Coh. 520 (var.). 313-317 A.D.

12-14. *Obv.* CONSTANTINVS P.F. AVG. Bust laureate, draped, cuirassed r.

Rev. As on No. 8, but $\frac{\text{TIF}}{\text{PTR}}$ (Trier).

Coh. 525. 313-317 A.D.

15. *Obv.* CONSTANTINVS AVG. Bust helmeted, cuirassed r.

Rev. BEATA TRANQUILLITAS. Altar, above which are three stars, inscribed VOT.

$\frac{\text{I}}{\text{XX. PTR.}}$

Coh. 20. 320-324 A.D.

CRISPUS. Cæsar, A.D. 317-326.

16. *Obv.* FL. IVL. CRISPVS. NOB. CÆS. Bust laureate, draped r.
Rev. PROVIDENTIÆ CÆSS. Gate of camp, with two battlements. $\frac{I}{\text{PLON}}$ (London).
 Coh, 124. 324-326 A.D.

HOARD II (*see above*, p. 73).

(All third brass.)

GALLIENVS. A.D. 253-268.

1. *Obv.* [GALLIENVS AVG]. Bust radiate r.
Rev. PAX A [VGVSTI]. Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre.
Cf. Coh. 766. Rome c. A.D. 265.
2. *Obv.* IMP. C.P. LIC. GALLIENVS P.F. AVG. Bust draped, radiate r.
Rev. PIETAS AVGG. Valerian and Gallienus sacrificing over altar: above, a wreath.
 Coh. 792. Antioch c. A.D. 256.

CLAVDIVS II. A.D. 268-270.

3. *Obv.* [IMP.] CLAVDIVS [AVG.]. Bust radiate r.
Rev. [PROVID. AVG.]. Providentia standing l., pointing with wand at globe l., and holding cornucopiæ.
 Coh. 222 (?).
4. *Obv.* IMP. C. CLAVDIVS AVG. Bust radiate r.
Rev. SALVS AVG. Salus standing l., feeding snake curled round altar.
 Coh. 265.
5. *Obv.* As on No. 4.
Rev. SPES PVBLICA. Spes advancing l., holding flower and raising skirt.
 Coh. 281.
6. *Obv.* As on No. 4.
Rev. VICTORIA AVG. Victory standing l., holding wreath and palm.
 Coh. 293.

7. *Obv.* [DIVO CLAVDIO]. Bust radiate r.
Rev. CONSECRATIO. Altar.
 Imitation of Coh. 50.

GALLIC EMPIRE. c. A.D. 258-273.

POSTVMVS. A.D. 260-268.

8. *Obv.* IMP. C. POSTVMVS P.F. AVG. Bust draped, radiate r.
Rev. PAX AVG. Pax hastening l., holding branch and sceptre.
 Coh. 220.
9. *Obv.* As on No. 7.
Rev. VBERITAS AVG. Ubertas standing l., holding purse and cornucopiæ.
 Coh. 366.

VICTORINVS. A.D. 265-267.

- 10-11, *Obv.* IMP. C. VICTORINVS P.F. AVG. Bust draped, radiate r.
Rev. PAX AVG. Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre.
 One doubtful. Coh. 79.
12. *Obv.* As on Nos. 10-11.
Rev. SALVS AVG. Salus standing r., feeding snake in her arms.
 Coh. 112.
13. *Obv.* As on Nos. 10-11.
Rev. VIRTVS AVG. Virtus standing r., holding spear and resting on shield.
 Coh. 131.
14. *Obv.* As on Nos. 10-11.
Rev. Uncertain. Fortune standing l. (?).

MARIVS. c. A.D. 268.

15. *Obv.* IMP. C. MARIVS P.F. AVG. Bust draped, radiate r.
Rev. SAEC. FELICITAS. Felicitas standing l., holding caduceus and cornucopiæ.
 Coh. 13.

TETRICVS I. A.D. 268-273.

16. *Obv.* [IMP. TETRICVS P.F. AVG.]. Bust draped, radiate r.
Rev. FIDES MILITUM. Fides standing l., holding standards in both hands.
 Coh. 37.
17. *Obv.* IMP. TETRICVS P. F. AVG. Bust draped, radiate r.
Rev. HILARITAS AVGG. Hilaritas standing l., holding palm and cornucopiæ.
 Coh. 53.
18. *Obv.* As on No. 17.
Rev. LÆTITIA AVG. Lætitia standing l., holding wreath and anchor.
 Coh. 70.
19. *Obv.* As on No. 17.
Rev. [PAX AVG.] Pax standing l., holding branch and sceptre.
 Coh. 99.
20. *Obv.* As on No. 17.
Rev. PRINC. IVENT. Tetricus standing l., holding wand and spear.
 Coh 131.
21. *Obv.* IMP. C. TETRICVS P.F. AVG. Bust draped, radiate r.
Rev. SPES PVBLICA. Spes advancing l., holding flower and raising skirt.
 Coh. 170.
22. *Obv.* As on No. 21.
Rev. [VICTOR]IA AVG. Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.
 Coh. 185 (?).
- 23-32. Uncertain reverses: two, at least, barbarous imitations.

TETRICVS II. A.D. 268-273.

- 33-34. *Obv.* C. PIV. EST. TETRICVS CÆS. Bust draped, radiate r.
Rev. PIETAS AVGG. Sacrificial vessels, etc.
 Coh. 50.

35. *Obv.* As on Nos. 33, 34.
Rev. PRINC. IVVENT. Tetricus standing l.,
 holding wand and standard.
 Coh. 64 (?).
- 36-39. *Obv.* As on Nos. 33, 34.
Rev. SPES PVBLICA. Spes advancing l., hold-
 ing flower and raising skirt.
 Coh. 97.
 One barbarous.
40. Barbarous imitation of uncertain rev. of Tetricus
 II. The obverse legends of some of the
 above coins of Tetricus I and II are not
 very sure.
- CARAVSIVS. A.D. 287-293.
41. *Obv.* IMP. CARAVSIVS P.F. AVG. Bust draped,
 radiate r.
Rev. LEG I MIN. Ram r. ML in exergue.
 London. Coh. 131.
42. Barbarous imitation of third-century type.
- 43-56. Minimi mainly obscure in type, but some show-
 ing clear traces of radiate crown.

HOARD III (*see above*, p. 68).

VOLUSIANUS. A.D. 251-254.

1. *Obv.* IMP. CAE. C. VIB. VOLVSIANO AVG.
 Bust radiate and draped r.
Rev. CONCORDIA AVG. Concordia standing
 l., holding patera and double cornucopiæ.
Antoninianus. Coh. 20.

VALERIANVS. A.D. 254-260.

2. *Obv.* IMP. C.P. LIC. VALERIANVS P.F. AVG.
 Bust radiate and draped r.
Rev. FELICITAS AVGG. Felicitas standing l.,
 holding caduceus and cornucopiæ.
Antoninianus. Coh. 53.

POSTVMVS. A.D. 260-267.

3. *Obv.* IMP. C. POSTVMVS P.F. AVG. Bust
 radiate and draped r.

Rev. VIRTVS AVG. Postumus r., with shield and spear.

Antoninianus. Coh. 428.

PROBABLY VICTORINUS. A.D. 265-267.

4. *Obv.* Bust radiate and draped r.

Rev. Pax standing l. and holding branch and sceptre.

3 Ae. Probably Coh. 79.

CLAUDIUS II GOTHICUS. A.D. 268-270.

5. *Obv.* Bust radiate and draped r.

Rev. [PROVID]ENT [AVG.]. Providentia standing l., leaning on column and pointing with wand and globe.

3 Ae. Coh. 230 (?).

TETRICUS SENIOR. A.D. 268-273.

6. *Obv.* [T]ETRICVS P.F. A[VG.]. Bust radiate and draped r.

Rev. [L]ÆTITIA [AVGG.]. Lætitia standing l., holding wreath and anchor.

3 Ae. Coh. 71 or 72.

7. *Obv.* IMP. C. TETR[ICVS P.]F. AVG. Bust radiate and draped r.

Rev. SPES PVBLICA. Spes advancing l., holding flower and raising skirt.

3 Ae. Probably Coh. 170.

8. *Obv.* IMP. C. TETRICVS P.F. AVG. Bust radiate and draped r.

Rev. PAX [AVG.]. Pax standing l. and holding olive branch and vertical sceptre.

3 Ae. Coh. 96.

TETRICUS JUNIOR. A.D. 268-273.

9. *Obv.* [C. PIV. ESV.] TETRICVS CAES. Bust radiate and draped r.

Rev. [PRINC. IVVENT.]. Tetricus junior standing l., holding wand and standard.

3 Ae. Probably Coh. 64.

10. *Obv.* Bust radiate and draped r.
Rev. ?

LOCAL IMITATIONS OF RADIATE TYPES.

- 11-21. With one exception (a 3rd brass), these are all minims. Save for the presence of the spiked crown on the obverse, the types are generally indeterminate, but in three cases the reverse is recognizable: (I) an altar derived from a DIVVS CLAVDIVS type; (II) a SPES type; and (III) a PIETAS from a Tetricus-Junior type.

	INSIDE THE FORT.				OUTSIDE THE FORT.				FINDSPOT UNCERTAIN.				TOTAL.		
	Silver or Alloy.	1B	2B	3B	Mims	Silver or Alloy.	1B	2B	3B	Silver or Alloy.	1B	2B		3B	Mims
Republican:															
L. Piso Frugi (c. 88-86 B.C.)	1														1
L. Roscius Fabatus (c. 70 B.C.)	1														1
Uncertain	1														1
Augustus (43 B.C.-14 A.D.)						1									1
Tiberius (14-37 A.D.)															1
Nero (54-68 A.D.)				1				1							1
Probably Nero															1
Vitellius (69 A.D.)	1														1
Probably Vitellius	1														1
Vespasian (69-79 A.D.)	1		1	1			2	8			1	5			20
Titus (79-81 A.D.)							1	2				1			3
Vespasian or Titus			1				2	4				1			2
Domitian (81-96 A.D.)		1	1												10
Probably Domitian		1	1												1
Nerva (96-98 A.D.)	2														3
Nerva or early Trajan		1	1												3
1st or early 2nd century															18
Trajan (98-117 A.D.)		3	1	1			2	4			1	6			10
Hadrian (117-138 A.D.)	1	1	1					2							1
Probably Hadrian															1
Sabina, wife of Hadrian										1					1
L. Aelius Caesar (d. 137 A.D.)															1
Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.)										2					3
Faustina the Elder (d. 141 A.D.)	1	1	1												4
Marcus Aurelius (161-180 A.D.)															1
Carried forward	10	8	8	3		2	7	22		7	9	16	1		93

	INSIDE THE FORT.					OUTSIDE THE FORT.					FINDSPOT UNCERTAIN.					TOTAL
	Silver or Alloy.	1B	2B	3B	Minims	Silver or Alloy.	1B	2B	3B	Minims	Silver or Alloy.	1B	2B	3B	Minims	
Brought forward ..	41	8	12	283	16	4	7	26	14	2	25	9	20	93	2	560
Constantine I or II	1
Constantine I (333-350 A.D.)	32
Constantine II (323-361 A.D.)	5
(a) as Caesar (323-337 A.D.)	1	7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	10
(b) as Augustus (337-361 A.D.)	14	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	19
Constantine II or Constantinus II	8
"Gloria Exercitus" (330-342 A.D.)	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	34
Magnentius (350 A.D.)	24	10	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	13
Decentius (351 A.D.)	9	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1
Valentinian I (364-375 A.D.)	46
Valens (364-378 A.D.)	40	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	62
Valentinian I or Valens	48	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	16
Gratian (367-383 A.D.)	15	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	30
Valentinian I, Valens or Gratian	22	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15
Theodosius I (379-395 A.D.)	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
Valentinian II (375-392 A.D.) or Theodosius I.	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
"Securitas Reipublicae" (c. 364-383 A.D.)	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
c. 330-383 A.D.	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	18
Fourth century local imitations	13	22	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11
Fourth century uncertain types	48	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	35
Unidentifiable ..	5	..	1	43	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	..	64
Total ..	46 ¹	8	14	636	49	4	7	26	22	..	25 ¹	9	21	162	2	1031

¹ Including one gold coin.



To face p. 125.

Fig. 47. Altar from the sacellum.

xvii. INSCRIBED AND CARVED STONES.

FIG. 10.

Inscription found in 1845 and 1852 in the southern part of the fort, adjoining Llanbeblig Vicarage. It had been broken in Roman times and used as the cover of a "flue or drain." The fragments read:—

[S]EPT(IMIVS) · SEVERVS PIVS PER(TINAX)

[M·A]VREL(IVS) · ANTONINV[S]

.

[AQ]VAEDVCTIVM VETVS(TATE)

[CONLA]BS(VM) · COH(ORTI) · I · SVNIC(ORVM)·

RESTIT(VERVNT)·

[SVB] · PR[AEFECTO].

The inscription mentioned the names of Septimius Severus, Caracallus, and Geta, but the name of Geta was, as usual, erased after his murder by Caracallus in 211; it proceeded to record that the Emperors "restored for the first Cohort of Sunici the aqueduct which had become ruinous with age." A diploma shows that this cohort was in Britain in 124 (CIL. VII., 1195), but, as Haverfield remarks, "the Carnarvon inscription is the only clue we have to its quarters at any date. The Sunuci (so more usually spelt) were a Belgic tribe. But how many of the men in the cohort came in A.D. 200 from Belgic homes, it is not easy to guess."¹¹¹ (See above, p. 48.)

FIG. 47.

Inscribed altar found in the filling under "Floor 3" within the cellar in the prætorium (see above, pp. 53 and 80). It is 16 inches high, and made of local sandstone. The mouldings show traces of plaster or cement which was used to conceal the natural inequalities of the stone. This plaster surface retained vestiges of red paint in the hollows of the mouldings.

¹¹¹ *Roman Wales*, p. 33; also J. E. Lloyd, *Arch. Camb.*, 1905, p. 73.

The inscription reads (with four ligatures):—

DEAE
MINĒRVĀE
AVR · SABINI
ANVS · ACT·
V·S·L·M·

i.e., *Deae Minervae Aur(elius) Sabinianus act(arius) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)*—"To the goddess Minerva, Aurelius Sabinianus, *actarius*, gratefully fulfils his vow."

The *actarius* may be described as the quartermaster of a Roman regiment, although such analogies must not be pushed too far. To this officer fell the duty of securing the necessary allotment of rations for the unit, and of organizing their distribution at the granaries and other store-houses. He was originally appointed from the lower grades, commonly from the *principales*, but during the fourth century the status of the office rose considerably, and, although still controlled by the *magister militum*, it became increasingly civil in character. Seeck, in *Pauly-Wissowa*, states that it first appears under Severus, and, although it would be rash to affirm that the rank was previously unknown in the Roman army, there seems to be no definite evidence for its occurrence before the beginning of the third century, whilst several inscriptions relating to this or to other offices of the same college are of this date.¹¹² The present altar may be ascribed to this century; it was found amongst débris probably from a building which was erected early in the third century and destroyed in or before the fourth century, and the character of its lettering, though an unsafe criterion, would seem to preclude its attribution to the previous (early second-century) occupation of the site. Sabinianus was not improbably an officer of that cohort of Sunici which is known to have garrisoned Segontium under the Severi.

Only one other definite reference to an *actarius* is recorded from Britain—at Ebechester in County Durham, where it is again characteristically Minerva who received

¹¹² For example, *C.I.L.*; viii, 2553; xiii, 5970; xiv, 2255; and Cagnat, *Les deux camps . . . à Lambèse* (1908), pp. 37-9—all of the period of the Severi.



To face p. 127.

Fig. 48. Altar from Llanbeblig church.

tribute (*C.I.L.*, VII. 458).¹¹³ Elsewhere the most instructive reference to the rank occurs in the legionary fortress at Lambæsis, in northern Africa. There a room at the back of the pratorium to the left of one approaching the sacellum, yielded an inscription which described it as the *tabularium legionis*, and records its adornment by a *cornicularius* and an *actarius*, together with the *librari* and *exacti legionis*.¹¹⁴ These administrative officers and clerks clearly formed one of the military colleges, the upgrowth or development of which was a feature of the early third-century army. In a legionary fortress there was also a *tabularium principis*, which may be presumed to have occupied a corresponding position on the opposite side of the sacellum, in a somewhat similar position indeed to that of the probable tabularium at Segontium (see above, p. 53).

FIG. 48.

One other altar is known from Segontium. This is a fragment 2 feet high, found some years ago in the footings beneath the south window of the nave of Llanbeblig Church,¹¹⁵ and now in the churchyard. One face has entirely perished; the others are carved with a wreath, a patera or perhaps a second wreath, and a ewer respectively.

FIG. 49.

This roughly inscribed stone has been re-used as a paving slab in the late structure within the eastern corner of the sacellum. Under an adjacent slab of the same floor was a coin of Valentinian I. (364-375). The strokes, though poorly cut, are certain, and are I Λ N R; the punctuations which appear in and near some of them are probably

¹¹³ Minerva was evidently the patron goddess of the administrative or clerical colleges in the army; thus *actarii* dedicate to her at Delminium in Dalmatia (von Domaszewski, *Rangordnung*, p. 266), and in the camp of Legion II Parthica (*C.I.L.*, xiv, 2255), whilst at Lambæsis Minerva is associated with the "Genius tabularii" (*C.I.L.*, viii, 18060). At Neckarburken the *librari* dedicate to Minerva (*O.R.L.*, lx, p. 24), and at Strasburg an *optio* and a *librarianus* join in a similar dedication (*C.I.L.*, xiii, 5970). See also Cagnat, *Les deux camps . . . à Lambèse*, p. 40; von Domaszewski, *Die Religion des röm. Heeres*, p. 29.

¹¹⁴ See Cagnat, *Les deux camps . . . à Lambèse* (1908), p. 37; von Domaszewski, *Rangordnung*, p. 38; also, generally, Pauly-Wissowa s.v. *actarius*, and Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. *actuarius*.

¹¹⁵ I am indebted to the Rev. J. W. Wynne Jones, lately Vicar of Llanbeblig, for information.

accidental. At first sight the letters seem to read M(ARCVS) AVR(ELIVS), or the like; the first letter, however, is not an M, and either I A N R or I A A/ R are probably intended. In any case, no interpretation of the fragment is possible. Below these letters is the stroke of another (incomplete).

Other inscribed stones are known to have been found on the site. In the Carnarvon Public Library is a fragment bearing the letters ·SEI (? SEP) on one side and I A I on the other.¹¹⁶ Another fragment, seen by Colt Hoare, is thus recorded by a writer in 1803: "The road from Beddkekert crosses the ancient city, bounded by a wall on each side. On a stone 18 inches by 15, in the centre of the south wall, are cut in large characters, S.V.C. with some other letters which are obliterated. This stone was taken out of an old wall in the city 15 years ago, where it had been placed by a Roman hand, and fixed here to perpetuate the relic."¹¹⁷ A tradition that an inscribed stone exists in this wall, or at least its present representative, is still current locally, but the wall is much overgrown and no inscription is now visible.

FIG. 50.

This illustration represents a stone bearing the letter or figure V, another carved in relief with the lower part of a human figure set in a niche (both stones from the earlier filling of the cellar), and, on the left, a rather less conventional piece of sculpture. This had been re-used as a door sill in building VIII., and was much mutilated. It is of local sandstone, and should probably be regarded as a serious product of local religious art. It may be recalled that at Caerwent a head only a little less rough in workmanship was found in what seemed to have been a small shrine,¹¹⁸ and closer parallels to the present work, from Aesica (Great Chesters)¹¹⁹ Little Chester in Derbyshire,¹²⁰ and other sites are clearly intended to represent a god with the attributes of Mercury. The head in both of these figures is crowned by two very rough horn-like wings,

¹¹⁶ *Arch. Camb.*, 1846, p. 76; *Ephem Epigr.* vii, 850.

¹¹⁷ W. Hutton, *Remarks upon North Wales* (1803), p. 140; also Colt Hoare, *Giraldus Cambrensis* ii, 94; *Ephem. Epigr.* iii, 119.

¹¹⁸ *Archaeologia*, lviii, p. 31; lxii, p. 16.

¹¹⁹ *Arch. Ael.* (N.S.), xxiv, pp. 62 and 64.

¹²⁰ *V. C. H.*, *Derbyshire*, iii, p. 219.



To face p. 128.

Fig. 49. Inscribed stone from fourth-century floor of sacellum.



To face p. 128.
Fig. 50. Carved stones from the fort. (Scale of inches.)



To face p. 129.

Fig. 51. Column-capital re-used as a mortar, building XX.
(Scale about $\frac{1}{10}$).

similar to those of the present work,¹²¹ and it is not improbable that this represents the same deity, apparently grasping a purse, or possibly a clumsy caduceus, in his left hand. The Aesica example, however, was known to its excavators as "Ould Charlie," and perhaps no more precise identification is necessary.¹²²

FIG. 51.

Rough Doric column-capital hollowed out for use as a mortar. As such it was found *in situ* upon the fourth-century clay floor of building XX., near the north-western end of the last structure on that site. The diameter of the column-shaft is about 15 inches.

xviii. OBJECTS OF METAL.

FIG. 52.

Thin plate of gold, 4 inches long and 1 inch broad, found in 1827 a little to the south of the fort in digging the foundations of "Cefn Hendre." It is now in the Carnarvon Public Library, and has been fully published by Mr. C. R. Peers and Mr. W. J. Hemp.¹²³ It may have come from a grave, but, though there was certainly a cemetery on this side of the fort, no details of the discovery of the gold plate are known. It is a talisman, worn as a protection against evil, and the last three lines include the name of the original wearer—*φύλαττε με Ἀλφίανον* "protect me Alphianos." The opening lines contain the names Adonai, Eloi, and Sabaoth, and show that the charm was associated with Gnosticism, a mystic belief established in Syria and at Alexandria (by Basilides) in the second century. In the conception of a Supreme Being, known as Abraxas or Abrasax (whose name or symbol occurs generally on gems), this belief presented certain points of resemblance with Christianity and flourished alongside it, and to some extent in contact with it, under the middle and later Empire. The

¹²¹ Compare those on representations of Mercury on Gaulish Samian, Dèchelette types 291-2.

¹²² The writers of "Roman Britain in 1922" (*Journ. Roman Studies* xi, p. 235) prefer to regard the figure as that of an armed god. This alternative interpretation had occurred to me at the time of the discovery of the stone, and is perhaps as tenable as the other. For an example of the armed and horned (or double-crested) type, see *Cumb. and Westm. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, N.S. xv, Plate vi, 39 (from Maryport).

¹²³ *Proc. Soc. Ant.* (2nd Series) xxxi, pp. 127-131.

four titles of the God of the Jews, *i.e.*, the three initial names of the present inscription together with Iao, which, in the form $\acute{\alpha}\rho\beta\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\iota}\acute{\alpha}\omega$ —the fourfold Iao—occurs in the 4th and 5th lines, were adopted as names of four of the seven planetary genii, respectively of the Sun, Jupiter, Mars, and the Moon. The whole inscription is intentionally obscure, and most of it quite unintelligible. In the 5th-7th lines, $\acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\omega}\nu\ \acute{\omega}\nu\ \xi\acute{\omega}\nu\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ may be rendered "thou who art, who art, who livest nobly"; and in lines 13 and 14 Mr. Peers recognises in $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\lambda\alpha\mu$ a possible reference to $\sigma\epsilon\mu\epsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\acute{\iota}\lambda\alpha\mu$, "eternal

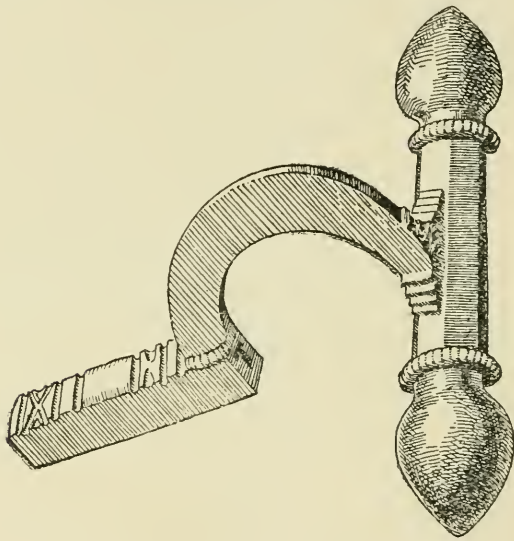


Fig. 53. Gold cross-bow brooch, found outside the fort. (+)

sun," followed by $\kappa\rho\acute{\alpha}\mu\alpha$, "moon." For the rest, unless in the 17th line $\Theta\omicron\iota\Theta$ = the Egyptian Thoth, neither the words nor the symbols which form lines 19-22, convey anything to the modern uninitiate, and may have been almost equally dark to their ancient possessor. The interest of the inscription lies in the light it throws upon the cosmopolitan character of the inhabitants or at least the culture of third or fourth century Carnarvon.

FIG. 53.

Gold brooch of "cross-bow" type, found about a century ago in or near the main fort, and now in the Carnarvon

αδιοναίε . ε
 λουκεταβα
 ωθεθεσφρε
 εσφφραρβαρ
 ττωσ . ων ων
 ων ζορ κω
 λωσ .
 ελλωων αν
 ιορραγπβ
 βορβαρια
 λιαμοσβα
 ρωνασθωω
 βαροζωαψι
 χιαεωλαριε
 ωλαμικεραρια
 ρεχαραραμο
 ρπμφοβζαα
 θωσθ XIII.

symbols

φουαττε
 μεαλφια
 ρων

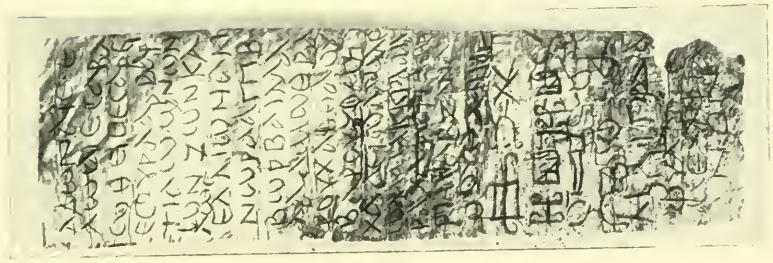
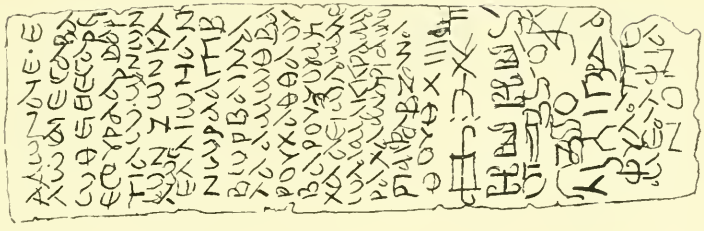


Fig. 52. Gnostic talisman. (†)

To face p. 130.

Public Library. It is $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, and the width of the head is 4 inches. A full account of it, by Mr. W. J. Hemp, is printed in *Proc. Soc. Ant.* (2nd Series) XXX. pp. 184-6. A roughness on the bow immediately above the cross-bar doubtless marks the former presence of a pointed boss there, as on other specimens of the type. The pin, now missing, was "hinged to a rod inside the hollow bar, and its point was held to the plate by a sliding cap which in its turn was kept in position by a shouldered tongue of bronze (of which the base only remains rivetted to the end of the

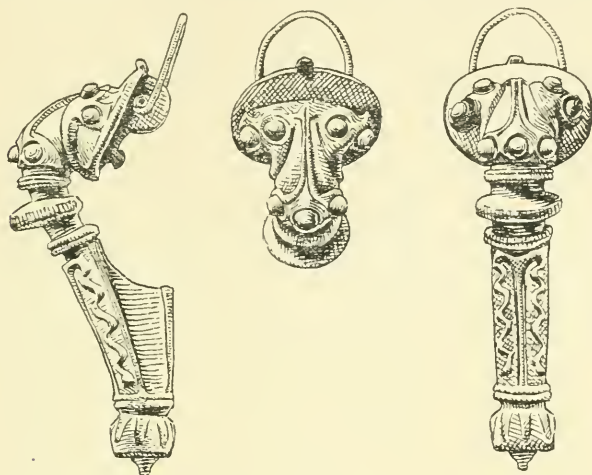


Fig. 54. Brooch of tinned bronze, from the fort. (+)

plate); this acted as a spring inside the cap, which it entered by a T-shaped opening on the principle of the simple snap-fastening of a bracelet or necklaee of the present day". The fully developed cross-bow brooch of this type does not seem to be earlier than the middle of the fourth century, and lasted in various forms into the post-Roman period.

FIG. 54.

Harp-shaped fibula of bronze with traces of tinning, decorated with a conventionalized representation of an ox-head. This typically Late-Celtic motive is recorded elsewhere in Wales, as in the third or fourth-century stratum of the hill-fort of Dinorben,¹²⁴ but its use as the adornment

¹²⁴ *Arch. Camb.* 1913, p. 195.

of a fibula appears to be new. Romano-Celtic fibulae of this general type are not uncommon on sites in northern Britain, and appear to have been in use from the end of the first to the end of the second centuries, A.D.¹²⁵ The present example was found in the surface-soil of the praetorium, and is therefore not dated, but typologically it is somewhat earlier than the well-known Backworth example, which was associated with a coin of Antoninus Pius minted in 139 A.D. In the Backworth fibula the loop (used for attaching these brooches together by cords or chains) is large and elaborate, with a solid collar-moulding at its junction with the head of the bow, whereas the Segontium brooch shows the simpler and clearly earlier type with unattached wire loop. It is perhaps, therefore, of early second-century date.

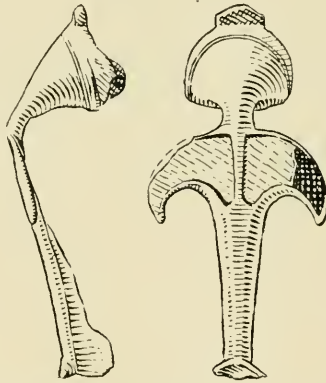


Fig. 55. Enamelled bronze brooch found outside the fort. (+)

FIG. 55.

Fragmentary bronze fibula, found outside the south-west wall of the fort. Hollow trumpet-shaped head with lug (rudimentary loop) at top and, on each side, a projecting socket to receive an axial rivet for the spring, which is missing. At the summit of the bow are lateral expansions somewhat resembling an Amazon's shield and containing remains of blue enamel. The foot is incomplete, but may

¹²⁵ See especially, May, *Yorks. Arch. Journ.* xvi, pp. 148-150, where the more important examples are noted. Also *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* xlix, pp. 97 and 166; *Brit. Mus. Guide to Roman Britain*, pp. 53 ff.

have terminated in a hollow ring. Type very similar to Curle, *Newstead*, Pl. LXXXXVII., 26, "probably second century".

FIG. 56.

1.—Bronze brooch found within the fort; unstratified. It has a trumpet-shaped head, fixed loop, and remains of

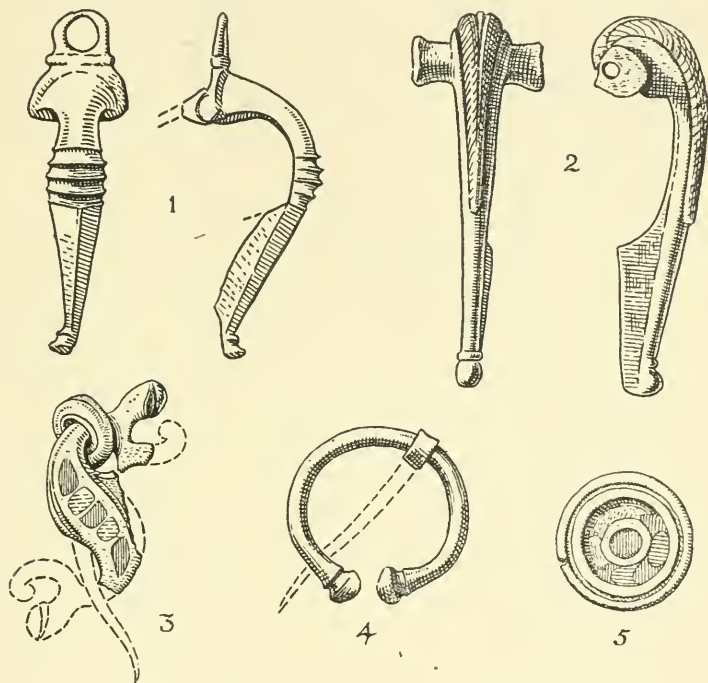


Fig. 56. Brooches and enamelled disc found within the fort (+)

hinged pin. The under side of the bow is flat, a feature which is probably later in origin than the rounded section and continuous moulding found, for example, on Fig. 54. The two types, however, must have existed side by side for some time. Thus, although the earlier form survived at least as late as A.D. 140 in the Backworth brooch, an example of the later type, almost a duplicate of the present specimen, was found at Wroxeter in a deposit dated about A.D. 110-130 (*Wroxeter Report*, 1912, Fig. 10, No. 8).

2.—Bronze brooch found long ago on the site of Llanbeblig Vicarage, *i.e.*, within the fort, and now deposited in the Carnarvon Free Library. The grooved back is partially ribbed with slightly curvilinear engraved lines; the projecting spring-case is pierced on each side for the axis of the spring, and the head is carried forward as a beak to catch the loop of the spring; the catchplate is solid. This type is derived directly from a Late Celtic form, represented by the well-known Polden Hill example. It survived in variant forms (even with uncovered spring and pierced catchplate) as late as the middle of the second century at Newstead, but at Wroxeter four examples closely similar to the present were found in stratified deposits dated A.D. 80-120 (*Wroxeter Report*, 1913, Fig. 4, No. 1).

3.—Fragment of S-shaped or “dragonesque” brooch, found in the clay beside and contemporary with one of the earliest stone walls of Building XX. It is of bronze, decorated with three panels of red enamel and two of chalcidony. About twenty-seven brooches of this type, with variants, have been found in Britain, mostly in the north; only five are recorded from the Continent.¹²⁶ Haverfield assigned them provisionally to the second century, and perhaps they should be ascribed to the earlier half of that century. The Lakenheath example seems to be little later than A.D. 100; the fully-developed Newstead example had been lost before the reduction in the size of the fort, and is probably therefore pre-Antonine (Curle, *Newstead*, p. 320); and the Wroxeter example was found under an *opus signinum* floor, “with a number of coins the latest belonging to the emperor Hadrian, and pottery which does not appear to be later than 130 A.D.” The present is the first example recorded from Wales.

4.—Penannular brooch of bronze, found in Building XVI.; unstratified. This type, with knobbed terminals, was in use throughout the Roman occupation of Britain: it occurs at Hod Hill and in the ditch of the early fort at Newstead, and with a coin of Constantine at Elton in Derbyshire.

5.—Bronze disc, perhaps part of a brooch, ornamented

¹²⁶ To the examples collected by Haverfield in *Arch. Aeliana*, 3rd S., v, p. 420, must be added: Curle, *Newstead*, p. 320, footnote 1 (Nymwegen); Bushe-Fox, *Wroxeter Report*, 1914, p. 24; May, *Templebrough*, p. 71; and two examples at Traprain Law, *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.* lvi (1922), 232, Fig. 28, and *Journal of Roman Studies*, xi, 232.

with red and blue enamel (centre red). Such discs are not uncommon, and are thought, on inconclusive evidence, to be especially characteristic of the second century (see *Wroxeter Report*, 1914, p. 25).

FIG. 57.

The brooches illustrated in this Figure were found outside the north-west rampart in 1920.

1.—Bronze fibula with traces of tinning. For comments on this type see above, p. 133, Fig. 56, No. 1.

2.—Bronze brooch with solid catch-plate, and with back recessed for enamel panels. The pin is hinged in a cylindrical

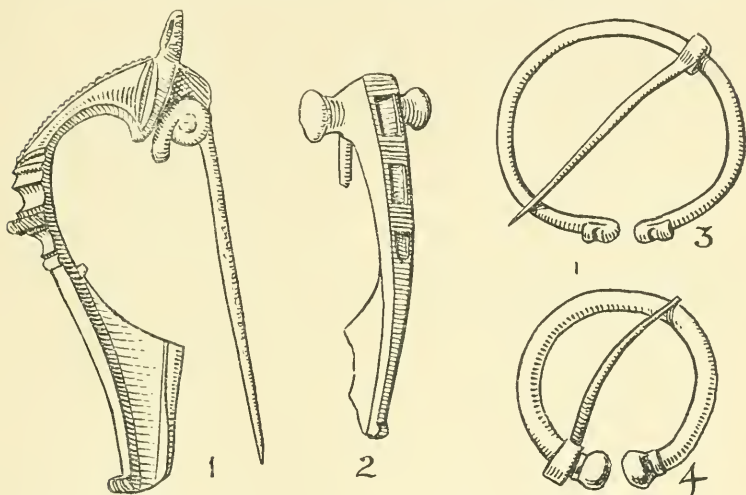


Fig 57. Bronze brooches found outside the fort in 1920. (+)

dricular cross-piece. Derived from the type represented by Fig. 56, No. 2, and closely akin to *Wroxeter Report*, 1914, Pl. 15, 7, which was found "in a deposit dating up to the middle of the second century."

3.—Bronze penannular brooch (one of two specimens) with returned terminals. A more elaborate example at *Wroxeter* "probably belongs to the period 80-120 A.D." (*Wroxeter Report*, 1914, Pl. XVI., 14), but the type seems to have had a long life.

4.—Bronze penannular brooch with knobbed terminals. See above, p. 134, Fig. 56, No. 4.

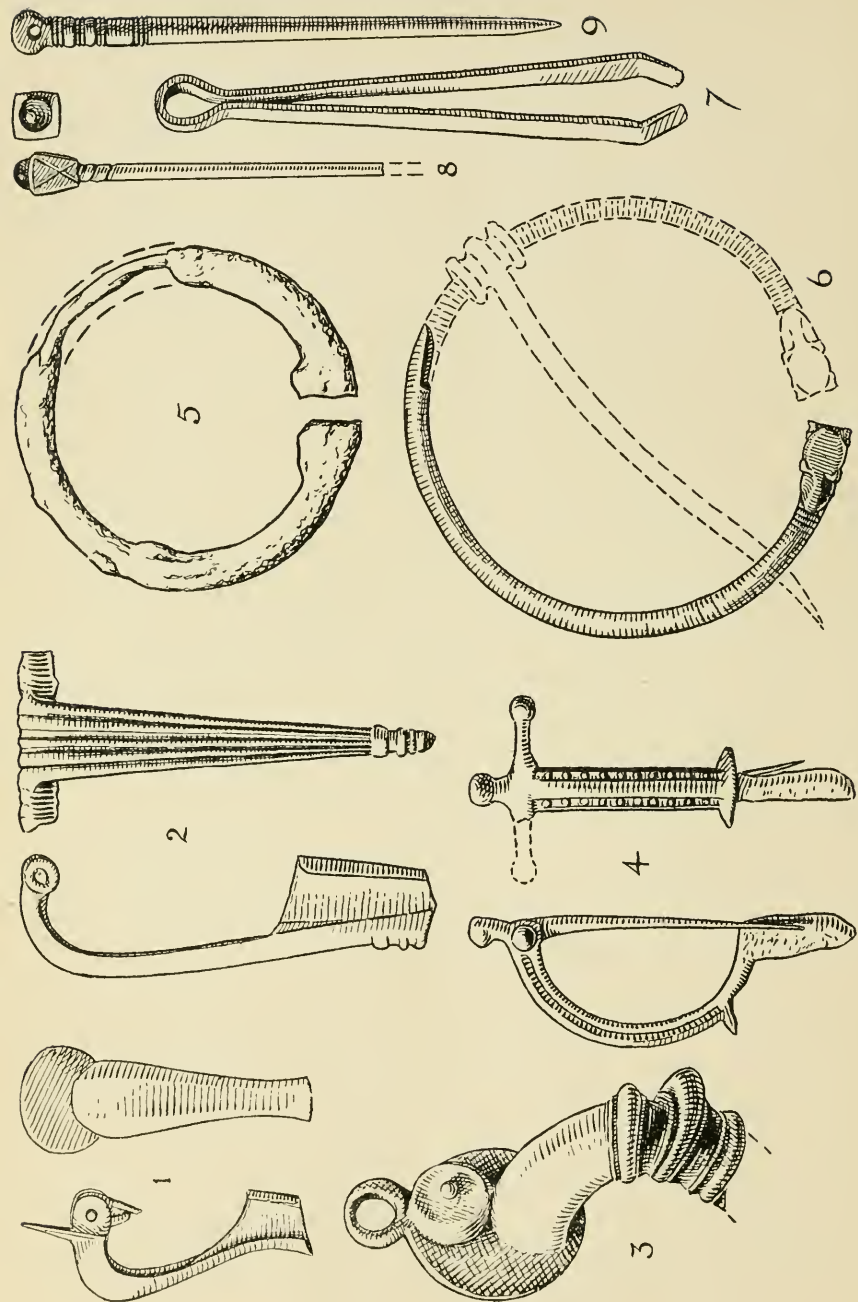


Fig. 58. Objects of metal found within the fort. (+)

FIG. 58.

(All found within the fort).

1.—Bronze “knee-fibula.” Head flattened out to form an oval plate, covering two circular side-plates to which an iron rivet attaches a spring with (apparently) a single coil on each side of the pin; solid catch-plate. This type is commonly found on second-century sites, especially Antonine, but lasts into the beginning of the third century. See *Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, XLIX., p. 166, for examples; also *Arch. Aeliana*, 3rd series), V., p. 98 (Corbridge).

2.—Bronze fibula, with traces of tinning. Ribbed bow tapering towards moulded foot; ribbed cylindrical cross-bar to hold hinged pin; solid catch-plate. Cf. *Wroxeter Report*, 1914, Pl. XV., 4, dated 80-120 A.D.

3.—Part of a large bronze fibula. Head flattened to form circular plate with loop; under the face of the plate are two cylindrical sockets for a hinged pin; rivetted to the back of the plate is a large stud, probably a survival from the large rivet which on earlier types held the hook retaining the loop of the spring (see *Brit. Mus. Roman Britain Guide*, p. 54). The broken bow has central mouldings, except on the under side, which is flat; a feature which seems to be later than the continuous moulding (*ibidem*). Date uncertain, but probably late second or early third century.

4.—Bronze “cross-bow” fibula, formerly gilt. Bow has rounded central ridge between grooves, enriched by small bosses or studs, and at the base a rudimentary disc-like expansion. Cf. *B.M. Rom. Brit. Guide*, p. 58, Fig. 68, attributed to the third century.

5.—Iron penannular brooch with flattened terminals; pin missing.

6.—Part of bronze penannular brooch, with engraved transverse lines on the front surface, smooth back, and zoomorphic terminals. Eleven similar brooches have been listed by Mr. Reginald Smith as the “Welsh” type in two valuable papers on the evolution of the penannular brooch, *Archæologia*, LXV. (1913-14), p. 266, and *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 1914-15, p. 97.¹²⁷ The recorded examples come from Kent, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Warwickshire, Derbyshire, Midlothian, Wigtownshire, Ireland, and two from Wales. Of the Welsh examples, one is in the Caerwent collection in the

¹²⁷ See also the *British Museum Guide to Anglo-Saxon Antiquities* (1923), pp. 133 ff.

Newport (Mon.) Museum (Fig. 59); ¹²⁸ and the other, from Porth Dafarch on Holyhead Island, is in the British Museum (*Arch.* LXV., Pl. XXV. 1). Before the typological development of the brooch had been studied, the zoomorphic terminals of the type suggested the Viking period (*e.g.*, *V.C.H. Berkshire*, I. p. 247), and the motive is certainly un-Roman. In his *Archæologia* paper, Mr. Smith put back the dating to "the latter part of the fifth century." It is increasingly probable, however, that this dating is still a century or even two centuries too late for the origin of the type. The Porth Dafarch specimen was found close to an occupation-floor which yielded Roman pottery, including a piece of second-century Samian, and the Segontium specimen, though not found in a sealed deposit, would

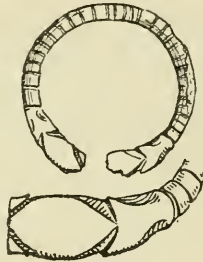


Fig. 60.

Bronze penannular brooch from Caersws Montgomeryshire ($\frac{1}{1}$);
and restored detail of same brooch ($\frac{2}{1}$).

naturally be included with the Roman objects of which the surrounding soil was full. The Caerwent example is less determinative since that site was occupied well into the fifth century and later. But the most significant piece of evidence is that of a small specimen of identical type from Caersws (Fig. 60), where Professor Bosanquet's extensive excavations failed to reveal any trace of occupation later than the third century. Provisionally, therefore, we may assign the origin of the type to the third century, without prejudice to its duration. At the same time, several of the

¹²⁸ I am indebted to the Curator of the Newport (Mon.) Corporation Museum for permission to publish this brooch.

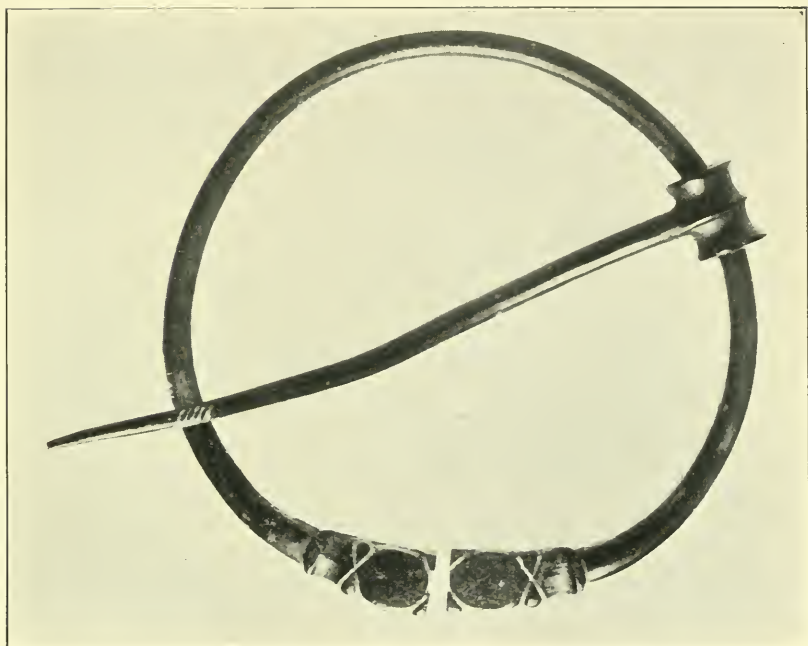


Fig. 59. Bronze brooch from Caerwent. (+)

To face p. 138.

specimens are so closely similar as to suggest a common (and contemporary) origin.

7.—Bronze forceps, of usual type.

8.—Bronze pin with squared head and inset bead of blue glass. A fragment of another similar pin was found.

9.—Pin of tinned bronze, with eyelet and moulded head.

FIG. 61.

10.—Hinged clasp of bronze with filling of blue and green enamel; from the mid-fourth century floor of the Commandant's House, Room 5. A fairly common type; e.g., *Novesium*, Pl. XXX., 66; O.R.L., XXXII (Kastell Zugmantel), Pl. X., 48.

11.—Bone toggle, from the mid-fourth century floor of Guardroom B, north-west gateway. Such toggles, sometimes ornamented, have been found on other Roman sites, as Caerwent (in the Newport, Mon., Museum).

12.—Leaden bullet, probably one of the *glandes* or "acorns" of which examples occur on early sites. It was found in the lowest (first-century) level of the commandant's house. Cf. G. Macdonald, *Journal of Roman Studies*, ix., p. 134 (Birrenswark). After the first century, leaden bullets seem for the most part to have given place to stone balls, of which several were found in the fort. Leaden bullets were still in use, however, under the Middle Empire; at the battle of Tinurtium in 197 A.D. Septimius Severus was thought to have been killed by a ball of lead (*ictu plumbæ*), according to the *Historia Augusta, Severus*, XI., 2.

13.—Bronze buckle Cf. O.R.L. XXV. (Kastell Feldberg), Pl. VI., 13, similar types at Niederberg, Saalburg, Stockstadt, etc.

14, 15.—Bronze clasps, the former, apparently unfinished, from a mid-fourth century floor in the commandant's house. Compare examples from Corbridge, *Arch. Acliana* (3rd Series), V., p. 105; and from Zugmantel, O.R.L. XXXII., Pl. X., 76, and p. 89.

16.—Bronze hook, with attachment and imperfect diaper-work.

17.—Bronze object, pierced for attachment, and ornamented with a rough representation of a horse's head.

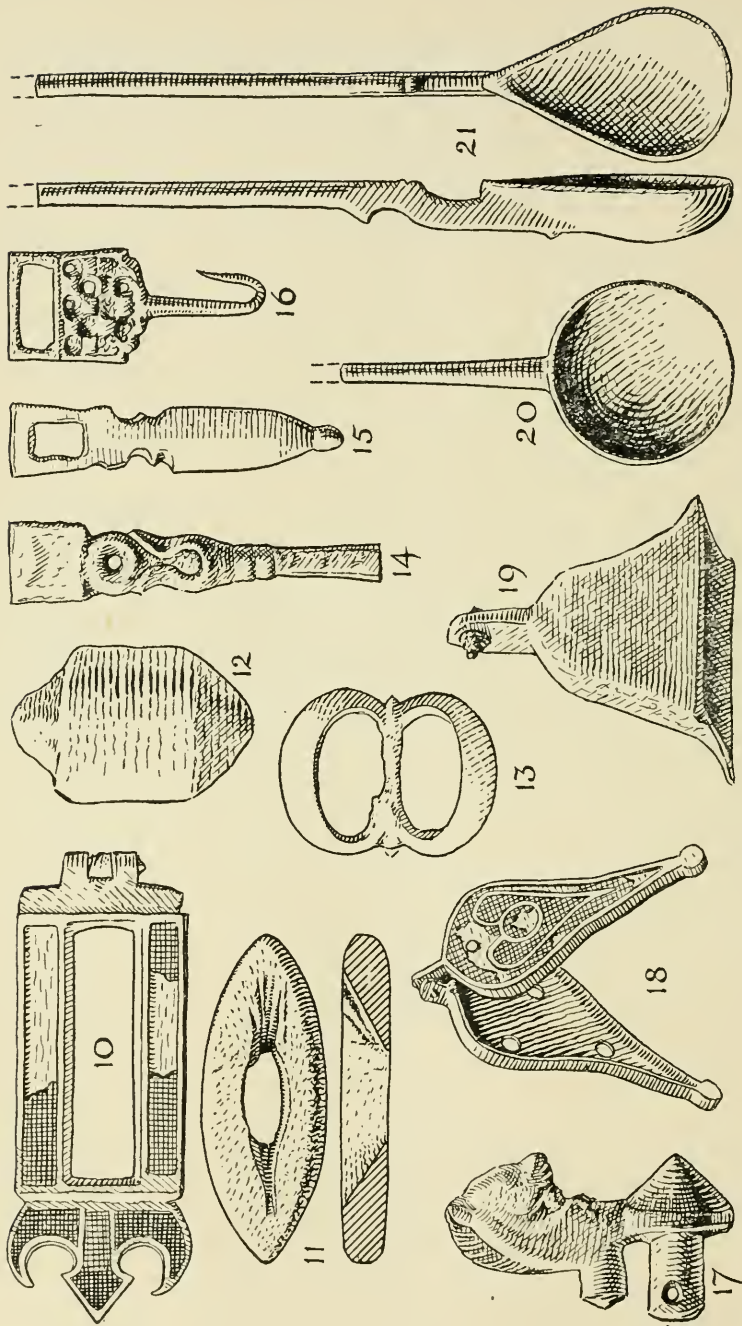
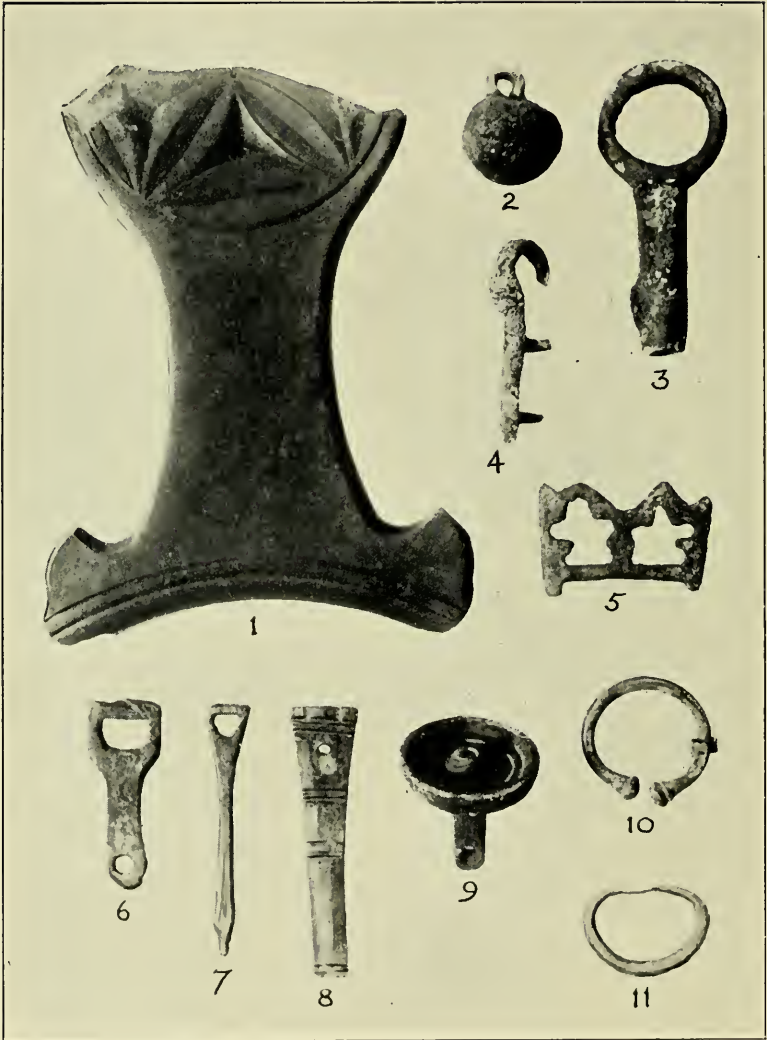


Fig. 61. Objects of metal and bone found within the fort.
 (All but except No. 11, which is $\frac{1}{2}$).



To face p. 141.

Fig. 62. Objects of shale and metal found within the fort (3)

18.—Seal-box, with heart-shaped pattern and traces of green enamel; found under the slate floor of the cellar in the prætorium, therefore not later than *circa* 230 A.D.

19.—Bronze bell; oblong base with concave sides; clapper missing. Such bells were probably attached to harness. They are fairly common on Roman sites. Cf. T. May, *The Roman Forts at Templebrough*, Pl. XVI. 15; Jacobi, *Das Römerkastell Saalburg*, Pl. LIX. 13, 15.

20, 21.—Bronze spoons, with traces of tinning. Circular and fig-shaped bowls respectively. No. 20 is from the second (early second-century) floor of the commandant's house, room 9; and No. 21 is from the penultimate (probably third-century) floor of room 5 in the same building.

FIG. 62.

1.—Shale handle of patella,—See below, p. 145 and Fig. 69, 1.

2.—Plummet of lead, with bronze ring.

3.—Bronze key.

4.—Bronze attachment, perhaps from a sword scabbard. On such attachments, see Haverfield, *Corbridge Report*, 1911, p. 70.

5.—Ornamented bronze of uncertain use.

6—8.—Bronze attachments of a type common on military sites. They may in some cases have been ornamental terminals from harness or girdles. See Curle, *Newstead*, p. 301.

9.—Bronze stud; one of several found. The use of these studs is uncertain, but they are commonly included, *faute de mieux*, amongst "harness-fittings."

10.—Penannular bronze brooch. See above, p. 134 and Fig. 56, No. 4.

11.—Bronze ear-ring of common type.

FIG. 63.

Bronze chatelaine, found probably just outside the fort, but the exact spot is unknown. Mr. Harold Hughes (*Arch. Camb.*, 1910, p. 324) notes that "there are signs of enamel in the sinkings in the cross-bar attached to the loop for suspension. From the rod below the cross-bars are suspended tweezers and two small instruments. The spring in the metal of the tweezers is still strong. The two objects shown on the right are ornamented with spiral sinkings,

while on the face of the tweezers are small panels containing cross-hatching.”

FIG. 64.

Iron sword with bone and ivory hilt, stated to have been found in March, 1879 in “the new road through the Vaynol estate, near the Vicarage, at the top of the hill.” This was presumably Segontium Road South, but the exact spot is uncertain. The sword is now preserved at University College, Bangor.¹²⁹ It measures 2 feet $7\frac{3}{16}$ inches over all; the length of the blade below the guard is $19\frac{1}{16}$ inches. The blade, which is much decayed, may have been very slightly leaf-shaped. The pommel and guard are of ivory, the former circular and the latter oval in section. The iron tang is encased by a grip of bone, of a somewhat angular oval section, and is bound against the pommel by a bronze or copper band. The grip had at least three horizontal grooves which, with the bronze band at the pommel, took the fingers, whilst the thumb may have been bent over them or may have been provided for by a second bronze band below the guard. The sword is of normal Roman type, save that the band (or bands) are an unusual feature. Cf. the “sword of Tiberius” in the British Museum; and Lindenschmidt, *Altert. uns. heidn. Vorz.*, IV., Pl. 27, 1 and 3; *Mainzer Zeitschrift XII-XIII.*, pp. 175 ff.; O.R.L. VI. *Waldmössingen*, Pl. III. 3.

FIG. 65.

Objects of iron were in a very bad state of preservation. The following are representative:—

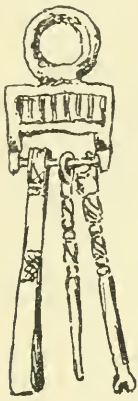
1.—Iron spearhead; found in the fourth-century floor of the sacellum in the prætorium. Socket not cleft.

2.—Iron ferrule, probably for butt-end of spear; found in floor IV. of the cellar in the sacellum (mid fourth-century).

3—4.—Iron knives. No. 3 was found with the late third-century coin-hoard in the cellar of the prætorium.

5—6.—Two of the large iron nails which were found

¹²⁹ H. Harold Hughes and E. Neil Baynes, *Arch. Camb.* 1910. pp. 324, 411; and subsequent information from Mr. Harold Hughes, whose drawing is here reproduced.



H.H.

Fig. 63. Bronze chatelaine, found outside the fort.



H.H.

Fig. 64. Sword found outside the fort. (1/4)

plentifully in the first-century strata of the commandant's house and the *prætorium*. They were evidently used extensively in the original timber buildings of the fort.

7.—Deer-horn knife-handle, with projecting iron tang.

8—9.—Iron arrow-heads. No. 8 is flat, with a small cleft socket. No. 9, found below the slate floor of the cellar (early third century) is cone-shaped and squared in section towards the point.

10.—Iron hook.

11.—Iron tool, possibly an auger. *Cf.* Curle, *Newstead*, Pl. LIX., 14.

12—13.—Iron keys. No. 13 was found in the penultimate (probably third-century) floor of the Room 5 in the commandant's house.

FIG. 66.

14.—Iron knife found in a pit in building XVII., with coins ranging from the Tetricus period to *c.* 350. (See footnote 130).

15.—Iron head of arrow or javelin.

16.—Iron stylus found inside the fort.

17—19.—Iron styli found outside the fort in the 1920 excavations.

20.—Bronze pin or probe, or possibly ear-pick. *Cf.* *Wroxeter Report*, 1913, Fig. 5, No. 8 (1920).

21.—Bronze pliers, with sliding band (1920).

22.—Bronze spatula (1920).

23.—Iron hoe, with bronze band, found in the filling of the outer fort ditch (1920). *Cf.* Curle, *Newstead*, Pl. LXI., 9.

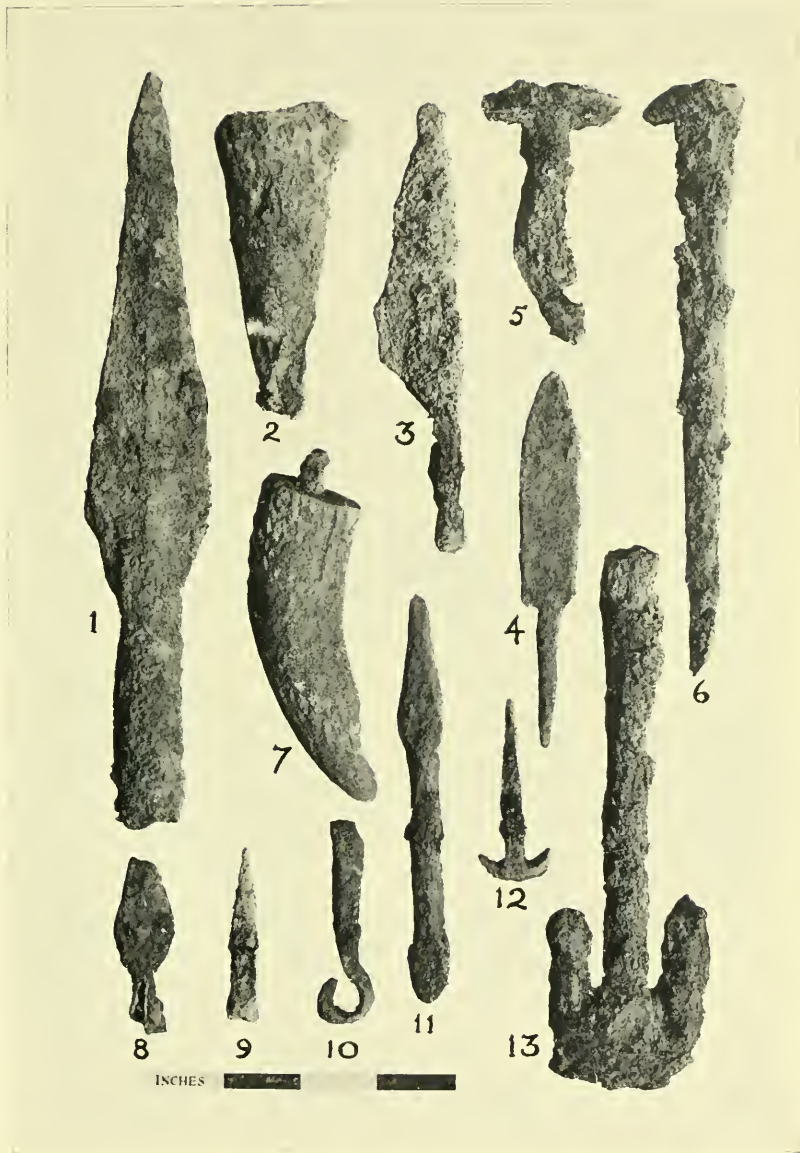
24.—Iron knife, with loop in handle (1920).

FIG. 67.

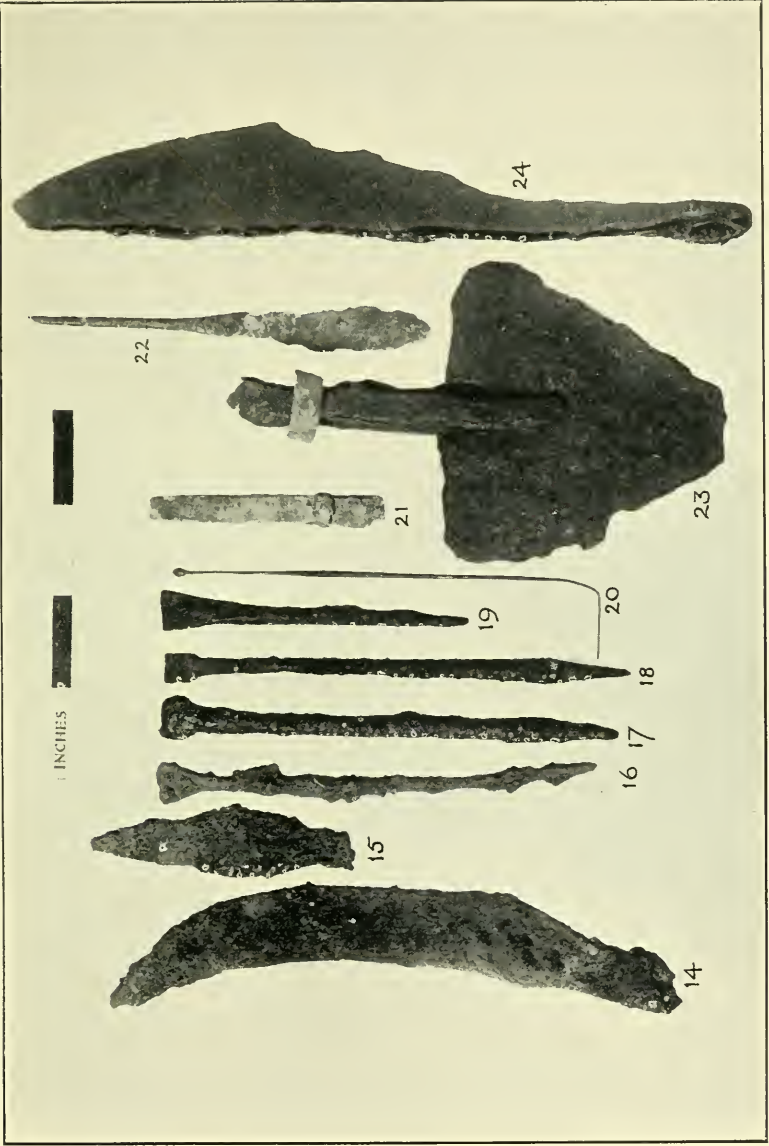
Bronze cupid, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, found in 1893 during the building of houses on the north side of Constantine Road, outside the fort (site-plan, Fig. 1, site 6). *Arch. Camb.*, 1894, p. 77; W. Bezant Lowe, *Heart of Northern Wales*, 1912, p. 133. The figure is now in the collection of Mr. Charles A. Jones, C.B.E., of Bron Hendre, Carnarvon.

FIG. 68.

Statuette, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches high, of solid lead, found outside the fort, about 100 yards from the south-west gate. The subject is uncertain; a putto holding a baton, possibly part of a torch, as S. Reinach, *Repertoire de la statuaire*, III., p. 128, No. 7.



To face p. 144.
Fig. 65. Objects of iron and horn found within the fort.



To face p. 144.
Fig. 66. Objects of metal: 14-16 found inside the fort; 17-24 found outside.



To face p. 144.

Fig. 67. Bronze cupid found outside the fort. (±)



To face p. 144.
Fig. 68. Lead cupid found outside the fort. (!)

XIX. OBJECTS OF SHALE.

FIG. 69.

1.—Handle of *patella* or saucepan, of Kimmeridge shale, found in a pit in building XVII. The pit contained ten coins, ranging from Tetricus period to c. 350 A.D.¹³⁰ The handle is of normal shape, but both the material and the decoration are of unusual interest. The ornament consisted of a cinquefoil within a circle, and the technique is that commonly known as “Kerbschnitt” or chip-carving. This technique, derived obviously from wood-carving, has been applied to the shale with precision and skill. It suggests analogies with Anglo-Saxon rather than with Roman art, and the statement has indeed been made that “the application of this method [*i.e.*, chip-carving] demonstrates more than almost anything else the Germanic feeling lying at the back of the designs thus executed, for the technique is quite foreign to classical art as a whole, while it is on all fours with the employment of timber for architectural purposes among the Teutonic tribes.”¹³¹ If this statement is to be pressed literally, however, we must recognize (as indeed we may) a Germanic influence in Roman provincial carving at least as early as the Antonine period, since an altar from Newstead is decorated in “Kerbschnitt” with a band of stiff foliage pattern consisting of the same elements as of those of this shale handle.¹³² A closer analogy to the cinquefoil pattern is to be found in the sexfoils which frequently decorate the volutes of altars and, from the second century onwards, are sometimes rendered in this technique. A good example from Aesica (Great Chesters) is undated,¹³³ but one from Stockstadt, on the German Limes, is of A.D. 167,¹³⁴ and others from the same Limes (*e.g.*, Böckingen and Gross-Krotzenburg) are not later than the middle of the third century. The simple and effective, if limited, technique appealed to the provincial

¹³⁰ The coins were: 1-3, Tetrici; 4-6, Tetricus period; 7, Consecration coin of Constantius Chlorus (c. 306-7); 8, Constantine I; 9, Constantine II as Caesar (minted 324-6); 10, Fragment of c. 340-50.

¹³¹ E. Thurlow Leeds, *The Archaeology of the Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, p. 31.

¹³² Curle, *Newstead*, Pl. xviii, 1.

¹³³ *Arch. Ael.* (N.S.) xxiv, p. 58.

¹³⁴ *O.R.L.* Lieferung xxxiii, Pl. xii, 2. It is of interest to contrast this altar with others of the same date and type but rendered in the traditional classical technique—*Ib.*, Pl. xii, 3 and 5.

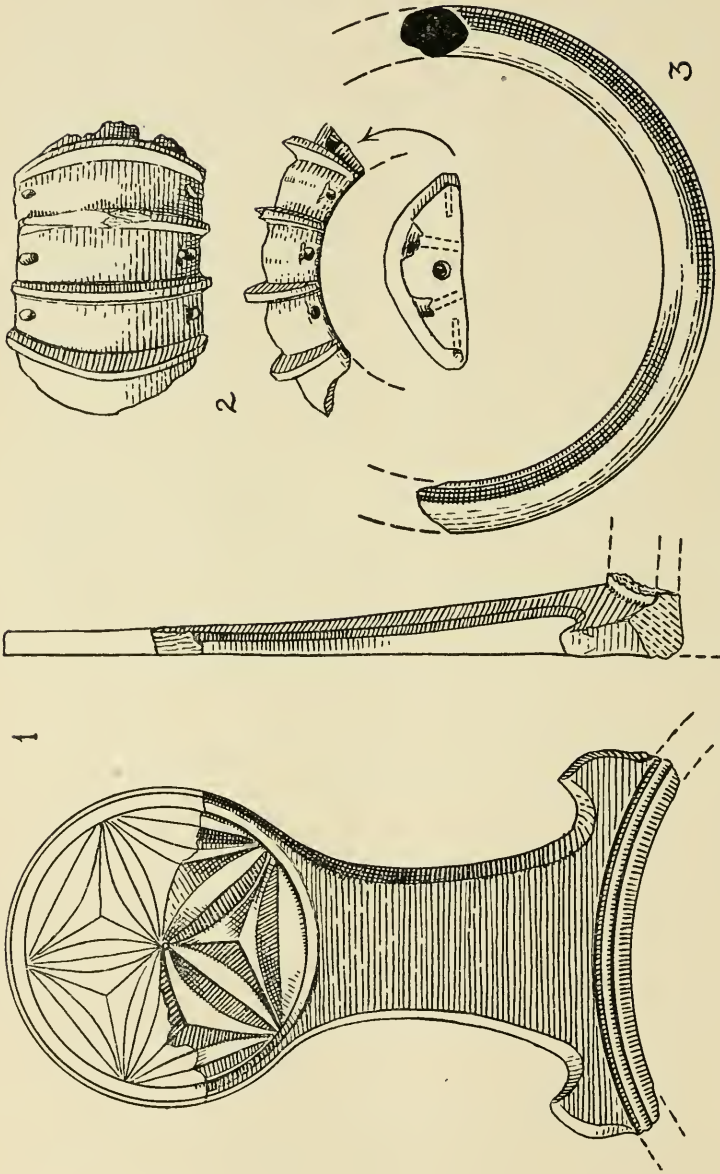


Fig. 69. Objects of shale found within the fort. (87)

stone-cutter of the later Empire and is found, perhaps more appropriately, on Frankish gravestones in the Rhineland.¹³⁵ In metal, the influence of the same technique can be traced to some extent in fourth and fifth-century work, as in the Coleraine hoard (with coins of Honorius), and was elaborated in post-Roman metalwork of Anglo-Saxon or Frankish origin. It is excessively rarely, however, that an example in wood, or, as in the present instance, in a material approximating to wood, has survived to illustrate the technique in its natural setting.

2.—Fragment of shale bracelet of unusual pattern, found in the fourth-century floor of the "cross-hall" of the *prætorium*. It is ribbed, and has diagonal piercings, one between each pair of ribs, close to the outer edge on both sides, but only on one side are these piercings carried completely through. One end is broken; the other is complete, and has two vertical piercings and, in the centre of the section, a lateral hole or small socket, probably to take a peg or tenon to hold the missing half of the bracelet. The lateral piercings suggest that the bracelet was attached to a sleeve, and, if so, the incomplete piercings on the opposite side were presumably added for the sake of symmetry.

3.—Fragmentary shale bracelet of normal type, found in the same layer as the late third-century hoard at the foot of the cellar steps in the *sacellum*.

XX. POTTERY.—(A) POTTERS' STAMPS.

(i). *On Samian found inside the Fort.*

1.—BVT[RIO]. Form 27. Butrio; Lezoux. Period of Trajan.

2.—CELSIANI[M]. Form 33. Celsianus; little is known about this potter, but Mr. A. G. K. Hayter points out to me that the distribution of his wares suggests a Central or East Gaulish origin. (See May, *Silchester Pottery*, p. 212; and C.I.L., xiii., 10010, 520).

3.—CERIALI-MA. Early form 31, poor glaze. Cerialis seems to have worked at Lezoux during the early years of the second century, and then to have moved to the Rhine (Heiligenberg, Rhein Zabern), where he or his firm continued

¹³⁵ *e.g.* at Leutersdorf; *Prov. Mus. Bonn, Röm.u. frank. skulpt.* ii, Pl. xxxvii, 4.

until 150 A.D. or later. (May, *Silchester Pottery*, p. 212; Oswald and Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, p. 109, etc.).

4.—CESORINI. Form 18/31, fine fabric with brilliant glaze. Probably the Censorinus who worked at Lezoux about the time of Trajan.

5.—GER[MANI].—Form 18. Germanus of La Graufesenque; Nero-Flavian.

6.—[L]OCVRN OF. Form 18 or 18/31. Logurnus, presumably the Logernus or Logirinus of other stamps. La Graufesenque.

7.—MACRINI. Form 33. The name Maerinus probably represents more than one potter. Period: Trajan-Antonine. (References in May, *Silchester Pottery*, p. 231).

8.—MAR. . . . Form 33. Uncertain which of several potters, who worked principally in East Gaul and Germany between the period of Trajan and that of the Antonines.

9.—MO[X]S[IVS]. Form 18/31. Lezoux; Domitian-Trajan.

10.—[PA]TERATI OF. Form 18 or 18/31. Pateratus; nothing is known about this potter, save that his stamp occurs at Castlecary on the Antonine Wall (as recorded by May, *Silchester Pottery*, p. 244—not in the original Castlecary report). If the stamp is not there a survival from the Agricola period, the wares of this potter must have lasted as late as the Antonines. The fine fabric and early form of the Segontium dish, however, are certainly not later than the first century.

11.—[R]VFI[. Form 18. Presumably Rufinus of La Graufesenque and Montans, about the time of Vespasian (Knorr).

12.—OF SABIN[I]. Form 18/31. Sabinus; a potter or firm of this name worked in Gaul before 79 A.D., and afterwards on the Rhine. This specimen is probably not later than the end of the first century. (May, *Silchester Pottery*, p. 254; Oswald and Pryce, p. 59).

13.—SCOPTI. Form 18/31. This stamp is apparently new; it is quite clear.

14.—[S]EVER. Form 29. Severus; La Graufesenque, Nero-Flavian.

15.—[S]EVI[. Form 18. Probably Severus.

16.—SVRDI M. Form 18 or 18/31. Surdus or Surdillus; probably of Lezoux or Martres de Veyre. The glaze and fabric suggest a date not later than the first century. Found in the "make-up" of clay, etc., upon which the earliest stone building XX. was founded.

17.—VITALISMSEF (I and T ligatured). Form 18 or 18/31. Vitalis M () S(ervus) f(ecit). Cf. *Wroxeter Report*, 1914, p. 51. Probably of La Graufesenque, second half of first century.

(ii). *On Samian found outside the Fort.*

18.—ANVNLM (reversed). Form 37; stamp on raised label in the decoration, which is in metopes and medallions of the style of Cinnamus. (C.J.)¹³⁶

19.—ALBV [. Form 27. Albus, a La Graufesenque potter, c. 80-100 A.D.

20.—ALBVCI.O[F] (AL and BV ligatured). Form 33. Lezoux; Hadrian-Antonine. (C.J.)

21.—OF.ATT (reversed). Form 37; stamp below the decoration, which is in free style (lions, Déch. 793, 776, 748; goat, Déch. 892; serpent, Déch. 960 bis). Attius was a Lezoux potter; Trajan-Hadrian. May, *Silchester Pottery*, p. 204; Oswald and Pryce, p. 106. (C.J.)

22.—[A]VCIILLAM. Form 31. The potter Aucella is unknown save that the name occurs at Astwick, Beds., in a group dated about A.D. 140-160. (C.J.)

23.—[CIN]NAMI (reversed). Form 37; stamp in decoration, which is of "large scroll" type. Similar to No. 24. This well-known Lezoux potter flourished from 120/130 to 160/170 A.D. (C.J.)

24.—CINNAMI (reversed). Form 37. See Fig. 73, No. 48.¹³⁷

25.—COBNIO[.] Form 30; raised letters in decoration, which consists of a Mercury like Déch. 299 (La Graufesenque). The stamp is not known, unless it be a variant of Cobnertus, such as COBNE(RTI) O[F]. Late first or early second century. (C.J.)

26.—COSIRVF. Form 27. Cosius Rufus, a La Graufesenque potter of late first and early second-century date.

27.—DACOMA. Form 18. Dagomarus was a potter of the Allier district; late first and early second century. May, *Silchester Pottery*, p. 218. (C.J.)

¹³⁶ C.J.=in the collection of Mr. Charles A. Jones, C.B.E., at Bron Hendre, Carnarvon. Thanks are due to Mr. Jones for every assistance in preparing this and other lists. I am also indebted to Mr A. G. K. Hayter for the use of his notes.

¹³⁷ A third stamp of Cinnamus is probably represented by the ligatured OF on Fig. 72, No. 41.

28.—DIARRIM. Form 27. Apparently the only recorded occurrence of this stamp in Britain; found at Hofen, near Canstatt, at Nîmes (on a handled vessel), and at Tarragona. (*C.J.*)

29?—DRVSVS F. Form 37. See Fig. 74, No. 55. Fragmentary inscription below decoration from graffito on mould. Drusus (if such be the name) was a Lezoux potter of early second-century date. The sherd was found with a coin of Titus (A.D. 97-8).

30.—LAXTVCISF.—Form 33. Laxtueissa, a Lezoux potter of late first and early second-century date. May, *Silchester Pottery*, p. 228; Bushe-Fox, *Wroxeter Report*, 1913, p. 30. (*C.J.*)

31.—MAC [RINI]. Form 37; raised letters in decoration. Maerinus, a La Graufesenque potter of late first or early second-century date.

32.—[ME]⊕ILLVS. Form 29; stamp inside on base. La Graufesenque; Flavian period. (*C.J.*)

33.—[ME]⊕ILLVS. Form 29.

34.—MOXXIM. Form 27. Moxius, probably a South Gaulish potter of late first and early second-century date.

35.—OF PATRI. Form 18 or 18/31. Patricius was a La Graufesenque potter who may later have moved to East Gaul. Last quarter of first century. See May, *Silchester Pottery*, p. 246.

36.—PAVLLIM. Form 33. (*C.J.*)

37.—PAVLVSM. Form 27. Paullus, a La Graufesenque potter; Claudius-Domitian. (*C.J.*)

(iii). *On Coarse Pottery.*

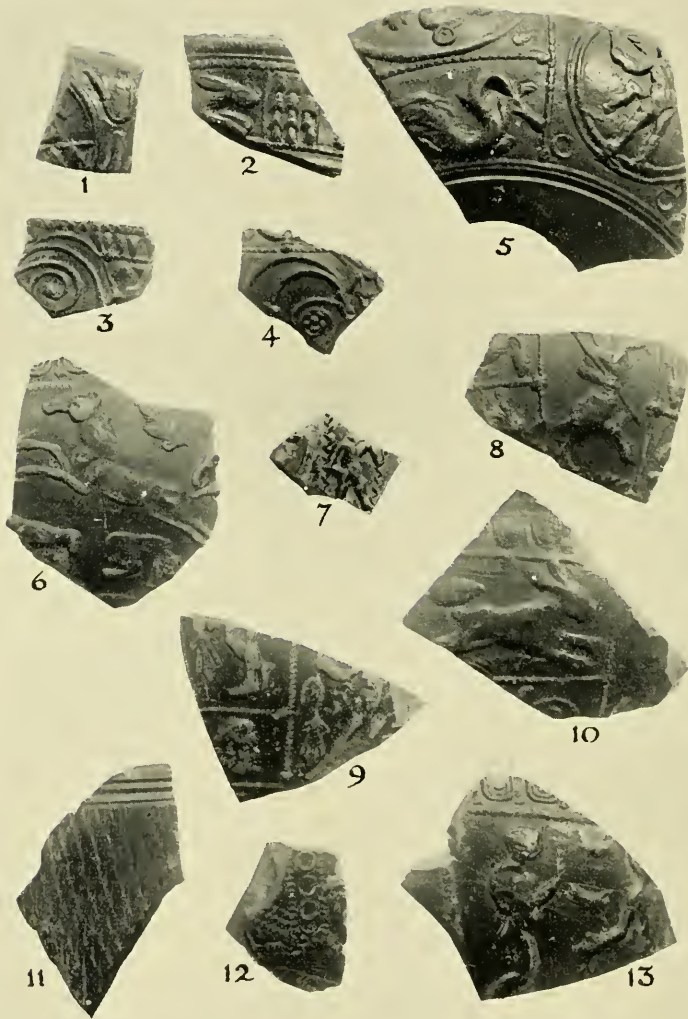
1.—ALBINV[S]. On mortarium, type 38 of *Wroxeter Report* 1912, dated 80-110 A.D. Albinus apparently worked at Lyons. Found outside the fort (1920).

2.—BRCO. On mortarium. See Fig. 76, No. 23. Early second century. Found in north-west guardroom of north-east gateway.

3.—CRES. On mortarium similar to No. 1. Found outside the fort (1920) with fragments of Samian 29 and early 37.

4.—LSP.BO. On amphora handle. Found outside the fort. (*C.J.*)

5.—MATVG FECIT. On mortarium of *Wroxeter* type 38, dated 80-110 A.D. (*Wroxeter Report* 1912, pp. 66 and 68).



To face p. 151.

Fig. 70. Samian pottery found within the fort. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

The mortarium is illustrated in *Arch. Camb.* 1894, p. 76. Found outside the fort. (C.J.)

6.—Q.I.CSEG. On amphora handle. Q(VINTVS) I(VLI) C() SEG(OLATI SERVVS). Similar stamp found on Monte Testaccio (*C.I.L.* XV. 2925) and there dated not later than Pius. Other examples in Gaul (*C.I.L.* XIII., 10002. 258).

(B) DECORATED SAMIAN POTTERY.

FIG. 70.

(All found within the fort.)

1.—Form 29. Tendril; and small medallion divided horizontally with animal in upper half and "arrowhead" pattern in lower half.

2.—Form 29. Upper Frieze, panelled: (i) rabbit (Knorr, *Terra-Sigillata*,¹³⁸ Pl. 82, 5; (ii) four rows, each of three "arrowheads."

3.—Form 29. From lowest level of commandant's house. Small tendril, arrowhead pattern, rosette.

4.—Form 37. Small tendril, with "lotus leaf" and terminal rosette. La Graufesenque fabrie and glaze; not later than Flavian.

5.—Form 37. Panels and medallions: (i) panel containing medallion enclosing dolphin r., Déchelette¹³⁹ 1050 (ADVOCISUS, CINNAMUS, PATERNUS, etc.); below dolphin, a small ring and in spandrel a reel, Déch. 1111; (ii) dolphin l., Déch. 1052 (DECIMANUS, PATERNUS, SERVUS; (iii) medallion containing cupid, Déch. 265 (ALBUCIUS, LIBERTUS, PATERNUS, etc.); rings in spandrels. Period: Hadrian-Antonine; good fabrie and design suggest the earlier reign.

6.—Form 37. Small bowl. Free style: horse l., Déch. 905 (ALBUCIUS, CALETUS, CENSORINUS, CINNAMUS); vine leaf; hindquarters of animal, possibly lion; hindquarters of bear; hare l., Déch. 950 A (CINNAMUS, DOECCUS, ILIXO, LALUS, QUINTILIANUS). Period: Trajan-Antonine.

7.—Form 37. Small panel flanked by vertical zigzags and containing small gladiator similar to Déch. 614. Very fine fabrie. Period: late first century.

8.—Form 37. Panel decoration: (i) part of small

¹³⁸ Knorr, *Töpfer und Fabriken verzierter Terra-Sigillata des ersten Jahrhunderts.*

¹³⁹ Déchelette, *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule romaine.*

wreath-medallion, with leaf (or bunch of grapes) in spandrel; (ii) uncertain; (iii) Pan r., Déch. 416; (iv) and (v) similar to (i) and (ii). Cf. Oswald and Pryce, ¹⁴⁰ Pl. XVI., 2 (Bregenz cellar find). Period: Trajan.

9.—Form 37. Panel decoration: (i) part of a figure (? Apollo) standing l., perhaps Déch. 55 (ACASTUS); tendril in field; (ii) mask, Déch. 694 (LIBERTUS); (iii) ? cupid, Déch. 265 (ALBUCINUS, BANNUS, LASTUCA, LIBERTUS, PATERNUS); tendril in field. Period: *circa* Trajan.

10.—Form 37. Panel decoration: (i) hare r., variant of Déch. 940; tendril and grass tuft in field; (ii) small tendril; (iii) part of human figure. Good fabric. Period: late first or early second century.

11.—Form 30. "Engine-turned" pattern.

12.—Form 37. Panel decoration: (i) part of triple-beaded diagonal band and arrowhead pattern; (ii) narrow vertical panel of rings flanked by beaded lines; (iii) ? hind legs of small animal. Possibly East Gaulish. Period: late first or early second century.

13.—Form 37. Small bowl. Large panel, with male figure r., Déch. 344 (AUSTRUS, DOECCUS, LIBERTUS) and figure l., possibly Déch. 342, with two leaves in field. Period: Trajan-Hadrian.

FIG. 71.

(All found within the fort.)

14.—Form 29. Upper frieze with part of panel containing arrowhead pattern; lower frieze with tendril, and small medallion containing griffin, Déch, 503A.

15.—Form 37. Transitional decoration: band of straight godroons. Period: last quarter of first century.

16.—Form 29.—Found in lowest stratum of commandant's house. Part of festoon containing bird r., similar to Déch. 1009.

17.—Form 37 (probably). Transitional decoration: band of S-shaped godroons. Period: last quarter of first century.

18.—Form 37. Found in lowest stratum of commandant's house. Transitional decoration; band of festoons, (ii) of S-shaped godroons. Good fabric. Period: last quarter of first century.

19.—Form 37. Transitional decoration: bands of (i)

¹⁴⁰ F. Oswald and T. D. Pryce, *Terra-Sigillata* (1920).

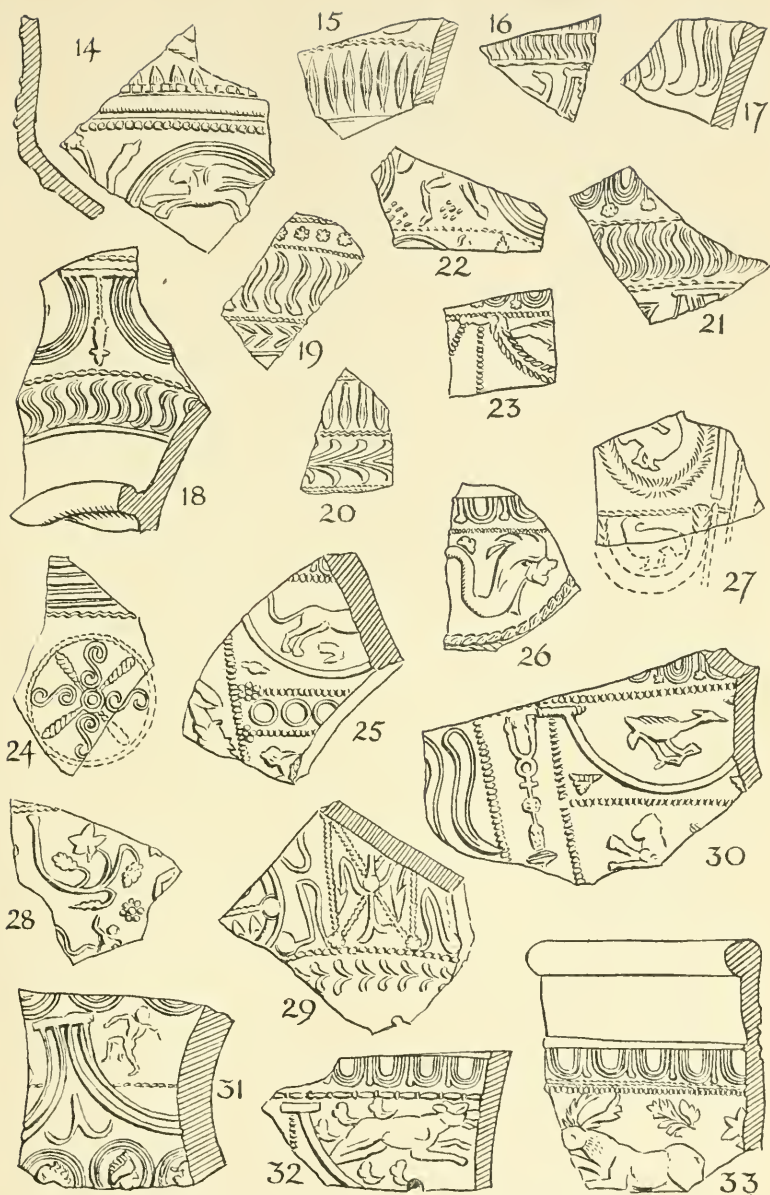


Fig. 71. Samian pottery found within the fort. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

rosettes, (ii) S-shaped godroons, (iii) straight wreath. Period: last quarter of first century.

20.—Form 37. Transitional decoration: bands of (i) straight godroons, (ii) straight wreath. Period: last quarter of first century.

21.—Form 37. Small bowl. Transitional decoration: bands of (i) S-shaped godroons, (ii) festoons, probably enclosing small birds. La Graufesenque fabric. Period: Flavian.

22.—Form 37. Transitional decoration: narrow frieze containing fragments of two festoons or small medallions flanking a small gladiator, possibly Déch. 597; two rosettes in the field. Good fabric. Period: last quarter of first century.

23.—Form 37. Found in lowest stratum of commandant's house. Transitional decoration: band of festoons, one enclosing a small bird. Good fabric. Period: Flavian.

24.—Form 37. Medallion containing double cruciform pattern, with alternate spirals and cable pattern. Apparently a new type. Perhaps East Gaulish and of early second-century date.

25.—Form 37. Panel decoration: (i) part of a caryatid, possibly similar to Déch. 655; (ii) festoon containing lion, similar to Déch. 748; (iii) band of small discs. Period: *circa* Trajan.

26.—Form 37. Small bowl. Cabled festoon containing dolphin, Déch. 1050 (ADVOCISUS, BANNUS, CALETUS, PATERNUS, etc.). Period: Trajan-Antonine.

27.—Form 37. Small bowl. Two small panels, each with a festoon containing small bird, Déch. 1036. Style similar to that of the Bregenz cellar find. Period: Domitian-Trajan.

28.—Form 37. Apparently free-style decoration: below a beaded line, a vine tendril somewhat analogous to Déch. 1124; a beaded rosette; knee of a small human figure; part of a small cupid (?), perhaps similar to Knorr, *Terra-Sigillata*, Pl. 45, 1 (LICINVS). Vintage scenes with small amorini were popular with some of the East Gaulish potters, such as SATTO and SATVRNINVS. See Fölzer, *Östgallische Sigillata-Manufakturen*, Pl. V. Period: Domitian-Hadrian.

29.—Form 37. Transitional decoration: (i) tendrils and small medallion with "arrowhead" pattern; (ii) cruciform tendril pattern; (iii) probably as (i); below, a straight wreath. Period: last quarter of first century.

30.—Form 37. Small bowl. Small panels of various shapes (i) large S-shaped godroons; (ii) “floriated caduceus” or standard, variant of Déch. 1113A; (iii) festoon with “heron,” Déch. 1001 (Lezoux), and with leaf in each spandrel; (iv) lion, variant of Déch. 762. Style of the Bregenz cellar find. Period: not later than Trajan.

31.—Form 37. From a second-century floor in the commandant's house. Festoons with beaded exergues; in one festoon, a small dancing figure; above and below, bands of small medallions containing heads or masks. The disjointed ornamentation and the liberal use of masks and small medallions suggest East Gaulish or early German potters (e.g., CIRIVNA and the F-master of Heiligenburg). Period: *circa* Trajan-Hadrian.

32.—Form 37. Small bowl, formerly rivetted. Festoon containing dog similar to Déch. 910; the tail used as supplementary ornament in field. Good fabric. Period: late first or early second century.

33.—Form 30. Free-style decoration: stag, Déch. 873 (Lezoux). Period: probably early second century.

FIG. 72.

(34-38 found within the fort; 39-41 found outside it.)

34.—Form 37. Panels of various sizes: (i) Horse or stag, possibly Déch. 845; (ii) warrior standing, similar to Déch. 102; (iii) Apollo holding laurel, Déch. 55; (iv) lion (?) in medallion; (v) “cushion” pattern, somewhat similar to that used by VERECYNDVS; see Forrer *Terra-sigillata von Heiligenburg*, Pl. XXXI., 5. Style of Bregenz cellar find—perhaps slightly later. Period: Trajan-Hadrian.

35.—Form 37. Free-style decoration: (i) small stag, Déch. 860 (ALBVCIVS, BVTRIO, PATERNVS), (ii) bear, Déch. 810; (iii) fore feet of stag, possibly Déch. 854. Period: Trajan-Antonine.

36.—Form 37. Small panel: probably a caryatid, but somewhat similar to Déch. 369 (satyr holding basket on head). Period: *circa* Hadrian.

37.—Form 37. Panel decoration: (i) part of small tendril; (ii) victory holding palm, Déch. 475 (PATERNVS). Period: Hadrian-Antonine.

38.—Form 37. (i) Medallion containing seated man, Déch. 534 (ADVOCIVS); (ii) panel containing caryatid,

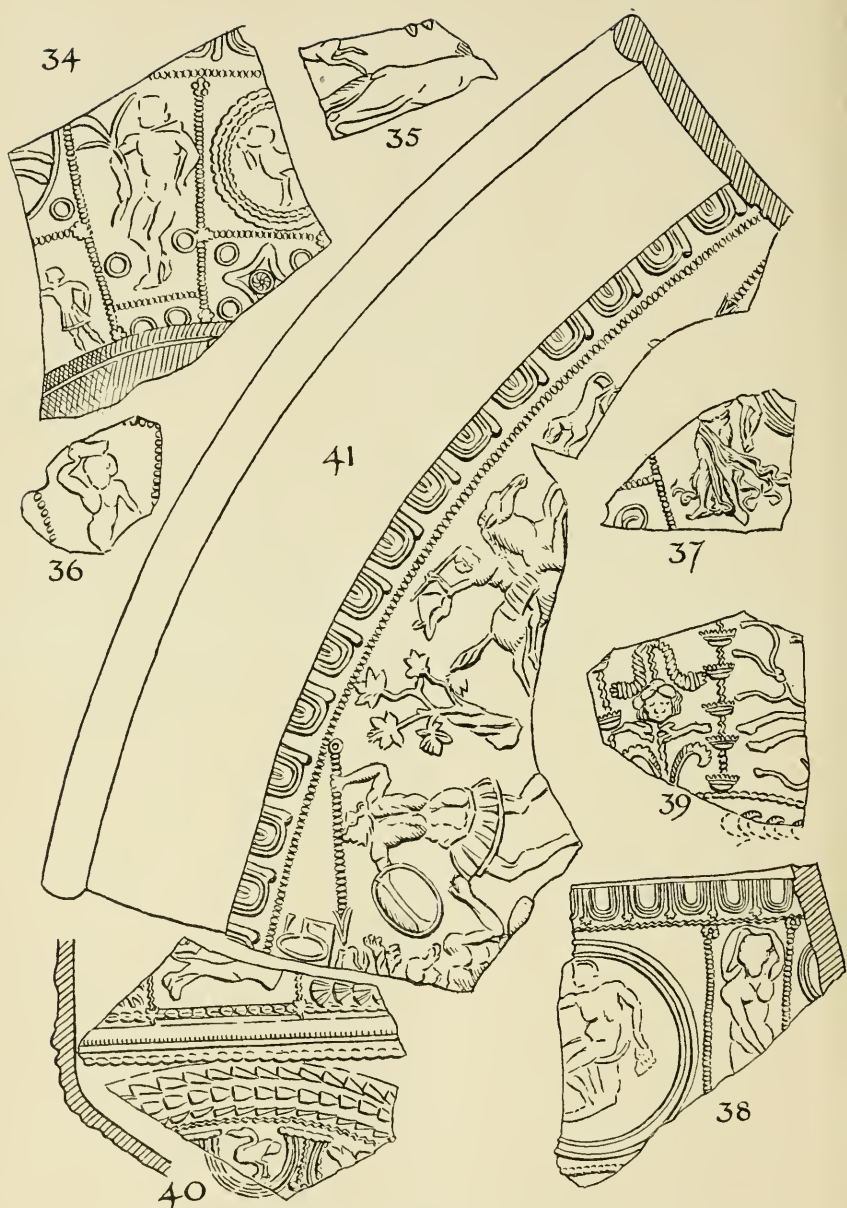


Fig. 72. Samian pottery: 34-38 found within the fort, 39-41 found outside. ($\frac{1}{2}$)

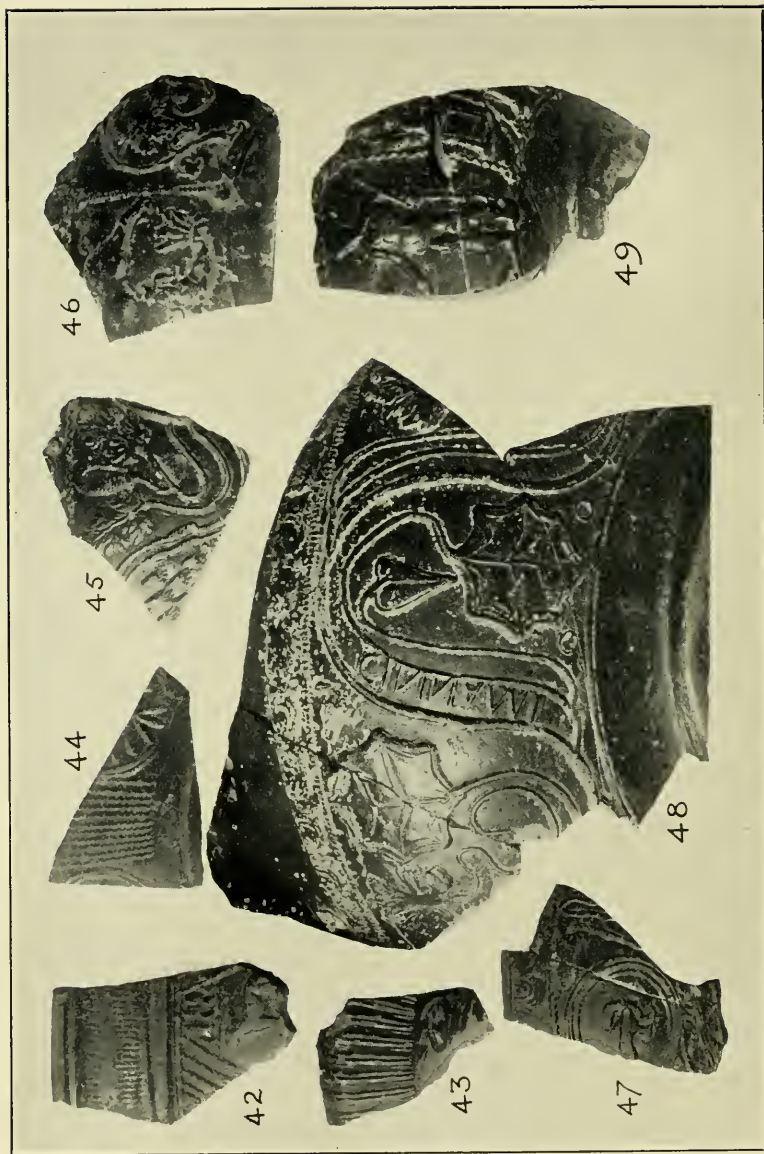


Fig. 73. Samian pottery found outside the fort. (3)

Déché. 655 (ADVOCISVS, CINNAMVS, LIBERTVS, etc.). Period : Hadrian-Antonine.

39.—Form 37. Fragment probably found outside the fort ; now in Carnarvon Public Library. (i) panel flanked by zigzag lines interrupted by crown-like objects apparently derived from acanthus leaves, such as Déché. 1160 : *cf.* Forrer, *Terra-Sigillata von Heiligenberg*, Pl. XXXV. 1 ; XXXI. 4 (VERECVNDVS, early second century) ; within the panel, a mask above minute dog and hare. (ii) Free tendrils and forelegs of horse. Below, a straight wreath. Probably East Gaulish work. Period : probably early second century.

40.—Form 29. * Found outside the fort, in the garden of Cae Mawr farmhouse, and presented by Mr. Robert Jones. Upper frieze : (i) panels, lion variant, *cf.* Knorr, *Terra-Sigillata*, Pl. 54, 5. Lower frieze : festoons containing birds.

41.—Form 37. Found outside north-west wall of fort, under the houses of Constantine Terrace ; now in the private collection of Mr. Charles A. Jones, of Bron Hendre, by whose courtesy it is published. Free-style decoration : (i) end of potter's stamp ————of (ligatured), almost certainly that of CINNAMVS ; (ii) warrior l. with shield and raised spear, a more nearly complete example of Déché. 86 ; (iii) tree with five branches, similar to Déché. 1141 (BANNVS, BVTRIO, TALVSSA) ; (iv) horseman galloping r., Déché. 156 (CINNAMVS, DOXIVS, LIBERTVS). Period : Hadrian-Antonine.

FIGS. 73—74.

(All found outside the fort during the 1920 excavations).

42.—Form 29. Diagonal cable-lines, arrowhead pattern, and crouching hare, Déché. 951. Found in the big drain of the outer fort-ditch.

43.—Form 29. Godroons and straight wreath.

44.—Form 37. Vertical zigzag lines between circular panels containing symmetrical floriated pattern analogous to Déché. 1178. Fine fabric. Period : probably not later than the Flavian period.

45.—Form 37 (small). Tendril with alternate loops filled with arrowhead pattern. Period : late first century. (Similar pattern on form 29—May, *Silchester Pottery*, Pl. XII., 34).

46.—Form 37 (small). Single band of panels : (i)

boar, approximately Déch. 834-5; below, probably a sea-monster; (ii) tendril. Period: late first or early second century.

47.—Form 37 (small). Small medallion flanked by tendril and containing bird, Déch. 1009 (La Graufesenque); below, straight wreath. Period: latter part of first century.

48.—Form 37. Large tendril, containing the stamp CINNAM in raised letters (reversed). The bowl has been rivetted with lead. Period: Hadrian-Antonine.

49.—Form 37 (small). Panel decoration: (i) nude man standing l. with cloak over left arm and pedum (?) in left hand, Déch. 338; (ii) ? caryatid; (iii) feet of standing man. Period: Trajan-Antonine.

50.—Form 37 (small). Decoration in alternate single and double panels: (i) above, boar, Knorr *Terra-Sigillata*, Pl. 52, 2, etc.; below, indeterminate; (ii) and (iv) cruciform pattern; (iii) above, dog similar to Déch. 910, reversed (GERMANVS); below, small bear of type used by DARIBITVS and other potters who worked between 40 and 80 A.D.—Knorr, Pl. 30, 2; also another animal, indeterminate; (v) above, boar approximate to Déch. 837 (La Graufesenque); below, tail, probably of dolphin similar to type used by DARIBITVS, etc.—Knorr, Pl. 30, 3. Below, a straight wreath. Period: probably late first rather than second century. (For general type compare pieces at Pompeii, and, less closely, the Bregenz cellar find.)

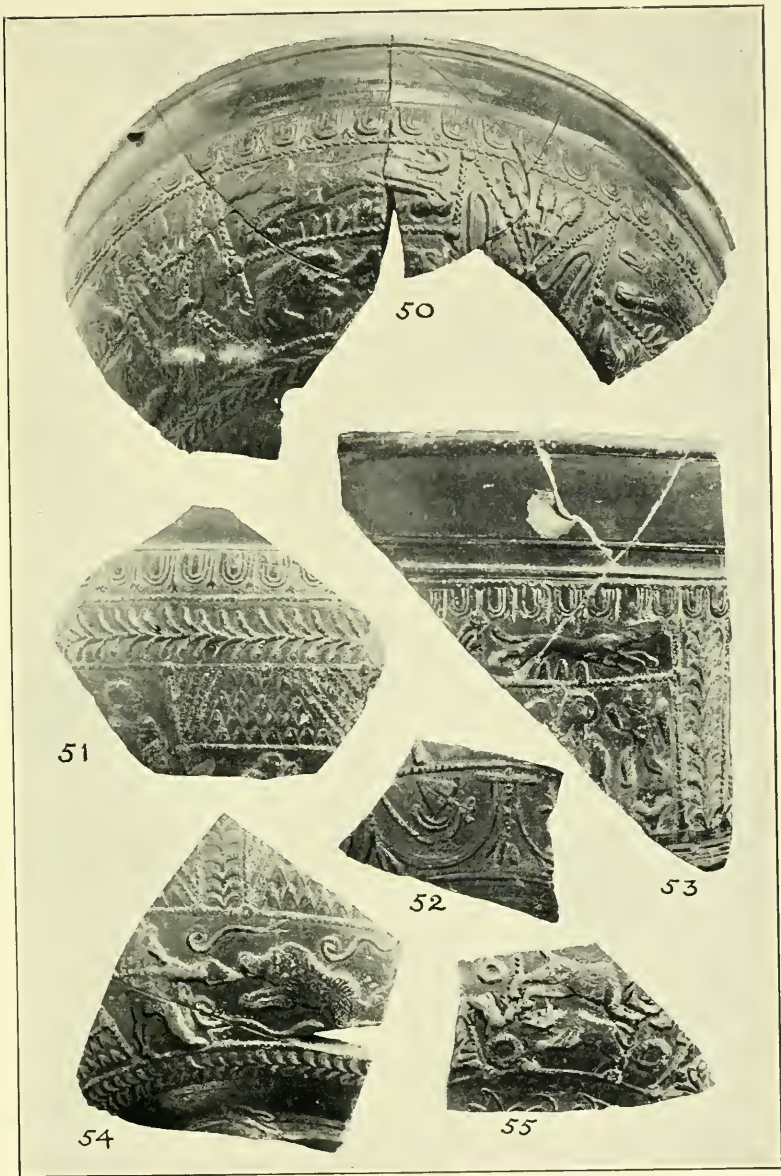
51.—Form 37. Below the ovolo, a straight wreath above single and double panels: (i) seated figure similar to Déch. 362; (ii) above arrowhead pattern between oblique cable-lines; below, uncertain. Fine fabric. Period: latter part of first century.

52.—Form 37 (transitional). Upper frieze uncertain; lower frieze, festoon, Walters¹⁴¹ Pl. 38, 4 (used by MEÆILLVS). Fine fabric. Found at a depth of more than 15 feet in a well numbered "Pit 7" on the plan published in *Arch. Camb.* 1921, p. 23. Period: Flavian.

53.—Form 30. Panels: (i) dog similar to Déch. 930 reversed; (ii) probably Victory carrying wreath, variant of Déch. 484, with small figure below wreath and cupid similar to Déch. 280, and Knorr, p. 27, Fig. 13; (iii) vertical wreath. Period: probably early second century.

54.—Form 37 (transitional). Upper frieze: panels of

¹⁴¹ *British Museum Catalogue of Roman Pottery.*



To face p. 158.

Fig. 74. Samian pottery found outside the fort. (1/3)

arrowhead pattern and oblique zigzag lines, divided by vertical wreath. Lower frieze : (i) panel containing arrowhead pattern ; (ii) bestiarius, variant of Déch. 627, and boar, Déch. 837 ; tendrils in field. (For the whole panel, compare Knorr, Pl. 99, D., dated to Vespasian or early Domitian.) Below, straight wreath. Period : latter part of first century.

55.—Form 37. Panels : (i) and (v) floral patterns of uncertain type ; (ii) small animals, perhaps goat similar to Déch. 890, between two rings, the lower beaded ; (iii) dog, variant of Déch. 910, and lioness, variant of Déch. 803 ; (iv) feet of human figure above beaded ring. On the plain band below the decoration are remains of a graffito cut into the mould and therefore in relief upon the bowl. Only the tops of the letters are preserved, and these are consistent with Mr. Hayter's ingenious reading DRVSVS F(ECIT). Drusus was a Lezoux potter of the period Trajan-Hadrian.

(C) COARSE POTTERY.

(With few exceptions, the types chosen for illustration are dated by associated remains, and analogies from other sites are therefore not extensively cited.)

FIGS. 75—80.

1.—Well-levigated grey ware. Found in building II. with fragments of Samian 29, "transitional" 37, early 27 and grey rusticated ware. 80-100 A.D.

2.—Grey ware. Found in a well stratified layer with an unworn coin of Trajan in building II., room 1. 110-125 A.D.

3.—Good pinkish buff ware. Found with No. 2. 110-125 A.D.

4.—Buff ware. Found with No. 2. 110-125 A.D.

5.—Grey ware. Found with No. 2. 110-125 A.D.

6.—Micaceous buff ware, with grey core to rim. Found with No. 2. 110-125 A.D.

7.—Grey ware. Found with No. 2. 110-125 A.D.

8.—Pink mortarium with much dark grit on interior surface and some on rim. Found in the "make-up" of the earlier floor of guardroom A. Early type ; cf. Bushe-Fox, *Wroxeter Report*, 1912, p. 76, types 10-18 and 58.

9.—Buff mortarium with scanty sprinkling of white and dark grit on interior surface. Found in the fourth-century floor of building II., room 1.

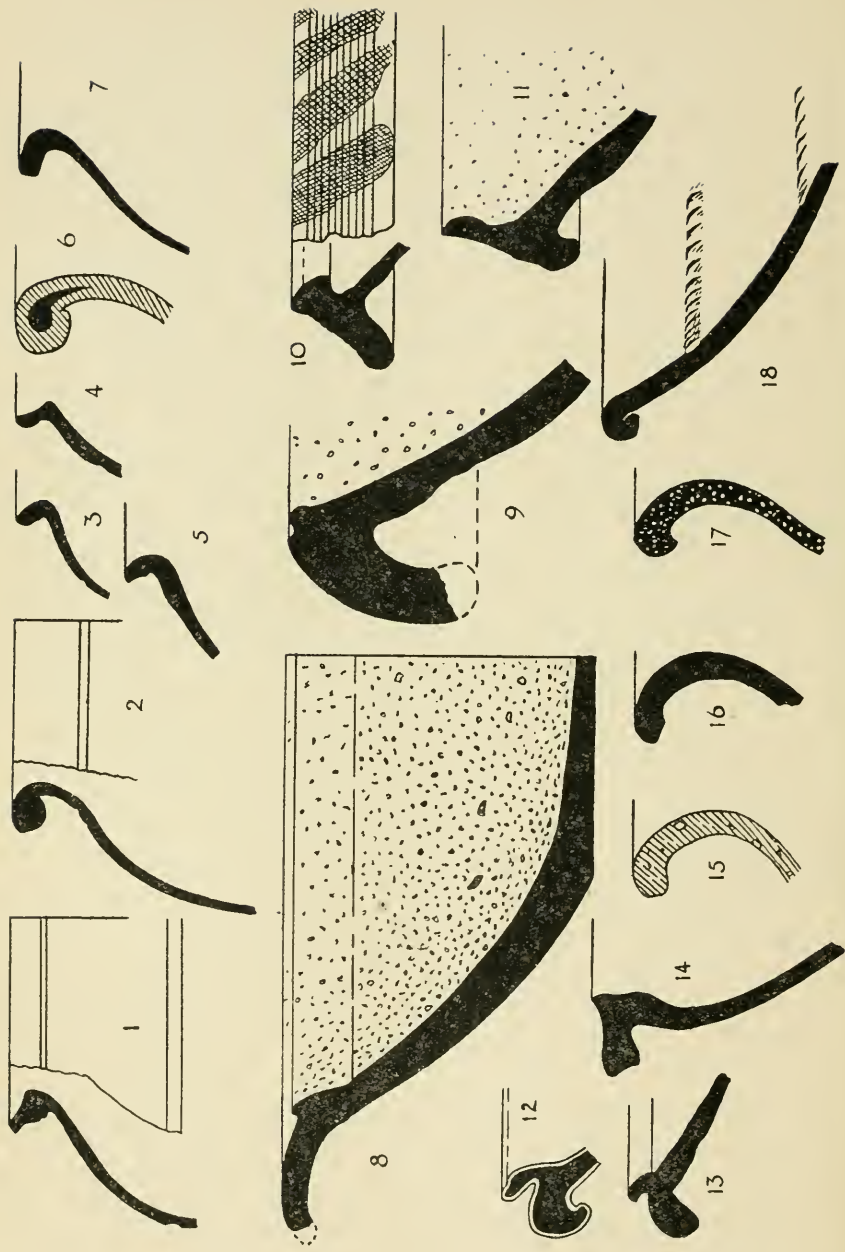


Fig. 75. Coarse pottery found within the fort. (1/2)

10.—White mortarium, well levigated, but containing some grit in the fabric; reddish-brown painted stripes on exterior of flange. Found in the fourth-century floor of building II., room 1.

11.—White mortarium, partially burnt black externally; moderate quantity of dark grit on interior surface. Found in the fourth-century floor of building II, room 2.

12.—Buff ware with light grey core. Found in the earlier floor of guardroom B, near coin No. 1 (p. 76). The floor was made *circa* 350 A.D.

13.—Grey ware. Found embedded in the burnt layer which capped the later clay floor in guardroom B. Late fourth century.

14.—Coarse grey ware. Found in same layer as No. 13. Late fourth century.

15.—Grey ware containing some grit. Found in same layer as No. 13. Late fourth century.

16.—Dark grey ware. Found in same layer as No. 13. Late fourth century.

17.—Black "calcited" or grit-laden ware. Found in same layer as No. 13. This example is typical of many found during the excavations in late fourth-century deposits. See below, Nos. 41 and 58.

18.—Imitation Samian ware, with two bands of roulette pattern on interior surface. Found in the earth and débris which was thrown into the dismantled guardroom A., probably *circa* 350 A.D.

Nos. 19-22.—A group found under the black layer low down in the north-west guardroom of the north-east gateway. With it was a fragment of Samian 18/31 stamped CESORINI. Potters or firms known as Censorinus worked at La Graufesenque, Lezoux, East Gaul, and later, in Germany, at various times between the first and early third centuries (Fölzer, pp. 64 ff.). The fabric of the fragment is fine and the glaze good; it is clearly not later than the beginning of the second century. It may be assigned to the Lezoux potter, who flourished in the time of Trajan and Hadrian (Oswald and Pryce, p. 108), and the group, of which the stratification was very clearly defined, may be assigned approximately to the period 100-125 A.D. No. 19 is an olla of fine smooth black ware with rubbed trellis pattern. No. 20 is a buff dish with remains of a handle. The sagged base is decorated with scribbled pattern, and the side with trellis pattern. For the handle *cf.* D. Atkinson, *Lowbury Hill*, Fig. 16, No. 20. No. 21 is a dish of good smooth black

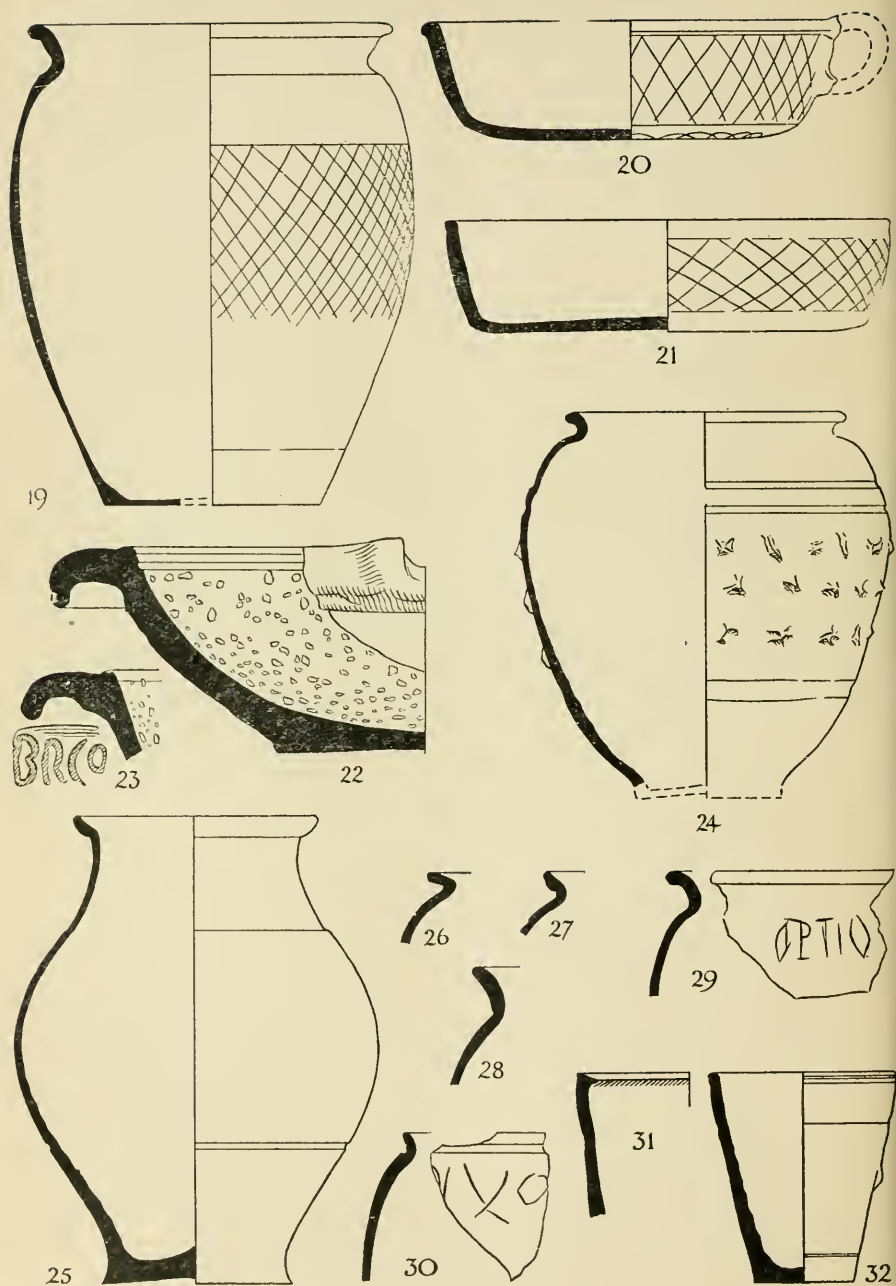


Fig. 76. Coarse pottery, all except 25 found within the fort. (1/3)

ware with trellis pattern. A very common type, but here included as part of the group. No. 22 is a buff mortarium with large grains of spar, mostly white.

No. 23.—Buff mortarium with large grains of spar, mostly whitish. Found in the commandant's house, room 5, in the well-defined floor which first sealed the post-holes, and is therefore contemporary with the first stone building. The floor may be assigned approximately to the time of Trajan, but the mortarium may have been earlier. Stamped BRCO.

No. 24.—Light grey olla with "rusticated" decoration. From the first-century floor of the commandant's house, room 4.

No. 25.—Vase of light grey ware, found in September, 1922, by men digging a grave in the new cemetery on the south side of the Beddgelert road, opposite Llanbeblig churchyard. Other graves found previously close by had already indicated that the site was that of a Roman cemetery (see *Arch. Camb.*, 1918, p. 350). The vase contained burnt bones. It is derived from a Late Celtic or Belgic type (for examples, see May, *Silchester Pottery*, Pl. LXX), and the rim suggests a date not later than the end of the first century A.D. A variant with an apparently later type of rim, found at Wroxeter (1914 Report, No. 80), was dated 80-130 A.D. (See the same Report, p. 62, No. 71.)

Nos. 26-27. These two rims of light grey ware were found in immediate association with fragments of Samian 29, in the lowest level of the commandant's house. Flavian.

No. 28.—Light grey rim from a first-century floor in the commandant's house.

No. 29.—Rim of black olla of type contemporary with or little later than No. 19 (early second century); found in the covered drain which traverses building I. The shoulder bears the graffito OPTIO. (An *optio* was an officer immediately below the rank of centurion.)

No. 30.—Rim of black olla, found close to No. 29, and probably of similar date. It bears an incomplete graffito which may (or may not) be VXOR.

Nos. 31-32.—No. 31 is part of a cylindrical grey cup with in-turned rim: found in a first-century floor in the commandant's house. The base of another cylindrical vessel, apparently of analogous type, was found in a second or third-century floor in the same building. No. 32 seems to have had a handle, but is much damaged on this side. It comes from a fourth-century floor in the same building, but the stratification at this point was not sufficiently clear to

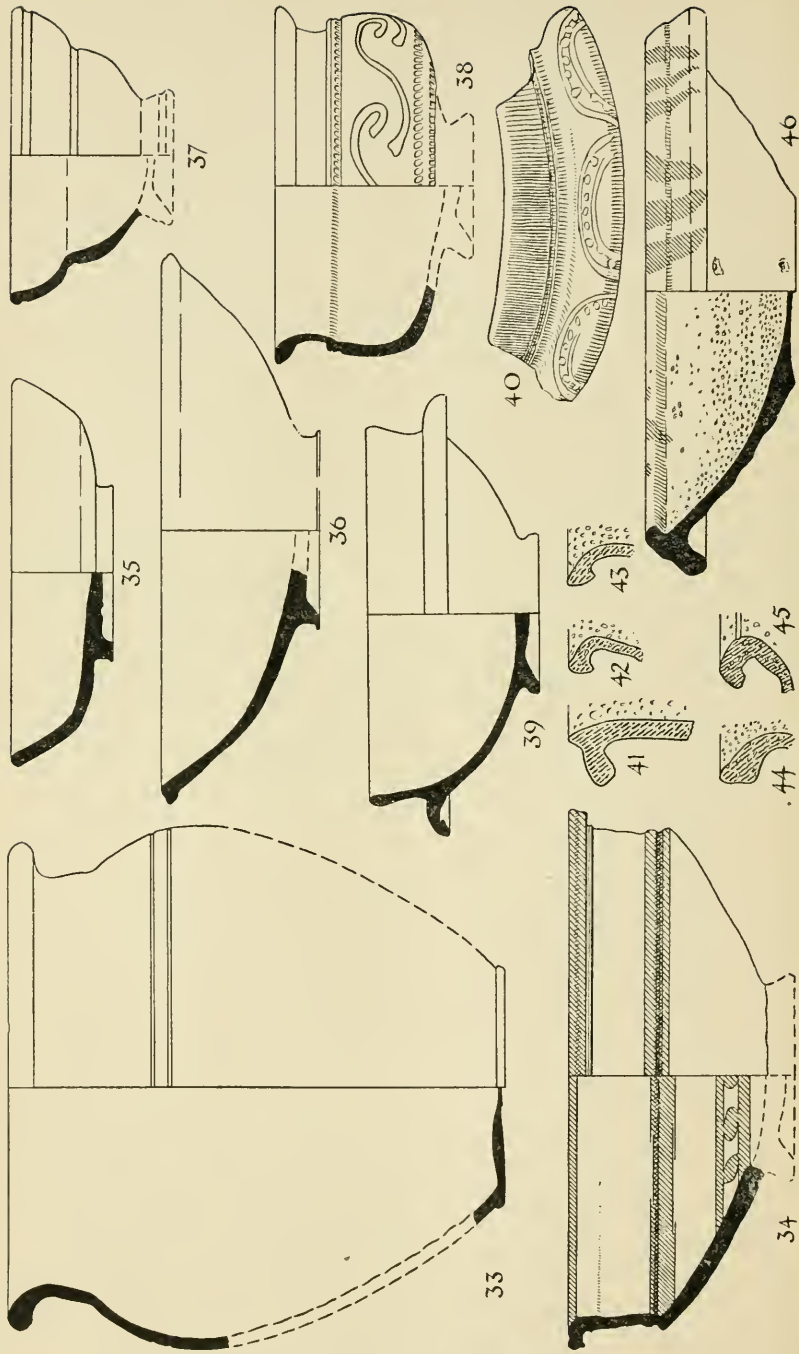


Fig. 77. Coarse pottery found within the fort. (1/3)

serve as a certain basis for dating. It has some analogy to the handled cups which occurred in large numbers at Wroxeter (1912 Report, No. 40), where their dating was doubtful, but seemed to be second-third century.

Nos. 33-34.—These were found in the lower filling of the cellar in the pratorium, with coins almost exclusively of late third-century date. It is not improbable that the débris was thrown in about the middle of the fourth century, but the potsherds may reasonably be supposed to have formed part of the accumulation to which the bulk of the coins belongs. They may, therefore, be assigned to the latter part of the third century, with the slight risk that they may be about half a century later. No. 33 is a well-made olla of lightish grey ware, with heavy and weakly formed rim. No. 34 is of hard white ware, with bands of red colour on the rim and at the point of carination, both externally and internally, and with a double band enclosing circles of similar colour on the interior immediately above the base. The sharp moulding and bright colouring of this bowl form a striking contrast to the ordinary coarse wares from the site.

Nos. 35-40.—These vessels are, to a greater or less extent, modelled upon Samian prototypes. Nos. 35 and 36 are of reddish buff ware, and are respectively imitations of Samian forms 18 and 31. No. 35 was found in a late first-century floor in the commandant's house. No. 36, which is of almost identical fabric was not found in a stratified deposit; a better example at Wroxeter was dated to the Antonine period (1912 Report, No. 24), but on what evidence is not stated.

No. 37.—An imitation in light grey ware of Samian form 27, was found on the top surface of the commandant's house, but not in a stratified deposit. It is of good fabric and probably not later than the second century, although imitations of form 27 long out-last the Samian prototype. Thus in a grave at Cologne, dated with certainty to the latter half of the third century, was found an imitation 27 of grey ware; and even in the post-Roman period the same tradition survived in a very degraded and coarsened form, as in an example (also of grey ware) from a Frankish grave near Bonn and now in the Provincial Museum at Bonn. The problem of the survival or revival of early ceramic forms under the later Empire deserves further study.

No. 38 is a bowl of orange-red imitation Samian ware with a scroll pattern painted in white between bands of roulette

pattern. It was found with Nos. 39 and 40 in the fourth-century floor of the sacellum, and the whole group, which

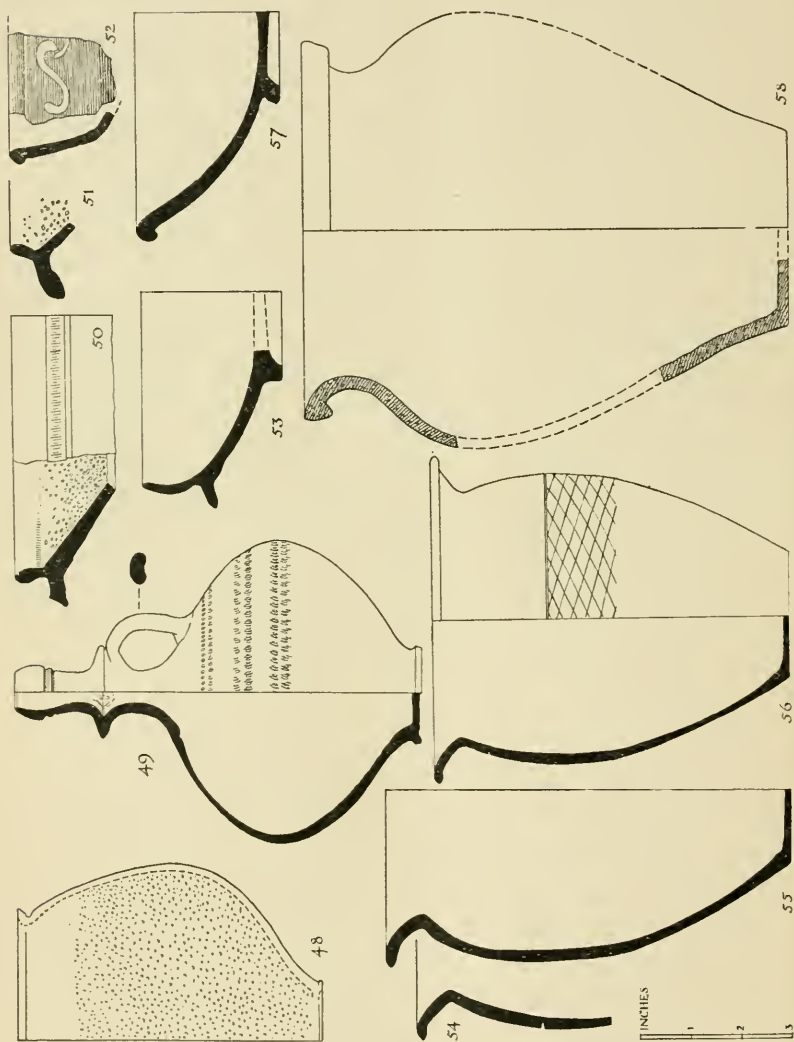


Fig. 78. Coarse pottery found within the fort. (About $\frac{1}{4}$).

was definitely stratified, may therefore be assigned to the third quarter of that century. Bowls similar to this and

- to Nos. 39 and 40 are characteristic of fourth-century sites; *e.g.*, several examples were thrown into a well at Mildenhall, Wiltshire, *c.* 375 A.D. (M. E. Cunnington, *Wilt's Arch. Mag.*, XLI., pp. 153 ff.).

Nos. 39 and 40 (found with No. 38) are of reddish ware with a buff core and a bright orange-red surface. The flange of No. 40 is ornamented with beaded segmental pattern in white paint. Third quarter of fourth century.

Nos. 41-45 are representative examples of the very rough calcited ware which was found in late fourth-century strata in some quantity, but always in a fragmentary condition. The ware is of coarse, loose clay, usually dark grey or brown, containing numerous fragments of white and dark grit. The commonest type of rim is that represented by Nos. 17 and 58. No. 45 is closely similar to some of the types found in the coastguard-fort at Hunteliff, occupied *c.* 370-390 A.D. (*Journal of Roman Studies*, II., Fig. 40). This fabric is well known on late Roman sites in Britain, and seems to be a revival of pre-Roman native technique. Examples have been found on native sites in Wales—*e.g.*, in the hill-fort at Dinorben and in hut-circles at Rhostryfan, near Carnarvon—in strata dating from the Roman period.

No. 46 is a hammer-head mortarium of white ware, the flange roughly painted with red streaks, and the interior roughened with dark grit. This is a typical example from a fourth-century floor of the commandant's house (*c.* 350-390 A.D.).

48.—Roughest pot of buff ware, found low down in the earth-and-clay filling upon which the first stone building XX. was constructed. The actual find-spot was in that part of the eastern end which was eventually covered by the fourth-century road. The contour of the pot suggests a date not later than the Flavian period. See *Essex Arch. Soc. Trans.*, n.s., XVI., pp. 24 ff. for discussion of this type.

49.—Jug of brownish pink ware with deep chocolate-red slip, funnel-rim, and three double bands of roulette pattern. Found in the layer below the last clay floor close to the inner edge of the footings of the north-western wall of building XII. With it was a small hoard of coins (Hoard III., p. 118) ranging from Volusianus to the Tetrici and therefore deposited towards the end of the third century. Jugs and amphoræ of this general type (with funnel) are rather more common on German than on British sites; they began in the third century (as at Niederbieber), but lasted

on into the middle of the fourth century (as in the Bellheim "Depôtfund" at Speyer¹⁴²). Closer analogies to the present example formed the commonest type of flagon at the Ashley Rails kilns in the New Forest, where they are apparently of late third or early fourth century date—see Heywood Sumner, *The Roman Pottery made at Ashley Rails*, Pl. IX., 2 and 13.

50.—Mortarium of dull red clay with grey core and red (imitation Samian) slip; inside, coarse grains of white and red spar. The upper and outer surfaces of the flange are ornamented with roulette pattern. Found in the clay contemporary with the mid fourth-century footings of building XX., room 4.

51.—White mortarium with coarse grains of brown spar. Found with No. 52 and two coins, respectively of Theodora, wife of Constantius Chlorus, and Constantius II. as Augustus (337-361), in a small pit between building XX. and the north-east rampart.

52.—Fragment of imitation Samian, shape 31, with red slip and white scroll-pattern, found with No. 51; mid or late fourth-century.

53.—Flanged bowl of orange ware with grey core; interior slightly roughened with fragments of grit. From pit in building XVII., with coins extending from Tetricus to c. 350.¹⁴³

54.—Fragment of dark grey olla, with band of rubbed trellis pattern below shoulder. Found with No. 53.

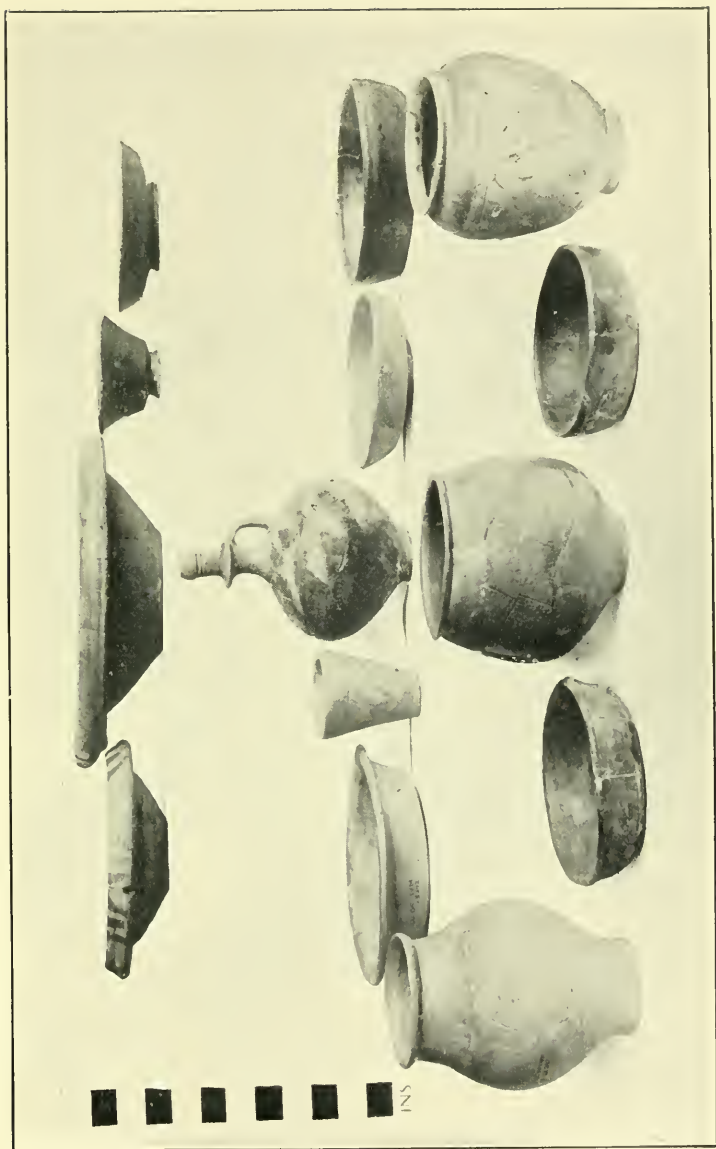
55-57.—These three vessels, together with a flanged, straight-sided bowl, were found together in a pit outside the north corner of building XX. (for the whole group, see Fig. 80). No coins were found with them, but the period of the ollæ (55 and 56) is clearly not far from that of No. 54, which may be as late as the middle of the fourth century, and is closely similar to examples found at Westbury and Hambledon containing coins of Constantine I.¹⁴⁴ No. 57 is of imitation Samian ware, and had been repaired with iron rivets.

58.—Large olla of vesiculated or calcited ware, found with a coin of Constantine I. (probably 313-17) in a pit in the rampart, adjoining the reservoir. This ware, and in particular, this type of rim were especially characteristic

¹⁴² W. Unverzagt, *Die Keramik des Kastells Alzei*, p. 12, fig. 3.

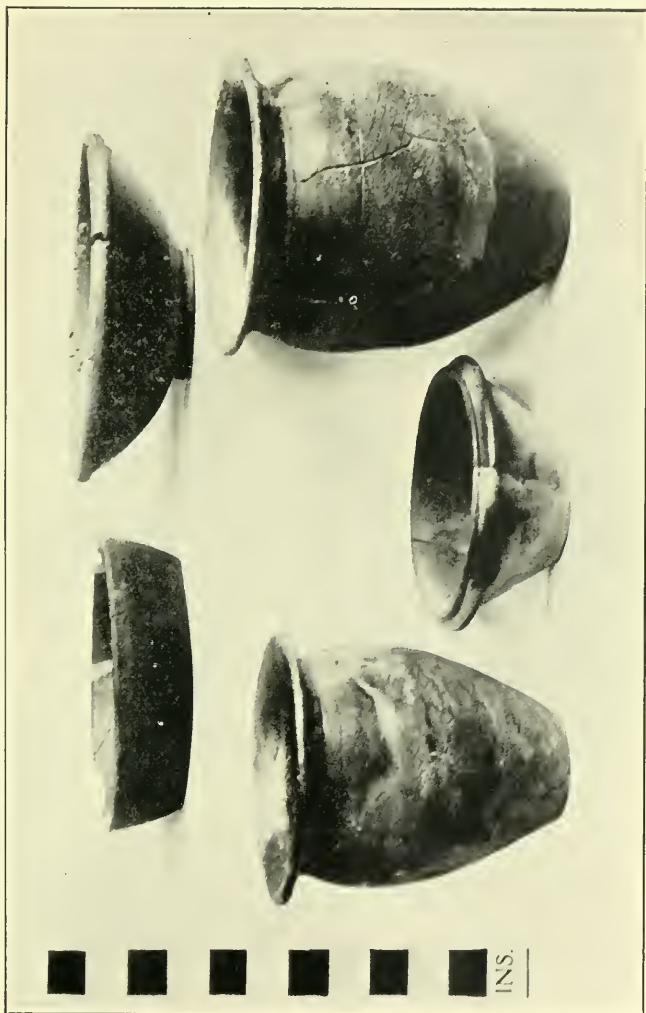
¹⁴³ For list, see p. 145, footnote.

¹⁴⁴ See T. May, *Silchester Pottery*, p. 160, type 197.



To face p. 168.

Fig. 79. Coarse pottery.



To face p. 168.
Fig. 80. Group of coarse pottery found in a pit adjoining building XX.
(See also Fig. 78, Nos. 55-57)

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of mid or late fourth century strata in the fort, but were always in a very fragmentary condition. Cf. Nos. 17, 41-5.

XXI. MISCELLANEA.

FIG. 81.

Fragment of clay mould for casting a circular object about $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter. The fragment includes part of both halves, with the inlet for the metal and a small tenon and mortise to hold the two halves in position during casting.

FIG. 82.

Sard intaglio from a finger-ring; found in the surface-soil of building XX. It represents Diana plucking an arrow from her quiver; beside her, a running hound. This design is of a conventional classical type of Greek origin (e.g., *British Museum Catalogue of Finger Rings*, 1079—fourth-century B.C.) For other Roman intaglios found in North Wales, see *Arch. Camb.*, 1923, pp. 105-6.

NOT ILLUSTRATED.

SPINDLE-WHORLS.—Upwards of twelve of these, either complete or in process of manufacture, were found within the fort. Two are of lead, one is of shale, and the remainder are of Samian or grey pottery. The occurrence of whorls within a fort can scarcely be held to indicate the presence of women there, since it is equally likely that the whorls were brought in for use as gaming counters.

COUNTERS.—About sixteen counters were found within the fort. Two are of slate, two are of grey pottery, two of Samian, five of white porellanic paste, and five of bone and ivory. One of the bone counters is ornamented with raised concentric circles.

BEADS.—Eight blue melon beads and six glass beads of various forms were found in the fort. These, with some of the brooches, may have been brought in by women, but it must be remembered that jewellery was anciently worn by men, and not least by the semi-barbarian tribesmen who formed many of the auxiliary regiments.

BRONZE.—Studs, "curtain-rings," and fragments of bronze of various kinds, were found in considerable quantity, but call for no special comment.

LEATHER.—During the excavation in the fort-ditches and adjacent pits in 1920 several pieces of leather were found, including soles and other fragments of shoes of normal Roman type.

xxii. SHELLS AND ANIMAL BONES.

Throughout the excavated area, animal bones and oyster and mussel shells were plentiful. The oysters were probably obtained from local beds, such as were fished until recent times off the shores of Anglesey. For the identification of bones I am greatly indebted to Professor D. M. S. Watson, F.R.S. They include abundant remains of the "Celtic shorthorn" (*bos longifrons*), domesticated pig, sheep or goat, large dog or wolf, rabbit or hare, pony or donkey, and red-deer (*cervus elaphus*). The well in the prætorium contained a few bones of pig, a metacarpal of a horse, and various bird bones, together with a large number of ox-bones (*longifrons*) representing at least eight individuals. Amongst them was a large and typical skull. An unusual feature of these ox-bones is that none of them shows evidence of having been cut or broken for food. The fourth-century rubbish pit which accumulated in the apsidal room (10) of the prætorium (after the destruction of this room) contained the pelvis, femur, and scapula of red-deer, together with antlers of three individuals. In one case, part of the skull retains both antlers *in situ*; of these, the brow and bay tines of the left antler and the bay tine of the right antler have been cut off, anciently, at their base by a thin-bladed knife with a straight cutting-edge, and an attempt had been made to cut off the whole of the right antler. "These stags' heads", writes Mr. Watson, "are good ones, better than any you ever see in the Scotch forests, but not comparable for size with some of the specimens found in river deposits of the north of England". Numerous other fragments of red-deer horn include antlers which have not been shed and several tines which have been cut off, in one case with a saw. One tine appears to belong to the roe-deer (*cervus capriolus*), and elsewhere on the mainland of North Wales the roe-deer is equally poorly represented on ancient sites. The inference is that in the Roman period, as now, the country was open and comparatively barren, and therefore more favourable to red-deer than to roe-deer. In Anglesey, on the other hand, Mr. Neil Baynes, F.S.A., found bones and horns of roe-deer at Din



Fig. 81. Fragment of clay mould found within the fort. (+)



Fig. 82. Sard intaglio found within the fort, with impression on the left. (3)

To face p. 170.

Lligwy and in a cave used probably in the Bronze Age, whereas, with one notable exception, "the red-deer horns at Lligwy and elsewhere were poor, although deer with good heads could easily have swum the Straits". The presumption is that the low-lying island was too heavily overgrown—or too thickly populated—to attract them in large numbers.

APPENDIX I.

THE ROMAN ROAD FROM CHESTER TO
CARNARVON.

By W. J. Hemp, F.S.A.

H.M. Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Wales.

It is probable that at all times the most part of the traffic between Segontium and its base at Chester, and also with Holyhead and other forts on or near the coasts of Wales, was water-borne. Some road-system, however, must have existed from the earliest Roman occupation of the country, and the road between Segontium and Deva would have been one of considerable importance; it is strange, therefore, to find that a large part of the route it must have followed has not yet been plotted with accuracy.

The section between Segontium and the river Conwy presents little difficulty. Its general course is indicated by the physical features of the country, and fixed points are provided by the discoveries of milestones, and by the fort at Caerhûn commanding the crossing of the Conwy.

On leaving the N.E. gate of Segontium the road must have run almost direct for some $2\frac{3}{4}$ miles in a north-easterly direction along the summit of the ridge of land which at first divides the Cadnant valley from the course of the Seiont, and further on forms the north-western boundary of the valley down which flows the stream known as the Cegin. Traces of an old road are said to have been found in the second field to the S.E. of the cottage known as

Caegarw, rather less than a mile from the fort, and close to the small post by Bryn glas.¹⁴⁵ Probably the road passed to the S.E. of this post and worked its way in a straight line to the top of the ridge by Erw pwl y glo, thence following the line of the modern road to a point near Glan yr afon but probably a few yards to the north-west of it and, like it, taking a turn just beyond Glan yr afon. From this point a series of hedges and footpaths carries on in a direct line to the Rectory and the junction of the roads at Llanddeiniolen, five-eighths of a mile N.W. of the important hill-fort of Pen y ddinas, or Dinas Dinorwig. Hereabouts, but apparently a mile and a half S.E. of the hill-fort, among the remains of a group of hut circles near Llys Dinorwig, was found the milestone of Trajan Decius, now in the garden at Pant afon.¹⁴⁶

The next fixed point is the farm of Ty coch by Pant Caerhûn on the W. side of the ravine cut by the Cegin on its way down to the Menai Straits. Just above the house was found the second milestone (of Caracallus) in the year 1806.¹⁴⁷ It had, however, been destroyed by 1810 when Richard Fenton visited the site. There are no obstacles to a direct route between Llanddeiniolen and Ty coch, and a contributor to *Archæologia Cambrensis* in 1846 (p. 420) records "faint indications of a raised way" between Ty coch and Segontium along the route here described. Fenton also records signs of a road close to the house.¹⁴⁸ The same writer's suggestion that an old lane leading from the river Ogwen up to Maes y groes, in a direct line between that place and Ty coch, indicates a course for the road is likely to be correct, but the sites of the actual crossings of the Cegin and the Ogwen have yet to be identified.

From Maes y groes to Aber the line is likely to have been almost direct; no actual remains of the road are now to be seen, but it probably ran between the new and old roads, and crossed the river near the Norman castle mount. A short distance beyond this point the ascent of the hills began, not, as is shown on the maps, up the valley, but round the lower face of the hill above Gorddinog, on the western spur of which is the hill fort known as Maes y gaer. The Nant y

¹⁴⁵ *Arch. Camb.* 1922, p. 126.

¹⁴⁶ *Gent. Mag.* lxx (1795), 559; Westwood, *Lapid. Walliae*, p. 173; *Corpus Inscript. Lat.* vii, 1163.

¹⁴⁷ *Arch. Camb.* 1847, p. 51; 1912, p. 324; Haverfield, *Roman Wales*, p. 31; *C.I.L.*, vii, 1164.

¹⁴⁸ *Tours*, p. 215.

felin fach was probably crossed near the Gorddinog Kennels and the eastern slopes of the valley followed, past the site of the discovery of two more milestones (of Hadrian and of Severus and his sons),¹⁴⁹ 200 feet S. of Rhiwiau uehaf farm. From this point the way probably led almost directly to Bwlch y ddeufaen, joining the "Ordnance map route" at about a mile from the farm. Fenton is in favour of the route here given from the crossing of the Ogwen, and rejects as improbable the line up the river valleys from Aber.¹⁵⁰

By the time the road passes through the Bwlch y ddeufaen it has climbed up 1400 feet and it drops down to sea level again in the course of its next four miles to Kanovium (Caerhûn). The latter part of the route it followed here is doubtful, but the probabilities are in favour of its having descended along the S. side of the valley drained by the Afon Roe, after crossing that stream at or near Pont hafotty gwyn, and run almost due E. to the fort (crossing the stream again on the way), its entry into which was noted by Fenton.¹⁵¹

For the next section of the road, that from Kanovium to Varae, direct evidence is almost completely lacking. The situation of Varae itself is not yet known with certainty, although it has been tentatively located at St. Asaph.¹⁵² It is here assumed that this theory is correct; the last stretch of this section is then clearly indicated by the straight road running between Sarn Rûg and St. Asaph, and serving as a parish boundary. Of the rest all that can be said at present is that there is a quite feasible and fairly direct route leading from Sarn Rûg through Bettws yn rhos and probably Gofer, to the banks of the Conwy opposite Caerhûn. Several small variations are possible, and none of them is very satisfactory from the point of view of the road-maker. The passage of the river Conwy is still uncertain, although Fenton again is of some assistance, as he records a road leading down to the water on the Carnarvonshire side; but there are difficulties in accepting without further proof his location of the actual crossing, and it should also be borne in mind that the mediæval crossing was at Tal y cafn, a mile below Caerhûn, where still stands the castle mount which commanded it. The investigations

¹⁴⁹ *Arch. Camb.* 1912, pp. 226, 317, 323.

¹⁵⁰ *Tours*, pp. 180-1, 206-8, 216.

¹⁵¹ *Tours*, p. 179 (where perhaps *North* should be read for *South*).

¹⁵² *Antiquaries Journal*, iii, 69; *Flintshire Historical Socy. Journ.*, ix, 71.

recorded by Mr. W. B. Halhed in *Archæologia Cambrensis* in 1912 led to no very definite or convincing results.

The road from Varæ to Chester has been a matter for discussion for many years, and a number of theories have been advanced. The latest, for which the present writer is responsible, has recently been published in the *Journal of the Flintshire Historical Society*, IX., 83. As full details are given there, it need only be said that the line runs almost direct from St. Asaph, by an obviously suitable and well graded route through the Clwydian hills, by Rhualt and Bryn gwyn mawr, past the Travellers Inn, Gorsedd, and Golch, and so down to the immediate neighbourhood of Basingwerk Abbey.

For the last stretch to Chester the most convincing suggestion is that made by Mr. Shrubsole in *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 1892, p. 257, where he suggested that the road on leaving Chester ran through Eccleston to Eaton Hall, and there turned sharply to the westward in the direction of Hawarden, along a series of ridges which rise above the marsh land; from Hawarden he took it past Kelsterton, Pentre ffwrndan, and Flint, both the last places having produced evidences of Roman occupation. From Flint Mr. Shrubsole was of the opinion that the road might have run to Caerwys, which place he wished to identify with "Varis." For this theory, however, there is no evidence, and the probabilities are all against it; while there is no obstacle (even if no evidence has yet been produced) to the road having continued its course along the coast for a further four miles to Basingwerk, and there joined the direct route to St. Asaph.

Considerable sections of the route here laid down for the road from Segontium to Deva must still be considered as conjectural, and in many places only the spade can provide conclusive evidence, but one test can be applied. The Antonine Itinerary (*Ed.* Parthey and Pinder) gives the following distances in Roman miles:—

Item a Segontio Devam.	M.P. LXXIII. (Reims MS. LXXIII.).
Conovio	M.P. XXIII.
Varis	M.P. XVIII. (Reims MS. XVII.)
Deva	M.P. XXXII.

The approximate equivalents in English miles are 22, 17½ and 29½. The approximate distances by the route here suggested are 21½, 17½, and 31.

In addition to the main route to Chester, it is almost

certain that a road must have connected Segontium and the station now known as Tomen y môr, formerly Môr y castell; and it has been suggested—no doubt correctly—that the course of the road was up the valley of the Gwyrfaï, by Rhyd ddu, and down the valley of the Colwyn to Beddgeriart; then down the pass of Aberglaslyn, crossing the river a short distance above the present bridge, and by the mountain road direct to Tan y bwlech railway station; thence down to and across the vale of Ffestiniog in the neighbourhood of Maentwrog, and up to Tomen y môr; from which point roads led to Kanovium by way of the fort in the Llugwy valley; to Caer Gai at the head of Bala lake, itself connected directly with Chester by way of the station at Ffrith; and to Pennal and so to Mid and South Wales. Of the road to Tomen y môr, however, it can only be said that although its course is probably as here described, the details still await careful exploration.

KEY TO RELIEF MAP (FIG. 83).

(The figure is reproduced from a coloured relief-map, scale
1 inch=1 mile, in the National Museum of Wales.)

-
- = Roman military sites.
(Segontium, Kanovium, Caer Llugwy, Tomen y Mûr, Caer Gybi.)
 - = Probable Roman military sites.
(St. Asaph or Varae; Bryn Glas near Carnarvon.)
 - = Other Roman sites.
(Tremadoc.)
 - = Course of known Roman road.
 - - - - = Approximate course of known Roman road.
 - = Probable course of Roman road.
 - M = Find-spot of Roman milestone.
 - C = Find-spot of Roman coin-hoard.
 - ◆ = Fortified native sites known to have been occupied
in the Roman period.
(Tre'r Ceiri, Dinas Dinlle, Caer y Twr on Holyhead Mountain, Din Lligwy, Parciau, Bwrdd Arthur, Caerleŷ, Rhyddgaer, Penmaenmawr, Pen y Corddyn, Dinorben.)
 - ◇ = Unfortified native sites known to have been occupied
in the Roman period.
(Ty Mawr on Holyhead Mountain, Plas Bach, Llangeinwen, Menaifron, Rhostryfan.)

APPENDIX II.

"SEGONTIUM" AND "SEIONT".

By W. H. Stevenson, M.A.

Fellow and Librarian of St. John's College, Oxford.

The name of Segontium was unknown to British scholars until the publication of the *editio princeps* of the Antonine Itinerary at Paris in 1512.¹⁵³ The Itinerary attracted the enthusiastic study of John Leland, who travelled in Wales between 1536 and 1539. In the *Genethliacon Eaduerdi Principis Cambrie*, published in 1543, but begun, as the title page informs us, some years earlier, he thus refers to Segontium:—¹⁵⁴

Hic prope littus habet fastigia celsa Cragetum,¹⁵⁵
Atque habet illustreis titulos urbs clara Segonti
Fluminis, etsi nunc Arvonna a plebe vocetur.

In the appended glossary he writes "Segontium littus, quod nunc Arvonicum." From this it is clear that he connected Segontium with the River Seint at Carnarvon. In his *Itinerary* he calls the latter "Segent Ryver," and speaks of "the olde town of Cair Sallog, *alias* Cair saint or Segent," and notices its remains.¹⁵⁶ The form *Segent* is only one of many instances of the licence that he took in creating bogus forms of local names to support his theories.

A quarter of a century after the appearance of the *Genethliacon* Abraham Ortelius, the great Flemish geographer, who has the merit of inspiring Camden to compile

¹⁵³ Professor Kubitschek, Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie d. klass. Altertumswissenschaft*, x, col. 2119, suggests that the *Antonius*, *Antoninus*, *Augustus*, whose name is connected with the Itinerary, is the Emperor Caracalla (Caracallus), whose imperial style was M. Aurelius Severus Antoninus Augustus. This would show that Segontium was on the Roman official maps, from which the Itinerary was compiled, at the beginning of the third century.

¹⁵⁴ Signature c. ij; reprinted by Hearne, Leland's *Itinerary*, ix, p. xvi, verse 388. For the date of Leland's visit to Wales, see Miss Toulmin Smith's edition of his *Itinerary in Wales*, p. ix.

¹⁵⁵ Leland's Latinisation of Criccieth, as appears from the appended glossary to the *Genethliacon*, sign. f 1; Hearne, p. xxxii.

¹⁵⁶ *Itinerary*, ed. Hearne, v. foll. 39, 48, 49, 50; ed. Toulmin Smith, pp. 79, 82, 86, 89.

his *Britannia*, was fortunate enough to secure the assistance of Humphrey Lloyd, or Lhuyd, as he wrote his surname, an early and learned student of the history of his native country. Lloyd provided Ortelius with a map of Britain and also with one of Wales, entitled *Cambriæ Typus*, for the first edition of the famous atlas, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, published at Antwerp in 1570, which went through several editions and remained the standard atlas until well into the seventeenth century. In the *Cambriæ Typus* the river is called *Seiont flu(men)*. Lloyd drew up in connexion with his maps a *Commentarioli Britannicæ Descriptionis Fragmentum*, dedicated to Ortelius, in 1568. Herein we read "In Arfonia contra Monnam insulam fuit antiqua civitas Romanis Segontium, Britanis *Caersegont*, a flumine praeterfluente nominata. Nunc vero ex eius ruinis facta est ab Edwardo, Angliæ regis, nomine primo, nova urbs et *Caer Arfon*, i. urbs super Monam dicta."¹⁵⁷ It is clear that he took the British name, like Leland, from the List of Cities, which forms one of the bundle of tracts associated with the *Historia Brittonum* of Nennius. This seems to have been drawn up in Wales in the ninth or tenth century in order to supply the names of the twenty-eight cities of Britain mentioned without their names by Gildas. Most of the names in the list are those of Welsh camps or the ruins of Roman stations in Wales. The list gives no indication of the position of the places mentioned in it. In the twelfth century Henry of Huntingdon introduced it into his *Historia Anglorum*, and identified its *Cair Segeint* with Silchester in Hampshire,¹⁵⁸ *Calleva Atrebatum*. Lloyd adopted this identification in his *Commentarioli Fragmentum*.

¹⁵⁷ *Commentarioli Britannicæ Descriptionis Fragmentum*, Cologne, 1572. fo. 53v. The dedication to Ortelius is dated August 30, 1568, Lloyd, in his *De Mona Druidum Insula Antiquitati suae Restituta*, sign. Bb ij, printed at the end of Ortelius in 1579 and of Sir John Price's *Historiæ Brytannicæ Defensio*, London, 1573, refers to Carnarvon as being "hand procul a loco ubi olim Segontium, Romanis cognita civitas, sita erat".

¹⁵⁸ *Historia Anglorum*, Rolls Series, p. 7. The identification does not appear in the MSS. of his first recension. In the second edition he unfortunately added many passages from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britonum*. But he did not take this identification from him, since Geoffrey does not mention *Caer Segeint*, and calls Silchester by its English name, *Silcestria*, vi, c. 5. ix, c. 15, and *Cilcestria*, ix, c. 1. Great importance has been given to Henry's identification, since Caesar mentions a tribe of Segontiaci somewhere in the south of England, and a dedication "Deo Her[enli] Saegon[ti]," now lost, was discovered at Silchester in the eighteenth century (*Corp. Inscript.*

tum, fo. 14r, and therefore duplicated the name when he came to the Carnarvon site, since such a form as *Segeint* could not have been current in Welsh in his time, and could hardly have existed after the tenth or eleventh century.¹⁵⁹ Lloyd shared the views of his time that the Britons of the days of the Roman occupation spoke modern Welsh, and he had therefore little hesitation in restoring what he, no doubt, considered a more correct form of the name. But in his *Typus* he used the form *Seiont*, which still clings to the maps, and which has been denounced by Sir John Rhys as a figment.¹⁶⁰

Camden, whose dependence upon Lloyd's work has not been properly recognized, adopted the form *Seiont* from Lloyd in a passage which borrows part of the latter's phraseology. Camden visited Wales in 1590, and as a result of his personal knowledge he inserted into his fourth edition of the *Britannia*, published in 1594, p. 516, a passage recording the existence of the remains of the Roman station near the parish church of Llanbeblig (*ecclesiolam in Sancti Publicii honorem constructam*).

Latin, vii, 6), which has not unreasonably been connected with the tribal name mentioned by Caesar. If, as Hübner suggested, the inscription dates from the second century, it would seem to contain a British *ai* and not *e* in its stem-syllable. A dedication to the "Segontian Hercules", if that is the meaning of the inscription, does not prove that this was a local deity, any more than the inscriptions to German gods found in the north of England are evidence that the cult of these deities was native British. The reason for Henry's identification is not given. Is it possible that he saw the inscription, or one like it, and connected it with the *Cair Segeint* of the List of Cities described above? It is unlikely that the identification is based upon any local tradition, for had such existed it could hardly have escaped the notice of Geoffrey, who was acquainted with Silchester and from his long residence in Oxford was in a more favourable position than Henry for obtaining local knowledge. It is possible that Henry's identification is merely the result of a surmise that Silchester was the *Cair Segeint* of the *Historia Brittonum*, c. 25, because it is there said that Constantine son of Constantine the Great (meaning Constantius Chlorus, father of Constantine, as in c. 27), was buried near *Cair Segeint*, and Geoffrey, vi, c. 5, states that Constantine III. (see note 183) was crowned at Silchester. A *Cair Custoeint* appears in the List of Cities, but it is omitted by Henry, who may have failed to recognise that *Custoeint* is the form assumed by *Constantius* in Old Welsh.

¹⁵⁹ The vowel-flanked *g* did not survive in writing the end of the Old Welsh period, by which time the consonant had become a palatal (Morris-Jones, *Historical Welsh Grammar*, p. 162 § 103, ii, (i)).

¹⁶⁰ *Lectures on Celtic Heathendom*, p. 273 note. See, however, p. 182 below.

Humphrey Lloyd revised and augmented the description of Wales by Sir John Price, the notorious agent of Cromwell in the suppression of the monasteries, who survived Lloyd. In this we are told that Carnarvon was "called in the old time *Caer Segonce*," and that the river is named "*Avon y Saint* at Carnarvon."¹⁶¹ Unfortunately it is not clear whether this is due to Price or Lloyd. But the connexion of the river with the Welsh form of the Latin *sanctus* is attested by the greatest of the older Welsh philologists, Edward Lloyd, who states that *Segontium*, like most other Roman stations, derived its name from a river, in this case "Seiont, called now Avon y Saut, from St. Peris, the common people mistaking *Seiont* for *Sant*."¹⁶² Another saint, St. Beuno, was closely connected with the river. In his life *Caerseint*, *Kaer yn Arvon*, and the River called *Seint* (*yr avon a elwir Seint*) are mentioned as scenes of his activity.¹⁶³ The date of this life is obviously much later than the time of the saint.¹⁶⁴ Rhys has concluded from the Mabinogi of Branwen, which speaks of *Kaer Seint yn Arvon*,¹⁶⁵ that this is really the proper form of the name of Carnarvon, which is also called *Kaer Aber Sein* in Maxen's Dream.¹⁶⁶ He also connects *Caer Seion* in a thirteenth century poem with Carnarvon,¹⁶⁷ and even *Caer Seon*, confused with the biblical *Sion*.¹⁶⁸ These instances are

¹⁶¹ *A Description of Cambria, now called Wales: Drawn first by Sir John Price, knight, and afterwards augmented by Humphrey Lloyd, Gentleman* (etc.), London, 1584, pp. 8, 16.

¹⁶² Ed. Ludius, *De Fluviorum, Montium, Urbium (etc.) nominibus*, in *Adversaria Posthuma*, printed at the end of William Baxter's preposterous *Glossarium Antiquitatum Britannicarum*, London, 1719, p. 272.

¹⁶³ Rees, *Cambro-British Saints*, p. 18, translation, p. 305. *The Elucidarium . . . from Llyvyr Agkyr Llandewivrevi A.D. 1346*, ed. J. Morris-Jones and John Rhys, Oxford, 1894, 123, 28; 124, 11.

¹⁶⁴ Father J. Hungerford Pollen, S.J., in the *Month*, 1894, pp. 235-247, in an article entitled *Traces of a Great Welsh Saint* (noticed in the *Acta Bollandiana*, xvi, 102), has collected the evidence concerning St. Beuno, setting aside the life, afforded by the dedications of churches in Wales, Ireland and Brittany.

¹⁶⁵ *The Text of the Mabinogion from the Red Book of Hergest*, ed. by Rhys and Evans, p. 34.

¹⁶⁶ *Id.* p. 88. On the loss of final *t* in such a position see Morris-Jones, p. 169, § 106, iii (2).

¹⁶⁷ *Lectures on Welsh Heathendom*, p. 271, citing the *Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales*, i, p. 476.

¹⁶⁸ *Id.* p. 272, from the Dialogue between Taliessin and the lord of Dinas (Dinas Dinlle, near Carnarvon), in Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*. A more modern text is given in Strachan's *Introduction to Early Welsh*, p. 239.

valuable as showing the existence of the name before the antiquaries of the renaissance tampered with it. Further evidence is afforded by the *Record of Carnarvon*, which mentions from the charters of Harlech and Criccieth the *ripa* (i.e., river) *que vocatur Seynt*, in a copy of proceedings in *Quo Warranto* in the time of Edward III.¹⁶⁹ The text rests upon a copy made as late as 1492-3. But in the contemporary enrolments of these charters, which were granted in 1284, we find the name of the river given as *Sayntes*.¹⁷⁰ From the absence of other evidence as to the final syllable we are precluded from suggesting that this represents a river-name ending in *-es*, and from the date, we cannot urge that the termination is the Old French nom. sing. sign. The most plausible explanation is that *Sayntes* is either a French or an English plural of "saint" (or possibly an English gen. sing.), which were pronounced alike in both languages at that time, and in all probability agreed in pronunciation with the modern Welsh *seint*. Thus the confusion, if it is a confusion, with *seint*, a plural of Welsh *sant*, is of long standing.

The identification of *Caer Seion*, *Caer Seon* and *Kaer Aber Sein* with Carnarvon by Rhys seems to be justified. It is supported by the form *Kaer Seint yn Arvon*. Rhys deduces *Seion* and *Seon* from a British **Segon-*, which he finds in the Silchester inscription, assuming that the lost letters would have yielded the reading "*Saegono* or *Saegoni*, possibly a participial *Saegonti*." *Seon*, who is also called *Se* (from **Segos*), he identified with the mythological Gwydion, whose resemblance in name to the Teutonic Woden had already attracted the attention of Jacob Grimm. Rhys concluded that they are respectively "Celtic and Teutonic representatives of one and the same hero, belonging to a time anterior to the separation of the Celts and the Teutons." He holds that "there is little room for doubt that the name of Segontium itself is formed from that of the god," whom he regards as the Celtic Hercules on the strength of the Silchester inscription. He derives the name and also that of the Gaulish deity *Segomo*, who

¹⁶⁹ *The Record of Carnarvon*, Record of Commission, 1838, pp. 192, 197, where the name is mentioned four times.

¹⁷⁰ *Calendar of Charter Rolls*, ii, p. 280, and *Calendar of Welsh Rolls*, in *Calendar of Chancery Rolls, Various*, p. 295. The reading of the latter, which is not given in the *Calendar*, is the same as that of the *Charter Roll*.

is identified with Mars in two Gaulish inscriptions *C.I.L.*, xiii. 675, 2532), from the Indogermanic root *segh*, represented by the Sanskrit *sahah* "strength," Greek, $\epsilon\chi\omega$ (from $^*\sigma\epsilon\chi\omega$) "to have, hold," Old English *sige*, German *sieg* "victory."¹⁷¹ An adjective derived from this root exists in the Welsh *hy*, "bold."¹⁷² *Segontium* is formed from this root by means of the *-nt* suffix, which is used to form present participles in Greek, Latin and Germanic, and has left some traces in Celtic.¹⁷³ The suffix *-jo* has been added to form *Segontion*; this widely diffused suffix has numerous values in the Indogermanic languages, including possessive, patronymic, and collective meanings. Rhys's mythological combinations have met with little reception among scholars in recent times, but the possibility that *Segontium* may be named from a Celtic deity is worthy of notice. The theory rest mainly upon a conjectural restoration of the Silchester inscription. Our only record of this is an engraving, drawn from a plaster cast, which was published in the *Philosophical Transactions* in 1744 (No. 474, plate II., Fig. 9, and p. 201). This shows that the missing part of the stone was broken off after the *Her* of *Her(culi)* and through the middle of the letter following *Saego*: the remaining part looks like part of *N*, but the facsimile does not altogether preclude the possibility that it may have been *M*. If this was so, the inscription may have read *Saegomoni*, and thus, if the *ae* be taken as representing *e*, be a dedication to the Gaulish god *Segomo*. His identification with *Hereules* instead of *Mars* would not be a very serious objection to this suggestion, which I advance without dogmatism.

The existence of the variant British forms **Segos*, **Segon-* by the side of *Segontium* is difficult to explain. *Se*, *Seon* have the merit of being native forms unaffected by any knowledge of the Latin *Segontium*. It would simplify matters if we could conclude that *Seion*, *Seon* have lost a final *t* (see note 166), as *Kaer Aber Sein* has certainly. In this case they would represent a participial or adjectival British **Segons*, gen. **Segontos*,¹⁷⁴ which would justify the modern *Seiont*. No such Celtic personal name as **Segons* is recorded, however, whereas *Segontios* (with *-jo* suffix, for

¹⁷¹ *Lectures on Celtic Heathendom*, p. 272, 273, 287.

¹⁷² Morris-Jones, p. 129 § 92.

¹⁷³ Idem p. 209 § 123; Thurneysen, *Handbuch des Alt-Irischen*, p. 200 § 325.

¹⁷⁴ The Celtic nom. sing. is conjectural.

which the Celtic tongues seem to have had a decided preference) is amply vouched for by Gaulish inscriptions.¹⁷⁵ This may be regarded either as a patronymic formed from **Segons*, or as a derivative from the name of a deity, if such ever existed. There are numerous instances of Celtic local names formed from personal names by simply converting them into the neuter singular. D'Arbois de Jubainville, on the strength of short form *Moguntiā* for *Moguntiācum*, equivalent to *Fundus Moguntiacus*, formed by means of the Celtic suffix *-ācus* (Welsh *-og*) from *Moguntios*, a personal name of similar participial formation to *Segontios*, has concluded that these Celtic local names in *-ion* (Latinised *-ium*) are short forms of full-names ending in *dūnon* (Latinised *dunum*). He instances *Gobannium* for a hypothetical *Gobannio-dunum*.¹⁷⁶ *Gobannion* is recorded in the river-name Gavenny at Abergavenny, formed from the Celtic *gobann-* "smith" (Welsh, *gof*, Gaelic *gobha*, Angliceised as *Gow*). There are many other instances of British river-names formed by means of the suffix *-ion*. The English took over the name of *Verulamium* as a river-name. It occurs in Beda's *Uerlamæ-caestir*. That this is a compound of the river-name is proved by the early eleventh century O.E. List of Saints and their burial places, where it is said that St. Alban is buried "by the river that is called Wærlame"¹⁷⁷ (*Ver*, the modern name of the river, is an antiquarian figment). Similarly the river Churn at Cirencester descends from a British **Corinion*, which is recorded in Ptolemy's *Κορίνιον*, the name of the Roman station, which was also known as *Durocornovium*.¹⁷⁸ Here there is strong presumption from the use of the two different names that *Κορίνιον* was the name of the river upon which the Roman station was situated. It is, of course, possible that a river may have taken its name from a Roman station upon its bank, but it is far more probable that the station derived its name from the river. This probability is strengthened by the numerous instances, both in Welsh and in English, where a Roman camp has lost its official Roman name and is designated by a compound of *Caer* or *Chester* and the river-name. It is hardly possible to believe that in every case the

¹⁷⁵ Holder, *Alt-Celtischer Sprachschatz* i, col. 1450.

¹⁷⁶ *Recherches sur l'Origine de la Propriété Foncière et des Noms de Lieux habités en France*, Paris, 1890, p. 681.

¹⁷⁷ Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands*, Hanover 1889, ii, 2, p. 19.

¹⁷⁸ See my article on the name of Cirencester, *Archæologia*, lxi, p. 201.

Roman stations occupied the site of an earlier British *oppidum*, and where they were of purely Roman or strategical origin, it would be natural to name them from the rivers upon which they were situated. That *Segontium* was the name of the river, and not primarily of the Roman station is strongly suggested by the Welsh *Kaer Aber Sein*, i.e., "the Caer at the mouth (of the river) Seint", as the river is called in the *Life of St. Beuno*. This conclusion is supported by a local parallel in the river Breint on the other side of Menai Straits. The seems to represent a similar participial personal name *Briganti*, feminine, Latinised as *Brigantia* in other examples of the name.¹⁷⁹ This is the name of the familiar Irish St. Bridget, and it was also the name of an Irish goddess. It is possible that the name of the Breint was, like *Segontium*, also a neuter formation, for Ptolemy mentions in the genitive *Βριγαντίου* a local name somewhere in the latitude of Colchester.¹⁸⁰

The regular Welsh descendant of *Segontium* would be *Heint* (cf. *hy* from **segos* above), but British initial *s* is preserved in a handful of words,¹⁸¹ and its retention in the case of Seint is, therefore, no obstacle to its derivation from *Segontium*. The derivation has been accepted by Loth and by Morris-Jones,¹⁸² and may therefore be said to be beyond cavil.

It may accordingly be concluded that *Segontium* was the

¹⁷⁹ Holder, i, col. 535.

¹⁸⁰ *Syntaxis Mathematica* (the *Almagest* of the Middle Ages), ii, c. 6, written between A.D. 138 and 161. This Brigantion (a form recorded on the continent) can hardly be connected with the tribe of the Brigantes in the north of England or with the Irish tribe of the same name, as it is given as fixing the latitude, and should therefore be a town, as in the case of *Caturactionum* (Catterick, co. York), which Ptolemy mentions in this same connexion. Mr. Egerton Phillimore has recognised a descendant of a like name in the Middlesex river Brent, which occurs in O.E. as *Bregunt*, *Bregent* (Owen's *Description of Pembrokeshire*, i, 105). The Welsh in much later times called a river by a man's name without any suffix (*ibid.* ii, 296; iii, pp. 238, 321).

¹⁸¹ Morris-Jones, p. 138 § 94; Pedersen, *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen*, Göttingen, 1909, i. p. 71 § 48. The presence of initial *s* following the feminine Caer in Caer Segeint, Caer Siddi, Caer Sallog, and other cases, supports Morris-Jones in holding against Pedersen that the change to *h* in Welsh is not due to initial mutation (lenition).

¹⁸² Morris-Jones, p. 163 § 103, ii, 1; J. Loth, *Les Mabinogion*, Paris, 1889, i, p. 80.

Roman name of a fort derived from the British river-name **Segontion* or **Sigontion*; that *seint* is the modern Welsh descendant of the river-name; and that the connection with the singular or plural of the Welsh *sant*, borrowed from the Latin *sanctus*, is a piece of folk-etymology, fostered by the tradition of the residence in its vicinity of SS. Beuno and Peris.

The old Welsh form *Segeint* could in its day hardly have been thus confused. But there remains the questions whether *Caer Segeint* is to be identified with *Segontium*, and whether *Segeint* was the name of the river. The latter question we may claim to be reasonably answered in the affirmative by the evidence of the Middle Welsh forms quoted above. The identification of *Caer Segeint* with Carnarvon, and consequently with *Segontium*, finds support in the statement in the *Historia Britonum* (Nennius), c. 25, that there was an inscription near Cair Segeint on the tomb of the Emperor "Constantinus Constantini Magni filius" (see note 158), coupled with the record in the *Flores Historiarum*, ed. Luard, iii., p. 59 (the so-called Matthew of Westminster) of the discovery at Carnarvon in 1283 of "corpus magni principis, patris Imperatoris nobilis Constantini," a discovery that may have been due to the inscription mentioned in the *Historia Britonum*.¹⁸³ The correct reading "patris" instead of "filius" tends to show that the source of the knowledge was not the corrupted text of the *Historia Britonum*.

Camden suggested that *Segontium*, which is not mentioned by Ptolemy, corresponded to his Σεταρτίων λιμὴν (*Geograph.* ii., 3, § 2), on the ground of the variant reading Σεγαρτίων. Confusion of τ and γ is not unknown in the MSS. of Ptolemy, which descend from an archetype written in uncials, in which T and Γ are easily confused.¹⁸⁴ But the better class of MSS. read Σεταρτίων, and the latitude and longitude given by Ptolemy do not corres-

¹⁸³ Constantius (Chlorus), the father of Constantine the Great, seems to have been buried at Treves (Pauly-Wissowa, iv. col. 1043), and the usurper Constantine III (who is confused with his great namesake in the Welsh traditions) and his son Constantius were both slain on the continent.

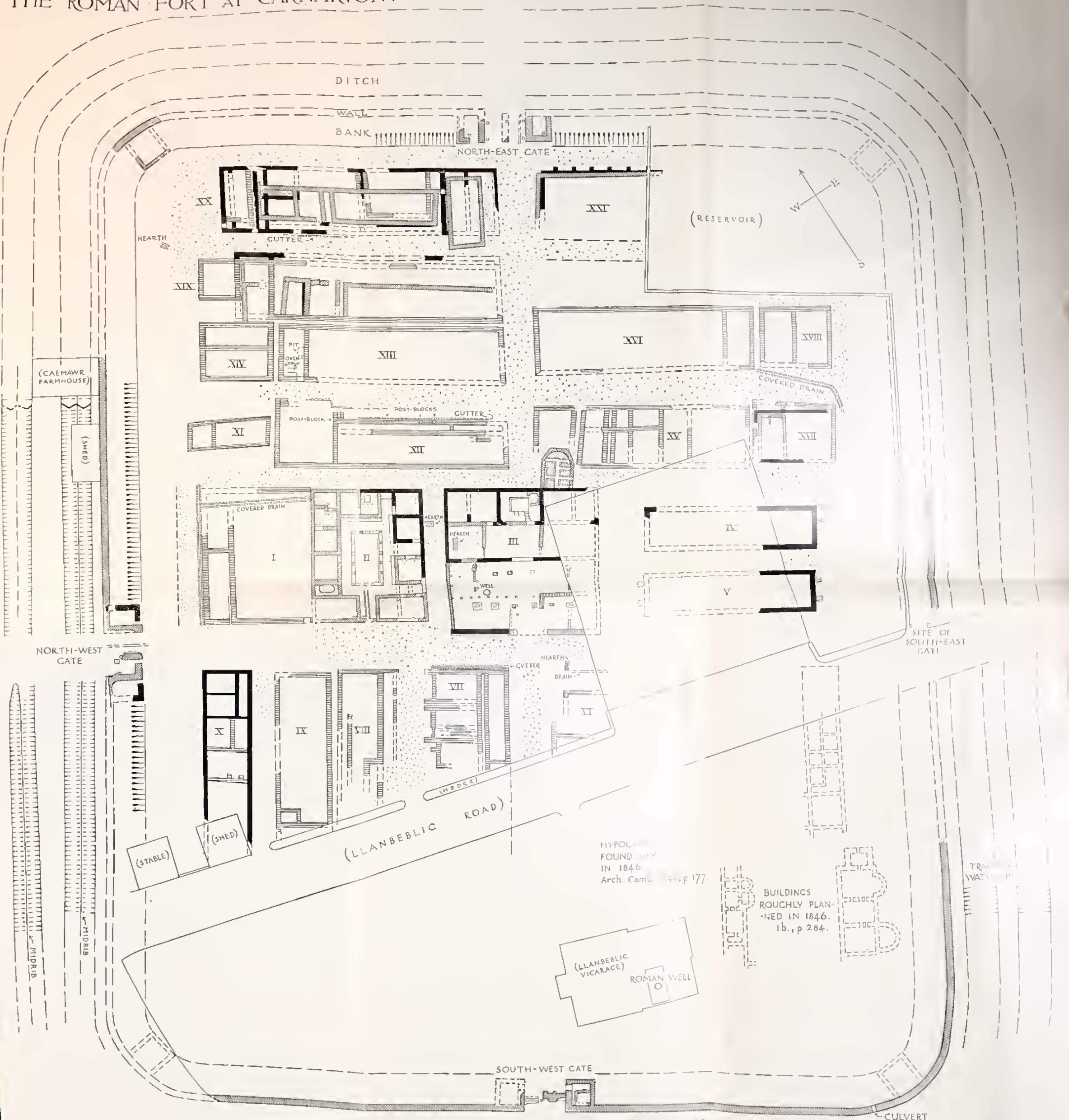
¹⁸⁴ Otto Cuntz, *Die Geographie des Ptolomæus, Galliae, Germania, Raetia, Noricum, Pannoniae, Illyricum, Italia, Handschriften, Text, und Untersuchung*, Berlin, 1923, p. 15.

pond with the situation of Segontium. Dr. Henry Bradley, in his reconstruction of Ptolemy's map of Britain,¹⁸⁵ identifies Σεταρτίων λιμήν with the estuary of the Ribble, following Horsley, and this also appears in the map published in connexion with Müller's edition of Ptolemy.¹⁸⁶ The names are philologically distinct, since *-antion* and *-ontion* represent bases ending in *-a* and *-o* plus the *-nt* suffix, and the formations are kept distinct in the Greek and Latin writers

¹⁸⁵ *Archaeologia*, xlvi. p. 393 (1884).

¹⁸⁶ *Claudii Ptolomaei Geographia: Tabulae xxxvi a Carolo Mullero instructae*, Paris, Firmin Didot et Socii, 1901, tabb. 2 and 3.

THE ROMAN FORT AT CARNARVON.



...oo = POST-HOLES (MOSTLY 1ST CENTY). ■ = 2ND CENTY. ■ = PROBABLY 3RD CENTY. ■ = 4TH CENTY. ■ = UNCERTAIN ROMAN DATES. ■ = PROBABLY 5TH CENTY OR LATER.

FIG. 84.

R.E.M. WHEELER
Mens. & Del. 1923.

To face p. 186.

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