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A re-examination of the evidence for parade-grounds at auxiliary forts in Roman Britain

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A Re-Examination of the Evidence for Parade-Grounds
at Auxiliary Forts in Roman Britain

This Thesis examines the underlying evidence for parade-grounds at auxiliary forts in Roman Britain. Firstly by examining the evidence supporting forts with actual physical remains, such as the altars and the tribunal at Maryport and the artificially levelled area at Hardknott, and those with flagged areas which have been interpreted as parade-grounds, such as Ambleside and Gelligaer. The literary evidence of ancient authors is examined with particular reference to training and exercising and where this might have been undertaken. The occasions when a parade might have been appropriate in Roman times are examined, as is the possibility of a modern concept being superimposed on an ancient action.

A RE-EXAMINATION OF THE EVIDENCE

FOR PARADE-GROUNDS

AT AUXILIARY FORTS IN ROMAN BRITAIN

Shirley Ann Waldock

M.A. THESIS

UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DECLARATION

No part of this thesis has previously been submitted by Shirley Ann Waldock

for a degree in the University of Durham or any other university.

ILLUSTRATIONS

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CHAPTER III

TRAINING, EXERCISES AND CAVALRY SPORTS, AND PARADES

CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

The basis of this thesis formed part of a BA dissertation for the Department of Archaeology, University of Durham in 1995 (Waldock, 1995, 72) where it was suggested that the evidence did not support the parade-ground to the north of the Roman auxiliary fort at Maryport. This suggestion has since been adopted by other writers (for example, Breeze, 1997, 69; Hill, 1997, 93; Lax and Blood, 1997, 52). The original purpose of this MA thesis was to investigate the possible locations of the parade-grounds associated with all the known auxiliary forts in Roman Britain. To this end, one summer vacation was spent collecting information for a data base, from excavation reports and literary evidence and by personal observation. During that time research into the other parade-ground at Maryport, that to the south, continued: this, too, proved to be unsupported by evidence. (See the discussion in chapter II.1)

The first part of this thesis will examine the evidence for all suggested parade-grounds at auxiliary forts in Roman Britain as mentioned by Davies (1968, 77-80 and listed in 1989, Index 334). Some reference will be made to the possible parade-grounds of legionary fortresses where they are known in Britain and elsewhere in the Roman empire, as well as a reference to the Campus Martius in Rome.

The second part of the thesis will deal with the training and exercising of auxiliary soldiers, both infantry and cavalry, from references made by ancient authors including Vegetius (*Epitoma Rei Militaris*) and Arrian (*Ars Tactica*). This will include the cavalry sports exercises as described by Arrian and the special equipment used on these occasions. The question of parading, and where any training or exercising might have taken place, will also be examined.

The third part of the thesis will examine the physical evidence for practice camps in Britain, including those on Llandrinddod Common in Wales, Cawthorn Camps in Yorkshire, and Woden Law and Burnswark in Scotland.

The first reference to a parade-ground at Maryport was that to the south, made in 1891 by the Rev. J.I. Cummins (Cummins, 1891, 14) based on an area of flat ground with a mound of earth on one side, which he described as the "playground of ancient Glanoventa", the name then thought to be the Roman name of Maryport fort. In fact, this mound was, by then, a much-truncated round barrow, known as Pudding Pie Hill, which had been opened and examined in 1742 (Head, 1773, 55).

In 1939 Wenham (Wenham, 1939, 22) suggested that the altars found in 1870 buried in several pits approximately 350 yards (320 metres) to the north-east of Maryport fort, were annual dedicatory altars which had been buried beside the parade-ground. As a parade-ground to the south of the fort was already accepted, Eric Birley suggested (Birley, 1961, 222) that there had been two parade-grounds at Maryport, at the north and the south. He further suggested that the one to the north was the earlier, subsequently being moved to the south, possibly in the mid-3rd century when the northern parade area had become overrun by the *vicus*, the putative civil settlement.

Subsequent published references to some other parade-grounds in Roman Britain have been made on the basis of a comparison with features from Maryport, such as a flat area and a tribunal (Cummins, 1891), or buried altars (Wenham, 1939). For example, Tomen-y-Mur (Lloyd-Jones and Hemp, 1924, 203)) with a flat area and tribunal; South Shields later fort (Thornborrow, 1959, 11) with tribunal, altars and altar bases; and Birdoswald (Richmond, 1966, 169) with a flat area and altars. The flat area at Hardknott was first suggested as a military exercise or parade area in 1794 (Hutchinson, 1794, 569) and the mound on the north side of this area was first recognised as a tribunal in 1892 (Ferguson,

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Dymond and Calverley, 1892, 410) and compared with the tribunal to the south of Maryport fort, which had been recognised in the previous year (Cummins, 1891, 15). The possible parade-ground of an earlier, as yet undiscovered, fort is suggested at South Shields on the appearance of the carefully laid cobblestone foundation being quartered by clear demarcation lines of smaller cobbles and the whole covered with a rammed gravel surface (Hodgson, 1993, 9). The evidence for these parade-grounds will be examined as will evidence for other parade-grounds where the evidence is that of a paved area. For example, Ambleside and Slack (Collingwood, 1928, 337), Chester-le-Street (Gillam and Tait, 1968, 81), Beckfoot (Collingwood, 1936a, 80), Low Borrow Bridge (Birley, 1948, 14), and Gelligaer (Richmond, 1925, 32). Reference will also be made to a recently-recorded parade-ground at Alchester (Sauer and Crutchley, 1998, 36).

The altars from Maryport, particularly altars dedicated *Iovi Optimo Maximo*, to Jupiter, Best and Greatest (hereafter called I.O.M. altars) will be examined and compared with another assemblage of altars from the Antonine Wall fort of Auchendavy, and with other groups from elsewhere in the Roman empire, from Osterburken, Stockstadt and Mainhardt in Upper Germany; and from Sirmium in Lower Pannonia (modern Serbia). Further collections of I.O.M. altars, for example those from Housesteads, may indicate that deposition of the altars may have occurred at temples and not parade-grounds.

The evidence for the mound lying to the south of the Maryport fort, suggested as the tribunal to the parade-ground, will be examined and it will be shown that the turf core of the mound does not resemble what is known of Roman turfwork, and that it is pre-Roman in origin.

At Hardknott there is the physical evidence of an artificially levelled area (Hutchinson, 1794, 569) and a high mound to one side (Ferguson, Dymond and Calverley, 1892, 410), but there is no evidence that it is Roman. Albeit with the proximity of the Roman fort,

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and no evidence of other close inhabitants, who else could have constructed it, is not an answer to what it is. An examination is made as to what else it might have been, if indeed it is Roman. Several other similar situations of long hauls up and down Roman roads, at Chew Green on Dere Street in Northumberland (Richmond and Kenney, 1937, 144) and at Maiden Castle on Stainmore (Collingwood, 1927, 172), suggest the possibility of a wagon-park or changing station for draught animals. These are examined, as is a peculiar feature of the levelled area at Hardknott in that, despite bracken cover elsewhere in the vicinity, this area is devoid of bracken.

At Tomen-y-Mur there is also an area of artificially levelled ground, and an earthwork described as probably a tribunal (Jarrett, 1969, 113) though this is somewhat removed from the levelled area, being about 50 yards (45 metres) to the east of the south-east corner of the area. An earthwork, thought to be a medieval motte, lies in one corner of the fort and a number of mounds also lie close to the fort. The area includes a small amphitheatre-like earthwork, although its dimensions do not suggest that much activity could have been undertaken inside (Barnwell, 1871, 200). These various features are examined. A recently-recorded parade-ground at Alchester is suggested because of the similarity of its flat area to that at Tomen-y-Mur (Sauer and Crutchley, 1998, 36).

At South Shields in 1959 (Thornborrow, 1959, 11) a number of small excavation pits outside the north-east corner of the fort, uncovered a mound of cobble stones and a number of altars and altar bases, and this was interpreted as burials of altars beside the tribunal of the parade-ground of the later forts, taking Maryport as an example. The present interpretation is that of a temple (Bidwell and Speak, 1994, 1). Subsequent excavation in 1993 inside the extension to the original 2nd century stone fort, discovered what has been described as the possible parade-ground to the early, as yet undiscovered, wooden fort (Hodgson, 1993, 9).

A parade-ground is conjectured on the flat area to the east of Birdoswald auxiliary fort (Richmond, 1966, 169) from where an altar (*RIB* 1880) fell into the nearby ravine, one of the only known find spots of the Birdoswald I.O.M. altars. A flagged area outside several other forts have been suggested as parade-grounds, at Ambleside and Slack (Collingwood, 1928, 337), Gelligaer (Richmond, 1925, 32), Beckfoot (Collingwood, 1936a, 80), Low Borrow Bridge (Birley, 1948, 14), and Chester-le-Street (Gillam and Tait, 1968, 81).

Reference is made to the possibility of parade-grounds at legionary fortresses at, for example, Caerleon (JRS, XLV, 1955, 122) and Chester (Wilson, 1967, 179) in Britain and Lambaesis in Africa. Parade-grounds are sometimes equated with the Campus Martius in Rome, and this is examined.

For the training and exercising of auxiliary troops, ancient authors (for example, Caesar, Tacitus, Vegetius, Arrian, Josephus) have been referred to in translation from different periods, which suggest that each translation reflects contemporary activities. Literary evidence for infantry and cavalry training is examined, including the cavalry sports exercises and its specialised equipment. The description of the pay parade at the siege of Jerusalem by Josephus (*Jewish Wars*, Book III, ix, 1) is examined as is the *adlocutio* of Hadrian to the soldiers at Lambaesis (*CIL* VIII, 2532; 18042). This addressing of troops by commanders and emperors is also to be seen in scenes from Trajan's column (Lepper and Frere, 1988, scene xvii, pl. xxi; scene xlii, pl. xxiii, for example).

Some of the records of day reports and the like, from the writing tablets at Vindolanda (Bowman and Thomas, 1991, 68) and the Dura Europos *papyri* (Fink, 1971, 10), show the dispersion of soldiers to their daily tasks, although it is noteworthy that none shows any soldier detailed for what Vegetius describes as daily exercises.

The evidence for practice camps is examined at Llandinddrod Common (Daniels and Jones, 1969, 126), where the largest number, eighteen, of small rectangular earthworks is clustered together. Superficially similar, where excavation has been undertaken this similarity is dispelled, for example. A recent re-examination of the practice camps at Cawthorn, near Pickering in Yorkshire (Welfare and Swan, 1995, 137), has suggested a reinterpretation. Excavation has been undertaken at the Roman practice camp at Burnswark in Dumfriesshire (Jobey, 1977-8, 58), and also at Woden Law, Roxburghshire (Richmond and St. Joseph, 1982, 283). Several other earthworks have been interpreted as practice camps at, for example, Loughor and Bootham Stray, York (Welfare and Swan 1995, 135). Each of these is examined to consider what type of training or exercise might have been undertaken.

CHAPTER II
AUXILIARY FORTS

1. MARYPORT, Cumberland

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The Roman fort at the mouth of the river Ellen at Maryport, known from the Antonine
Itinerary as *Alauna* (Rivet and Smith, 1979, 245), lay on the summit of a hill, elevated
above the surrounding flat countryside on the Cumberland coast and overlooking the
Solway Firth towards Galloway. The fort was 6.5 acres (2.64 ha) in size. Its known
garrisons were, under Hadrian, *cohors I Hispanorum equitata*, which was later during
the reign upgraded to *milliaria*. Under Antoninus Pius the unit was the *cohors I
Delmatarum equitata*, and under Marcus Aurelius the *cohors I Baetasiorum civium
Romanorum*. Sometime in the 3rd century it was probably garrisoned by a *cohors
milliaria*. The fort was not listed in the late 4th/early 5th century <u>Notitia Dignitatum</u>.

The fort at Maryport has been known at least from the 16th century, when it was visited
by such antiquaries as Camden (1610), Gordon (1728) and Horsley (1732), all of whom
comment on the hospitality given to them by the Senhouse family and on the interest
shown by the family in the various altars and inscribed stones found on their land, then
known as Ellenborough Hall. These stones and altars, assiduously collected and kept,
mostly, at Nether Hall, were chance finds and no attempt was made at excavation. By
that time the names of the occupying units at Maryport had been determined from those
altars already discovered, although these were thought to be cohorts of legions rather
than units of auxiliary troops (Cummins, 1891, 16; Stukeley, 1883; Maxwell, in Cowper
and Maxwell, 1892, 233).

FIG. 1. MARYPORT: ROMAN SITE AND SURROUNDINGS.
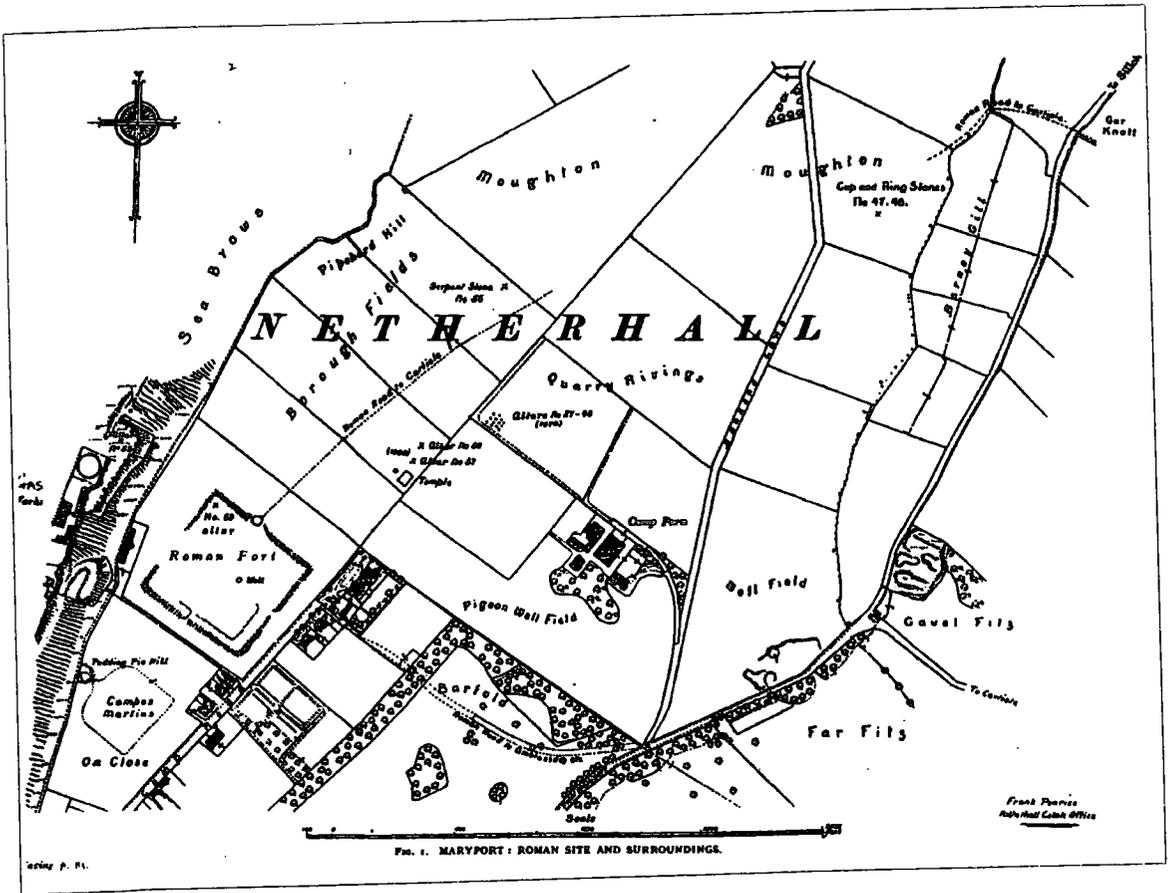
Maryport: Roman site and surroundings. CW2 XXXVI, R.G. Collingwood 'The Roman Fort and Settlement at Maryport'
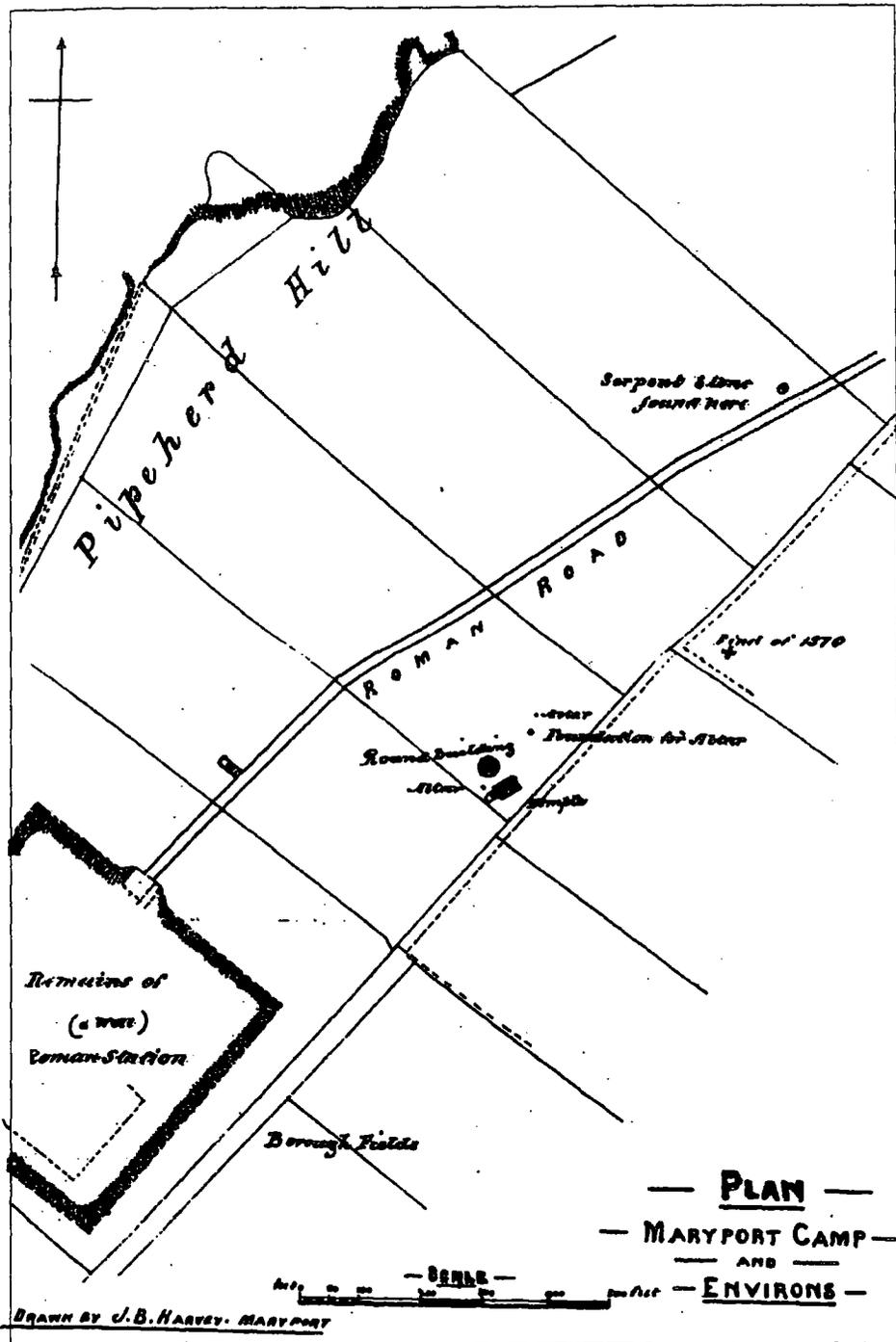
Maryport: Plan of Find Spots near the Fort. CW1 V, J. Robinson
'Notes on the Excavations near the Roman Camp, Maryport during the year 1880'

1.2 I.O.M. Altars

The greatest discovery was made at Maryport in 1870 when no less than seventeen altars were dug from the ground to the north of the fort. The land had recently reverted to the landowner, Mr. J. Pocklington Senhouse, who felt that the land needed to be brought into good condition by ploughing deeper than usual (Bruce, 1876, 187). It was this deeper ploughing that caused the altars to be discovered. A stone was dislodged by the ploughing and on its being removed a carved block was seen lying beneath it.

A systematic search was undertaken in the area, lasting ten days and resulting in the discovery of seventeen altars. The altars were dug from the pits in the following order: *RIB* 828, 826, 827, 838, 816, 815, 819, 825, 822, 831, 842, 830, 817, 824, 843, 846. One altar, the 13th to be found, is without inscription and therefore has no *RIB* number. The dedications are *RIB* 838, *Marti Militari*; 842 and 843 *Victori Augusti*; *RIB* 846 to Vulcan. All the others are I.O.M. altars, dedicated *Iovi Optimo Maximo*, to Jupiter, Best, and Greatest. The area in which these altars were found lies about 350 yards (320 metres) north-east of the fort and all, it seems, in pits which were clustered in a space of approximately 60 feet (18 metres) in diameter.

The finding of these altars gave us the names of eight commanders: eleven altars were dedicated by *Coh I Hispanorum*, the unit in occupation during the reign of Hadrian (AD 117-138); one dedicated by *Coh I Delmatorum equitata* during the reign of Antoninus Pius (AD138-161) and four dedicated by *Coh I Baetasiorum civium Romanorum* during the reign of Marcus Aurelius (AD161-180).

The formula of the inscription on each of the I.O.M. altars varies slightly. After the dedication *Iovi Optimo Maximo*, the name of the unit and commander follow on *RIB* 830, 831, 817, 822, 828. *RIB* 816 and 827 give additional information about the commander; *RIB* 816 listing his voting-tribe and place of origin; and 827 that he was also Tribune of the Eighteenth Cohort of Volunteers (probably on transfer to another unit).

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RIB 819 and 826 have only the name of the commander following the I.O.M. dedication. *RIB* 815, 824 and 825 are dedicated to I.O.M. and the Emperor's Deity, although 815 gives only the unit name and 824 and 825 only the name of the commander. Of the remaining altars from the hoard, *RIB* 842 and 843 are dedicated to the Emperor's Victory, followed by the unit name and commander; *RIB* 838 is dedicated *Marti Militari*, followed by the unit name and commander; *RIB* 846 is dedicated to Vulcan by a prefect. Although the four altars from this hoard dedicated by Marcus Maenius Agrippa, the Tribune, do not mention the name of the unit, it was already known from an earlier altar (*RIB* 823) that he was, in fact, the commander of *Coh I Hispanorum equitata*.

We also know something more of the career of Maenius Agrippa from the statue base found at his home town of Camerinum in Italy (*ILS* 2735). This tells us that his post at Maryport was, in fact, the second of his *tres militae*, the first being prefect of the *Cohors II Flavia Brittonum equitata*, and the third being prefect of the *ala Gallorum et Pannoniorum catafracta*. Maenius Agrippa had two further appointments connected with Britain; he was prefect of the British Fleet and procurator of the province. He is described as being "host of the deified Hadrian" which some have suggested refers to his time at Maryport although this would seem to be unlikely in his capacity as the tribune of an auxiliary *cohort*. His appointment as prefect of the *Classis Britannica* also led some (for example Bruce, 1876, 185: Bailey, 1923, 146) to suggest that Maryport was, in fact, the headquarters of the British Fleet. However, this has long been discounted.

Dr. Collingwood Bruce (Bruce, 1866-73, 178 and 1876, 187) describes the finding of the altars in pits from four to six feet (1.2 to 1.8 metres) deep with the bottom of several pits "paved" with cobble stones. In no instance was the altar face upwards;

816

I · O · M ·
COH·I·HISP·
EQ·CVI·PRAEST·
L·ANTISTIVS·LF·
QVIRINA·LVPVS·
VERIANVS·PRAEF·
DOMV·SIC
CAF·X·AFRICA

817

I · O · M ·
COH·I·
HISPANO
CVI·PRA
EST·C·CAB
PRISCVS
TRIB

827

I · O · M ·
CAMMI
MAXI
MVS·PRAE
COH·I·HS
EQ·ETR·XVIII
COHOR·VOLV
V·S·L·M

828

I · O · M
L·CAMMI
VS·MAXIM
VS·PRAEFEC
TVS·COH
·I·HISPANO
EQ·V·S·L·M

Some Maryport I.O.M. altars

21

815

819

826

Some Maryport I.O.M. altars

22

IOVI·OPTIM·MAXI·
CAPITOLINO
PRO·SALVT·AN
TONINI·AVG
PII·POSTVMI
VS·ACILIANVS
PRAEF·COH·I·DELM
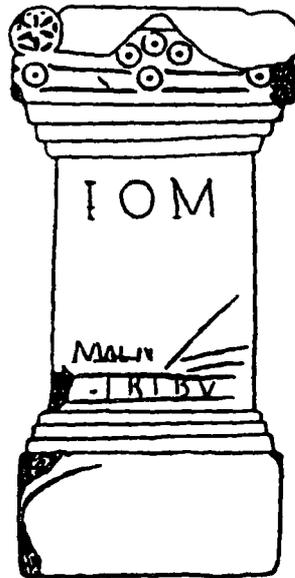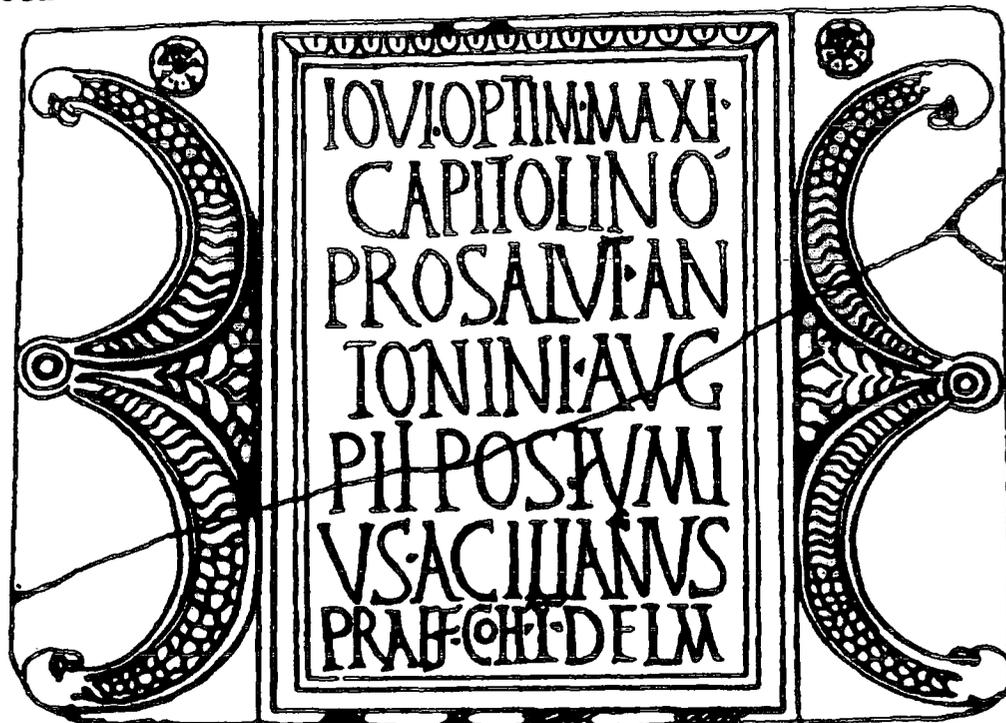
RIB 832 Maryport: Dedication slab.

some with inscriptions sideways and some downwards. Not all the pits contained altars; many were completely empty, but these could have contained altars that were earlier chance finds, while some contained pieces of altars and loose stones. A dedication slab (*RIB* 832), found in 1873, was face downwards in a pit a little outside the area of the 1870 hoard. Jarrett suggested that this slab may have come from the side of the tribunal at the edge of the parade-ground and buried when the parade-ground was moved to a new site south of the fort (Jarrett, 1965, 126).

A question sometimes asked is about the number of pits dug, as opposed to one large pit, supposing that the altars were all buried at the same time. This would seem to be a matter of logistics; several men assigned to each pit would work more efficiently than one large gang of men digging one large pit or even a long ditch (Hill, 1997, 101).

Bruce described the altars as being placed with care, but later qualified that to admit signs of haste (Bruce, 1876, 187). He went on to conjecture the likelihood of the pits being in the vicinity of a temple, but rejected this on the grounds that there were too many altars to one god (Jupiter, Best and Greatest) for one temple. His opinion was that the altars were brought from the fort or from temples in its immediate vicinity.

1.3 TEMPLES

Joseph Robinson, digging in the second field north of the fort at Maryport in 1880 discovered the foundation of a rectangular building, 46 feet by 25 feet (14 metres by 7.6 metres), which he interpreted as a temple (Robinson, 1881b, 245), probably dedicated to Jupiter. The building had a dividing wall at its east end and a recess at the west. Robinson also found a round building, 34 feet (10.3 metres) in diameter, 20 feet (6 metres) away from the rectangular building, which may have been buttressed. There was a funeral pyre and other burials nearby. In a reappraisal of Robinson's 1880 excavation, Collingwood (1936b, 92) stated that there was no comparable temple

PLAN OF BUILDINGS

Discovered near the Roman Camp, Maryport,

by Mr Jas. Robinson.

April & May 1880.

Flagging

Pedestal

Flagging

Scale
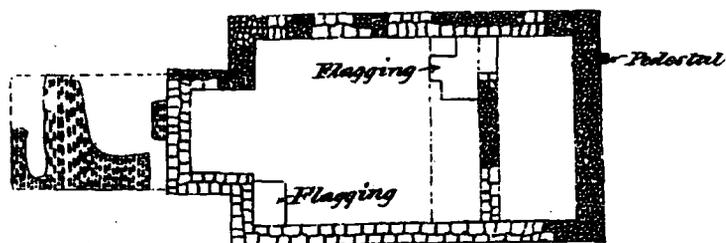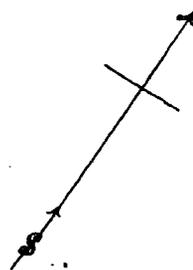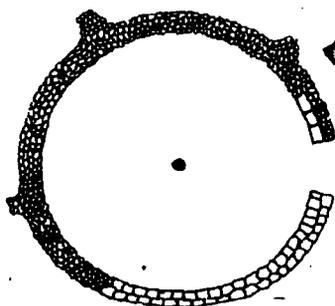
Drawn by
John B. Harvey.
Maryport.

Maryport: Plan of Buildings discovered near the fort. CW1 V, J. Robinson
'Notes on the Excavations near the Roman Camp, Maryport, during the year 1880'

Keston Court Farm, Kent: Plan of Roman foundations.
Archaeologia XXXVI, George R. Corner, 'An Account of Excavations on the site of Roman Buildings at Keston near Bromley, Kent'
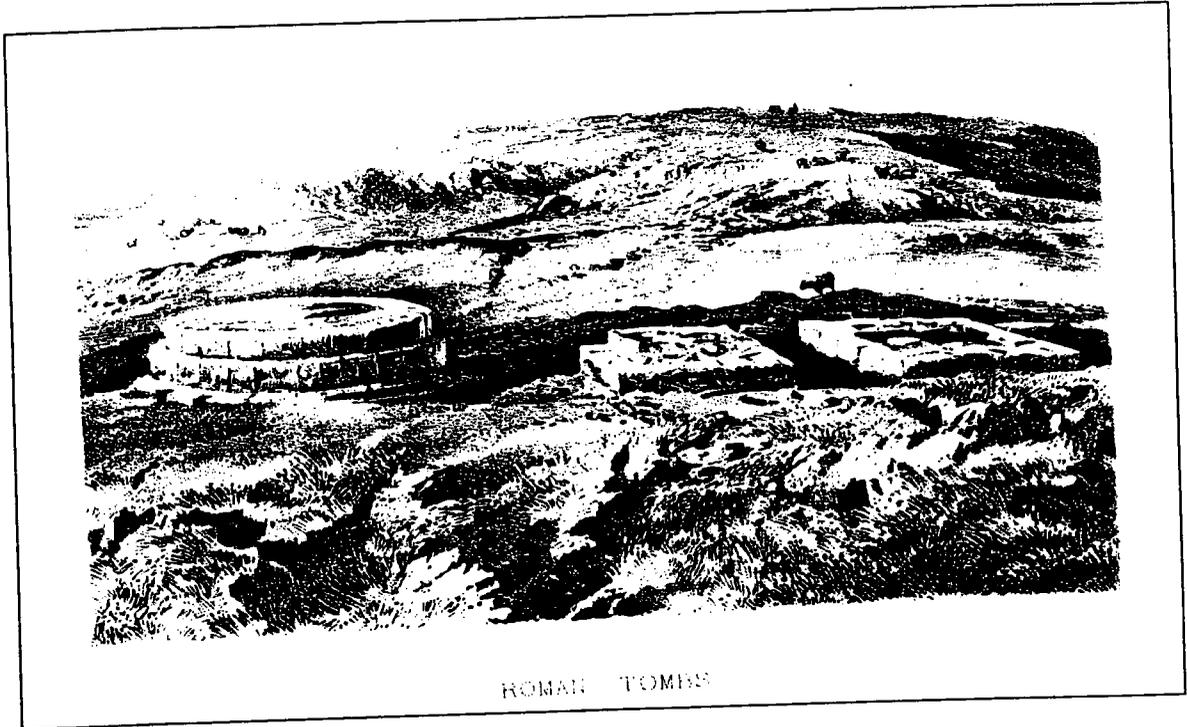
ROMAN TOMBS

High Rochester: Roman Tombs. The Roman Wall (3rd edn.). J.C. Bruce

type, and that the building was a tomb of a kind not very common in Britain. Others of a similar type are at West Mersea in Essex and Keston in Kent, where similar buildings exist (Corner, 1855, 122). At High Rochester, beside Dere Street in Northumberland, remains of a round tomb exist (Wilson, 1967, 282) and Bruce showed the existence of two rectangular buildings (Bruce, 1867, 330), which have since disappeared.

1.4 ALTAR HOARDS

There is another instance of altars in Roman Britain being buried as a group. This is at Auchendavy, an auxiliary fort on the Antonine Wall in Scotland, where four altars (*RIB* 2174-7) were found in 1771 dedicated by Marcus Cocceius Firmus, a centurion of the Second Legion Augusta. Only one of the altars, *RIB* 2176, was dedicated to Jupiter, Best and Greatest, the other three were dedicated each to a different deity; *RIB* 2174 to Diana and Apollo, *RIB* 2175 to the land of Britain, *RIB* 2177 to Mars, Minerva, the *Campestres*, Hercules, Epona and Victory. A fifth altar (*RIB* 2178) was fragmentary, but its location in the pit with the other four altars and dedicated to yet another deity, Silvanus, suggested to Macdonald and Birley that this altar too was dedicated by M. Cocceius Firmus (Macdonald 1911, 1934; Birley, 1953, 87).

The pit in which the Auchendavy altars were found was nine feet (2.7 metres) deep, with a diameter of seven feet (2.1 metres) at the top, narrowing to about three feet (0.9 metres) at the bottom. Another item found in the pit, together with the altars, was a broken cult statue (Keppie and Walker, 1985, 29). It is now suggested (Megaw, 1970, no. 232) that this may have been a local deity, as armless statues occur in Celtic art in Gaul. Two huge iron mallets were also found in the pit but these are thought to have been lost or disintegrated by the later 19th century (Keppie and Walker, 1985, 29). It is interesting to note that alongside the altars and altar bases found at South Shields (see Chapter II.4), was also found the torso of a statuette (Thornborrow, 1959, 9).

Although not direct parallels with Maryport, where the altars are all dedicated by tribunes or prefects, several groups of altars have been found in other provinces of the Roman Empire. On the German *limes*, the frontier, at Osterburken (Schallmayer, 1983), Stockstadt (Fabricus, Hettner and Von Sarwey, 1914) and Mainhardt (Goessler, 1943), and at Sirmium in Pannonia (Popovic, 1989). These are all altars dedicated by *beneficiarii consulares*, except at Mainhardt where five altars are dedicated by prefects on behalf of *cohors I Asturum equitata*. The *beneficiarii* had no special functions, they were seconded from their units to serve on the staff of a particular officer. They are identified by the title of the officer whom they served and from whom they took their seniority. The dedication on many of the altars is *Iovi Optimo Maximo*, sometimes singly, sometimes combined with other deities, and sometimes other deities without the I.O.M. dedication.

At Osterburken the altars appear to have been placed within a timber barrier, on one side of which was a temple dedicated to Dea Candida (Schallmayer, 1983). The altars appear not to have been buried but ultimately to have been overwhelmed by changes in the course of the river (Hill, 1997, 94). This also appears to have been the fate of the altars at Stockstadt where another group of altars was found. Here again the dedications of I.O.M. and multiple deities were by *beneficiarii consulares* (Fabricus, Hettner and Von Sarway, 1914). Unlike Maryport, the altars at Osterburken and Stockstadt were found with altar bases. Of the nine altars found at Mainhardt, five were I.O.M. dedications by successive prefects of *cohors I Asturum equitata*, two by a single prefect, C. Julius Artemo. Three Mother Goddess reliefs were also found at Mainhardt (Goessler, 1943).

At Sirmium, on the river Save in Lower Pannonia, a group of eighty-five altars was found outside the walls of the Roman town in an enclosure dedicated to Jupiter. The altars, all dedicated to Jupiter by *beneficiarii consulares*, were found mostly *in situ* and upright, close together (Popovic, 1989). Thus they were protected from the weather, except for

the tops which were weathered. The altars are dated from consular references as AD157 and 185-231, with a gap between AD 209-220. This weathering of the altars is similar to that at Maryport (Hill, 1997, 95). Hill has also remarked on the quality of workmanship of the altars, that at Maryport being inferior to any of the other altars (Hill, 1997, 94).

1.5 VICUS NORTH OF FORT

Further excavation took place at Maryport in 1880 by Robinson . Again, the area was concentrated north of the fort along the line of the road in the middle of the field. Many buildings were found on both sides of the road, in addition to a large building on the seaward side of the field (Robinson, 1881b, 237) and a further I.O.M. altar, RIB 820, dedicated by C. Caballius Priscus (Robinson, 1881b, 244). Collingwood (1936b, 90) suggested that the houses and burials found by Robinson during his 1880 excavations to the north of the fort were the cemetery of the earlier Roman period, with the vicus, the putative civilian settlement, covering an area approximately 500 by 300 yards (457 by 274 metres) built over in the later period (Collingwood, 1936, 94). Collingwood was unconvinced by Bailey's suggestion (Bailey, 1923, 152) of a defensive rampart surrounding this area, although Birley later (1961, 223) suggested the possibility of an early 4th century rampart enclosing the Roman town. A more recent survey (Lax and Blood, 1997, 63) suggested that these earthworks are unlikely to be Roman.

On the edge of the cliff over-looking the sea, work was undertaken in 1880 prior to commercial quarrying (Robinson, 1881, 237). An altar, RIB 813, evidently fallen from the quarry, was dug out in the level 25 yards (22.86 metres) from the rock face, much weathered. Just above the quarry, at a later date, a small uninscribed household altar was retrieved. This evidence of erosion of the cliffs along this stretch of the coast may point to similar erosion of the cliffs to the south of the fort. Writing in the 18th century, Stukeley (1776, 49-51) stated: "The river Eden did not empty itself, formerly,

directly into the ocean, as at present, but went northward under the cliff, till it came under the castle: the old channel of it is visible: the sea has eaten away a large quantity of marsh and high ground between it and the castle."

1.6 ANNUAL DEDICATIONS

In 1939 Wenham (1939, 19) rejected the earlier suggestions of Collingwood (1936b, 156), Haverfield (1898, 136) and Bruce (1875, 429 and 1876, 189), that the altars found in pits to the north of the fort in 1870 had been buried in haste to prevent them falling into the hands of barbarians. He rejected the argument principally on the grounds of the condition of the stones, showing "so little weathering that they must each have been interred separately and at quite different times" (Wenham, 1939, 20).

Wenham went on to suggest that because all the altars are dedicated *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus*, that each name the cohort and/or the commander and each employ roughly the same formula, the altars were probably set up annually on the regimental parade-ground outside the fort (Wenham, 1939, 22). Here he cited Birley (1936, 66) who in turn refers to Pliny's Letters and Tacitus's Histories to support his view. However, the references, Pliny Letters X 35, 52-3, 100-1 and 102-3 and Tacitus Histories I, 55 do not in fact mention altars; they are concerned with the annual vows and oaths of loyalty, which would seem to be best interpreted as verbal oaths. (See Appendix 'A') Wenham also suggested that the altars were probably "honourably buried" (Wenham, 1939, 22) each year as the accepted way of disposing of the previous year's altar and presumed this to have been at the edge of the parade-ground. It is this presumption that is now treated as established fact (Jarrett, 1965, 115; Davies, 1968, 125; Birley, 1961, 222; Breeze and Dobson, 1987, 259; Webster, 1985, 169; Johnson, 1968, 215).

It is possible that there were in the region of 35,000 auxiliaries troops based in Roman Britain in, perhaps, 59 units (Breeze and Dobson 1987, 157, 158).

500-strong units (*quingenaria*)	paper strength of unit
12 x *cohors peditata* (infantry)	480
24 x *cohors equitata* (part-mounted)	608
15 x *ala* (cavalry)	512

1,000-strong units (*milliaria*)	
2 x *cohors peditata* (infantry)	800 (only 2 attested in Britain)
5 x *cohors equitata* (part-mounted)	1058 (only 5 attested in Britain)
1 x *ala* (cavalry)	768 (only one in Britain)
	(no province had more than one *ala milliaria*)

In a detailed discussion of the non-legionary troops in Roman Britain, Jarrett suggested about 30,000 soldiers in 58 units in addition to the legions (Jarrett, 1994, 74) in the years of the 120s.

Wenham suggested that altars may be awaiting discovery at other auxiliary forts (Wenham, 1939, 22). Taking the above figures, if approximately 50 unit commanders were dedicating altars each year throughout, say, the 2nd century, one would expect there to have been something in the region of (50 units x 100 years) 5,000 annual dedicatory I.O.M. altars.

One of the significant aspects of this interpretation of the altars, is the assumption that it is "practically the complete set" of annual dedications by one of the units (*coh. I Hispanorum equitata*) from which can be deduced the period of command of the various commanders throughout the *auxilia* (Wenham, 1939, 23). However, those listed have a varying range of period of tenure. M. Maenius Agrippa and C. Caballius Priscus served for four years; L. Cammius Maximus for three years; Helstrius Novellus for two years; and L. Antistius Lupus Verianus and Publius Cornelius Gaius, for one year each, giving

fifteen years in total for this one unit, but with six different commanders. Jarrett (1958, 65) referred to the normal period of command of an auxiliary unit, in the 2nd century, as being three years, citing Birley (1953, 137) who, in turn, cited Wenham (1939, 19).

In reviewing the altars dedicated by *coh. I Baetasiorum*, Wenham (1939, 28) suggested that the altars dedicated to Mars and Victory respectively by T. Attius Tutor, found as part of the 1870 hoard, may have stood in a shrine in or near the fort when Tutor was in command of the cohort. He further suggested that they were removed from the shrine and buried beside the parade-ground on his promotion when the usual I.O.M. altar was dedicated (Wenham, 1939, 29). It was then that the two altars similarly dedicated to Mars and Victory by Ulpius Titianus, were set up in the putative shrine. Wenham cited no evidence for his suggestion of the promotion of T. Attius Tutor, unless it is a reference to the next step in his *tres militae*. This seems to be an explanation for altars dedicated other than I.O.M. being found buried in pits with the I.O.M. altars which Wenham stated were annual dedicatory altars buried beside the parade-ground. A foot note reads "There is no evidence shewing that Tutor preceded Titianius in command of the cohort; he is here assumed to have been first merely for the purpose of illustration." (Wenham, 1939, 29).

In 1961 Birley drew together a bibliography of the Roman fort at Maryport (Birley, 1961, 216-23), starting with the accounts of the early historians such as Camden, who included "Ellenborough" in his northern tour of 1599, and Pennant (1774, 59). Birley points out the misprinted date of Head's report in *Archaeologia*, ii, 54-57. Head's report was dated 1743, but twice misprinted as 1763 in the publication. (See explanation in Chapter II.1.7)

Birley also suggested (1961, 222) that following the expansion of the civil settlement north of the fort in the 3rd century, the parade-ground was replaced in an area to the south of the fort. It seems very unmilitary however to allow a *vicus* to over-run a parade-ground to the extent of having to relocate it. In addition, if buildings were erected over the kind of prepared surface that would be required for a parade-ground, the foundations would have had to be dug through this surface.

Writing about the Roman officers at Maryport, Jarrett referred to Wenham (1939, 22) and accepted his suggestion of the annual dedicatory altar and the deposition of the altar at the side of the parade-ground (Jarrett, 1965, 115). Jarrett pointed out that Wenham had failed to notice that where more than one altar had been found in the same pit in 1870, the latest altar was not necessarily the topmost altar (Jarrett, 1965, 116). Jarrett suggested (1965, 116) that this could be accounted for only if the altars were buried *en masse*, as Bailey (1886-7, 16) and Bruce (1874, 876) had maintained. However, Jarrett accepted Wenham's suggestion of annual deposition of the altars, and went on to suggest that in digging pits for their own annual burial, the Baetasians (the unit in occupation during the reign of Marcus Aurelius) sometimes struck earlier burials. When this happened, "they would appear to have lifted the earlier altars and reburied them above their own" (Jarrett, 1965, 117).

This seems to be a peculiarly cumbersome method of disposing of the annual altar, not to say almost impossible. While the first altar could be lowered manually into the pit perhaps with a restraining strap, in order to retrieve it and place another beneath it, the entire pit would need to be greatly enlarged and a more complex method used of raising the first altar than was necessary in lowering it into the pit in the first place. This argues against annual deposition of the altars each year, and argues for the 1870 "collection" of altars to have been deposited at the same time.

Jarrett argued against mass burial of the altars particularly because of the condition of the altars being "little weathered, and the absence of weathering seems to indicate that they were not exposed to the elements for a long period." (Jarrett, 1965, 117). Following some detailed examination, Hill (1997, 92) says of the 1870 altars at Maryport: "They were buried early in their lives, but only after an interval which may be judged as somewhere between no less than twenty and no more than one hundred years." (Hill, 1997, 102).

1.7 PUDDING PIE HILL

Turning now to the area south of the fort. The Reverend Erasmus Head, Prebendary of Carlisle, wrote an account in <u>Archaeologia</u> (ii, 1773, 54-57) of the discoveries made in 1742 on digging into what he described as a large Roman Barrow. (The date is twice misprinted in Archaeologia ii as 1763). Head's report to the journal was dated September, 1743 and he stated in his report that Mr. Senhouse "some time ago" caused it to be dug into (Head, 1773, 55). The date of 1742 for the digging can be verified by a letter, dated 30th May, 1742 from Mr. Thomas Routh to Roger Gale (Stukeley, 1883, 111) who reported that he had received an account from Mr. Senhouse of Netherhall who had ordered a "tumulus or mount of earth, which lyes about 600 yards (548 metres) eastwards (sic) of the fort at Elenborough, to be searched into, in hopes of meeting with something remarkable." (In a footnote to this letter, the compiler of the Surtees Papers stated that in 1763 a further exploration was made and an account of it is printed in *Archaeologia,* vol. ii, p. 54, "A few animal bones were found near the centre, at the bottom, and an appearance of wood ashes, but nothing else." This is probably incorrect, as the "further exploration" appears to have taken place, at Gale's request, shortly after receiving Routh's letter of 30th May, 1742.) "Having cut away half the mount without meeting with what they might hope for, they thought it needlesse to proceed any further." (Surtees, 1883, 111).

"PUDDING PIE HILL" MARYPORT

COMMON LIGHT SOIL
8 FT

14 FT

BLUE CLAY

TURF
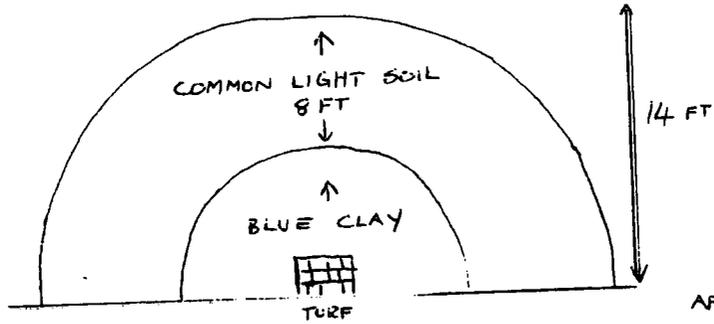
AFTER E. HEAD
1743

CIRCUMFERENCE AT VERGE : NOT LESS THAN 250 FT (∴ DIA APPROX 90 FT)

ALTITUDE FROM VERGE TO SUMMIT: 42 FT

PERPENDICULAR ALTITUDE FROM SURFACE TO SUMMIT: 14 FT

NEARLY EQUAL ON ALL SIDES

8FT

42 FT

COMMON LIGHT SOIL

14 FT

6FT

BLUE CLAY

THIN VEIN OF IRON ORE COLOUR

80 FT

TURF
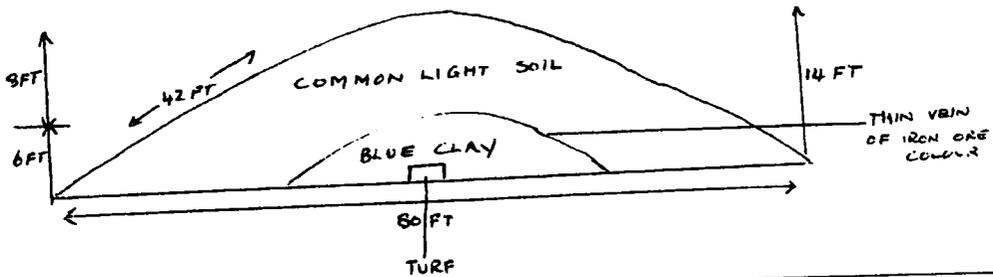
Maryport: Section of Pudding Pie Hill.

Head remarked on the fact that all the historians, with one exception, had failed to describe the "tumulus" lying to the south of the fort. The exception was Mr. Gordon who had, in any case, got it wrong! (Head, 1773, 55). Gordon described the *tumulus* as being composed of stone and earth (Gordon, 1728, 98), but Head concluded that this was from conjecture and not from "occular proof" (Head, 1773, 55), as he himself appears to have been on the scene when the *tumulus* was dug into. He described the *tumulus,* traditionally known as the "king's burying place", as being about 63 paces south-west from the agger (possibly the south rampart of the fort), with a circumference at its verge of no less than 250 feet (76 metres). He goes on to say that "its altitude from the verge to the summit, 42 feet (12.8 metres): it is nearly equal on all its sides, except some inequalities made by the plough, or where the ground, on which the *tumulus* was raised, naturally declines; its perpendicular altitude from the surface of the ground to the summit of the *tumulus,* is 14 feet (4.2 metres)." (Head, 1773, 55).

Head described an aperture, ten feet (3 metres) wide, dug into the *tumulus* on the north-west side, from verge to centre. This description is in a style somewhat different to that of a present-day archaeological report, but the sketch accompanying Head's article gives a fair impression of how the mound was made up, the Blue Clay and the Common Light Soil being approximately six feet (1.8 metres) and eight feet (2.4 metres) thick respectively. The Common Light Soil appeared to contain some substance that caused it to harden on exposure to the air. The Blue Clay "emitting a strong savour" (Head, 1773, 56) was intermixed with several fern roots, but scarcely a single stone, thereby confounding Gordon's conjecture. The Blue Clay was "undoubtedly" from the sea shore below the *tumulus,* where it abounded in the soil. Near the centre of the *tumulus* were three or four strata of clods, many of which were placed grassy sides together which "retained very fresh the moss" when separated. Beneath these clods were found the pole and shank bones of an ox, with wood ashes found nearby (Head, 1773, 56).

This latter note regarding the ashes was appended following a further investigation which Mr. Senhouse agreed to at the request of Commissioner Gale (Surtees, 1883, 111). Digging lower, the ground beneath the sods had not been previously disturbed, the surface being covered with the same mossy grass and fern roots associated with the sods forming the separate stratum.

1.8 ROMAN TURF

The description of the sods in the centre of the tumulus being "grassy sides together" does suggest that it might have been Roman turfwork, although the purpose of such a "Roman" *tumulus* is uncertain. Work on the Antonine Wall, however, where evidence is available, shows that, in fact, Roman turves were laid grass side down (Macdonald, 1911, 191; Keppie, 1975-76, 77). However, in reconstructed turf works at, for example, the fort at the Lunt, Baginton, Warwickshire (Hobley, 1971a) and the rampart at Vindolanda (Birley, R. 1977), they each have opposing ideas. At the Lunt, the turves were cut according to Vegetius III, 8 and were laid grass-to-grass in horizontal courses "as shown on Trajan's Column" (Hobley, 1971a, 23). The scenes cited, scene lxv, cast 162, Building fortifications; and scene xxxix, cast 100, Subjugation of a Dacian Tribe, show handling and carrying of turves but they do not, and probably could not, show whether the turves were placed grass-to-grass, grass downwards or grass upwards (Lepper and Frere, 1988). Other scenes of fort building, such as xi and xii, casts 29-33; and lx, cast 145-146, show similar handling and carrying but no indication of how the turves were laid. At Vindolanda Robin Birley stated: "As regards the actual laying of turves, experiment soon proved that the sods were not placed grass upwards, as had been popularly supposed, but grass downwards" (Birley, R. 1977, 160), which parallels the evidence from the Antonine Wall.

At Appletree, to the west of Birdoswald Roman fort and beyond the site of Turret 50b, the original Turf Wall of Hadrian lies behind and to the south of the later stone wall, which was built to incorporate the north wall of Birdoswald fort, thus leaving a small part of the original Turf Wall in an isolated position. Roman turfwork where it is visible at Appletree, the only surviving length of Turf Wall, clearly shows the striation of alternate layers of grass and earth, but because of the pressure over the span of years, the compression does not indicate exactly how the turves were laid. A fresh section of the Turf Wall at Appletree has been cut for each Pilgrimage to Hadrian's Wall, the latest being in 1989. At the same time the opportunity was taken to take core samples for pollen analysis at Appletree as well as at Birdoswald (Whitworth, 1992, 52). In the analysis, reference is made to "inverted turf" both from the Birdoswald sample and the Appletree sample (Whitworth, 1997, 29 and 33). Head's description of the turfwork beneath the mound at Maryport being "grass-to-grass", therefore does not appear to lend itself to being Roman. We must look elsewhere for an explanation.

Although the Rev. Erasmus Head's given measurements are only approximate, if they are extrapolated, the outline is that of a *tumulus*. A Roman burial *tumulus* would probably have had a retaining wall, ditch and bank, as well as evidence of cremation or inhumation burial (Dunning and Jessup 1936, 38). Head mentions some plough damage (Head, 1774, 55), so any ditch or other boundary may well have been destroyed, although some evidence of any retaining wall may still have survived.

1.9 HEADS & HOOVES BURIALS

However, it is possible that the *tumulus* was pre-Roman. As the only reported remains beneath the *tumulus*, apart from the turfwork, were the pole and shank bones of an ox, with ashes nearby (Head, 1774, 56), this may indicate the purpose of the *tumulus*. There is a group of burial mounds, referred to as "Heads and Hooves" burials (Piggott, 1962) of late Neolithic to Bronze Age where the diagnostic feature is the discovery of

the head and hooves of oxen. Although the distribution of this type of ritual burial is said to range from Eastern Europe to South Russia (Piggott, 1962, 110), in Britain it appears to be restricted to Wessex. However, in Northern Europe the "recognition of this distinctive collacation of skull and leg-bones may not always have been made in earlier excavations, and examples may yet appear." (Piggott, 1962, 110).

In Britain, in Wessex and adjoining counties, the Neolithic unchambered Long Barrows often contained the skull and foot bones of the small short-horned species of oxen, the *Bos longifrons* or *Bos brachyceros* (Thurnam, 1869, 183). Those of the chambered Long Barrows less often contained bones of these species. In the Round Barrows, remains were mostly the horns of stag or red-deer (Thurnam, 1871, 292). A "head and hoofs" burial at Hemp Knoll near Avebury in Wiltshire contained the complete head and four feet of an ox outside the coffin but in the central grave pit. (Robertson-Mackay, 1980, 142).

There is evidence of erosion to the north of the fort (Robinson, 1881b, 239) and similar erosion may also have occurred to the cliffs to the south, thus making it difficult to establish how near the cliff edge the *tumulus* may have been originally located. What is not in doubt however, is that, whatever its purpose, the *tumulus* was artificially constructed. At this time, there was no suggestion of the *tumulus* being a tribunal and no reference was made to any level ground in the vicinity.

1.10 SOUTH PARADE-GROUND AND *TRIBUNAL*

The first mention of a parade-ground at Maryport comes from the Rev. J.I. Cummins (Cummins,1891, 14). He praised local Trustees for choosing as a children's playground the site of the "playground of ancient Glanoventa (the Roman name then thought to apply to the fort at Maryport) the Campus Martius" (Cummins, 1891, 14). The "king's burying place" is now (1891) referred to as "Pudding Pie Hill", being an artificial mound

or circular elevation upon which seats have now been provided (Cummins, 1891, 14).

Cummins was aware, it would seem, of Head's report of the excavation into the mound in 1742 and suggested that the bones and ashes found were probably a dedicatory sacrifice (Cummins, 1891, 15). He is the first writer to propose the mound as a "tribunal" and an artificially levelled square (Cummins, 1891, 15) in the middle of the field, to the south of the fort, as the "circus or amphitheatre of the Station", for exercises, games, foot and chariot races and gladiatorial combats (Cummins, 1891, 16). He likened this levelled area to those which can be seen "with the trained eye of the antiquarian" on the Wall, but does not elaborate or indicate where these other levelled areas might be (Cummins, 1891, 17).

In giving measurements, Cummins described the levelled area as being a parallelogram about 95 yards (86.86 metres) in length and 93 yards (85.03 metres) in breadth (Cummins, 1891, 18). The elevated ground to the north-east (for spectators) was eight feet (2.4 metres) above the level, but the mound, which Cummins said bore a "striking resemblance to a *tumulus*" (Cummins, 1891, 14), was said to be only four feet (1.2 metres) above the plain. This is distinctly lower than Head's measurement of fourteen feet (4.2 metres) high, given almost a hundred and fifty years earlier.

In 1915 J.B. Bailey wrote of a space to the south of the fort which may have been a parade-ground and which he referred to as the "Campus Martius" (Bailey, 1915, 136), and, to the north of the fort, various traces of the settlement which grew up outside the fort. Bailey further recorded the building of houses on the so-called "Campus Martius" in 1921 and 1922, and the final clearing of the mound of boulder clay in April 1922 (Bailey, 1923, 148). A search of the local newspaper, The West Cumberland Times, for 1921 and 1922 held in the Public Library at Workington, did not show any reference to the clearance of the ground or to the building of the new houses. However, some issues

between March and December, 1921 were missing from the Library's archive. Today there is nothing to be seen of the so-called "tribunal".

Bailey recorded that a course of cobbles set in clay extended eighteen feet (5.4 metres) at a depth of two feet (0.6 metres), a little to the south-west of the mound, a foundation of some structure to screen the summit of the mound against the wind (Bailey, 1923, 148). This can only be conjecture, as the scanty remains could not possibly suggest what any superstructure might have been. In any case, as the *tumulus* was estimated to be fourteen feet (4.2 metres) high, at least in 1742 (Head, 1773, 55), a wind-screen would have needed a minimum of six feet (1.8 metres) on top of the mound, thus making a minimum height of twenty feet (6.09 metres) and possibly requiring a more substantial foundation than that suggested by Bailey.

It would seem that the cobbling extended to the north-east, and that the mound was "artificially extended" to a length of between 35 yards (32 metres) and 40 yards (36.5 metres) with a base of about twelve yards (10.97 metres) (Bailey, 1923, 148). It was thus Bailey who introduced the idea of an artificial extension to a natural mound, quite contrary to the Rev. Head's personal observations in 1742 of a completely artificial mound (Head, 1774, 55).

Collingwood (1936b, 86) continued with the idea of a partly artificial mound, analagous with Hardknott as a tribunal over-looking a parade-ground. He also suggested that the siting of the so-called tribunal at Maryport, west of the parade-ground, was the right place for addressing the troops in view of the prevailing west winds and the exposed position (Collingwood, 1936b, 87), although no mention is made of any necessity for a tribunal north of the fort, nor the reason for its lack. He also stated that a road connected the parade-ground with the fort at Maryport (Collingwood, 1936b, 87).

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While much has been written, and continues to be written, about the altars at Maryport, recently Breeze, (1997) and Hill, (1997), nothing further appears to have occasioned comment regarding either one of the parade-grounds at Maryport fort or the tribunal of the south parade-ground.

1.11 CONCLUSION

From the foregoing, 1 suggest that there is no evidence to support a parade-ground either to the north of Maryport Roman fort or to the south. The evidence for a tribunal overlooking the parade-ground to the south, also does not hold good. The cited references for a parade-ground to the north are literary references: Tacitus, Hist. I, 55 which records an unusual situation among the legions in Lower Germany, in AD69, the so-called Year of the Four emperors. Tacitus refers to the swearing of the New Year oath of loyalty to the emperor, Galba, on 1st January, and there is no mention of a parade-ground or a tribunal. The Letters of Pliny also are concerned with the annual oath to the emperor, in this case Trajan, and altars or parade-grounds are not mentioned. (See Appendix 'A') The evidence is accepted for the taking of the annual oath to the Emperor, but not for the provision of a parade-ground for the purpose.

The first suggestion of a parade-ground to the north of the fort was Wenham when he suggested that the I.O.M. altars which had been found buried in pits in 1870 were in fact annual dedicatory altars which had been buried beside the parade-ground (Wenham, 1939). However, it has been shown that the altars were buried *en masse* and had been exposed to the elements for a period of between not less than 20 years and not more than 100 years (Hill, 1997). Similar collections of altars in other parts of the Roman empire suggest an association with a temple is a more likely explanation. No site has been suggested for a tribunal for the parade-ground to the north of the fort; a dedication slab found in the area of the 1870 hoard of altars, suggested as coming from the structure of a tribunal, is more likely to have come from a temple.

As it has been shown that the altars were not annual dedications by the unit in occupation of the fort, they cannot therefore be used as evidence for the period of tenure of office for commanders of auxiliary units.

It was already suspected that the *vicus* had built up around the road going northward out of the fort (Robinson, 1881b, 240), so when Wenham suggested a parade-ground in the same area Birley accepted this as the earlier of two parade-grounds at Maryport, and suggested that when this went out of use in the mid-3rd century, because the *vicus* had overwhelmed it, the parade-ground to the south came into being (Birley, 1961, 222). Thus, this evidence for buildings of a *vicus* along the road from the north of the fort, is a further argument against there being a parade-ground in the area to the north of the fort at Maryport.

The evidence for the parade-ground to the south of the fort, which was in fact the first parade-ground to be identified as such, is given by Cummins, who equated it with the use in his own time, that is a "playground for exercises and games", reinforced by the four-foot (1.2 metres) high mound on the western side, which he saw as the seat for the commander enjoying the games and races, surrounded by the "standards of the legion" (Cummins, 1891, 16). It would seem that Cummins was aware of the earlier excavation of the mound but he appears not to have taken this into account in his interpretation.

The *tumulus* to the south of the fort had been examined in 1742 when it was at least fourteen feet (4.2 metres) high and with some remains which suggested a burial, although no human remains or burial urn were found. Head's plan shows this to be a rounded hill, without any flattened area on the top which would have been necessary if this indeed had

been a viewing place for a group of Roman officers. The loss of mass between Head's examination and Cummins's measurements of four feet (1.2 metres) in 1891, can probably be accounted for by Head's removal of half the mound, as stated in Routh's letter to Gale of 30th May, 1742 (Surtees, 1883, 111) and to the subsequent activity in the construction of the new town of Maryport in the late 18th century. I suggest that this was a pre-Roman *tumulus*, and not a Roman tribunal and therefore cannot be used as evidence for a parade-ground to the south of the Roman fort at Maryport.

2. HARDKNOTT, Cumberland

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Hardknott fort lies on a spur projecting south-west of Hardknott mountain, 800 feet (244 metres) above sea level, with a precipice flanking one side and a difficult ravine the other. It commands the view down Eskdale to the open sea, with a clear view of the Isle of Man in suitable weather conditions.

Hardknott Castle was first recognised as a Roman fort in 1792 when it was surveyed by Irton and Sergeant (Mr. Edward Lamplugh Irton, of Irton Hall and Mr. Sergeant, a land agent and surveyor of Whitehaven). The ruin had been noted in 1607 by Camden as being "huge stones and foundations of a castle not without great wonder, considering it is so steepe and upright that one can hardly ascend up to it." (Britannia, Cumberland, 765).

The garrison at the fort was the *cohors IV Delmatarum quingenaria equitata*, a part-mounted unit, at least during the Hadrianic period (Wright, 1965, 175). Fragments of a building inscription were found in 1964 at the south-east gate, dedicated by this auxiliary unit.

2.2 PARADE-GROUND AND TRIBUNAL

The first mention of a possible parade-ground at Hardknott appears to be that by Hutchinson in his History of the County of Cumberland (1794, 569). "A piece of ground of about two acres (0.9 ha), at the distance of 150 yards (137 metres), which by great labour has been cleared of the stones that encumbered it, used perhaps for a parade, and military exercise. On the north side of the plot, is a forced, or artificial bank of stones, now slightly covered with turf, having a regular slope from the summit, near which on the highest ground, are the remains of a round tower." This appears to be the first site in Roman Britain to be suggested as a parade-ground.
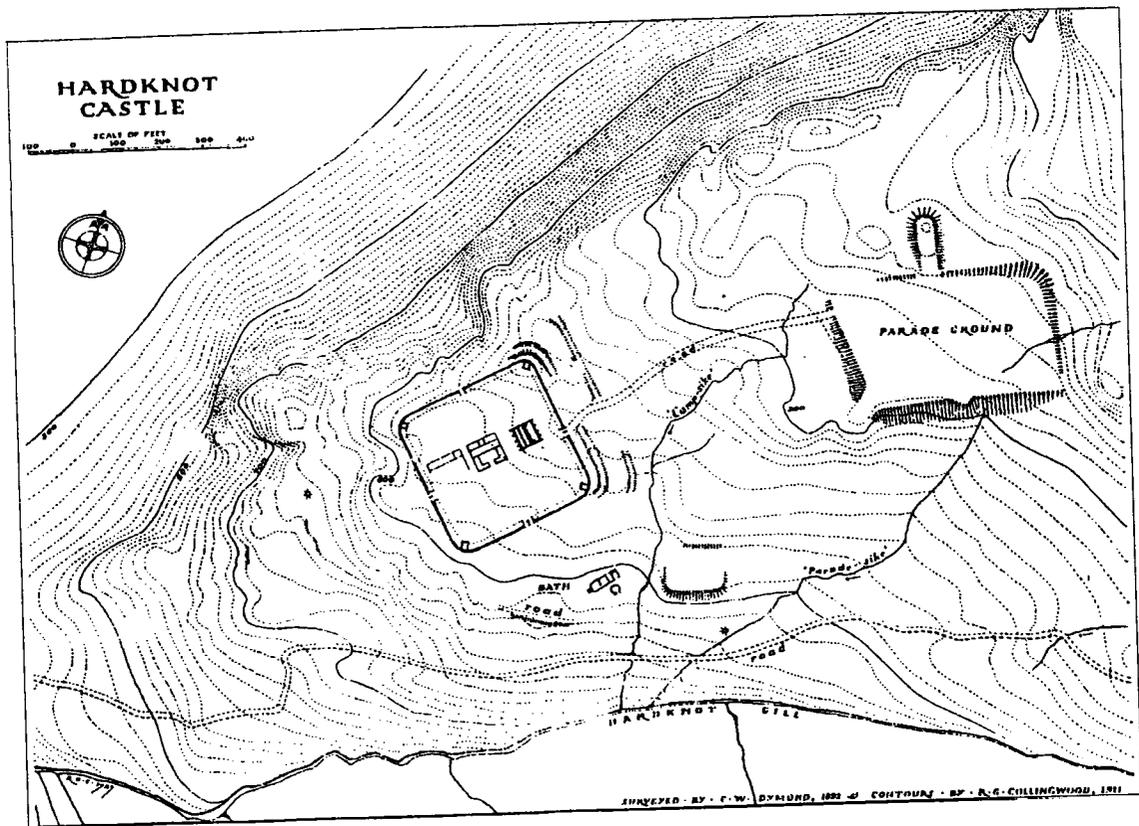
Hardknott: Plan of Roman Fort and surroundings. CW2 XXVIII, R.G. Collingwood
'Hardknot Castle'

Between 1876 and 1878, J. Clifton Ward of Her Majesty's Geological Survey, writing on the archaeological remains in the Lake District (Ward, 1876-78, 251) mentioned a "cleared space of ground" facing the north-east side of the fort, "called the Bowling Green, probably the old parade ground; while at its north-eastern limit is a large mound of stones with a southward slope of fifteen yards (13.7 metres) across. This may very probably represent the material gathered from the cleared ground. Again, a little to the north-east of this great tumulus - for so it perhaps may be called - are what appear to be old pits and stone-heaps on the steep rocky side of the rising ground beyond."

Between 1889 and 1891 the fort was excavated by the Cumberland & Westmorland Society and reported by Cowper and Maxwell (1892, 228-33). It was suggested that Hardknott fort may have been a *castrum aestivum stativum*, or permanent summer camp "whence the troops (except a detachment sufficient to act as a camp guard) would probably be moved in winter to the camp at Ravenglass on the shore, distant about eleven miles (17.7 km), which may be held to be the *castrum hybernum stativum*, or permanent winter quarters." (Cowper and Maxwell, 1892, 229). The level ground about 400 yards (365.7 metres) to the north-east of the fort, of about two or two-and-a-half acres (1 ha.) in extent is suggested as having been prepared for an exercise ground with a very large cairn on the edge. The stones which have been moved off the surface "may be seen lying one upon another where they have been rolled off." Traces of a paved road were also seen, between this "drill-ground" and the *Porta Sinistra* (Cowper and Maxwell, 1892, 231).

In 1892 a further excavation was undertaken by the Cumberland & Westmorland Archaeological Society directed by Mr. C.W. Dymond, resident engineer and surveyor. (Ferguson, Dymond and Calverley, 1892). This excavation was begun on Tuesday, 31st May, 1892 and lasted until 9th July. It is interesting to note that an old military white

canvas tent, pitched in the area of the fort as a shelter, was later confirmed as being visible from the sea near Drigg, near to Ravenglass Roman fort (Ferguson, Dymond and Calverley, 1892, 384). This indicates that the fort would have been visible from the sea in Roman times and possibly also from some sort of lookout near the Roman fort at Ravenglass.

The President of the Cumberland & Westmorland Society, Chancellor Ferguson, wrote of the excavation: The survey undertaken by Irton and Sergeant, including the plan of the camp which was subsequently published in Hutchinsons's History of Cumberland, was said by Dymond to be "extremely inaccurate in its measurements, as might have been expected from the limited time given to it." (Ferguson, Dymond and Calverley, 1892, 378). He referred to the cleared space as being approximately three acres (1.2 ha.), known locally as both the "Bowling Green" and the "Parade Ground", formed by "cutting down and levelling up". He described a ramp of "110 feet (33.5 metres) long and 40 (12.1 metres) wide, leads up to the top of a huge mound on the north side of the Parade Ground. A smaller clearing lies to the north of this..." (Ferguson, Dymond and Calverley, 1892, 416).

Dymond's own "excavation report", (Part III in Ferguson, Dymond and Calverley, 1892, 416) regarding the parade-ground, stated that between the camp and Hardknott cliffs, 100 feet (30 metres) higher than the south tower of the fort, is a "triangular plot of ground, 2 3/4 acres (1 ha.) in area. It has been cleared of stones, and approximately levelled by cutting on the higher side and embanking on the lower: the stones - no doubt with much more material collected from the neighbouring screes - being used partly in making the embankment and partly in piling up a great mound in the middle of the northern side, having a stone ramp 110 feet (33.5 metres) long and 40 feet (12.1 metres) wide leading up to its top. There can be no question that here we have the parade-ground for the garrison; and that the stone mound was designed to be a station for the

officers, from which a commanding view might be had, not only over the whole of the field to the south, but also over a smaller level space north of it, opening on one hand, to the steeps overlooking Eskdale, and, on the other, communicating with the parade-ground and perhaps extending its capacity for manoeuvres." This was the first mention that the mound of stones was the tribunal over-looking the parade-ground. It should be noted here that it was in September 1891 that Cummins had stated that a supposed levelled ground in front of a mound at Maryport, was in fact the parade-ground to the fort, overlooked by a tribunal (Cummins, 1891, 14), although by that time the mound had been reduced to only four feet (1.2 metres) high.

Dymond was not able to find any trace of the ruined buildings on the top or sides of this stone ramp, clearly seen by others, although he suggested that stones at the base of the northern slope may be the ruins of a low platform. He goes on to say: "Considering the purpose for which it was raised, it is unlikely that any sheltering structure was provided for the occupants of the mound and ramp." (Ferguson, Dymond, Calverley, 1892, 416). This is in direct contrast with Bailey who stated of the Maryport parade-ground tribunal that a number of stones found during house-building in 1922 were probably the foundations of a structure for protection from the wind for those standing on the tribunal (Bailey, 1923, 148). Dymond mentioned a number of slight excavated hollows close to the ramp, one at the foot of the west slope and two under the bracken to the east of the ramp (Ferguson, Dymond and Calverley, 1892, 416).

Dymond was the first observer to note a curious feature of the main embankment on the south side of the levelled area, opposite to the main ramp, for which he had no explanation (Ferguson, Dymond and Calverley, 1892, 417). It is a hollow way, five feet (1.52 metres) wide, going 40 feet (12 metres) into the levelled area and leading up to the parade-ground. He also mentioned the stream which rises in the undercliff to the east of the parade-ground and flows across it to disappear into the stones of the embankment.

This is the so-called "Paradesike" which runs into the Hardknott Gill, south-east of the fort, as does the other stream, the "Campsike". As an addendum to Collingwood's summary of the history of the site (Collingwood, 1928, 352) it was suggested that the ruined wall going east from the *porta praetoria* may mark the line of the Roman road and that a branch-road seemed to go to the parade-ground by this hollow way up the south embankment.

Dymond was the first excavator to note another artificial platform 125 feet (38 metres) long and 100 feet (30 metres) broad (Ferguson, Dymond and Calverley, 1892, 417), lying a little to the east of the outbuildings (in fact, the bath-house) south-east from the fort, similarly constructed by cutting down and embanking. A shallow trench was dug which showed many fragments of tiles dispersed among the soil.

In 1901 Dymond published supplementary notes of correction to the above account which had been written by several hands (Dymond, 1901, 303-305). Dymond's survey of 1892 is still the map most often reproduced, to which Collingwood added contours in 1911 (Collingwood, 1928. Fig. 1), although this appears to show the "holloway" feature on the south side as a projection instead of a "notch" or declivity. In 1921 Collingwood (1921, 29-42) attempted to date the fort by means of an examination of the pottery which had been collected from earlier excavations between 1889 and 1893, at a time when it was not possible to date a site by pottery evidence (Collingwood, 1921, 30). He later (Collingwood, 1928, 349) suggested the life of the fort extended from about AD100-110 to AD125-135.

Collingwood's description of the parade-ground (Collingwood, 1928, 337) was of an artificially levelled and cleared piece of ground 100 by 150 yards (91.4 by 137.1 metres) or a little over three acres (1.2 ha.), with a fall of 30 feet (9.1 metres) from north to south (1 in 15) giving adequate drainage even in the eastern corner where the Paradesike

crosses the area. He also mentioned that the mound on the north-west side of the levelled ground rose twenty feet (6.09 metres). It was made largely of "loose piled stone" and was approached by a ramp (Collingwood, 1928, 337). However, it would seem that a mound, 20 feet (6.09 metres) high, made of "loose piled stone" would be somewhat unstable and eminently unsuitable as a tribunal. Birley referred to the fine parade-ground and the large tribunal, as well as a number of pits near the tribunal (Birley, 1958, 246), which he went on to say are best explained as being for the annual dedicatory altars that were no longer needed when new altars were dedicated.

Collingwood went on to say that "paved areas lying immediately outside forts have often been recognised as parade-grounds" (Collingwood, 1928, 337) giving as examples Slack (YAJ XXVI, 1922, 36) and Ambleside (CW2 XIV, 1914, 448), and "sometimes commanded by a tribunal" as at Maryport. Here there are several anomalies: the levelled area outside Hardknott can hardly be described as being "immediately outside" the fort and is certainly not paved. He quoted the distance of a roadway between fort and parade-ground as 210 yards (192 metres) long, being plainly visible, although its construction does not seem to have been examined. No attempt appears to have been made to determine, perhaps by probing, whether or not the levelled area, covered with turf, overlies such a paved area. In any case, it seems that a paved area would not be a suitable surface for soldiers to use for parading.

With regard to tribunals, Collingwood cited Hyginus for the evidence of tribunals internally in temporary camps (Collingwood, 1928, 338), and Simpson's excavation at Cawthorn Camps (Simpson, 1926, 26), likened by Collingwood to depictions on Trajan's column. However, this appeared to be turf laid over an existing structure, possibly a prehistoric burial mound (Welfare & Swan, 1995, 142), around which aerial photography in 1993 has revealed a circular ditch.

HARDKNOT CASTLE AND THE SCAFELL RANGE.
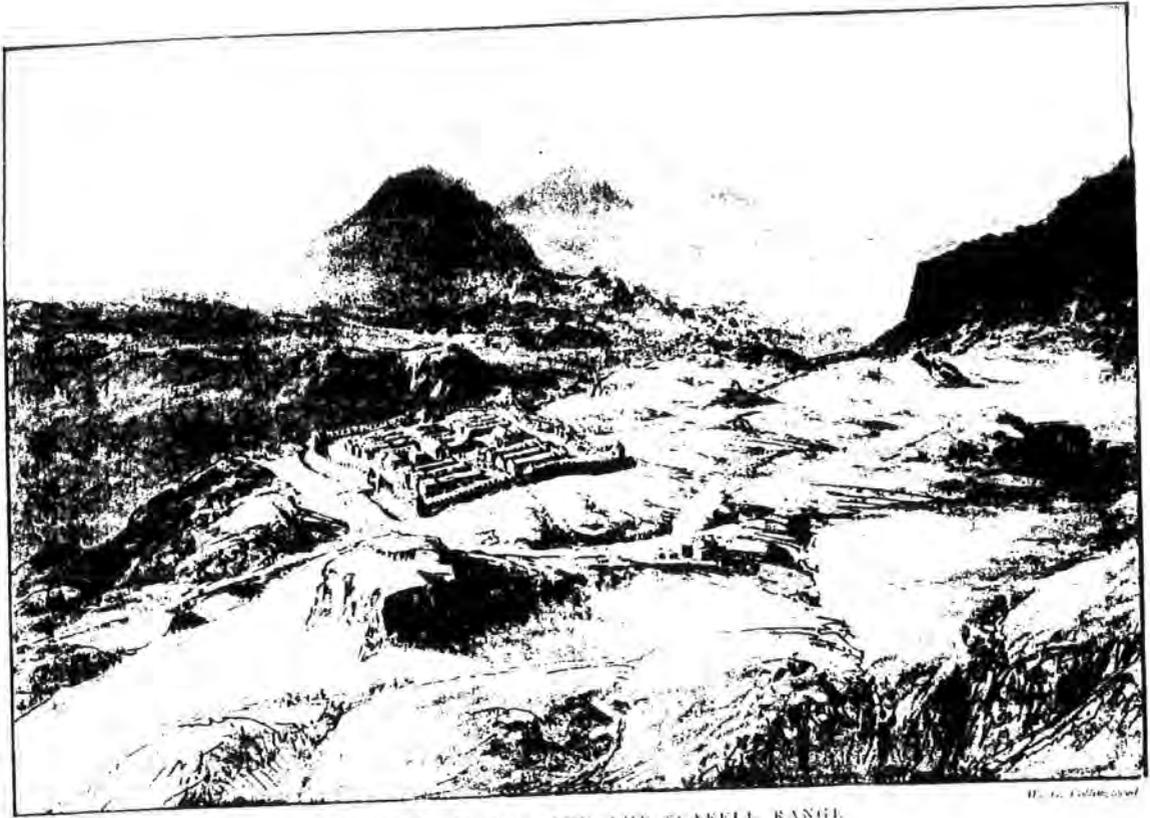
Hardknott: Hardknott Castle and the Scaffell Range. W.G. Collingwood
Archaeologia, Vol. LXXI

2.3 WATER-SUPPLY

On the south side of the levelled area where the ground has been built up, can be seen a somewhat unfinished edge with loose stones clearly visible, with a drop of perhaps ten feet (3 metres). The "notch" or holloway in this southern edge, first observed by Dymond (Ferguson, Dymond and Calverley, 1892, 417) is clearly visible. Loose stones can also be seen where the Paradesike crosses the south-east corner and sinks into the levelled ground. This present day situation, of course, may well be different from that in the Roman period, but it would seem that some provision would need to be made for channelling the water into the fort. Collingwood (1928, 317) mentioned information from the Rev. Aaron Marshall, sometime curate of Eskdale (Hutchinson, 1794, 578) who claimed that pieces of a lead pipe were found between the fort and Maddock How Well, although there was no firm evidence as to the location of Maddock How Well. That water always flowed down towards the fort is evidenced by the waterlogged conditions found in the fort, which, *inter alia*, helped to preserve the leather (Charlesworth and Thornton, 1973, 141). Several terraces, "more or less levelled", were also mentioned (Collingwood, 1928, 338), one being near the bath house; and a piece of ground between the angle of the Paradesike and the road which had been cleared of stones.

2.4 ROMAN ROAD

Richmond described in great detail, with accompanying maps, the Roman road from Ambleside to Ravenglass, a distance of approximately twenty Roman miles, with Hardknott about equi-distant between the two. It would seem that near the Roman fort at Hardknott the modern road is on a different, though parallel, line from the Roman road, which lies higher up the slope and nearer to the external buildings of the fort (Richmond, 1949, 24). The fort was connected to the main road by branch roads leading to its south and west gates, but there appeared to be no direct access to the levelled area from the main Roman road.

2.5 PRE-ROMAN SETTLEMENT

That there is an artificially levelled area to the east of the fort, apparently unfinished, is not in question, but there is no evidence either of who made the ground level or what the levelled ground was intended to be used for. Because of its proximity to the fort, it is reasonable to suggest that it was of Roman construction. It is also difficult to suggest who else between, say, AD410 and the recognition of the fort in the late 18th century, would have been capable of such an undertaking or, indeed, what reason they might have had. If one accepts the artificial construction of the levelled ground and agrees that the evidence does not insist that it is a parade-ground, and leaving aside the so-called tribunal which, as I have suggested above is of doubtful identification, what can have been its purpose?

The only known inhabitants of the immediate area of Hardknott Roman fort were Romans or, more properly, auxiliary soldiers and, possibly their families, or other civilians, such as traders. "Before the Romans came, and even after they went away, no one lived, as men live now, along the bottom of Eskdale." (Collingwood, 1929, 7). Pre-historic man lived in the uplands. Remains were found on either side of Eskdale: to the north the Bronze Age circles of Burnmoor, whose people perhaps lived on the plateau between Eskdale and Wastdale: on the south the Early Iron Age hut-circles at Barnscar on the high shelf of land south-west of Devoke Water (Collingwood, 1992, 8). However, there is no evidence that such a construction as the levelled area either would or could have been constructed by the peoples from these settlements. It must be concluded therefore that the construction is either Roman or post-Roman.

2.6 ALTERNATIVE PURPOSES

If it is Roman, and yet not a parade-ground, then what was the purpose of this levelled area? Several suggestions have been made, each of which will be examined in turn:

(1) a wagon-park on the route between Ravenglass and Ambleside:

(2) a possible *vicus:*

(3) prepared ground for a one-off display of cavalry.

2.6. 1 Wagon-park:

2.6. 1.1 Hardknott

If Hardknott fort was on the supply route between Ravenglass and Ambleside, in whichever direction, a place of safety for wagons halfway on their journey and a replacement station for draught animals would seem a possibility, particularly as the approach was over the Wrynose and Hardknott Passes. The Roman road has been traced for most of its distance of approximately twenty Roman miles and, even allowing for slight deviations, the Passes cannot be avoided. This would also imply accommodation for draught animals and possibly extra animals. This accommodation may not have been very substantial and left no archaeological evidence, or it may have

occupied the smaller level area referred to by Dymond (Ferguson, Dymond and Calverley, 1892, 417). There does not appear to have been direct road access to this levelled area: the suggestion of the hollow-way as a road is not feasible as it is not wide enough to accommodate a wagon and it would be too steep for access to the level ground of the parade-ground/wagon park. Without excavation, the surface of the area also does not appear to have been adequate for the weight of laden wagons.

Looking elsewhere, similar situations with steep roads and possible wagon-parks, might be considered at Maiden Castle on Stainmore and at Chew Green by Dere Street.

2.6. 1.2. Maiden Castle, Stainmore

A small fort, 150 by 120 feet (45.7 by 36.5 metres) over its ramparts (Collingwood, 1927, 173) on the Roman road from Carvoran to Whitley Castle on the west end of the Stainmore Pass between the Roman forts of Bowes and Brough-under-Stainmore and

commanding the pass from Brough. The Roman road runs through the fort (Collingwood, 1927, 172): the road that runs outside the fort is a medieval coach road. There is some evidence of buildings outside the fort, about 100 yards (9.4 metres) to the east, mostly rectangular about 30 feet (9.1 metres) by 20 feet (6 metres) (RCHM, Westmorland, 215). However, pupils of Kirkby Stephen Grammar School could not trace these buildings in 1962 (Kirkby Stephen Grammar School, 1962). Instead they found three rectangular enclosures 45 yards (41 metres) from the east gate, one of which, on the removal of a single turf, produced a piece of 2nd century *mortarium*. If Maiden Castle was used as a kind of staging-post, particularly in view of the mile-long (1.6 km) steep incline from Brough (Collingwood, 1927, 173), it would have needed a hard-standing for wagons as well as accommodation and fodder for animals, but there appeared to be no evidence of any such area.

2.6. 1.3 Chew Green, Coquetdalehead, Northumberland:

The group of Roman earthworks known as Chew Green, lay on Dere Street at the head of Coquetdale. It consisted of five elements; two marching-camps, a semi-permanent camp, a permanent fortlet with two enclosures, and an earlier fortlet beneath this permanent fortlet (Richmond and Keeney, 1937, 130). Dere Street descends northwards about 1200 feet (365.7 metres), by a couple of zigzags: the road on the other side of the valley is shorter, though equally steep, taking a sharp turn to the south-east just before the earthworks, which lay on a narrow plateau between two small "sikes" or streams.

ROMAN WORKS AT CHEW GREEN. COQUETDALEHEAD
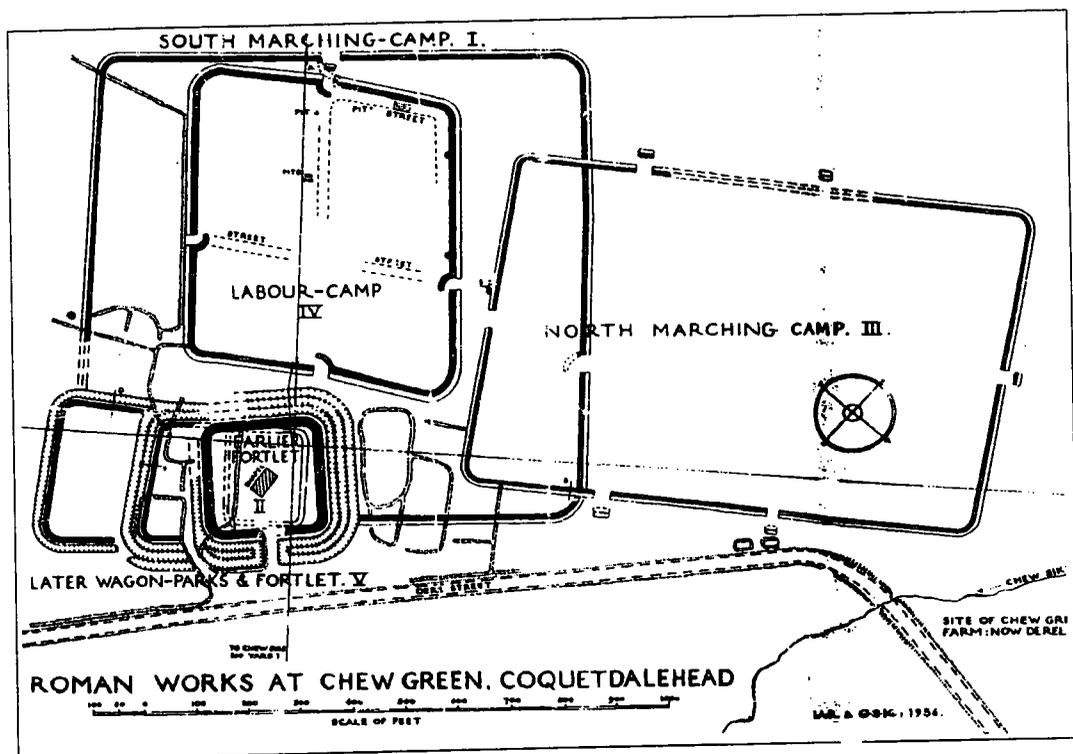
Roman Works at Chew Green, Coquetdalehead.
I.A. Richmond and G.S. Keeney. AA4, XIV

A Fort in Cumberland. A. Forestier. The Roman Soldier.

enclosures attached to the permanent fortlet have been identified as "entrenched camping-grounds or wagon-parks at the service of any passing convoy that might be benighted at the difficult Coquet inclines." (Richmond and Keeney, 1937, 144). The only gate of the fortlet was on the east side, and the only access into either of the enclosures also lay on the east side, facing Dere Street. The entrance to each enclosure appeared to consist of a gap in the ramp and ditch where it did not join the inner ditch system (Richmond and Keeney, `1937, 143). Both enclosures appeared to have been independent of each other and of the fortlet (Richmond and Keeney, 1937, 144).

2.6. 2 Possible *Vicus*

In a book of illustrations of the Roman soldier (Forestier, 1928, 95), a view overlooking Hardknott fort from the mountain to the north-east depicts a *vicus*, that is a civilian settlement of buildings on the levelled area. This is, of course, artistic licence. The levelled piece of ground is well-drained and dry and is recognisable from the surrounding area which is very boggy and wet. Despite moderate bracken growth in the immediate area, none at all grows on the level ground, which might indicate something beneath the turf hindering its growth. However, there seems to be no evidence of any paved or other treated surface. It may be that the very fact of clearing the stones from the area, thereby producing a well-drained area, can create an environment unsuitable for the growth of bracken.

Bracken has two methods of reproduction, by spores and by rhizomes. However, reproduction by spores is an extremely rare natural occurrence in Britain (Page, 1976, 24) and rhizomes require particular soil conditions in which to become established. The rhizomes are very sensitive to soil drainage and soil aeration and will be impeded by lack of drainage and lack of oxygen in the soil, but the rhizomes can exist in isolated areas around embedded stones (Page, 1976, 28). Thus it may be that the bracken rhizomes are prohibited from growing on the well-drained area of the parade-ground by the lack of

oxygen in the boggy and marshy ground surrounding the levelled area: and the natural conditions not being suitable for spore reproduction.

There does not appear to be any visual evidence for any structures having been built on the levelled area, but without excavation this cannot be ruled out completely. There is evidence of the possibility of civilians in the area of the fort, from the remains of leather shoes. Of the nineteen leather shoes or shoe fragments, all except one are those of men's shoes (Charlesworth and Thornton, 1973, 151). The four most complete shoes were all of a different design and were typical of the type worn by auxiliary troops, the *calceus*, a studded shoe with a more or less open upper (Charlesworth and Thornton, 1973, 150), although they were not considered to be regulation auxiliary footwear, which is the military boot, *caliga* (Charlesworth and Thornton, 1973, 151). Other pieces of leather fragments could have come from a shield or shield-cover, or some type of garment, which indicates, perhaps, that this could have been a hoard of scraps for repair purposes and not, necessarily, evidence of civilian presence at Hardknott fort.

2.6. 3 One-off Cavalry Parade:

It is possible that the area might have been levelled for a one-off special occasion, a visiting V.I.P. or special cavalry exercises. We know that such exercises took place, but we do not know under what circumstances or in what locations. The area would seem to have been large enough to hold a special cavalry sports parade as described by Arrian. The sizes given for Hardknott, 540 by 300 feet (165 by 90m) and Maryport, 285 by 279 feet (87 by 85m) would "permit a considerable number of crack cavalry to perform brilliant manoeuvres at speed, while the more individualistic performances requiring only a few men taking rapid turns, would have concentrated in a smaller area in front of the tribunal." (Hyland, 1990, 119) (See Chapter III. 3)

2.7 POST-ROMAN SETTLEMENT

If the levelled area at Hardknott was, indeed, post-Roman, again the questions are: who did the levelling, when was it done and what was its purpose? That occupation continued at the pre-historic sites in Eskdale is suggested by cereal pollen analysis: dates at Burnmoor are AD390 +/- 130 and at Devoke Water AD580 +/- 190 (Pennington, 1970, 72). However, it does not seem likely that the people from these settlements would have been responsible for levelling the area any more than their predecessors were.

Some of the names in the Hardknott vicinity appear to be of Scandinavian origin: Hardknott itself from Knutr, a craggy gill; Harter Fell, the hart's (hjarter) fell (Rollinson, 1967, 64), although there appears to be no evidence of settlement.

2.8 CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that in the vicinity of Hardknott Roman fort there is an area of artificially levelled ground, with several mounds to one side. The only evidence for its being Roman appears to be its proximity to the fort and the fact that any other settlements in Eskdale are pre-historic (Collingwood,1929, 8). The supposed tribunal is the middle one of several large mounds on the north side of the levelled area, this middle mound being approximately twenty feet (6 metres) high. The identification of this feature as a tribunal appeared to have been influenced by the discovery of a tribunal at the Roman fort at Maryport in 1891 which, as is shown above (Chapter II. 1.7) is likely to be a prehistoric *tumulus.*

The suggested Roman use of a wagon-park is based on the earthworks at Chew Green on Dere Street, at an equally steep road incline to that of the Hardknott/Wrynose Pass. However, at Hardknott there are no surrounding earthworks and there does not appear to be any roadway linking this main Roman road with the parade-ground. If this was, indeed, a changeover station for wagons and draught animals, it would seem likely that

similar areas would also be required at either end of the road, that is at Ravenglass and at Ambleside. There does not appear to be such a feature at either of these Roman forts.

The only evidence suggesting the possibility of civilian presence at Hardknott is that one of the leather shoes found in waterlogged conditions in the fort could have been a woman's shoe. The levelled area to the east of the fort would have been a suitable location for a *vicus*. Wooden buildings without foundations, whether for humans or for animals might be conjectured, but anything more substantial and datable would be indicated only by excavation. Any suggestion for preparation of the ground for cavalry sports exercises can only be conjecture: there does not appear to be any significant difference over the whole area, although Arrian indicates that there should be a specially prepared softer area in front of the tribunal. Any suggestion of the work being post-Roman, again, is only speculation because of lack of suitable settlements.

Therefore, the evidence of proximity to the fort and the analogy of the tribunal with Maryport, does not appear to be sufficient to support the argument for this levelled area being the parade-ground of Hardknott Roman fort.

3. TOMEN-Y-MUR, Merionethshire

The Roman fort at Tomen-y-Mur stands on a gentle hill: the ground falls away on all sides though to the east the fall is slight. The site consists of the remains of the earth rampart of the fort, a small motte hill within the north-east defences of the fort, and various other mounds and earthworks. It lies about two and a half miles (4 km) north of Trawsfynydd.

The site is 4.2 acres (1.7ha) in its original Flavian form with occupation continuing to at least AD 140, but its reduction to 3.3 acres (1.34ha) was possibly Hadrianic (Jarrett, 1969, 113). Four roads met at from Tomen-y-Mur: from the north-west from Segontium, north from Caerhun, east from Bala and south from Caermarthen.

The site was visited by the Cambrian Archaeological Association in 1850 at the Dolgelly Meeting (AC n.s. Vol. I, 327); in 1868 at the Portmadoc Meeting (AC 3rd series, Vol. XIV, 474-77); and in 1884 at the Bala Meeting (AC 5th series, Vol. I, 335-8). On each occasion the members of the excursion were invited to "excavate" within the site. The rectangular circuit of the walls were plainly visible. During the 1868 excursion the "high quality" of the stonework was noted, although it was also noted that thin pieces of slate were inserted between the stones that did not fit accurately. The stones revealed in the excavation were said to be not local to the immediate area. Also during this visit the so-called "amphitheatre" was seen and visited and comparison made with what Pennant described in his 1784 "Tour in Wales" (1784, 112). Pennant described it as an "oval enclosure about 36 yards (32.9 metres) long by 27 yards (24.8 metres) wide in the middle, surrounded by a high mound of earth, but without a foss."

Writing in 1871 the Rev. E.L. Barnwell mentioned the amphitheatre and repeated Pennant's description of it (Barnwell, 1871, 200). It was his opinion that the mound within the defences of the fort had more a military look than a sepulchral one but that it

64

was improbable that the mound was post-Roman and may have been either a Roman look-out point or, if pre-Roman, then of a sepulchral mound of unusual size (Barnwell, 1871, 192).

It was during the Bala Meeting in 1884 that Mr. Worthington G. Smith made the drawing of the amphitheatre which was reproduced in 1888 (Allen, 1888, 267). The dimensions of the enclosure, Allen said 81 feet (24.6 metres) in diameter, are very small for an amphitheatre. Its similarity in shape has suggested a Roman amphitheatre, although there is nothing to indicate whether it was Roman or, in view of the motte in the nearby fort, post-Roman.

The land which included Tomen-y-Mur Roman fort was purchased by Mr. Breese of Portmadoc in 1876 (AC, 1884, 337). In 1884, shortly before his death, Mr. Breese had visited the site, with others, and returning from the amphitheatre along the open ground towards the fort, they remarked on a particular piece of ground, about 120 paces square, with a raised bank and an entrance on the eastern side and a slope on the south side. In fact, a young member of the party had apparently remarked that the area would make a "splendid cricket-ground" (AC, 1884, 337).

In 1924 a small military brickworks was discovered four or five miles (6.4 or 8 km) south of the fort. At the same time a large levelled area near Tomen-y-Mur fort, measuring approximately 350 feet (106.6 metres) in both directions, was recorded as being "in all probability" the parade-ground of the fort and which must have needed the removal of a large amount of material (Lloyd-Jones & Hemp, 1924, 203). In 1938, during a visit to the site, Dr. Bersu commented (Gresham, 1938, Appendix) that the large, partially-levelled area was possibly the intended site of the Roman Forum of a potential civil settlement, or the platform of a temple. However, Sir Ian Richmond considered that both parade-ground and tribunal were unfinished and their identification was doubtful (Jarrett,

1969, 113, Note 1).

Gresham (1938, 198) suggested that as the work is incomplete, the method of
construction could be seen; first, an earthbank laid out round the four sides, and the area
levelled by building up the slope on the south side; then soil and stones were dug from
above the top side and carried down to the far end to fill an area behind the bank. This
can be seen on the south-east side where the process was unfinished. He goes on to say
that the "diggings" from which soil was taken are very noticeable as they were when
originally discovered in 1884 (Gresham, 1939, 198). It is this area that appears to be
likened to the newly-recorded parade-ground at Alchester. (See Chapter II, 12)

There are at least eight artificially constructed mounds of earth near the fort (Gresham,
1938, 199); seven of these are of Roman date but none resembling known Romano-
British types as at Bartlow Hills, in Essex (Dunning & Jessop, 1936, 38), all but one of
which is in the form of a round barrow, surrounded by a rectangular ditch and external
bank and all approximately 40 feet (12.1 metres) high. (See discussion under Maryport
in Chapter II, 1.3)

Jarrett's excavations at Tomen-y-Mur in 1962 show the levelled area north-east of the
fort to be 123 by 98 metres and best interpreted as the parade-ground; overlooked by a
mound which is probably the tribunal (Jarrett, 1969, 113). This mound, however, was
not situated on one side of the so-called parade-ground but stands some fifty yards (45.7
metres) away. Jarrett also suggested that the amphitheatre was probably for
demonstrating drill and for weapon-handling. Jarrett showed that the larger fort, 1.7ha =
4.2 acres had been reduced to the smaller 1.34 = 3.3 acres, and that the motte lay on the
north rampart of the smaller fort.

Close to north-west defences of the first and larger fort, lie two small earthwork

enclosures which may have been practice camps. Another group of practice-camps which may be connected with the units at Tomen-y-Mur, are the Dolddinas camps about 2.4km south east of the fort. (Jones and Knowles, 1960, 397) (See discussion under Practice-Camps in Chapter III, 5.2)

Conclusion

Once again the evidence supporting a supposed parade-ground is a levelled area near the Roman fort with an artificial mound nearby. The levelled area at Tomen-y-Mur was made by cutting back and filling in a slight slope (Gresham, 1938, 198). Part of this area appeared to have been delineated by a small rampart, a feature which is not seen elsewhere at suggested parade-ground sites. The supposed tribunal is a large symetrical structure which appeared to be one of a number of Roman burial mounds in the vicinity. This mound was not directly connected with the levelled area and, at least in modern times, is separated from the levelled area by a stream.

The levelled area appeared to Sir Ian Richmond (Jarrett, 1969, 113, Note 1) to be unfinished and its identification as a parade-ground with accompanying tribunal to be doubtful. The area does not appear to have been surfaced with any material and no excavation has been undertaken. There is no evidence to date the levelled area to the Roman period and with the evidence of the medieval structure of the motte being built into the rampart of the fort, some of the earthworks at least may well be medieval.
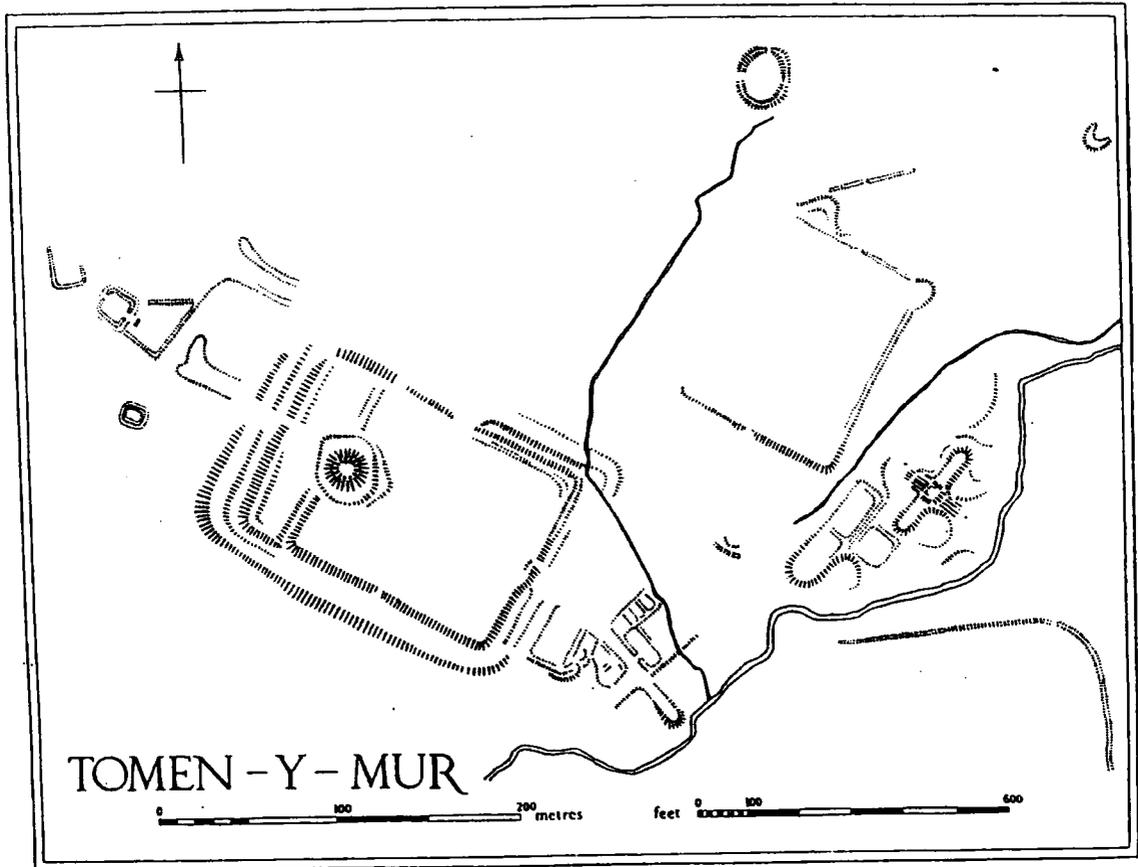
TOMEN – Y – MUR

Tomen-y-Mur: Plan of fort and surroundings. V.E. Nash-Williams.
The Roman Frontier in Wales.

4. SOUTH SHIELDS, Tyne and Wear

The Roman fort at South Shields lies on a promontory, known as The Lawe, on the south side at the mouth of the river Tyne. It is bounded on the east by a sea-cliff and to the north by the river Tyne. On the south side the hill slopes down to a former stream, which may have flooded in Roman times. It is here that any harbour or quay-side facilities are expected to have lain. It occupied an area of approximately 5.16 acres (2.2 ha) and was a Hadrianic foundation, with several subsquent phases of re-planning particularly in the Severan period (Birley, 1961, 155). In the 3rd century the *cohors Gallorum equitata* was the unit stationed here.

The first known excavation of the fort took place in 1875, prior to the anticipated building of a housing estate by the owners of the land, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The outline of the fort was established and the remains that were revealed were so impressive that part of the site was excluded from the housing estate and preserved as a Roman Remains Park (Birley, 1961, 154).

Reports were produced by Bruce in 1876 and 1884, with a supplementary report in 1885 (Bruce, 1885). In 1933 Richmond reported in a detailed study of the fort (Richmond, 1934), and in 1949 he supervised the consolidation of the structural remains of the fort (JRS, XL, 1950).

There is no structural evidence for pre-Hadrianic occupation, which was indicated by South Gaulish figured samian from the 1875-77 excavations; "it may well be that a Flavian fort was built elsewhere on the hilltop" (Birley, 1961, 155). The external bath-house and other buildings occupied the whole space eastwards from the fort to the edge of the sea-cliff, except for an area close to the north-east angle of the fort which was excavated in 1959.

The 1959 excavations were undertaken by the South Shields Archaeological and Historical Society under the direction of J.W. Thornborrow (Thornborrow 1959). This was a series of small trenches by way of a rescue excavation on a demolition site in Beacon Street approximately 66 yards (60.3 metres) beyond the north-east angle of the fort. The excavation consisted of a series of eighteen trenches inside a fifty foot (15.2 metres) square. From one trench a large altar was uncovered at a depth of five feet (1.52 metres). The altar lay face upwards and any inscription there may have been was erased (Thornborrow, 1959, 11). Three altar bases were also recovered from adjoining trenches, as well as broken pieces from a large sandstone panel, with no inscription but with a carefully cut and dressed surface. Identifiable pieces broken off a large altar were also found. A rough mound or platform of stones was exposed in another trench, six feet (1.82 metres) square and three feet (.91 metres) high, together with a smaller group of cobbles set in boulder clay, measuring approximately three feet four inches (1 metre) high. When the mound of cobbles was dismantled, pieces of a small sandstone figure were recovered, the head and part of the torso of Celtic design (Thornborrow, 1959, 9). A statue without arms was found with altars in a pit at Auchendavy fort and was later interpreted as possibly a Celtic deity. (See Chapter II, 1.4)

The mound of cobbles with the associated altars have been interpreted as the tribunal of a parade-ground, as at Maryport (Thornborrow, 1959, 11). The small size of the mound makes it somewhat questionable as to its suitability as a platform from which a commander could review his troops. The altars as they were found at South Shields were all at approximately the same depth as the mound of cobbles and were therefore not buried in pits at the side of the cobbled area. This causes doubt that the area was, in fact, the parade-ground of the later fort. Indeed, in a later publication of the excavations at South Shields (Bidwell and Speak, 1994, 1) these remains have been interpreted as belonging to a possible temple.

The continuing excavation of the site has exposed a large area, measuring 35 metres by 30 metres, of cobbles embedded in clay, covered with a gravelled surface, which overlaid the prehistoric level which had been covered by a thick layer of clean beach sand. Roads running southwestwards and northwestwards converged at its western corner (Bidwell and Speak, 1994, 14). The cobbles had come from the sea-shore, a number being covered with fossil barnacles or fossil coral. A remarkable feature of this area was the "quartering" of the area by a line of smaller cobbles outlining each quarter. The surface was impacted gravel, similar to a Roman road surface. This area with its carefully prepared foundation and metalled surface which was cut by the outer south-east fort ditch of the later fort, has been interpreted as the parade-ground of the as yet undiscovered early timber fort (Hodgson, 1993, 9) which probably lies beneath the houses on the crest of The Lawe, a short distance to the south (Birley, 1961, 155). The size of this area, 35 by 30 metres, when compared with the areas interpreted as parade-grounds at Maryport, 87 by 85 metres and Hardknott, 165 by 90 metres, seems rather small to be used as parade-ground.

Conclusion

The evidence suggested as supporting the parade-ground of the later excavated fort is based on the interpretation of the altars, altar bases and cobbled mound found beyond the north-east angle of the fort, being buried beside the parade-ground as the altars at Maryport. As the evidence at Maryport has been seen above not to support the suggestion of a parade-ground, it cannot, therefore, be used safely to support a parade-ground at South Shields. This evidence is now accepted (Bidwell and Speak, 1994, 1) as indicating a possible temple.

With regard to the parade-ground suggested for the earlier as yet undiscovered fort, the size appears to be too small for it to be used as a parade-ground. The cobble and clay foundation with a gravel surface is similar to Roman road construction for heavy traffic

wear and, as several roads converge on the western corner of this cobbled area, it may be some kind of hard-standing connected with these roads.

5. BIRDOSWALD, Hadrian's Wall

Birdoswald Roman fort lies on an escarpment overlooking the river Irthing. The fort of approximately 5.3 acres (2.2 ha) was one of the primary forts of Hadrian's Wall dating from circa AD122 built in stone and lying astride the Wall, that is with three double gates beyond the Wall. Other primary forts were also built astride the Wall, where conditions allowed. Fitting Birdoswald fort into the available space was a tight squeeze and the Vallum, the delineating ditch dug along the length of the Wall at varying distances from its southern side, was diverted round the south side of the fort, but was obliterated soon afterwards and wooden buildings erected in the area (Richmond, 1966, 168). (Wilmot, 1997)

Part of the original Turf Wall, from the river Irthing to approximately five miles (8 km) westwards, was replaced by a stone wall towards the end of Hadrian's reign (AD138). The stone wall was on a different alignment, joining at the north corners of the fort, leaving the two main side gates, previously north of the Turf Wall, behind and to the south of the line of the new stone Wall. This suggested that three double gates to the north proved to be unnecessary. Later forts, such as Great Chesters and Carrawburgh, were built behind the stone Wall, that is having the north wall of the fort incorporated with the curtain Wall.

The first reference to a parade-ground at Birdoswald appears to be as late as 1966 (Richmond, 1966, 169) in the 12th edition of Bruce's Handbook to the Roman Wall, and the reference is repeated in the 13th edition by Daniels (Daniels, 1978, 204). This stated that the possible reason for the realignment of the curtain wall up to the northern angles of the fort was in order to make room for a parade-ground to the east of the fort. Breeze and Dobson (1987, 59) suggested another possible reason for the realignment of the Wall which was to increase the space behind the Wall which was restricted due to the proximity of the steep valley of the river Irthing. Bidwell and Holbrook (1989, 95) suggested that the clearance of the area to the east of the fort in order to accommodate

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the parade-ground may have obliterated all trace of the Turf Wall in that area.

However, no excavation has taken place in the flat area to the east of the fort which is suggested as the parade-ground. Of the I.O.M. altars and parts of altars found at Birdoswald, only one has a known find spot in the vicinity. *RIB* 1880 was found fallen down the cliff which has given rise to the suggestion of annual dedicatory altars being buried beside the parade-ground, citing the evidence of Maryport as a precedent to support the argument.

RIB 1883 and 1886 were found "about one hundred yards east of the fort", but both are now lost. *RIB* 1885 (whose I.O.M. dedication is a secondary feature, the primary dedication being 'To the god Cocidius') was found in a farm building at Birdoswald; *RIB* 1877 and 1875 were found "at Birdoswald" and 1874 "presumably at Birdoswald". *RIB* 1888, described as part of a plaque, with an I.O.M. dedication was also found "at Birdoswald". *RIB* 1889, 1887 and 1876 were found at Willowford; 1881, 1879 and 1878, parts of altars with I.O.M. dedications, were found at Lanercost Priory, Scaleby church and "at Greenhead" respectively.

Most of the altars are dedicated *Iovi Optimo Maximo* and are dedicated by the First Aelian cohort of Dacians, some with additional styles and under the command of various tribunes. *RIB* 1882 is dedicated to Jupiter Best and Greatest and to the Deity of the Emperor.

The formula of each dedication is similar, being the dedication, the name of the unit and the name of the commander of the unit, usually, although not always, a tribune. Four altars have an additional title to the unit, *RIB* 1886 and 1883 are styled "Postumiana"; *RIB* 1885 "Tetrician"; and *RIB* 1877 where the unit is styled "Augusta".

RIB 1882 and 1883 are dedicated by the same tribune, Marcius Gallicus, although the unit title on the altar-slab *RIB* 1882 does not include "Postumiana"; the unit on *RIB* 1880 is under the acting command of a centurion of the Legion II Augusta, Julius Marcellinus; and *RIB* 1876 is under the acting command of Aurelius Saturninus, although the formula CUIUS CURAM AGIT (as *RIB* 1880) suggests that he too was a legionary centurion.

Only one altar, or part of an altar, *RIB* 1879 concludes with VSLM (*Votum Soluit Libens Merito*), willingly and deservedly fulfilled its vow, although on some altars the dedication is incomplete and may have concluded thus. Another deviation from the usual formula is *RIB* 1875 which includes the name of one of the consuls, that of Perpetuus; the name of the second, Cornelianus, may have been omitted by mistake. Perpetuus and Cornelianus were consuls in AD 237.

Conclusion

As an explanation for there being no trace of the Turf Wall to the east of Birdoswald fort, it was suggested that, when the stone wall was built, the Turf Wall in this area was obliterated in order to provide a parade-ground (Bidwell and Holbrook, 1989, 95). However, there does not appear to have been any excavation in the flat area to the east of the fort and therefore no evidence of any underlying foundation or preparation for a parade-ground. The only evidence to support this area being a parade-ground appears to be its apparent flatness and the finding of one altar, *RIB* 1880, in the cliff below this area. All the other altars, despite their I.O.M. dedications, appear to have become scattered and therefore it cannot be certain that they all came, originally, from this side of the fort.

6. AMBLESIDE, Cumberland

Ambleside Roman auxiliary fort lies in Borrans Field at the head of Lake Windermere in the Lake District. The fort was approximately 2.75 acres (1.1 ha) and almost square to the compass points, although the visible fort plan was somewhat irregular being 426 feet (129.8 metres) on the north side, 307 feet (93.5 metres) on the west side, 418 feet (127.4 metres) on the south side and 298 feet (90.8 metres) on the east side, measured over the ramparts (Collingwood, 1915, 4). The fort appeared to have been defended by a wall five feet (1.5 metres) thick which served as a revetment to a clay bank which ran back some fifteen feet (4.5 metres) further, as at Melandra Castle, to which Collingwood compared the fort at Ambleside (Collingwood, 1915, 4). The gates were single portal except the east gate which appeared to be double portal.

The fort lay in marshy ground which was liable to flooding. An area of cobbles and water-worn gravel, approximately 20 feet (6 metres) in width, ran down to the lake from the south rampart, with its outer edge retained by a line of cobbles. Quantities of potsherds of different types and dates occurred on the surface and throughout the thickness of the cobbles, indicating the artificial nature of the feature. This area of cobbles continued round the south-east corner up to the area disturbed by excavation near the east gate; westward it ends before reaching the south-west corner (Collingwood, 1915, 8). This appeared to have been for the protection of the fort wall against wave activity which was heightened by the wind in winter months. This was further emphasised by the remains of a stone structure in the lake which would also have had a similar effect with regard to protecting the walls of the fort by diminishing the wave activity. It is not thought that the lake-level has altered since the Roman period (Haverfield and Collingwood, 1914, 449). Alternatively, this structure may have been a quay for waterborne supplies to the fort, but this would also have had a similar effect with regard to wave activity (Haverfield and Collingwood, 1914, 451). A later suggestion (Collingwood, 1916, 6) was that this cobbling represented levelling up of the

fort platform prior to construction on the side that slopes down towards the lake.

Ambleside fort was first recognised as Roman and described by William Camden following his tour of the country in 1599 (Camden,1610, 760): "At the upper corner of Winander-mere, lieth the dead carcasse as one would say of an ancient Citie, with great ruins of Walles, and many heepes of rubbish one from another, remaining of buildings without the wals yet to be seene. The fortresse thereof was somewhat long, fenced with a ditch and rampire; for it tooke up in length 132 ells, and in breadth 80. That it had beene the Romans worke is evident, by the British brickes, by the mortar tempered with little peeces of bricke among, by small earthen pots or pitchers, by small cruets or vialls of glasse, by peeces of Roman money often times there found, and by round stones as much as milstones or quernstones; of which layed and couched together they framed in old time their colummes, and by the paved high waies, leading unto it. ...." (An 'ell' is a unit of measurement of approximately 45 ins. or 114 cms.)

Thomas Pennant included Ambleside in his tour of Scotland in 1772 (Pennant 1774, 41) stating that the outline of the work was still visible and converting the dimensions to 400 feet (121.9 metres) one way and 300 feet (91 metres) the other. The 1806 translation of Camden's Britannia, by Richard Gough, (Camden, 1806, 407) described the fort as being open to the water, an oblong 165 yards (150.8 metres) by 100 yards (91.4 metres). Gough also mentioned the high rock to the north of the fort, a natural outcrop of rock.

In the report of the 1913 excavations (Haverfield and Collingwood, 1914, 446) the remains of the east gate, the only gate of the fort thought to have a double portal, were said to be "confused and perplexing" and the supposed *spina* of the gate was found, an undisturbed block of freestone masonry five feet (1.5 metres) by two feet (0.6 metres) consisting of three large stones, resting on a foundation of flagstones and clay. The excavators also commented that there "may have been a good deal of reconstruction."

(Haverfield and Collingwood, 1914, 448).

Immediately across the ditch from the east gate a road of hard gravel on a foundation of large stones was found running across the berm with floor spaces on each side. The amount of pottery and the type of floor surface suggested that these were guard chambers, although they were beyond the gateway. A large paved area in front of the fort, within which roads running northwards and eastwards, was also distinguishable (Haverfield and Collingwood, 1914, 448).

During the 1914 excavations no good face was found between the east gate and the south-east corner; the wall was here traced as a mass of disturbed stone (Collingwood, 1915, 7). Excavation showed that the centre of the wall was five feet (1.5 metres) further south than anticipated from the previous year's excavation and that the supposed *spina* could now be seen to be the north jamb of the single portal gateway of the later fort, and the floor spaces in front of this gateway were, indeed, guard chambers, but of the earlier fort which was not suspected in the previous year's excavations (Collingwood, 1916, 79). This can be demonstrated by superimposing the plan of the east gate in the 1914 report, upon the plan of the 1913 excavation. The stop-block for the east gate of the later fort was found, showing signs of wear. The east gates of the two forts were on a slightly different alignment but so nearly coinciding as to be confusing. The "paving" found in 1913 was, of course, the base of the rampart of the earlier fort.

There is no reference to a parade-ground at Ambleside in any of the excavation reports. The first reference was by Collingwood (1928, 337) in a report on Hardknott Roman fort cited by Davies (1974, 98). In Collingwood's report on Hardknott he referred to his and Haverfield's report on Ambleside (Haverfield and Collingwood, 1914, 448) where a paved area was found outside the east gate to the fort. However, in a subsequent report on Ambleside Collingwood (1916, 81) stated categorically that: "The "paving" found in

1913 is of course the base of the rampart of 'A', and is indicated as such in fig. 13." ('A' being the earlier of the two forts.) In his Hardknott report Collingwood also referred to a paved area being a parade-ground at Slack (Collingwood, 1928, 337), quoting YAJ XXVI , the report by Dodd and Woodward (1922, 36) whose interpretation of the paved area, which was strewn with evidence of Roman occupation, is that of a roadway.

Conclusion

It would seem from the foregoing that there is no evidence for a parade-ground at Ambleside, nor, incidentally, at Slack. There were three reports covering the excavations at Ambleside for the relevant period. Haverfield and Collingwood, 1914, covered the excavations undertaken in 1913, which reported a paved area apparently beyond the east gate and the *spina* of the gateway. The 1914 excavations were covered by Collingwood's report of 1915 which showed there to have been two forts, with the east gates on a slightly different alignment but so nearly coinciding as to be confusing. The *spina* found the previous year proved to be the north jamb of the single portal of the later fort; and the paved area proved to be the base of the rampart of the earlier fort. Collingwood's 1916 report covered the 1915 excavation and included the categorical statement that the paving was the base of the rampart of 'A' and also included a superimposed diagram of the two separate years' excavation plans of the east gateway.

Collingwood does not appear to have published any correction to his interpretation of the "paving" found in 1913 as being a rampart foundation, and he makes no other comment on a parade-ground at Ambleside in his 1928 report on Hardknott fort.

W

E

Road (B)

Modern Road

Base of Rampart (A)

Rampart (B) stone & clay

Granary

Road (A)

old bed of r. Rothay

low ground

Principia

Valeditia

Commandant's House

Base of Rampart (A)

RGC 1915
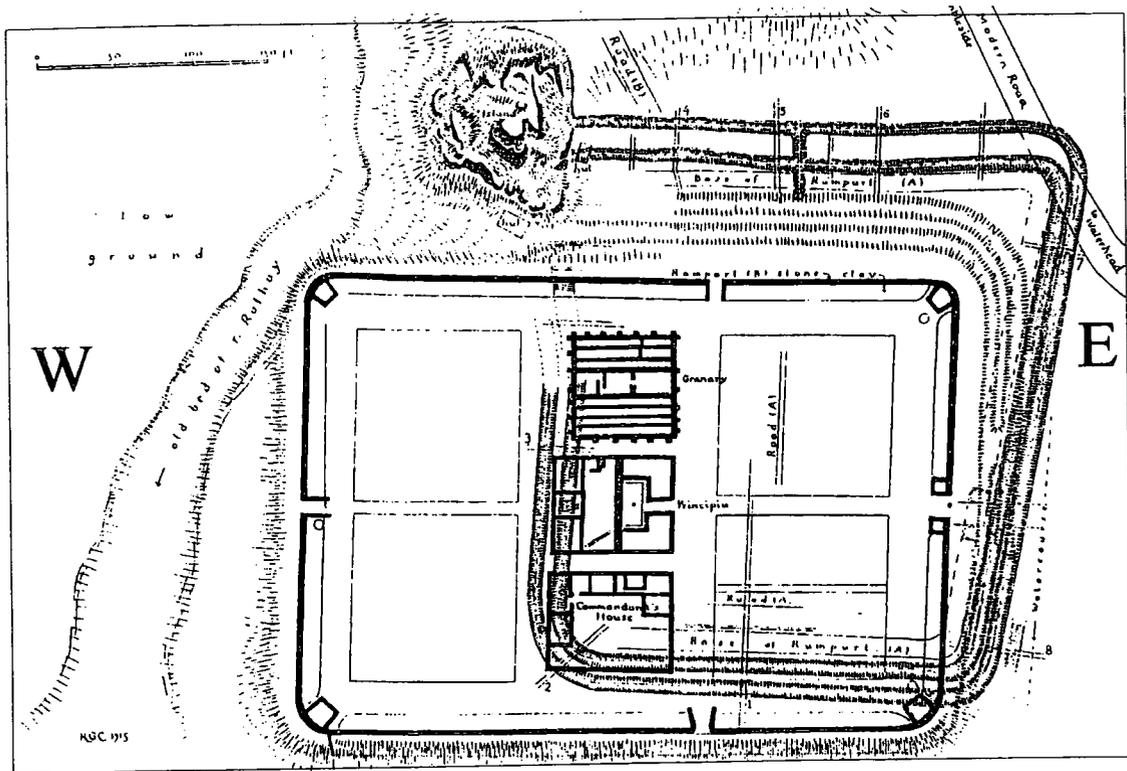
Ambleside: Plan of two Roman Forts. R.G. Collingwood.
CW n.s. Vol. XVI

In the diagram the following labels appear:

Ditch A

Ditch B

floor & pottery

Road

East Gate A

floor & pottery

gutter
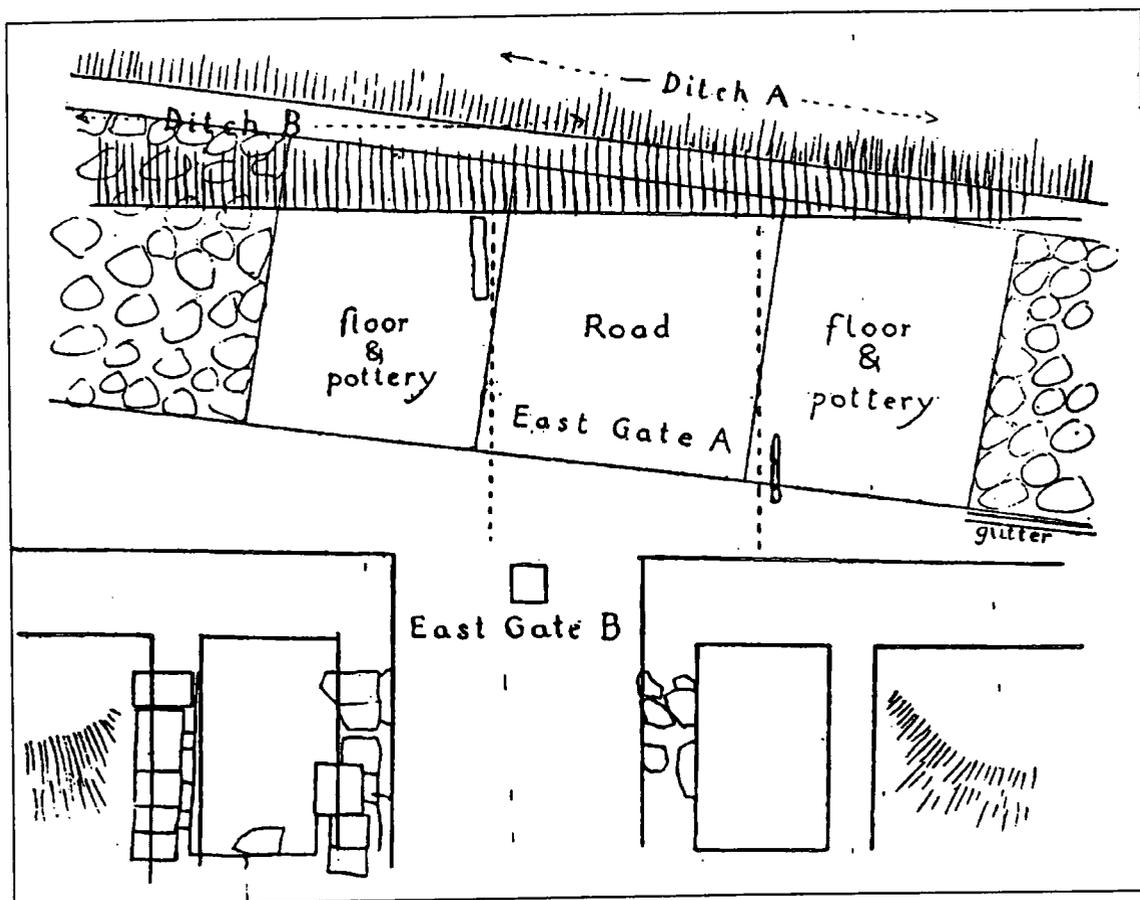
East Gate B

Ambleside: Plan of east gateways. (After R.G. Collingwood)

7. BECKFOOT, Cumberland

A Roman fort at New Mowbray, Cumberland was first mentioned by Hutchinson (1794, ii 346) then apparently lost, following agricultural enclosures, until the 1870s. In 1879 Joseph Robinson stated that the fort was a mile (1.6 km) away from the village of Mowbray and as it joined Beckfoot, "I have adopted the latter name as being more distinctive." (Robinson, 1881a, 146).

The fort at Beckfoot lay about halfway between the Roman forts at Maryport and Bowness, close to the edge of the Solway, south of the modern port of Silloth (Robinson, 1881a, 144). It appeared to lie on a natural substratum of sand, which required no drainage (Robinson, 1881a, 139). Robinson commenced his excavation on 28th October, 1879, first finding a pavement of cobbles at a depth of six feet (1.8 metres). This would seem to have been inside the fort, as his next cutting was four yards (3.6 metres) nearer the sea and revealed the outer wall of the fort (Robinson, 1881a, 139). The entire circuit of the walls enclosed an area of 2.55 acres (1.0 ha) (Robinson, 1881a, 141), with no apparent gateway on the seaward side. R.G. Collingwood (1936, 78) suggested that later work had revealed what might have been the *spina* of the west gate, perhaps later blocked up and mistaken by Robinson for the original wall. A solid block of masonry, on a cobble foundation was found inside the seaward side of the fort south of the north-west corner, first suggested as the foundation of a *Pharos* or lighthouse (Robinson, 1881a, 140), though Collingwood later (1936a, 78) thought that it might have been a *ballistarium*, for mounting an artillery weapon.

At the other side of the fort, inside the south-east corner, Robinson found a raised water channel (Robinson, 1881a, 145) which Collingwood (1936a, 79) interpreted as the end of the fort aqueduct. Outside the north-east angle of the fort Robinson identified the corner of a large building, which may have been the bath-house (Collingwood, 1936a, 80). "At

varying distances on the west, south and east sides he (Robinson, 1881a,145) found what

he described as a rough freestone foundation or pavement: I (Collingwood, 1936a, 80)

do not know whether this may have been part of a parade-ground as at Hardknott,

Maryport, Ambleside and Slack." However, Collingwood (1916, 81) stated that this

"paving" at Ambleside is actually the base of the rampart of the early fort. (See

discussion under Ambleside, Chapter II, 6) Ambleside cannot therefore be cited as a

precedent and, indeed , the description given of the "rough freestone pavement" on three

sides of the fort hardly justifies interpretation as a parade-ground.

Collingwood mentioned the existence of a *vicus* to the north of the fort and a cemetery to

the south (Collingwood, 1936a, 84)

8. LOW BORROW BRIDGE, Cumberland

The fort at Low Borrow Bridge was first recognised as being Roman by an anonymous contributor to the Westmorland Advertiser and Kendal Chronicle on 19th December, 1812 and reproduced in full in the Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society (Birley, 1948a, 2-3). "A long square field behind the inn at Borrowbridge, is called Castlehows. This would seem to have been a Roman fortification. It is situated in the midst of an amphitheatre of mountains, which rise nearly perpendicular." (Birley, 1948a, 2).

The fort lay in the Lune valley beside the river Borrow where it joins the river Lune, commanding two important passes, that to the north by the valley of the Lune and the other pass westwards by the Borrow valley (Wilson, 1884, 90). Low Borrow Bridge also commanded two Roman roads: the road coming up from the south on its way to Brougham, and the road from Burrow through Watercrook and up to Low Borrow Bridge (Birley, 1948a, 15).

Attention was first drawn to this camp by Mr. John Just, schoolmaster of Kirkby Lonsdale, in a paper on "The 10th Iter of Antoninus" read before the British Archaeological Association in 1852 and reproduced in full in the Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society in 1884 (CW VII, 80-81). In addition, Just visited the site in 1827 in the spring and reported that the ooccupiers had commenced "modernising" the ramparts. This showed the process of construction, from which he recorded that the foundation was secured by flags and the interior strongly cemented.

The Society paid its first official visit to Low Borrow Bridge on 27th June, 1883; later that same day £20 was allocated to the excavation of the site, which was commenced on

5th Ocotober. The excavations had been delayed until October due to the annual sheep fair held in the camp. The excavation committee consisted of: the president (Dr. Simpson), the editor (Mr. Ferguson), the Rev. T. Lees, Dr. Taylor, Mr. W. Nanson, and the Secretary. It is noteworthy that this is the first excavation of a Roman site to be undertaken by the Society (Birley, 1948a, 1).

The Committee, however, was disappointed with the excavation: they had hoped for inscriptions on stones or tiles to give a clue as to its name on the 10th Iter. (CW VIII, 3). Inside the fort had been greatly disturbed by ploughing: but Birley (1948a, 12) suggested there may be great depth of stratification at the north end of the fort. If the east gate foundation stones were all *in situ*, then the gateway would have projected externally beyond the line of the wall. Birley (1948a, 12) presumed that earlier structures lay beneath rampart mounds, as some stones at the west gate looked to be reused material. Some part of the western wall was extensively damaged during construction of the London and North Western railway and provided materials for a now ruined cottage standing on the wall. Even so, it is the west rampart mound that is still the most impressive part of the earthwork (Birley, 1948a,12). The area of the fort was about three acres (2.2 ha) (Birley, 1948a, 13).

The excavation of 1883 continued in the inn garden south of the camp. This was the supposed site of the cemetery, but walls of a building were found and also a "pavement of bright red concrete (pounded brick) with a raised border round it" (CW VIII, 4). However, the excavations was closed in order to prevent frost damage. Birley suggested that this partially-excavated building was the fort bath-house (Birley, 1948a, 14).

There may also have been an external settlement on the ground sloping southwards from the fort towards the bridge which crosses the river Lune. Birley (1948a, 14) further states that a large flat meadow a hundred yards or so west of the bridge seems more

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suitable for a parade-ground than the small field immediately north of the fort which was tentatively identified as a parade-ground in the Royal Commission account (RCHM Westmorland, 1936, 101). Again, the only evidence for this being a parade-ground is a flat meadow to the south of the fort.

Renewed excavations in 1950 (Hildyard and Gillam, 1952) added dating information of the fort from the west rampart and from the semicircular south-east corner. It is likely that the lower rampart and wall were of Hadrianic date and the upper of Severan (Hildyard and Gillam, 1952, 53). The pottery suggested occupation continued throughout the Roman period in northern Britain, though whether continuous occupation it was not possible to determine. The excavations make no mention of any putative parade-ground.

9. GELLIGAER, Glamorgan

The remains at Gelligaer were first recognised as being Roman in 1877 (*Arch.*
Cambrensis 4th series, 266). "Gelligaer (sic) is not a manor, nor does it contain one. It
takes its name from a Roman camp on the meadow north of the church, and is traversed
by Heol Adam, a very old trackway. East of the village , in a combe, is a moated
mound." Excavations were carried out by the Cardiff Naturalists' Society inside the fort
and the bath-house beyond the south-east corner of the fort in 1899, 1900 and 1901
(Ward, 1903) and in the Annexe to the fort in 1911 (Ward, 1911).

In a reconsideration of the dating of Gelligaer by its defences and of the annexe and its
buildings, Black (1993, 253) gave the following periods for Gelligaer fort:

(i)   A late-1st century earth-and-timber fort: first period of the external bath-house
      belongs to this or the next period.

(ii) Rampart of this fort is fronted by a stone wall and timber gates and towers
      replaced in stone: these changes dated AD103-111 by inscription.

(iii) Fort unoccupied.

(iv) Fort re-occupied: walled annexe constructed: baths, now within the annexe are
      re-modelled. Re-occupation dated to 2nd century because of provision of
      circular laconicum in the baths.

An earlier earth-and-timber fort lies to the north-west of these remains and are presumed
to be of the Flavian predecessor of the later stone fort (Nash-Williams, 1969, 59).

An unusual feature of the internal plan of the fort was an open space between the south
granary and the headquarters building, having the appearance of a yard (Ward 1903, 70)
about 90 feet (27.4 metres) by 75 feet (22.8 metres), including a small area of paving,
another small area described as "close pitching laid in a well-defined square" and a latrine
in the south-east corner. However, it is an area outside the fort and within the annexe
that is suggested as a parade-ground. The walled annexe to the south-east, measuring

385 feet (117.3 metres) by 213 feet (64.9 metres), is believed to have been constructed during reoccupation in the 2nd century (Black, 1993, 253). This date is suggested by the addition of a circular *laconicum* to the bath building, a feature usually associated with the 2nd century.

Excavation in the annexe revealed two distinct areas bisected by the continuation of the *via principalis* of the fort measuring at least 20 feet (6 metres) wide (Ward, 1911, 69), both areas of industrial activity. One area contained ovens and is thought to have been used for bread-making and also for the making of bricks and tiles (Ward, 1911, 72). In the south-east area of the annexe there was a "pavement-like spread of rough stones" (Ward, 1911, 73) 11 feet (3.3 metres) wide but of undetermined length, covered by a layer of charcoal, black earth and debris. This ground was apparently used for dumping ashes from the ovens and builders' rubbish (Ward, 1911, 73).

The north-eastern part of the annexe contained the pre-exisitng bath-house, as well as a large yard which was attached to the bath building, and a small isolated building in the south part of the annexe. The yard consisted of patches of rough stone paving and small broken stone or gravel areas which were possibly flooring of small timber buildings or open spaces with patchy floors (Ward 1911, 70).

In the south-western area of the annexe another large yard with a patchy floor similar to that in the north-eastern part of the annexe. This appeared to have been an industrial site for the working of iron, as a large quantity of iron slag or clinker was found scattered over this area of the site (Ward, 1911, 74).

A flagged parade-ground at Gelligaer appeared to be first suggested by Richmond (1925, 32) writing about the Roman fort at Slack and paved areas as parade-grounds at other Roman forts. (Davies, 1974, 98, Note 1, incorrectly cited this as Collingwood, 1928,

337). In his 1928 report on Hardknott, in mentioning Gelligaer, Collingwood remarked on the *laconicum* of the bath-house which at Gelligaer was attached to the building, as it was at Castlecary and Newstead, while at Hardknott the *laconicum* of the bath-house is detached, as it is at the fort at Templeborough, near Rotherham (Collingwood, 1928, 336).

It would seem that the industrial activity within this annexe precludes it from being used as a parade-ground or, indeed, for a civil settlement. Any space not taken up by the bath-house and other buildings appear to be used for dumping rubbish.

10. SLACK, Yorkshire

The Roman fort at Slack lay on the Roman road between Manchester and York, Margary 712 (Margary, 1973, 366). The fort had on its south-east side Shaw Clough and two small streams on the east which drain into the Gorge of the Clough. One of the streams appeared to have been artificially deepened in Roman times (Richmond, 1925, 31) and it may have served as a boundary or defence (Richmond, 1925, 32).

In 1824 it appeared that a hypocaust which had been found earlier, further east than the bath-house shown on the map (Barber, 1870, 3), was removed and re-erected in a private garden in Huddersfield. Excavation by the Huddersfield Archaeological Association took place in 1865-6; unfortunately the excavation report was lost (Richmond, 1925, 44) although the map which had been surveyed at that time has survived.

Barber went on to comment on the other indications in the survey, which were "either paved roads or foundations of walls" (Barber, 1870, 5). This area was "tentatively explored" by Dodd and Woodward in 1922 who stated that the greater part of the area situated between the rampart of the north-east angle of the fort and the stream-bed (as shown on the plan of the excavations in 1865-6), was found to be "paved with flat stones of a larger size than those used in roads inside the fort." (Dodd and Woodward, 1922, 36) However, the whole area was "everywhere strewn with traces of Roman occupation - tiles, pottery (including many small fragements of plain Samian), glass, etc." (Dodd and Woodward, 1922, 36).

It would seem that a pit sunk 100 feet (30 metres) east of the outer ditch at the north-east angle found similar paving, but they concluded that this may have been a road surface (Dodd and Woodward, 1922, 36) as the paving did not continue to the north-east angle of the fort. A trench was cut into the southern bank of the stream-bed; virgin soil was reached but no paving was found.

They concluded that "it is a legitimate inference that this depression represents a natural

stream-bed which was deeper in Roman times, probably as a result of artificial deepening," (Dodd and Woodward, 1922, 36) and also that this deepened stream-bed "was regarded as part of the defences of the fort." Thus any ditch between the point where the east ditch terminated and the south-east angle, was rendered unnecessary. They doubted whether there were any other buildings, other than the baths, in this area either at the time of the occupation of the fort or subsequently (Dodd and Woodward, 1922, 37).

Some earthworks to the north of the fort have been suggested as an annexe (Richmond, 1922, 36), with a boundary ditch linking up with the artificially deepened stream on the eastern side of the fort. However, in their 1922 excavations Dodd and Woodward found no trace of an artificial rampart on the inner side of the stream-bed at the point of their trench, which an annexe would have required (Dodd and Woodward, 1922, 36).

Richmond (1925, 32) stated: "As far as the eastern stream the whole area was roughly paved, like the spaces identified as parade-grounds at Gelligaer, Hardknot (sic) and Maryport". This appeared to be the first reference to a parade-ground at Gelligaer, though they are well-known by this time at Hardknott and Maryport, and it is also the first reference to the paved area at Slack being a parade-ground. However, Dodd and Woodward (1922, 37) stated that the whole of the area was strewn with traces of Roman occupation such as tiles, pottery and glass, which would seem to be a somewhat untidy surface to be used for a parade-ground.
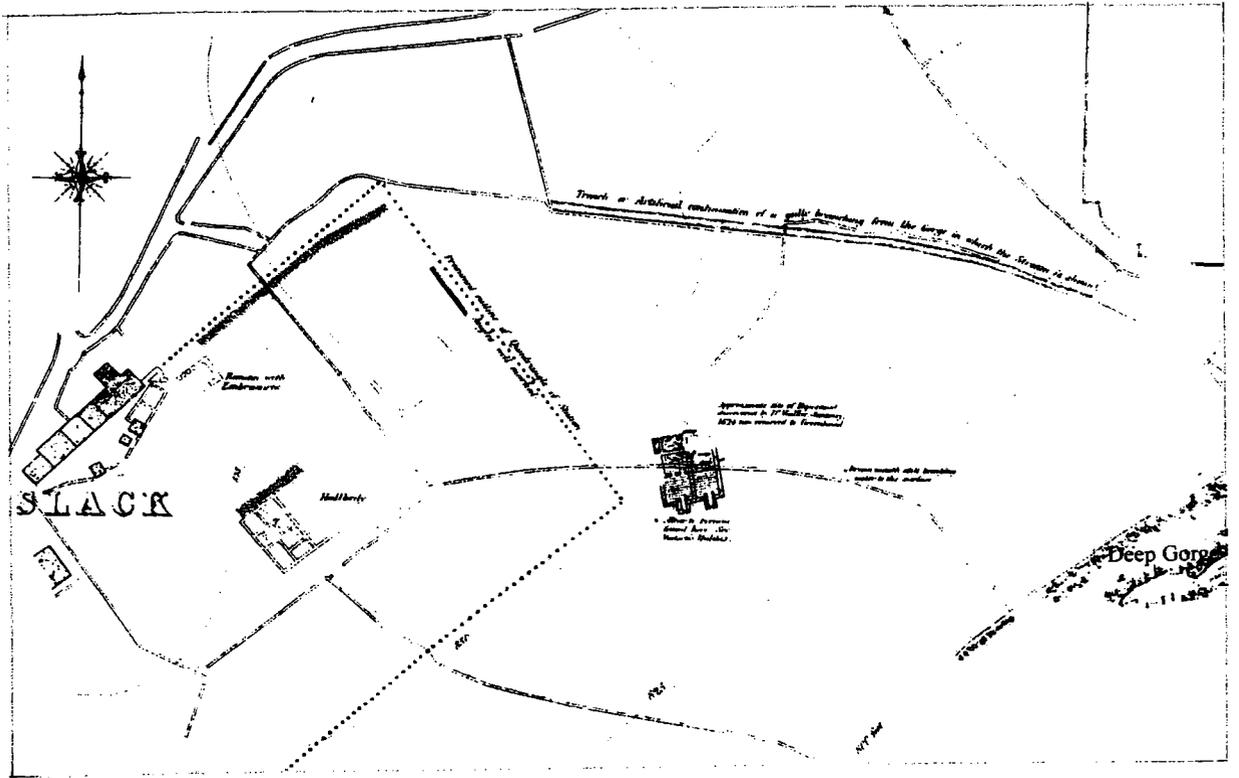
Slack: Plan of Roman fort surveyed in 1865-6. F. Barber

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11. CHESTER-LE-STREET, Co. Durham

The Roman fort at Chester-le-Street lay on the Roman road Margary 80b, the road east of Dere Street running up to Newcastle upon Tyne, the Pons Aelius of Roman times. The modern town of Chester-le-Street is built over the fort and excavation has been possible only as and when building activities have permitted. Gillam and Tait emphasised that information comes from holes dug by building contractors and not by archaeological excavation (Gillam and Tait, 1968, 76). (Rainbird, 1971; Bishop, 1993)

The area which had been suggested as a parade-ground (Gillam and Tait, 1968, 81) lay beyond the east gate of the fort. There was evidence of a number of large, extra-mural buildings, of unknown purpose, with cobble and rammed gravel roadways between these buildings. This surface of cobbles and rammed gravel extended northwards from the buldings toward the roadway from the east gate. This roadway was found to be only thirteen feet (3.9 metres) wide, but this was felt to be not unusual if one portal of the presumed double-portalled gateway had been blocked (Gillam and Tate, 1968, 78). To the south side of the putative parade-ground a heavy foundation was found, at first interpreted as the possible foundation for a free-standing statue. However, following the suggestion of a parade-ground, this feature was later interpreted as the base for a statue or dedicatory altars (Gillam and Tait, 1968, 81).

There has been much modern disturbance in this area and the opportunity for excavation very limited. There was no firm evidence of the extent of the area of the putative parade-ground which was situated immediately outside the east gate and just beyond the edge of the third ditch. The area appeared to be restricted on the south side by a range of three large rectangular buildings. The foundation of this area of cobbles in clay with a rammed gravel surface appeared to be similar to that of the area at South Shields Roman fort which was excavated in 1993. (See Chapter II.4)

Within the plan, the following labels appear:

FRONT STREET

LOW CHARE

HIGH CHARE

MIDDLE CHARE

CHURCH CHARE

SCHOOL

CHURCH AND GROUNDS

SITE OF BATHHOUSE

GRAMMAR SCHOOL

ROAD

FEET
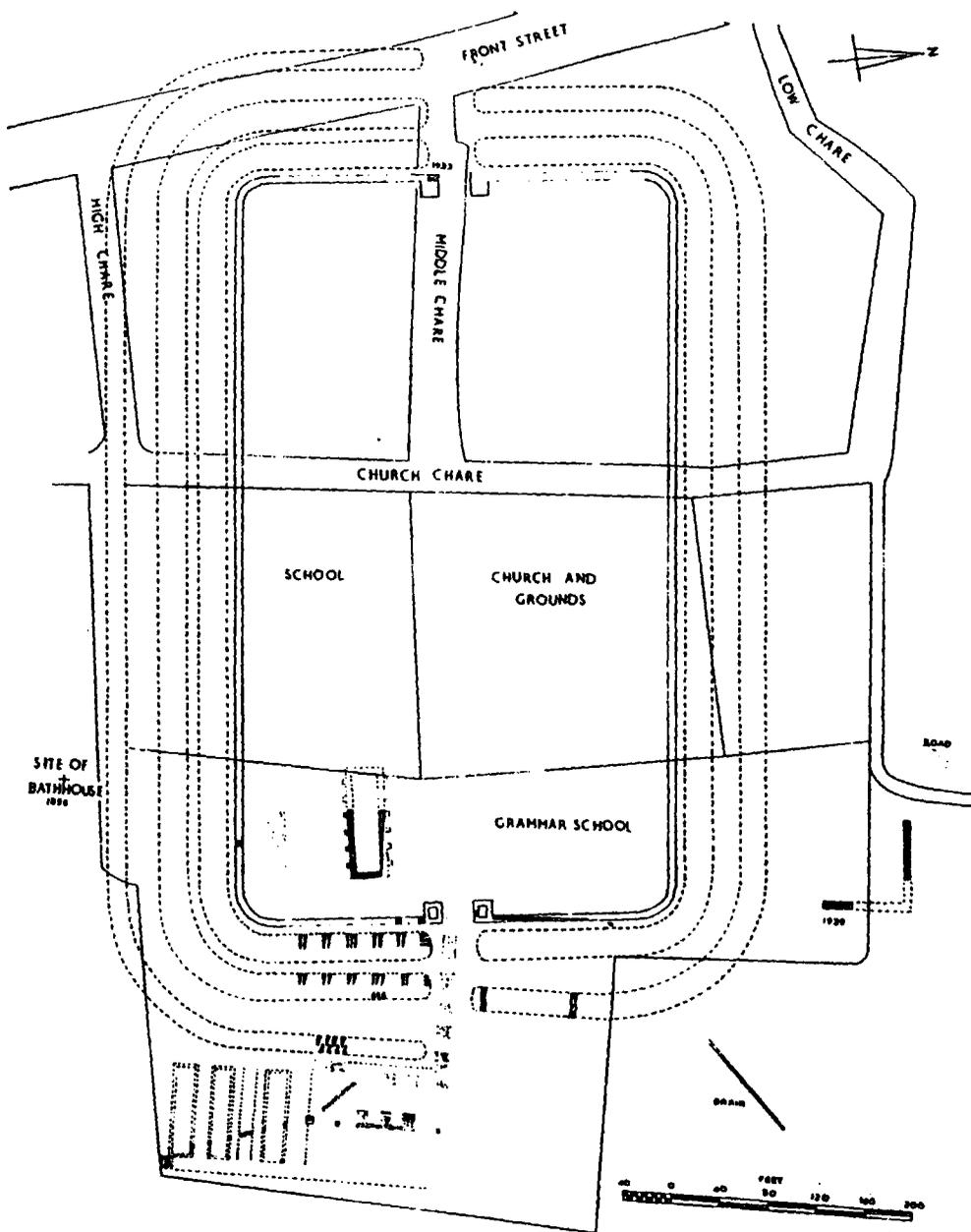
FIG. 3

Chester-le-Street: Plan of Roman fort. J.P. Gillam and J. Tait
AA4, Vol. XLVI

GRAMMAR SCHOOL

FORT WALL

DITCH I

DITCH II

DITCH III

PARADE GROUND

FEET

JT
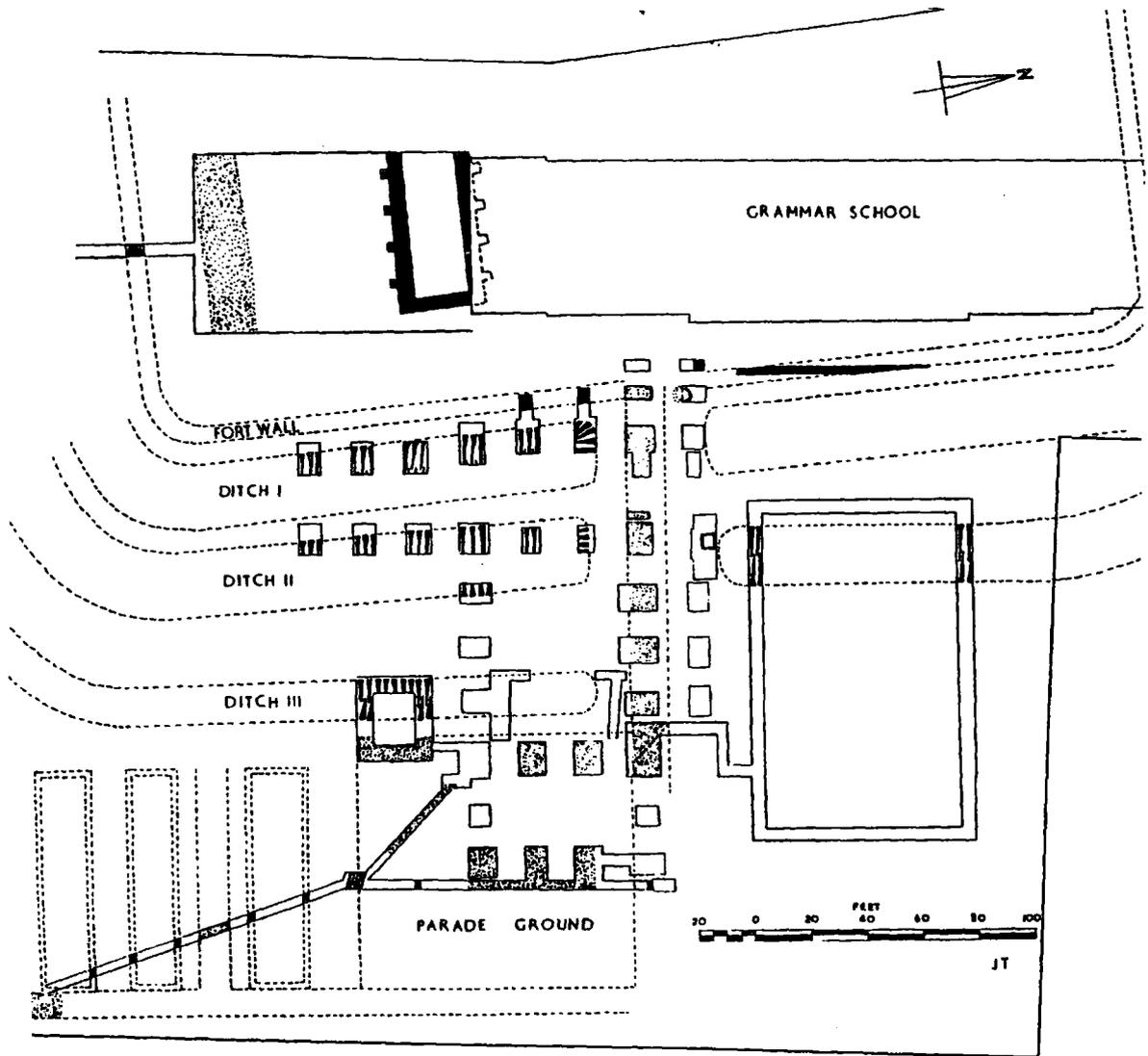
Chester-le-Street: Plan of east gateway of Roman fort. J.P. Gillam and J. Tait.
AA4, Vol. XLVI

12. ALCHESTER, Oxfordshire

The recent interpretation of an aerial photograph taken in the 1940s near the Roman town of Alchester, together with more recent photographs (1994) and excavation (1996), is of a Roman marching camp with a possible parade-ground inside the large marching camp and utilising part of its south ditch (Sauer and Crutchley, 1998, 35). The parade-ground feature was a rectangular enclosure of approximately five acres (1.9 ha) surrounded by a U-shaped ditch and with square corners. What appeared to be a roadway led into its north side, but excavation has shown this to be without any gateway. A comparison was made with the parade-ground at Lambaesis, and also with Tomen-y-Mur in that its construction, of what appeared to be a platform, may have been unfinished (Sauer and Crutchley, 1998, 36). A comparison with the Campus Martius in Rome was also made, but this will be shown to be an inappropriate comparison with parade-grounds of Roman auxiliary forts. (See Chapter III, 8)

The aerial photographs and a resistivity survey suggested that the feature consisted of a raised platform, and the aerial photographs of the 1940s suggested that the discolouration of the surface may have been due to metalling, although this does not appear to have been reinforced by excavation. There is no reference to any mound nearby which could be interpreted as a tribunal, a feature which, coupled with the levelled area at Tomen-y-Mur, suggested a parade-ground. (See Chapter II, 3) The roadway leading into this feature at Alchester was well-defined, but as yet no excavation appears to have been undertaken in order to confirm the nature of its construction. The finding of this putative parade-ground suggested the proximity of a Roman fort, as yet undiscovered, although some features have been suggested in relation to the Roman town.

13. CARLISLE, Cumberland

Excavations at the Roman fort at Stanwix in 1994 revealed a platform 100 metres north-east of the fort between Hadrian's Wall and the Vallum. This was interpreted as being "almost certainly the parade-ground" (P.A. Flynn, 1995, in litt.). Local topography suggested the dimensions of the putative parade-ground may have been 200 metres north-east/south-west by 120 metres north-west/south-east. The platform appeared to have been formed by cutting into a natural slope and building up, with a possible tribunal being located on the short-axle south-east side. The surface was not gravelled but the area appeared to have a foundation of "cobbles and pebbles set in sandy clay" (P.A. Flynn, 1995, in litt.). No altars were found during the excavation and no further information was available for the putative parade-ground at Stanwix Roman fort.

14. CONCLUSION OF CHAPTER II

Evidence has been examined for all the Roman auxiliary forts in Britain where a parade-ground has been suggested and none has been found that undoubtedly substantiates the claims.

The evidence cited for a parade-ground covers a number of features, with the altars and tribunal of Maryport fort being the most important and most frequently used for a comparison. A levelled area with a tribunal has been cited as evidence at Hardknott and at Tomen-y-Mur; a flat area with altars at Birdoswald, and altars and a tribunal at South Shields. Flagged areas being used as evidence for a parade-ground at Gelligaer, Beckfoot and Slack with Ambleside being cited as a precedent.

The evidence for the parade-ground to the north of Maryport is based on literary references that describe annual oath taking and do not mention altars or a parade-ground (Tac. Hist. I. 55 and Pliny, Letters X 35, 52-3, 100-1 and 102-3). (See Appendix 'A') A number of altars found in 1870, buried in pits to the north of the fort, have been interpreted as annual dedicatory altars and a presumption made that they were buried each year and their find spot has been, incorrectly, identified as being beside the parade-ground (Wenham, 1939, 22). Detailed examination of the altars has shown that the weathering of the stone is not consistant with the altars having been buried within a year. Hill (1997, 92) stated that the interval was somewhere between no less than 20 years and no more than a hundred.

The literary references do not support the assumption of the of annual burying of altars, but this assumption has been accepted and continues to be accepted as evidence for annual dedicatory altars and burial beside parade-grounds. (Jarrett, 1965, 115; Davies, 1968, 125: Birley, 1961, 222; Breeze and Dobson, 1987, 259; Webster, 1985, 169; Johnson, 1968, 215) A suggestion by Jarrett, in his argument for annual burial of the

altars, was that, where an altar of the Baetasians was found beneath an altar of an earlier occupying unit, they had taken the earlier altar out of the pit, put in their own and then replaced the earlier altar on top (Jarrett, 1965, 116). This would seem to be a completely impracticable suggestion.

The questioning of the evidence supporting a parade-ground at Maryport raises another problem in that the I.O.M. altars, and particularly those dedicated by the *coh. I Hispanorum equitata*, have been assumed to be "practically the complete set" from which can be deduced the period of command of the various commanders throughout the *auxilia* (Wenham, 1939, 23). Jarrett (1958, 65) referred to the normal period of command of an auxiliary unit in the 2nd century as being three years, citing Birley (1953, 137) who, in turn, cited Wenham (1939, 19) which is coming close to a somewhat circular argument. Without the evidence of the annual dedicatory altars, no such period of command can be deduced.

A flat area near a fort, particularly if the area appeared to have been artificially levelled and also had a tribunal, as at Tomen-y-Mur; or if one or more altars are also involved, as at Birdoswald, then a parade-ground is suggested. Neither of these forts offers independent evidence for a parade-ground. The tribunal to the south of Maryport fort has been seen to be pre-Roman (See Chapter II. 1.7) and therefore cannot be used as evidence for a Roman parade-ground.

Evidence for a flagged area being interpreted as a parade-ground appears to stem from Ambleside fort and the excavations undertaken there between 1913 and 1915. In 1913 a flagged area was noted, apparently beyond the east gate but in the position of guard-chambers (Haverfield and Collingwood, 1914, 446). However, in 1914 excavation revealed that there were, in fact, two forts whose east gates were on slightly different alignments but so nearly coincidental as to be confusing. The areas found beyond the

east gate in the 1913 excavation were indeed guard-chambers but of the previously unsuspected earlier fort (Collingwood, 1915, 7). This was categorically stated, with accompanying plan, in the report of the 1915 excavation (Collingwood, 1916, 79).

Some confusion has arisen, however, due to the excavator's comments, some years later, in his report on another auxiliary fort, Hardknott (Collingwood, 1928, 337), when he referred to the paved area at Slack being a parade-ground, as at Ambleside. However, there appears to be no intervening publication in which he corrected his views of the Ambleside excavations. Therefore, any paved area citing Ambleside as a precedent, must be discounted.

Hardknott fort is a different problem in that there is, quite clearly, an artificially levelled area in the vicinity of the fort. An historian (Hutchinson, 1794, 569) stated that this was used, perhaps, for a parade and military exercise. There are three large mounds to one side, the middle one of which was first said to be the tribunal in 1892 (Ferguson, Dymond and Calverley, 1892, 416) shortly after the tribunal of the south parade-ground at Maryport had been identified.. The middle mound is 20 feet (6 metres) high, which would seem to be somewhat excessive from where mounted officers could review troops on the levelled area below. The composition of the mound, said to be of loose piled stones (Collingwood, 1928, 337), would seem to be an eminently unsuitable structure for such a purpose.

The levelled area, however, poses a problem in that the only evidence for it being Roman is its proximity to the Roman fort and the apparent absence of other settlements in the area either pre- or post-Roman. However, this is not secure evidence on which to maintain a Roman origin. Several suggestions have been made for other uses of the levelled area at Hardknott, though none is any more convincing than that of a parade-ground.

Once parade-grounds are seen as necessary adjuncts to an auxiliary fort, they can be conjectured at many others. Low Borrow Bridge is said to have a parade-ground, with no supporting evidence. The newly-recorded discovery at Alchester cited Tomen-y-Mur as a precedent, itself being without secure evidence. The cobbled area at Carlisle cited Maryport as a precedent, although no excavation has been undertaken at Maryport to determine what, if any, foundation lay under the two areas suggested as parade-grounds. The recent excavations at South Shields have revealed a cobbled area set in clay, with a rammed gravel surface and suggested as a parade-ground, although its dimensions would seem to contradict this.

There does not appear to be any incontrovertable evidence for there being any parade-grounds at any auxiliary forts in Britain. The following chapter examines the necessity or otherwise for parade-grounds.

CHAPTER III
TRAINING, EXERCISES AND CAVALRY SPORTS, AND PARADES

1. INTRODUCTION

According to ancient authors, infantry soldiers of the Roman army undertook daily

exercises and training; cavalry soldiers undertook exercises and mock battles.

The authors quoted here are Caesar, The Conquest of Gaul, (Loeb English translation,

H.J. Edwards (1942) and Penguin Classics, translated by S.A. Handford (1958)); The

Civil War, (Loeb English translation, A.G. Peskett (1914) and Penguin Classics,

translated by Jane F. Mitchell (1976)); Tacitus, The Agricola and the Germania, (Penguin

Classics, Revised translation by S.A. Handford (1970) and Loeb Classical Library,

translation by M. Hutton, Revised translation Agricola, R.M. Ogilvie, Germania, E.H.

Warmington (1970)); The Annals of Imperial Rome, (Penguin Classics, translated by M.

Grant (1977); Loeb English translation John Jackson (1951)); The Histories, (Penguin

Classics, translated by Kenneth Wellesley (1975); Loeb English translation, Clifford H.

Moor (1951)); Josephus, The Jewish War, (Penguin Classics, translated by G.A.

Williamson (1959); Loeb Classical Library translation Books I-III, H. St.J. Thackeray

(1961)); Ammianus Marcellinus, The Later Roman Empire (AD354-378) (Penguin

Classics: Selected and translated by Walter Hamilton with an Introduction and Notes by

Andrew Wallace-Hadrill (1986)); Arrian, Ars Tactica, (As I know of no published

English translation of Arrian's Ars Tactica, my friend, Frank Brudenell, has kindly

provided me with a copy of the translation he produced for Ann Hyland's Training the

Roman Cavalry); Vegetius, De Re Militari, (English translation by Leo F. Stelten, 1990).

The two versions of many of the above have been used in order to compare translations

made several years apart, particularly in their translations of individual words. Equally,

the words "Training", "Exercise" and "Parade" as defined in the 2nd Edition of the

Oxford English Dictionary (1989) have been compared with the definitions in The

Shorter Oxford English Dictionary (1933) and the New English Dictionary on Historical

Principles: Founded mainly on the Materials collected by the Philological Society (1888).

The concept of 'Training', Exercising' and 'Parading' appears to change over time in the

19th and 20th centuries. This is apparent in the English translations of the ancient

authors undertaken at different dates, as well as in dictionary definitions produced at

different dates. The words of the ancient authors do not change, although their

contemporary meanings may have done so.

The training of auxiliary recruits within the Roman army undoubtedly took place, but

how and where is not firmly established. It has been assumed that, following the

reorganisation of the army by Augustus, the training of an auxiliary infantryman would

have been similar to that of the legionary as described by Vegetius in his De Re Militari.

(See Chapter III, 2.1)

Arrian, governor of Cappadocia, wrote Ars Tactica , which describes the exercises of the

Cavalry Parade Sports, in the 20th year of Hadrian's reign, circa AD136/7. He describes

first of all the equipment and weaponry of infantry and cavalry, heavy and light infantry

(Chapter 3); then the "line of battle" of the army and model tactics, as well as the various

formations and their commanders (Chapter 4). The following chapters between 4 and 40

are given over to displacements and formations of the army. In Chapter 16 Arrian goes

on to describe the complex and varied cavalry formations: such as the rhomboid

formation used by the Thessalians, the wedge-shaped formation preferred by the

Scythians and Macedonians, and the square formation of the Persians, Sicilians and the

Greeks. He then names the various infantry movements of the formation and the "order

of march", including the positioning of the baggage train, of the old Greeks and

Macedonians (Chapter 30).

In Chapters 33 and 34 Arrian deals with Roman cavalry manoeuvres and equestrian exercises which, he states, were adopted and adapted from these earlier tactics and from the Spanish and Gallic cavalry. These exercises, performed mostly at high speed, would have required a high degree of training for complete control of horse and weapon by the cavalryman and, as well as being an exciting spectacle, would have incorporated manoeuvres used in battle conditions.

How long would this and other forms of training take? There is not much information contained in ancient sources. In the siege at Jerusalem, the Zealots learned to use captured missile throwers by daily practice (Josephus, Book VI, ix, 2), although he does not state over what period this daily practice took place. Vegetius mentions a period of four months for initial training (Book II, v), but stresses daily practice.

In modern literature as in, for example, Webster, 1955, 169; Birley, 1961, 222; Jarrett, 1965, 115; Davies, 1968, 125; Johnson, 1968, 215; and Breeze and Dobson, 1987, 259; it has come to be accepted that this training would have taken place principally on the parade-ground of the auxiliary fort. However, the dearth of such areas in close proximity to excavated auxiliary forts in Roman Britain would seem to cast doubt on such theories. By contrast, archaeological evidence from Caerleon (JRS XLV, 1955, 122) and Chester (Wilson, 1967, 179) suggests that parade-grounds were in evidence at legionary fortresses and these may have played a part in training legionary troops. Similarly, at Lambaesis, home of the legion III Augusta in Africa (ILS 2487), there is evidence of at least one parade-ground.

The first mention of a parade-ground attached to an auxiliary fort in Britain appears to be that at Hardknott (Hutchinson, 1794, 569), a piece of ground which he suggests was

used "perhaps for a parade, and military exercise." Hutchinson did not provide any reason or evidence in support of this suggestion.

Parade-grounds for the training of troops appear to have been accepted as a necessary part of a Roman auxiliary fort, and many have been suggested without secure evidence, in the mistaken comparison with the British army. However, it appears that parade-grounds came into widespread use in the British Army in England in the Victorian era, at a time when England was at war with Russia and when she also needed soldiers to protect her interests in all the countries of the British Empire. Training began to be undertaken on a large scale in Aldershot and, in 1853, 25,000 troops of all arms were training (Cole, 1951, 28).

Before that time the "British Army at home were stationed in recognised long-established garrisons, most of which had been military centres from earliest times, and the garrisons occupied castle, forts and similar old defensive installations." (Cole, 1951, 25). These were in such places as London, Chatham, Hounslow, Dover, York, Plymouth, Pembroke, Portsmouth, Windsor, Woolwich, Edinburgh, Dublin and Chester, of which only Woolwich and Hounslow had any training facilities. Otherwise, small detachments were billeted on the civil population in the main cities and county towns (Cole, 1951, 25).

In order for Queen Victoria to review her troops large areas were required for soldiers to parade. "The Camp" at Aldershot was established in 1854 and the "Queen's Parade" was one such area where the Queen held many of her inspections of the garrison (Cole, 1951, 64).

2. TRAINING

To train: to subject to discipline and instruction for the purpose of forming the character and developing the powers of, or of making proficient in some occupation. To instruct

and discipline in or for some particular art, profession, occupation or practice; to exercise, practise, drill: to make proficient by such instruction and practice (OED, 2nd Edn. (1989)). The action of Train; specially military drill: especially in former use, a public meeting or muster at a stated time for drill of militia and volunteer forces, now much used for the periodical camp work of the Territorials (SOED (1933)). To instruct and discipline in or for some particular art, profession, occupation, or practice: to exercise, parade, drill: to make proficient by such instruction and practice (EDHP (1888)).

The prospective recruit to the Roman army would be required to satisfy the *probatio*. He had to satisfy the physical requirements and that he had the relevant qualifications to enlist in the *auxilia*, that is, that he was a free non-Roman, a *peregrine*. He would then receive his "travelling money", or *viaticum*. After enlistment, he would be required to take the oath of allegiance, the *sacramentum*. He would then come under the jurisdiction of Roman Military Law.

When the recruit was sent to a unit where basic training was to take place, he would be introduced to the eagles and the standards, and to the images of the emperor. Prior to the reorganisation of the army by Augustus the soldier owed his allegiance to his general, to whom his oath was given, with subsequent problems during civil wars when one commander defeated another. For example, during the Civil War in 49BC and following Caesar's successful siege of the town of Corfinium in south Italy, which was being held on behalf of Pompey by Domitius Ahenobarbus, Caesar ordered Domitius's soldiers to take the oath of allegiance to himself (Caesar, Civil War, I, 23). In another Civil War example, in 48BC, two of Pompey's lieutenants in Spain, Lucius Afranius and Marcus Petreius, imposed a fresh oath on their men to intimidate them, when they wanted to surrender to Caesar (Caesar, Civil War, I, 76).

After the reorganisation of the army, the soldier owed his allegiance to the emperor and the people of Rome. In AD68 the loyalty of the legions in Germany, to the emperor Galba, was crumbling (Tacitus, Hist. I. 26). On 1st January AD69 (the Year of the Four Emperors) the legions of Lower Germany were required to take the annual oath of loyalty, although they showed reluctance to do so. (Tacitus, Hist. I. 55). The men of the First and Fifth Legions stoned the portraits of Galba, the Fifteenth and Sixteenth confined themsleves to muttering (Tacitus, Hist. I. 55). It is this reference which is suggested as supporting annual dedicatory altars at Maryport.

While soldiers in the Roman army were able to follow their own religion or to worship their own gods, the cult of the standards and the emperor was paramount. We know from the *Feriale Duranum* (Welles, Fink and Gilliam, 1959, 130) that the standards had at least one special celebratory day. The *Feriale Duranum*, one of the documents from the archives of the *cohors XX Palmyranorum*, found in the Temple of Azzanathkona in Dura Europos, indicates the particular animals to be sacrificed on each festival day, but it is not clear how or where this was carried out and whether it included a parade. Over time, the soldiers' own gods sometimes became synchronised with gods of the Roman pantheon, and eastern religious cults spread throughout the Empire by the auxiliaries with homelands in Syria, such as Mithraism and Christianity. Merchants and other travellers may also have helped with this dissemination of eastern cults.

2.1 Infantry Training

Vegetius was not a military man. In the title of each of the four books he describes himself as an Honourable Official. Writing in the late 4th century his work, *De Rei Militaris* is accepted as being a selective compilation of the work of others, ranging over almost six hundred years from Cato the Elder (234-149BC), Cornelius Celsus (1st century AD), Frontinus (c. 35-104AD) and Paternus (died 183AD). He also used the constitutions of Augustus, Trajan and Hadrian as sources and while he does not mention

Julius Caesar, it is not impossible that he, too, may have been one of Vegetius's sources. He appears to have written his treatise with a view to saving Rome from what he saw as eventual decline, principally through the indiscipline and poor training of the army of his day in comparison with what he saw as the ideal, the army of earlier years from the Republic through to the Empire. Within Book I he writes "O, invincible Emperor, I have collected these kernels ..... so that, if anyone wishes to be diligent in the selection and training of recruits, he might be able to easily rebuild the army in imitation of earlier valor ...." (Vegetius, Book I, xxviii).

Although Vegetius was not a military man, his work is nonetheless accepted as the most detailed extant description of army training, from the physical characteristics required, the desired moral character, to the finished, fully-trained soldier. However, rather than a realistic description, this may well be Vegetius's view of the ideal Roman army because there are several references from the early Empire of soldiers who became slack and undisciplined through not training, which he does not seem to take account of. For example, Tacitus records two instances, in Pannonia when, after a period of public mourning following the death of Augustus, the troops became idle and the idea of work and discipline became distasteful (Ann. I, xvi), and another in AD58 when Corbulo, in recovering Armenia from the Parthians, found in his army old soldiers who were billeted in towns and who had never been on guard or watch and who found ramparts and ditches strange novelties (Tacitus, Ann. XIII, xxxv).

Vegetius (Book II, 23) states that daily exercises were undertaken by every soldier. They should be trained at the stake with wooden swords and shields, and to use the sling and to throw stones by hand. However, this may be another example of his idealistic view of what he thought the army should be. Where we have daily reports of auxiliary units from writing tablets, *papyrii* and *ostraka*, from Vindolanda, Dura Europos and Egypt, there is no mention of training of recruits or the daily exercising of the trained

soldier. One of the morning reports of the Vindolanda writing tablets (Tab. <u>Vindol. II.</u> 155), dated 7th March but with no year recorded, gives a list of some of the ordinary soldiers sent to their tasks for the day. These include 30 soldiers on building tasks, 18 quarrying or transporting stone, and another group getting clay for work on the hurdles or fences of the camp (Bowman, 1994, 37). Another report, dated 25th April but with no year reported, records 343 men assigned to the workshops (*fabricae*): of these 12 are cobblers or leather workers, 18 are builders (*structores*) working on the bathhouse and at least 7 other assignments for which entries are not fully preserved (Bowman, 1994, 37). None, it would seem, was sent for any exercise or training activity. It may be, of course, that any such exercises or training, said by Vegetius to be daily for trained soldiers, and both morning and afternoon for young soldiers and recruits (Vegetius, <u>Book I,</u> xxiii), was undertaken early in the day and, as such, deemed to be obvious and not necessary to be included on any daily report. It may be, perhaps, that details of daily training may have been recorded in a different type of report, none of which has survived.

The basic training of the recruit included learning to march: of necessity, this would have entailed marching in unison and in step (Vegetius, Book I, 9). There is a reference which suggests this may have been done to some form of musical instrument. In the later 4th century, Ammianus Marcellinus, when writing about Julian said: "Being a prince as well as a philosopher he had to practise the rudiments of military training, and when he found himself learning the pyrrhic march-step to the sound of the fife he would often call out the name of Plato and repeat the old proverb: Pack-saddles are put on the ox: they are no fit burden for me." (XVI, 5). There is no evidence of recruits, either legionary or auxiliary, being trained in a central "depot". The references that we have suggest otherwise. Thus it would seem to suggest that recruits would be posted to units for training in small numbers. These small groups, perhaps even at different stages in their training, could be accommodated in small areas or roadways within the fort, or immediately outside. Marching would eventually lead up to the military pace of twenty

Roman miles in five hours and, in full equipment at full pace of twenty four Roman miles in five hours (Vegetius, Book I, 9). During Nero's eastern campaigns against the Parthians in Armenia, Paetus is said to have marched 40 miles at twice or nearly twice the normal speed - abandoning his wounded (Tacitus, Ann. XV, xvi). All the training appears to have begun fairly gently, leading up to carrying out the various tasks in full equipment. Physical training (Vegetius, Book I, 9 & 10) consisted of running, jumping, both long- and high- and swimming; again, ultimately in full marching order.

In describing weapon training Vegetius does differentiate between legionary and auxiliary units, although not very clearly. The legionary training is undertaken with the sword and *pilum*; the auxiliary training is undertaken with the *spatha* and the *hasta*, the thrusting spear. Here, the training was initially carried out with weapons and equipment that were heavier than the service weapons. The recruit was responsible for erecting a wooden stake into the ground so that it was stable and projected six feet above the ground. This stake was used as a target for sword training, spear throwing and for archery (Vegetius, Book I, xi). No matter how small the number of recruits in training, it does not seem feasible that these stakes would be or could be erected on a surface that had been prepared for use as a parade-ground or, indeed, on any roadway.

Vegetius emphasises the importance in battle of the individual soldier maintaining his position in the line "so that they do not crowd together or spread apart the ranks any more than is necessary" (Vegetius, Book I, 26). To this end the various formations were constantly practised. The discipline in battle of the Roman army distinguished it from her enemies and the basic training of the recruit was fundamental to the discipline. Under natural circumstances of danger, human beings will tend to group together. The Roman army discipline, constant training and instant response to commands, was designed to overcome this natural instinct and for each individual soldier to trust, implicitly, his comrades to right and left and behind him and to maintain his position in the line.

Another human instinct to be overcome by discipline and constant training is the action of holding a weapon, sword or spear, above shoulder level and striking downwards. This action obviously exposes that side of the body which then becomes vulnerable to upthrusting swords. The stance of the upthrusting swordsman, slightly sideways-on and behind his shield, gives stablility and prevents him from being pushed over by a charging enemy. It also enables him to keep in vision the weapon held high by the enemy, while the enemy cannot anticipate when the sword thrust will come.

There does not appear to be any period of time mentioned for this basic daily training, although Vegetius does say that a recruit would have to satisfy his superiors that he could advance to the next level of training after a period of four or more months (Vegetius, Book II, v). At the end of a satisfactory level of training the soldier was marked with the "military mark" (inscribed with marks punctured in his skin) (Vegetius, Book II, v) which may have been a tattoo. The *Notitia Dignitatum* is a late 4th/early 5th century document which lists the offices of State, the officials and their responsibilities, including the officials responsible for the large military *fabricae* throughout the empire. The Theodosian Code, a collection of edicts on behalf of the emperor Theodosius, emperor in the West in AD379-95, tell us that the workers in these arms and armour-making factories were classed as soldiers and, like soldiers of the late 4th century, they were hereditarily tied to their profession and, also like soldiers, they were branded in case of absconding, but we do not know what form this branding took. "Brands, that is, the official State mark, shall be stamped upon the armourers, in imitation of the practice of branding army recruits, so that in this manner at least it may be possible to recognise skulkers." (CTh. X, xii 4, 398). It is noted that branding was earlier reserved for the lowest criminals and runaway slaves (Pharr, 1952).

There are no references in ancient sources as to where training took place. There are, however, references to untrained or not fully trained recruits being protected in battle

conditions by removing them to the rear of the action (Caesar, Conquest of Gaul, I, 24). Tacitus (Agricola, 28) tells us of a cohort of Usipi, enrolled in Germany and sent to Britain who murdered the centurion and soldiers who were serving in their ranks to instruct them and to instil discipline. This could have been a particularly wayward group of tribesmen or it could have been the regular method of training and forcing discipline on recruits. In Syria, during the Jewish War (AD69), a Roman force of five cohorts "perished to a man" (Penguin Classics) when set upon by Antigonus. The cohorts were raw recruits recently levied in Syria and without veterans to strengthen their morale (Josephus, The Jewish War, I, xvii, 1). In Book VI, vii, 3 Josephus talks of "constant campaigning and uninterrupted training".

In the early days of the use of auxiliary troops for annual campaigns and large-scale wars with Caesar, these were fully trained native troops, usually cavalry, who were controlled by their own commanders. These sometimes carried the name of their commander. For example, the *Ala Indiana*, a cavalry unit first raised by Julius Indus of Trier, whose daughter, Julia Pacata Indiana married Gaius Julius Alpinus Classicianus, who later became the Procurator of Britain. There is no record of how these tribal cavalry units might have become trained. There could have been an elite warrior class within the tribe or some other grouping, or all youths at a certain age could have become warriors and learnt their craft "in the saddle", in skirmishes against other tribal groupings or against different tribes. Plundering raids kept young men in training (Caesar, Conquest of Gaul, VI, 23) as did the sport of killing aurochs (Caesar, Conquest of Gaul, VI, 28). Batavian cohorts which were moved to Britain in AD43 or AD60-1 were still commanded, according to long-standing practice by their own nobles (Tacitus, Hist. IV, xii). Flavius Cerialis, commander of the Ninth cohort of Batavians, occupying the fort at Vindolanda at least between AD95-105 (Jarrett, 1994, 56) may have been a Batavian noble (Tab. Vindol. II 250).

The tribes fighting against the Romans learned from them, particularly the disciplines of following standards, keeping troops in reserve and obeying commands (Tacitus, Annals, Book II, lii). Some commanders, too, of native troops, had once served in the Roman army. Arminius, once the commander of a Cheruscan force in the Roman army, later led the German force which defeated three Roman legions and killed Publius Quinctilius Varus in the Teutobergawald in AD9, although his brother Flavius remained loyal to Rome (Tacitus, Annals, Book II, x); and Tacfarinas in North Africa who had deserted from service as a Roman auxiliary (Tacitus, Annals, Book II, lii) reorganised his army in the Roman fashion. Gannascus, of the Canninefates tribe of the Rhine delta, also an auxiliary deserter, took to piracy with small ships along the Gallic coast (Tacitus, Annals, Book XI, xviii).

The members of auxiliary units were later drawn from a wider catchment area, perhaps a *civitas* or a tribe and, later still, the name of the unit would indicate only the Province from which they were drawn. For example, the *cohors I Frisiavonum quingenaria*, attested by an inscription from Melandra Castle (*RIB* 279) (Jarrett, 1994, 59), whose soldiers were drawn from a tribe, the Frisii, from the area of modern Holland and Friesland at the mouth of the river Scheldt ; the *ala I Pannoniorum Sabiniana quingenaria*, attested by a tombstone from Halton Chesters on Hadrian's Wall (*RIB* 1433) (Jarrett, 1994, 43), presumably originally composed of troops raised in Pannonia, a province situated in the area of modern Serbia.

Units of native cavalry, from Gaul (Caesar, Conquest of Gaul, Book II, 4; African War, 6.4; 19.5; Tacitus, Hist. II, 11) and Numidia (Caesar, Conquest of Gaul, Book II, 3; Tacitus Hist. II, 40) were used within the Roman army whose own cavalry formed only a small part of each legion, one hundred and twenty in each legion. Specialities of some native horesemen such as Numidians riding without bridles (Caesar, African War, 19.5), slingers from the Balearic Islands and archers from Crete (Caesar, Conquest of Gaul,

Book II, 3) suggest that a great deal of specialised training was undertaken, but again we have no written sources. Tacitus tells us of Italicus, nephew of Arminius, who was kept at Rome and trained to fight and ride in both German and Roman style (Tacitus, Annals, Book XI, xvi). So there was obviously a recognisable difference, but there are no details of what these were.

That Rome admired and continued to need some specialist units into the later centuries, at least in connection with their occupation of Britain, is suggested by the Hamian Archers at Carvoran (*RIB* 1778), the *cohors I Hamiorum sagittariorum* (Jarrett, 1994, 61) and the boatmen, the *numerus barcariorum Tigrisiensium* (Jarrett, 1994, 70), recorded in the *Notitia Dignitatum* as being at *Arbeia*, which is usually taken to be South Shields.

A strength report of the First Cohort of Tungrians from Vindolanda (Tab. Vindol. I., 154) is the only known strength report from Roman Britain and the only example for a *milliary* cohort of auxiliaries anywhere in the Roman empire. The report gives details of the whereabouts of its complement of 752 men, (a number thought not to be inconsistent if the *quingenary* cohort was in the process of expanding to one of *milliary* size, as it is known subsequently at Castlecary) which inlcudes 46 *singulares legati* detached as guards of the provincial governor. There were also detachments elsewhere and thirty-one were unfit for service; fifteen were sick, six were wounded and ten were suffering from inflammation of the eyes. Two other reports (Tab. Vindol II, 155) list the assignment of various groups. Thirty builders were working on a *hospitum* (residence) under the direction of a *medicus* (a doctor or a medical orderly), eighteen men were quarrying or transporting stone and another group was getting clay for work on the hurdles or fences of the camp. On the second report 343 men were assigned to the workshops *(fabricae)*; twelve cobblers or leather-workers were assigned, eighteen builders *(structores)* working on the bath-house and at least seven other assignments with

entries not fully preserved. Another text appeared to show specialist craftsmen making weapons, for example, *scutarius* (shield-maker), but there was no reference to any training or exercising either in the fort or outside (unless, of course, some of those assigned elsewhere, or the on the unpreserved assignments, were actually doing some sort of training.) A number of other interesting points arose from these reports: the fact that auxiliaries were actually building the bath-house and a *hospitum* and that they appeared to be under the supervision of a *medicus*. The assignment of 343 men to the workshops would suggest that a lot of activity was going on in an unknown number of workshops.

Within an auxiliary unit many different skills would have been required, apart from weapon training, such as armourers (at least for repairing military equipment). It is known from the late 4th/early 5th century (possibly after AD395) document, the *Notitia Dignitatum*, that armouries were used for concentrated equipment making in various parts of the Empire (*CIL* XIII 2828 = *ILS* 7047), but it is not known which period this might cover. The *Notitia Dignitatum* was a document which listed the offices of State, the officials and their responsibilities, one list for the West and one for the East, which were mirror-images but with a varying degree of survival. The date of AD395 is suggested for the document as this was the date at which the empire was divided between Arcadius (AD395-408) in the East and Honorious (AD395-423) in the West (Jones, 1986, 1417).

In the metal-working shop, as elsewhere, some inexperienced labouring would have been required. It is possible that the inexperienced or non-specialist soldier might have been detailed to assist the so-called specialists or veteran workmen. The experienced soldier, whatever his specialism may have been, would not have been automatically entitled to receive any more pay than the inexperienced recruit. The pay scales of auxiliary soldiers appear to be that a *duplicarius* received double the basic pay. A prize worth having it

would seem was to become an *immunes*, one immune from some types of duties. It is interesting to note that from *papyrii* from Dura Europos (Welles, Fink and Gilliam, 1959) and *ostraka* (Alston, 1995) from Roman Egypt which give details of the daily activities of the unit, there is no reference to any training activity either for weapon training or for specialist training.

2.2 Cavalry Training

Where the auxiliary unit was one of cavalry only, for example the *ala I Tungrorum quingenaria* at Mumrills on the Antonine Wall, or a mixed infantry and cavalry unit, for example the *cohors II Thracum quingenaria equitata* (part-mounted) also attested at Mumrills (*RIB* 2140 and 2142; Hanson and Maxwell. 1983, 153), the training requirements would have been somewhat different from those of a purely infantry unit, for example the *cohors I Tungrorum milliaria peditata* at Housesteads (Breeze and Dobson, 1987, 142).

It is uncertain where the training of cavalryman or horses was undertaken. Vegetius stated that recruits as well as veterans should be able to mount horse-back (nothing is mentioned about learning to ride the horse); with wooden horses placed in the drill field in summer and under a roof in winter (Vegetius, Book I, XVIII) and that the infantry and cavalry ought to be let out three times a month "on hikes" (Vegetius, Book I, XXVII). The cavalry, divided into squads, should be made to make 10-mile journeys not only on the drill field but also in steep and difficult places (Vegetius, Book I, XXVII). Not only the cavalrymen but also the horses themselves should be trained by assiduous labour (Vegetius, Book II, XIV). Arrian (Ars Tactica) goes into great detail with regard to the activities of the so-called Cavalry Parade Sports (See Chapter III, 3). While a great deal of training would be required in order to carry out the various complicated manoeuvres successfully, the reason for the activity is not fully understood. We know from Hadrian's Speech (See Appendix 'B') that he witnessed such an activity at Lambaesis when he

reviewed the Legion III Augusta in Africa: we do not know how often or for what purpose these spectacles were undertaken.

3. EXERCISING AND CAVALRY SPORTS

Arrian, Flavius Arrianus Xenophon, was the governor of Cappadocia and a military commander during the reign of Hadrian and wrote his treatise, <u>Ars Tactica</u>, in Greek circa AD136/7, that is about eight years after Hadrian's recorded *adlocutio* at Lambaesis in AD128. Arrian tells us (<u>Ars. Tactica</u> 33, 1) that the Romans do not use Latin terms for everything connected with the cavalry, but Spanish and Gallic terms which were adopted for the various manoeuvres, as well as some items of equipment which in Arrian's day were called "Roman" because they had made the most effective use of them.

For these cavalry sports exercises a level space was selected for the performance and the surface was prepared by digging up the soil until it was fine and soft (<u>Ars Tactica</u> 34.1). This would seem to indicate that this would be for a special occasion. The space in front of the platform was cut into the shape of a square but there is no information as to whether it was part of the natural selected ground or built as part of the preparation of the ground. The participants were clothed in coloured tunics and embellished in coloured accoutrements of plumes; those of distinguished rank or superior horsemanship wore gilded face helmets (<u>Ars Tactica</u> 34.2) from which hung yellow plumes (<u>Ars Tactica</u> 34.4). The face helmets which have come to light were in a variety of racial types, both male and female, and may perhaps have represented gods and goddesses. They rode under different standards, (<u>Ars Tactica</u> 35.2) some made like snakes which hissed in the breeze when on the move (<u>Ars Tactica</u> 35.5). The most experienced cavalrymen carried the standards, the rest were trained to follow their own particular standard (<u>Ars Tactica</u> 35.7). These exercises appeared to consist of movement and counter-movement, wheeling, turning and riding in a variety of movements. One half of the cavalry rode in and placed themselves to the left of the platform, their horses' heads facing backwards, so that the cavalryman's shield which is hung over his back protects both himself and his horse (<u>Ars Tactica</u> 36.1). This was similar to the "testudo", the tortoise formation of the

infantry much used in siege warfare where the shields, at the front, sides and above the soldiers, protected them from the missiles of the beseiged (Ars Tactica 36.2).

Meanwhile, the second half of the cavalry were performing, two of their number positioned in front of the right wing of the testudo, to take the attack of their comrades. This consisted of the throwing of javelins while at the gallop, the purpose being to score as many "hits" on the armour of the targets as possible (Ars Tactica 36.5). The javelins, we are told, were made without iron and fall harmlessly (Ars Tactica 34.10). As each horseman wheeled away each time after throwing his javelins, he was "attacked" by other cavalrymen from the rear and had to make adjustments to his movements in order to throw a javelin or dart at this "enemy" while at the same time preventing vulnerable exposure by re-positioning his protective shield (Ars Tactica 37.7). Then it was the turn of the other half of the cavalry, from the testudo formation, to take their turn at this exercise. Twice they changed formations, with continuity and even spacing being important (Ars Tactica 38.5).

The "Cantabrian circle" came next, named, presumably, from the Iberian tribe of Cantabrians from whom the Romans adapted it (Ars Tactica 40.1). This appeared to consist of high-speed riding by two teams, of only the best horsemen, riding in right- and left-wheeling circles, each man in one circle throwing a spear shaft at the shield of his opposite number in the other circle. This exercise trained one circle of horsemen in spear-throwing, the other in skilful handling of his shield (Ars Tactica 40.7). Next was a display of high-speed javelin throwing, from a standing start at the platform, throwing as many javelins as possible into the smoothed centre square, and as close together as possible, while on the move (Ars Tactica 40.9).

The next part of the display was in full battle equipment by only the most skilled of the team and consisted of throwing lances at a target near the platform; the most accurate riders throwing their lances two or three times (Ars Tactica 41.4). Then all the troopers were involved, each in turn being called out by name by his commander (Ars Tactica

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42.2), and throwing their lances at different targets, each at a different angle thereby testing the skill not only of the lance-throwers but also their riding skill. Light darts were then shot from engines and stones flung from slings at a target with the object of trying to break the target (Ars Tactica 43.2). The final part of the display of riding prowess was the pursuit of an imaginary enemy, using their swords, with a final flourish being an exhibition of jumping on and off the galloping horses (Ars Tactica 43.9).

Arrian tells us that Hadrian introduced new ideas into these Cavalry Sports exercises, taken from some of the so-called barbarian horsemen, the horse-archers of Parthia and Armenia, and the wheelings and turnings of the pikemen of the Sauromatae or the Gauls (Ars Tactica 44.2) as well as reviving other long-neglected ancient Roman customs (Ars Tactica 44.4). Arrian also allowed for some deviation as in one of the exercises he said that the third lance must be thrown "if the exercise is being conducted in strict accordance with Emperor's Regulations" (Ars Tactica 42.3). This suggested that these cavalry sports were not undertaken according to inflexible rules but, under certain circumstances, could be adapted or added to.

3.1 Cavalry Sports Equipment

A number of the specialised pieces of equipment used in the Cavalry Sports have been recovered from Roman Britain and from other parts of the Roman world, the most numerous being from the Straubing Hoard in Bavaria, which is probably 3rd century. Arrian described the gilded helmets of iron or bronze, which were worn by those of distinguished rannk or superior horsemanship to draw attention to themselves (Ars Tactica 34.2), and stated that, unlike the helmets made for active service, these did not cover the head and cheeks only but were made to fit all round the faces of the riders with an aperture, or apertures, for the eyes so as to give protection to the eyes without interfering with vision (Ars Tactica 34.3). H. Russell Robinson (Robinson, 1975) identified ten categories, from A - J, of Cavalry Sports helmets, helmet masks, skull-pieces and cheek pieces, of iron and bronze, by form and/or decoration. For example, helmets with high projecting peaks, helmets with a horizontally-placed hinge attaching

the mask to the skull-pieces, helmets with a high-arched crest. Some have only one example within the category, such as the Phrygian Cap helmet from Ostrov in Romania (Robinson, 1975, 134, pl. 407-10; Garbsch, 1978, O 58, pl. 32) and, in Roman Britain, from Newstead, the only complete iron helmet in its category (Robinson, 1975, 114, pl. 318/9) and the helmet from Worthing in Norfolk, which is the only complete helmet of its group (Robinson, 1975, 131, pl. 387/8; Garbsch, 1978, O 61, pl. 30). Examples of some or parts of these Cavalry Sports helmets came from Germany, Romania, Italy, Syria, Holland, France, Hungary, Thrace and from Roman Britain. From Newstead, near Melrose in the Scottish Borders, a bronze helmet of late 1st/early 2nd century AD and an iron helmet, the only complete example of Robinson's category 'C' (Robinson, 1975, 115); from the river Wensum at Worthing in Norfolk, a helmet (Toynbee, 1964, 294), and a face-guard (not from the same helmet) (Robinson, 1975, 131, pl. 387-90; Garbsch, 1978, O 62, pl. 30) found nearby; from Guisborough in Yorkshire (Toynbee, 1964, 293; Garbsch, 1978, O 59, pl. 31) a thin bronze helmet. Cheek-pieces have also been found in many parts of the Roman empire.

Of the Straubing Hoard, there are skull-pieces, helmet masks representing male and female faces, fragments of a brow-piece, as well as decorated greaves and knee-guards, and horse armour, such as chamfrons and eye-guards. No greaves have survived that can be dated prior to late 2nd century (Robinson, 1975, 188) and these late specimens were for the use of the cavalry in their Cavalry Sports and not for infantry centurions. They were made of thin bronze and decorated with embossed ornaments. The knee-guards were a hinged separate addition to the greave, where the wire could be removed from the hinge to allow for ease of movement (Robinson, 1975, 189). However, the find spots of each or any of these objects cannot be used to indicate the presence of a parade-ground. The materials from which these were constructed, gilded or silvered bronze or iron, would seem to indicate personal items of some value, which would be recovered reasonably quickly if they had been lost during a display or exercise. Two of the greaves from Straubing were inscribed with the name of a *turma*

Cavalry Sports Equipment: Straubing face masks: Garbsch B1, B2, B6, B5

(Not to scale)

Cavalry Sports Equipment: Straubing greaves: Garbsch B9, B10, B11
Straubing chamfrons: Garbsch B15, B16

Cavalry Sports Equipment: Ribchester face helmet: Garbsch I, 1
Mainz face-guard: Garbsch O 49

'T MOD LVCAN' and one of the knee-guards 'T MORONI', which seems to indicate that the items were the property of the *turma*.

Recovery of some helmets and helmet parts from rivers, such as the helmet and the helmet mask from the river Wensum, Worthing, Norfolk (Robinson, 1975, 130, pl. 384/6 and 131, pl. 387/8); the helmet from the river Saone at Chalon (Robinson, 1975, 132, pl. 394/6) and the cheek-piece from the river Waal (Robinson, 1975, 132, pl. 399) might indicate the theft or chance finding of the helmet by a native and subsequent sacrifice to a river god. Or, with the Ribchester helmet as an example (this was a chance find in 1795 buried nine feet (2 7 metres) deep with other bronze objects), the items may have been the legal or illegal hoard of a metal worker, waiting to be hacked, melted down and reworked.

In his <u>Ars Tactica</u> (34) Arrian described the construction of a ground suitable for the special exercises of cavalry horses as being an area of level ground, with a square area where most of the cavalry manoeuvres took place, dug to an even depth and making the soil fine and soft. It would seem that surfaces were also specially prepared for the running of chariot races. Although the training of horses for use by the cavaly cannot properly be compared with that of chariot racing, nonetheless, care would have been required in both cases in order not to damage the unshod hooves of the animals. "Dry, rocky conditions gradually toughen a horse's hooves, whereas damp conditions lead to a spongy hoof ..... On the racetrack the friction of pounding hooves against the hard-packed sand of the arena would also abrade a hoof very quickly." (Hyland , 1990, 36). There is some archaeological evidence from the circuses at Caesarea and Carthage to suggest that the track was carefully prepared (Humphrey 1986, 84). It would seem that production of the 1958 movie-film *Ben Hur*, which featured chariot races, also had difficulty in preparing a track surface "hard enough to hold the careering horses and chariots yet soft enough (that is, with a sanded top) not to lame the horses." (Humphrey,

1986, 83).

While Arrian's description may have been the ideal, no such prepared surface has been found in Roman Britain. The relatively level piece of ground to the east of the auxiliary fort at Hardknott, which was occupied by the *cohors IV Delmatarum quingenaria equitata*, was artificially levelled with a five degree southward slope, and has been suggested as a parade-ground upon which it was intended that the Cavalry Sports might have been performed. (See Chapter II, 2.2) In size, between two-and-a-half and three acres (1 ha), it is clearly large enough for such an activity and the five degree north/south slope would have aided drainage and kept the surface free of water, while not hampering the cavalry activities. However, without excavation. the construction of this clearly artificially levelled piece of ground cannot properly be ascertained. From observation at the southern edge, where there is an abrupt drop of approximately ten feet (3 metres), and also at the point on the surface where the so-called "Parade-syke" stream enters the ground, this appears to be a turf covering over packed stones. (See Chapter II, 2.2) The normal exercising of cavalry, horse and man, could have been accomplished within the surrounding countryside at Hardknott and at other forts without the necessity of constructing a special platform, unless this was a one-off special display (see Chapter II, 2.6.3) such as the activities at Lambaesis in AD128.

The principal contemporary literary evidence we have for these so-called Cavalry Sports actually taking place is Hadrian's Speech to Legion III Augusta at the legionary fortress in Lambaesis in Africa (*ILS* 2487) (See Appendix 'B'). As well as addressing separately the Chief Centurions, the cavalry of the legion and a cavalry cohort, Hadrian also addresses auxiliary units; the *ala I Pannoniana* an auxiliary cavalry unit, and the cavalry of the *cohors VI Commagenia equitata* a part-mounted unit.

As each part of the speech was directed to a different section of the legion, or to a

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different auxiliary unit, and on different days, it would seem that each of these may have had a separate exercise area. The infantry troops were cutting trenches and building stone walls, which would have been unlikely across an area to be used for cavalry exercises. The mention of the Cantabrian manoeuvre performed for the emperor suggested that the cavalry parade sports might have been performed only on special occasions. In that part of his speech addressed to the infantry of the *equitata* cohort, Hadrian mentioned the troops digging a trench through hard gravel: this could have been a natural surface or it could indicate a prepared surface, though perhaps not for cavalry.

A unique feature of the Neronian-Vespasianic Lunt Fort, excavated at Baginton, Warwickshire (Hobley, 1971b) is interpreted as a "gyrus", a high sided, circular arena, for the breaking-in and training of horses. Although there is some suggestion of modern practices for training horses for specific manoeuvres this would not seem necessary for ordinary, run-of-the-mill, every-day cavalry horses. This gyrus could possibly have been where horses were trained for complicated cavalry manoeuvres and other exercises for the cavalry sports.

An inscription from Netherby, the Severus Alexander/Marcus Aurelius stone (*RIB* 978) suggests that an extension built onto the headquarters building was a cavalry drill-hall for cavalry exercises in inclement weather, that is a *basilica equistris exercitatoria*. Other such extensions have been found on other fort sites as, for example, in the Severan reconstruction at Halton Chesters on Hadrian's Wall. The inscription from Netherby records the completion of a long-drawn-out building project inside the fort but was found being used as a drain cover and not *in situ* and therefore cannot be used as conclusive proof of the purpose of any particular building.

The gravestone of a horse-guard centurion, Quintus Gavius Frontinus, found at Caesarea in Mauretania (*CIL* VIII, 21034=AE 1891, 111), has a lengthened figure-of-eight on its

side (Speidel, 1996, 58). From the photographic illustration the decoration appeared to be two double incised conjoined oval shapes. This decoration had been interpreted by Speidel as being the representation of a riding school "namely the training ring of the Mauretanian horse guard of the *singulares*" (Speidel, 1996, 58). Speidel went on to say that: "Every cavalry fort, no doubt, had at least one such riding school. A one-circle *gyrus* could lie inside a fort, but most riding schools must have lain outside." (Speidel, 1996, 58). Due to his age of 28 years, with less than four years' service, the centurion was more likely to have been a drill-master than commander of the Mauretanian horse guard (Speidel, 1996, 59). It would seem, however, that the shape of the decoration on the side of the gravestone may have been influenced by the length and depth of the gravestone, that is a narrow rectangle. This seems to be insufficient evidence on which to base the interpretation of the decoration as representing the training ring of the Mauretanian horse guard. There is no evidence to support Speidel's statement that every fort had at least one such riding school with most of them lying outside the fort.

4. MARCHING

As with the cavalryman, the infantryman also, once trained, would need to maintain a level of fitness by exercises. In many instances this may have been accomplished by, in modern parlance, "route-marches", that is long-distance marches, broken up with short rest periods, designed to build up stamina. The soldiers would have been accustomed to walking as, for all practical purposes, they had to walk or march everywere, although much of their equipment would have been transported on mules or in wagons. Piso intercepted a legion marching from Pannonia to Rome on its way to join the army in Africa (Tacitus, Annals, Book III, ix). But route marches, particularly those with the soldiers shouldering heavy equipment and perhaps at a forced pace, would have required a greater degree of fitness. There is evidence from Vegetius that the Roman army marched in step. "In the first order of practice the recruits must be taught the military step. For nothing is more important both on the march and in the battle line than that all

the soldiers observe the order of advancing. This is not able to be done unless by constant practice they learn to walk swiftly and in step." (Vegetius, Book I, ix). It is also less fatiguing, and more in keeping with a disciplined army, to march in step, particularly with some sort of musical or drum accompaniment, as suggested by Ammianus Marcellinus: "(Julian) found himself learning the Pyrrhic march-step to the sound of the fife.." (Book XVI, 5). If this was so, it may have formed part of the initial training of the recruit.

The word "march" seems to have been used first in relation to walking in a military manner, circa 1515 (Cramer, 1992, 10). No national and general system of drill was introduced until the early part of the 19th century (Cramer, 1992, 30). Queen Elizabeth I in 1559 was well aware "that men did not know how to use their weapons, wear their armour, or even march in good order" (Cruickshank, 1966, 133). Several drill books were compiled during Elizabeth I's reign, and each commander appeared to have had his own disciplinary code, such as Mountjoy in Ireland in 1600 whose soldiers "must keep silent, on pain of imprisonment, when the army is on the march" (Cruickshank, 1966, 193). Barnaby Rich, writing in 1578 (*Allarme to England, fore-shewing what perilles are procured where the people live without regarde of martiall lawe*) considered that "a private can be well trained and made 'fit for war' in a month. If he cannot master his weapons and learn to march in that time, he never will." (Cruickshank, 1966, 193).

A certain amount of practice exercises, perhaps most, could have been undertaken within the fort itself, on its roadways, in open spaces between buildings or on areas adjacent to the fort; in small groups practising sword exercises, etc. Javelin throwing and archery would have required a little more room; Vegetius said the archers and slingers were six hundred feet (182 metres) from their targets (Vegetius, Book II, xxiii), but adequate space would have been available beyond the fort walls. In inclement weather, space inside the crosshall in the the headquarters building, the *principia*, could have been

utilised for essential exercising. Vegetius said that the recruit should learn how to fortify

the camp by trenches and palisades (Vegetius, Book I, xxi). He gave dimensions for the

height of the wall, which should be three feet (.9 metres), heightened to four feet (1.2

metres) by the addition on the inside of the earth taken from the ditch, the ditch outside

the wall to be twelve feet (3.6 metres) wide and nine feet (2.7 metres) deep, with greater

dimensions if the fort was under threat from the enemy (Vegetius, Book, I, xxiv).

However, Vegetius did not recommend where this type of training activity, the building

of defensive structures, should take place.

5. PRACTICE CAMPS

There are several areas in Britain which are described as being "Roman Practice Camps"

possibly for training purposes or for perfecting the skills of soldiers in digging ditches or

surveyors perfecting their particular skills. Some of these practice camps are found at,

for example, Llandrindod Wells Common, (Daniels and Jones, 1969, 124) where there

are eighteen miniature camp earthworks; at Dolddinas near the fort of Tomen-y-Mur

(Jones and Knowles, 1958-60, 397); at Gelligaer Roman fort (St. Joseph, 1961, 126); at

Loughor (St. Joseph, 1958, 97); and at Bootham Stray near York (Welfare and Swan,

1995, 135). Most of these earthworks resembled the ditches and ramparts of an ordinary

camp, complete with entrances. If merely ditch-digging practise was involved, perhaps

stretches of ditch and rampart would have sufficed, whereas many of these so-called

practice camps have the appearance of complete fort ramparts, albeit of a small size.

Evidence appeared to suggest that legionaries did most of the building in Roman Britain,

including the forts; although entries in the Vindolanda strength report stated that

auxiliaries were re-building the bath-house (Tab. Vindol II 155). If the legionaries did all

the fort-building, it would seem unlikely that auxiliaries would need to acquire the skill of

ditch/rampart building and it may well be that these practice camps, if such they were,

were dug not by auxiliary infantrymen, but by the legionairies, and, if complete forts were

being constructed, perhaps these were training exercises not for the ditch-diggers, but for

those directing the diggers, that is the surveyors. There is an inscription from Saldae in North Africa (*CIL* VIII 2728 = *ILS* 5795), of an army surveyor, Nonius Datus, nominally in charge of building a tunnel through a mountain. His failure to supervise the work adequately became apparent when the two crews, working from either end, missed each other completely and, after four years, two separate tunnels had almost been completed (Hodge, 1992, 128).

Recently some doubt has been cast about the Cawthorn Camps in North Yorkshire which are now thought to be marching camps and a fort (Welfare and Swan, 1995, 137). At Chew Green in Northumberland to the north of High Rochester (Richmond and Keeney, 1937, 130), there are a number of earthwork enclosures, although these have been interpreted variously as marching camps, fortlets and wagon parks. (See Chapter III, 5.7) At Haltwhistle Burn, too, the earthworks may well be camps. Two practice sites which make use of native hillforts are at Woden Law in Roxburghshire (Richmond and St. Joseph, 1982) and Burnswark in Dumfriesshire and Galloway (Jobey, 1977-8).

5.1 Llandrindod Common

The earthworks on Llandrindod Common were first discovered and surveyed by Thomas Price, Curate at Llanyre, in 1811, who realised that they were Roman but did not know their purpose (Price, 1814, 169). Birley recognised them as practice camps (Birley, 1936b,73); St. Joseph (1955, 88; 1958, 96) identified by air reconnaissance those camps still visible on Landrindod Common; in 1969 they were again surveyed (Daniels and Jones, 1969, 126). Price found the eighteen earthworks in his survey of 1811 (published in 1814), although he thought there may have been more that remained hidden (Price, 1814, 169). "I have walked over some of them several times, in crossing the common, without noticing them" (Price, 1814, 170.) However, no more have been found and, in fact, some have since been destroyed as Price feared might happen following enclosure of the common land, as well as with the digging of the surface for fuel (Price, 1814, 171).

A Sketch
of the
ROMAN CAMP and ROAD,
on
LLAND. INDOD COMMON.
Sep. 23. 1811.   Tho.ˢ Price.

CEFN-LLYS

LLANDRINDOD

DISERTH

Great Camp at Cwm, 120 Y.ᵈˢ within the Walls.

FORM of CAMP. 4.

FORM of the CAMPS in General.

Llandrindod Common: Plan of Practice Camps. Thomas Price
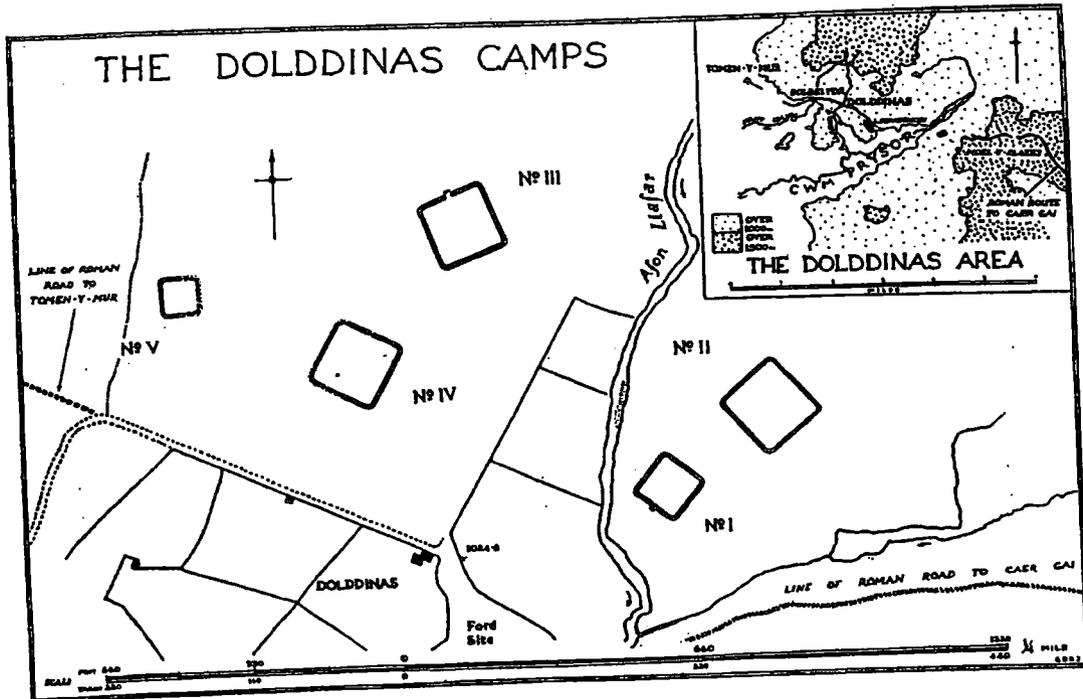Archaeologia. Vol. XVII

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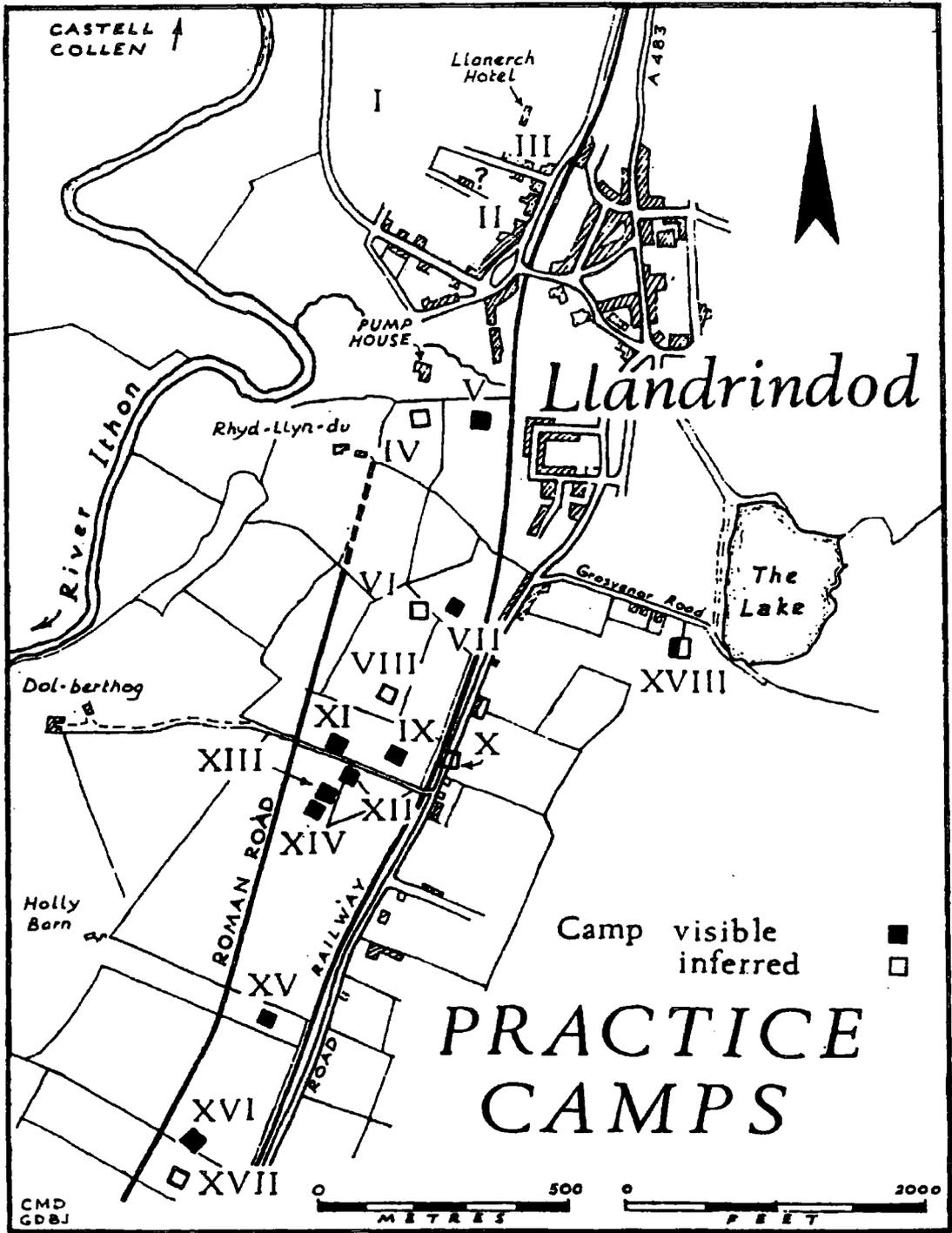
Llandrindod Common: Plan of Practice Camps. C.M. Daniels and G.D.B. Jones
AC, Vol. CXVIII

Price paced out dimensions for each camp and the distances between camps. His map also showed details of the entrances to the camps from which Birley subsequently identified the double entrance of traverse or *titula* and *clavicula* of "Camp A" (Daniels and Jones XVI) (Birley, 1936b, 72). Birley also identified the group of eighteen camps as "field-training activities" (Birley, 1936b, 73). Daniels and Jones were able to use Price's map in undertaking their survey in 1966 (published in 1969), although a number of the camps had disappeared by that time and a number of the landscape features had changed with the passage of time. The creation of the town of Llandrindod Wells, the construction of the Central Wales railway line and the draining of the "Pool" on Price's map to allow construction of the railway (Daniels and Jones, 1969, 126), all helped to destroy the camps or to change the features of the land. Ten of the original eighteen earthworks have been identified.

5.2 Dolddinas

A group of five practice camps lay two miles (3.2 km) to the south-east of the Roman auxiliary fort of Tomen-y-Mur. The camps were situated on flat ground, either side of the river Llafar, ringed on three sides by mountains and their survival was due to their position on open and uncultivated moorland (Jones and Knowles, 1958-60, 397). All five camps were approximately square with a *titulus* or other entrance visible or suggested. Ranging in size from 125 feet (38 metres) square, three were of similar dimensions of 144 feet (43.8 metres) square; the smallest, partly obliterated by a small marsh, was of the assumed dimensions of 51 feet (15.5 metres) square.

Sections have been made of rampart and ditch of two of the camps, each showing widely differing material and methods of construction (Jones and Knowles, 1958-60, 398). The rampart of Camp I was six feet six inches (1.98 metres) wide with a V-cut ditch of one foot ten inches (.54 metres) deep and a berm of two feet (.6 metres) before the ditch. The rampart was made of irregularly packed turves, though the turves all seemed to be of a uniform thickness of between three and four inches (10 cms). Camp II showed

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THE DOLDDINAS CAMPS

Nº III
Nº V
Nº IV
Nº II
Nº I
LINE OF ROMAN ROAD TO TOMEN-Y-MUR
Afon Llafar
DOLDDINAS
Ford Site
LINE OF ROMAN ROAD TO CAER GAI

THE DOLDDINAS AREA

Dolddinas: Plan of Practice Camps. G.D.B. Jones and W.A.C. Knowles. Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, Vol. 18

a rampart four feet eight inches (1.4 metres) wide of grit and soil packed together, and with no berm the rampart drops away immediately into a flat bottomed V-ditch two feet (.6 metres) wide, one foot eleven inches (.59 metres) deep. Beneath this was a W-shaped ditch cut into the natural subsoil (Jones and Knowles, 1958-60, 399). It may be that this was a mistake being covered up. Vegetius tells us that centurions inspected the work done on the fortification and meted out rebukes and punishment (Vegetius, Book I, 25) presumably for poor workmanship.

5.3 Gelligaer Common

Of the group of four practice-camps on Gelligaer Common, which lay one and a quarter miles (2 km) north of the fort, all were complete earthworks with two entrances each, those from three of the camps being *clavicula*. These camps were small, the largest being approximately one hundred feet (30 metres) square, but the size and plan "place them within the category of practice-works constructed by troops under training" (St. Joseph, 1961, 126). No excavation has been undertaken but a section of a modern drain showed a ditch four and a half feet (1.3 metres) wide and two feet (.6 metres) deep with a small drainage channel at the bottom. This is another example of a group of earthworks which were apparently complete, though small, camps.

5.4 Loughor

Of the three practice-camps associated with the presumed fort at Loughor, two are some two and a half miles (4 km) to the east. They are 97 by 99 feet (29.5 by 30 metres) and 87 by 87 feet (26.5 metres) square respectively, the latter with four *clavicula* entrances. The third camp associated with this group was of a larger size, being 186 by 160 feet (56.6 by 48.7 metres) square. The earthworks have all been completed but no excavation has been undertaken (St. Joseph, 1958, 97).

5.5 Bootham Stray

The slight remains of two camps have been recorded about one and a half miles (2.4 km) north of the Roman fortress at York (Welfare and Swan, 1995, 135). Early antiquaries suggested a total of eight camps were visible in the 18th century (Lukis, Papers of the Surtees Society, 1887, 352, 380). The two remaining earthworks appeared to have been completed camps, each with four *clavicula* at the entrances. A section through the defences of the larger camp in 1952 showed a rampart of clay, eighteen feet (5.4 metres) wide, a berm of one and a half feet (.45 metres) and a V-shaped ditch with a square channel at the bottom. (RCHM, 1962, 47). These were suggested as being practice camps because of their construction in a waterlogged site and the fact that a total of eight camps was originally recorded. There is no indication of what the other putative camps consisted of, but if, like the remaining two, they were all completed camps, this seems to argue against soldiers practising digging. However, the size of the camps could indicate that they were intended for occupation.

5.6 Cawthorn

The four major earthworks at Cawthorn in the Vale of Pickering in Yorkshire, are now suggested as being forts (Welfare and Swan, 1995, 137) rather than the practice camps identified by Simpson (1926, 29) and Richmond (1932, 45), although Richmond qualified that with the "unexplored view" that because of the central group of ovens in camp A, "the whole work was done for the sake of practice." (Richmond, 1932, 46). Of the identifying letters A - D, it was earlier suggested that A and C were of a similar date with A being the camp in which soldiers lived, while they practised digging and making field ovens in camp C, which was an oddly shaped earthwork with all its entrances placed on one side facing camp A. It was clear from archaeological excavation that the south-east corner ditch of camp D overlay the middle part of the western defensive ditch of camp C. B was interpreted as an extension of A, for allowing subsequent occupation by a larger unit. In the centre of the fort was a turf mound identified by Richmond as a *tribunal*, constructed by adding turf to an existing
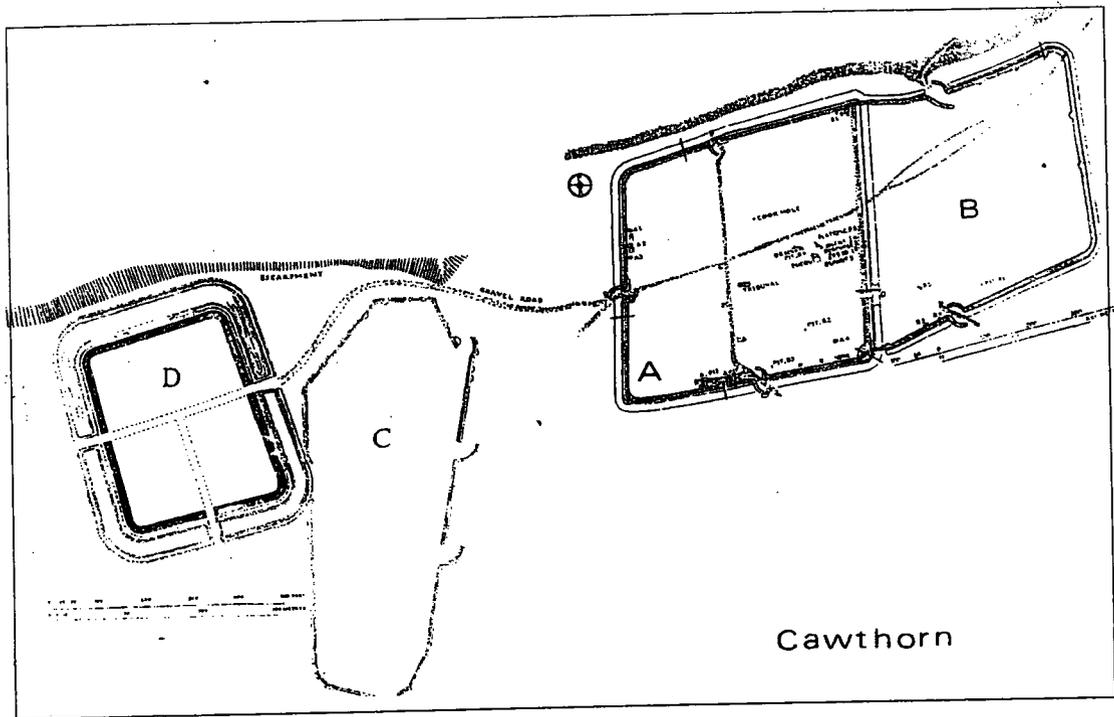
Roman Camps at Cawthorn, near Pickering. F.G. Simpson
YAJ Vol. XXVIII

mound. Humphrey & Swan (1995, 142) suggested that this may have been a prehistoric barrow with a central pit which had been disturbed by an earlier excavation by Canon Greenwell who had "ransacked the urn-pit" (Richmond, 1929, 329).

5.7 Chew Green

The earthworks at Chew Green consisted of two marching camps, one semi-permanent fort and two fortlerts, one beneath the other, and inner and outer enclosures (See Chapter II, 2.6.1.3 where the suggestion for these latter is as possible wagon-parks (Richmond and Keeney, 1937, 144)). They do not have the appearance of practice-works.

5.8 Haltwhisle Burn

There were at least ten earthworks of varying sizes near the Roman fort at Haltwhistle Burn, all considerably larger than those on Llandrindod Common (Birley, 1936b, 72). However, some appeared to be temporary labour camps for the soldiers who were building Hadrian's Wall (Gibson and Simpson, 1909, 261) while "others were constructed and modified for training or exercise" (Richmond, 1966, 143). The two camps which lay to the north of the fort were interpreted as being camps for the soldiers who were constructing the earlier, possibly Trajanic, fort (Gibson and Simpson, 1909, 262). These two camps were the only two of the group with only one entrance each, that on the south side, the side facing away from the Wall (Gibson and Simpson, 1909, 262).

5.9 Woden Law, Roxburghshire

Woden Law was a small hillfort of little more than an acre (.4 ha) in size lying beside Dere Street on the north-westward slope of the Cheviot Hills (Richmond and St. Joseph, 1982, 277). It had a remarkable series of earthwork defences and so-called investing works. The innermost line of defences were of a dry-built rubble wall edged

GENERAL PLAN
OF
FORT AND DISTRICT

SCALE
208·33 FT.= ONE INCH

THE STANEGATE

← TO MAGNA

NO. 1

NO. 2

TRACED 1907

TO VINDOLANA-

O.S. COURSE

WADE'S ROAD

1907-8
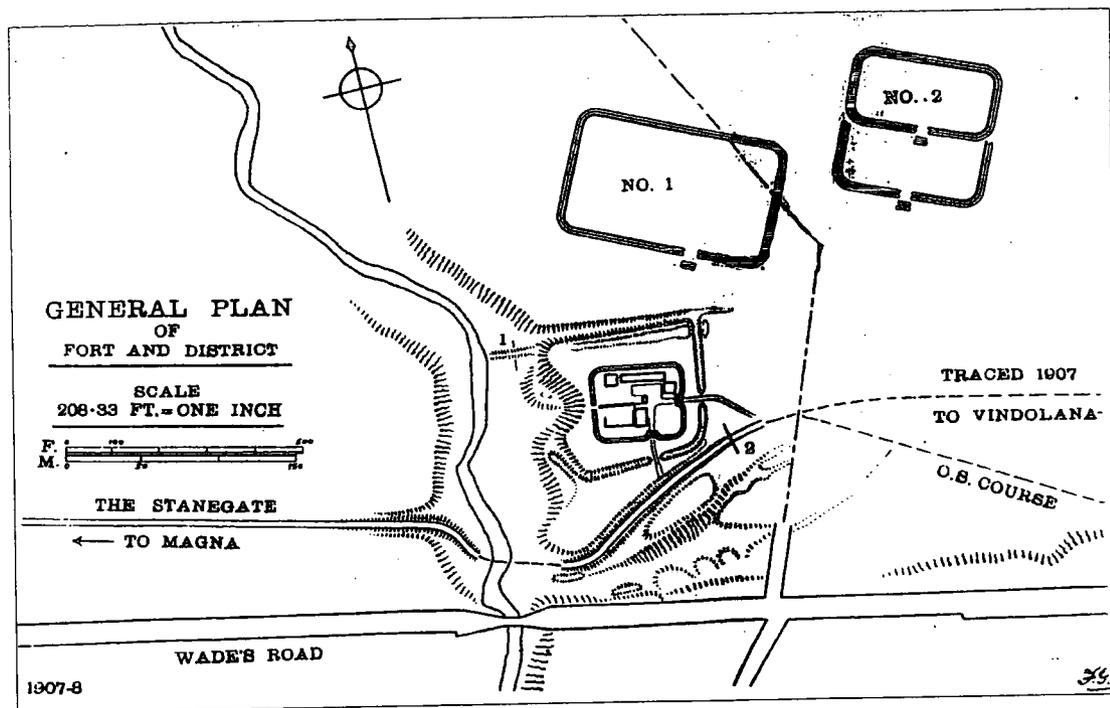
Haltwhistle Burn: Plan of Fort and District. F.G. Simpson.
AA3, Vol. V

by large blocks of the volcanic rock which outcrops at the summit, and packed with earth and broken rubble. It belonged to the early Iron Age; the outermost ramparts displayed the techniques of the later Iron Age (Richmond and St. Joseph, 1982, 278).

A section across the outermost investing work showed an eight-and-a-half-foot (2.5 metres) rampart on the uphill side of the ditch held firm by a three-foot (.91 metres) cheek of turf cut from the blunt V-shaped ditch, without a bottom channel, and traces of gang-work with baulks of undisturbed subsoil (Richmond and St. Joseph, 1982, 279). The middle investing work had a similar character to the outermost work, but its eastern ditch was incomplete and showed three short digging units. The transverse investing work resembled both the outermost and middle investing works, with manifold signs of incompletion (Richmond and St. Joseph, 1982, 281). The innermost investing work enfolded the south end and east side of the hillfort. It was a quintuple work with indications of gang-working. Two sections revealed an irregular shallow V-shaped ditch with a rampart with a cheek of turfwork five feet (1.5 metres) wide at the base. A third section showed a feature not found in the other sections, that is a recut shallower-profile ditch with a squarish drainage channel with the sides "coated and defined by a thin layer of iron pan, such as might well form upon a surface of washed silt newly cut and exposed to the weather. The works were thus at this point used anew after they had been for a considerable time abandoned." (Richmond and St. Joseph, 1982, 282).

A traverse had been constructed as an isolated work comprising a ditch of lunate plan enfolding an almost circular mound.

These works are "associated in ancient north-western Europe with the Roman army alone" (Richmond and St. Joseph, 1982, 282). The hillfort was so insignificant that it would have been overwhelmed in a matter of hours with a determined assault. The investing works were therefore not real siege-works but "practice works, the product of
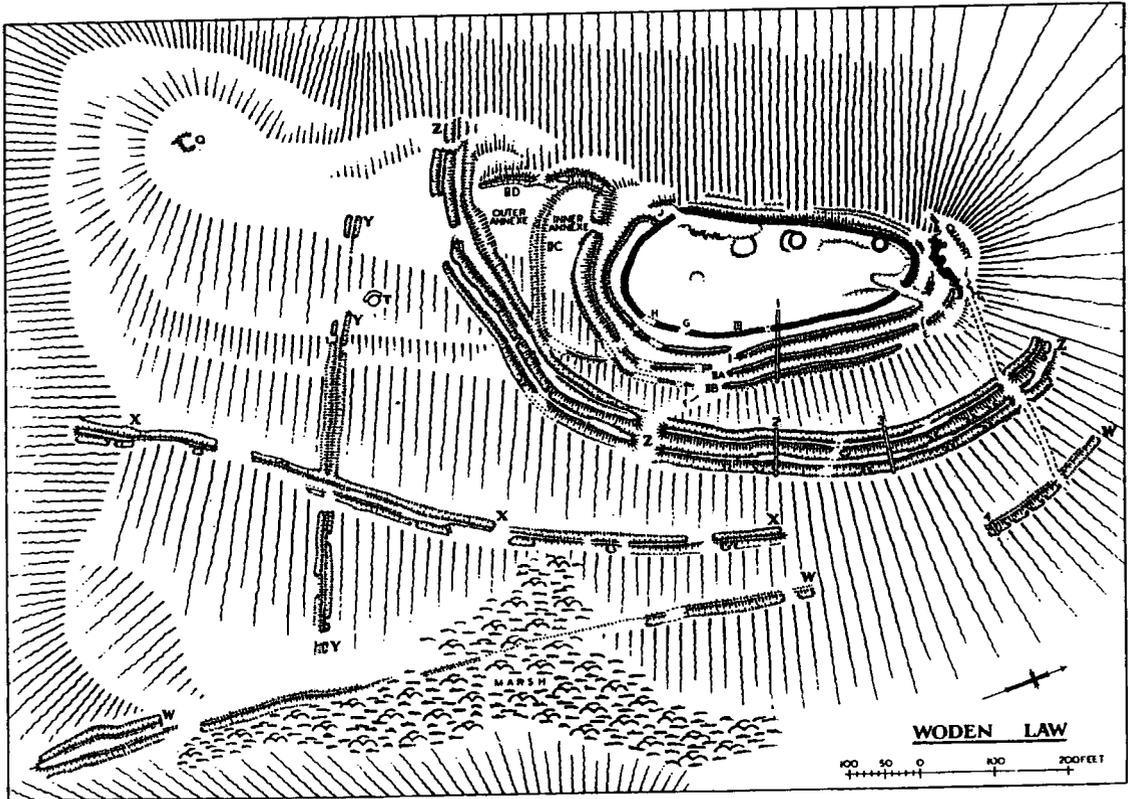
Woden Law: I.A. Richmond and J.K. St. Joseph.
PSAS, 112

military training" (Richmond and St. Joseph, 1982, 283). Woden Law was a particularly suitable site, being adjacent to the main trunk road of northern Britain, Dere Street, with a tough climate, "windswept and chilly, ideal for stimulating hard work and promoting rude health" (Richmond and St. Joseph, 1982, 283). The large camps at Pennymuir would have held the soldiers in training on Woden Law; they were occupied for some time and at least on two occasions with reduced numbers (Richmond and St. Joseph, 1982, 283).

5.10 Burnswark, Dumfriesshire and Galloway

Burnswark was a native hillfort site which lay about three miles (4.8 km) north-east of the Roman fort at Birrens. The hillfort covered and area of approximately seventeen and a half acres (7 hectares). Two excavations have been undertaken, in 1898 by Barbour (Christison, Barbour and Anderson,1898) and, from 1965, by George Jobey (Jobey, 1977-8). On the north and south flanks of the hillfort lay a Roman camp, with the ramparts of a fortlet lying inside the south fort, and with rounded *tituli* on the ramparts facing the hillfort. At one time these were thought to represent *ballista* platforms and that the hillfort had been besieged by the Romans during the alleged Brigantian Revolt in the mid-50s AD (Jobey, 1977-8, 57). This argument was reinforced by the finding of a number of *ballista* bullets embedded in the earth of the entrance to the hillfort (Jobey, 1977-8, 87). However, excavation has shown that the hillfort was abandoned before the time of the Roman occupation, which suggested that the camp at the foot of the hillfort was in fact used for practice purposes.

An additional earthwork has come to light by aerial recconnaisance since Barbour's excavations of 1898. This is an embanked enclosure on the west side of the south camp, now barely visible on the ground and mostly covered by forrestation. It had some of the attributes of a Roman temporary camp, but lacked others such as visible gateways (Jobey, 1977-8, 80).

Despite the prominence of Burnswark Hill, the hillfort shows no evidence of being occupied in the Neolithic period, although there are known or suspected Neolithic monuments in eastern Dumfries. An early Bronze Age burial was attested by the remains of a cairn near the middle of the hillfort which had been robbed before the 1898 excavation (Jobey, 1977-8, 96). A single line of palisade trench towards the eastern end of the hill may indicate Late Bronze Age settlement (Jobey, 1977-8, 97). The ramparts of the hillfort consisted of two structural phases of earth and stone-banding, with two stone-cut gateways, but there is nothing that need indicate occupation later than the first half of the second century (Jobey, 1977-8, 98). Barbour's excavations appeared to have caused some disturbance of the ramparts and in the gateways, with many of the finds of Roman missiles coming from the infill or on top of the surface of the rampart or its forward tumble (Jobey, 1977-8, 67), indicating that the defences were "already denuded before the missiles were fired" (Jobey, 1977-8, 67). Little is known about the details of Barbour's finds; some of the sling-bullets were said merely to be found "at the entrance" to the west gateway (Jobey, 1977-8, 70).

The fortlet within the south camp was Antonine, based largely on analogy, although a few sherds from the 1898 excavation tended towards confirmation of this (Jobey, 1977-8, 80). Once this fortlet was established, it seems unlikely that a native settlement would have been permitted to exist on the hillfort. However, it also seems unlikely that any prolonged siege of the hillfort would have been necessary in order to dislodge the occupants, as it seems that the defences were in some "disarray" by the second century AD if not earlier (Jobey, 1977-8, 98). For example, evidence for occupation of the south camp, a drain, had cut through an earlier bowl-furnace or smithing hearth, the slag contents of which have been identified as arising from smithing rather than smelting (Jobey, 1977-8, 81). This suggested something more than a short siege, and, in addition, the south camp did not deny the only water-supply to the hillfort (Jobey, 1977-8, 98).
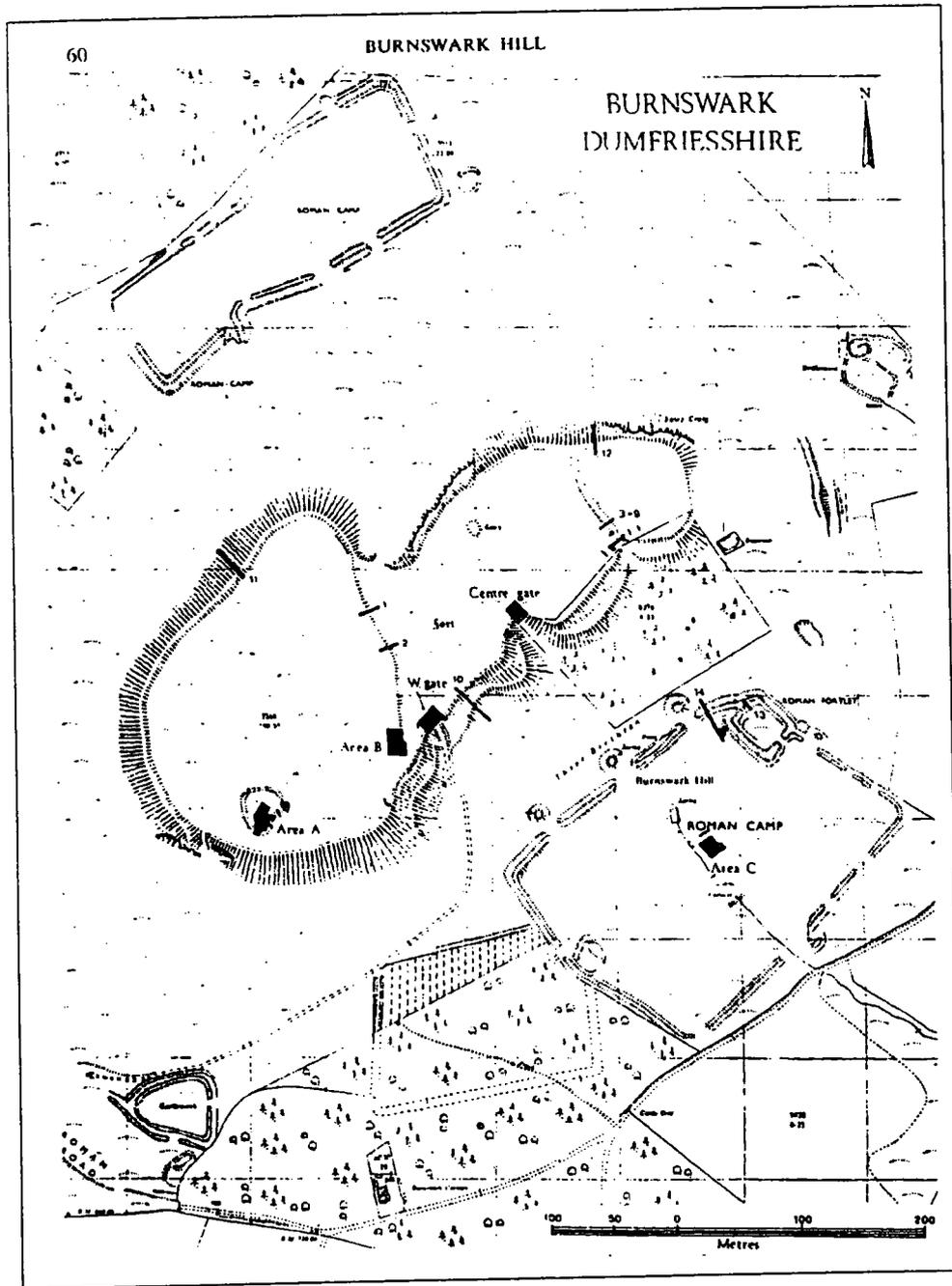
Burnswark Hill

Of the missiles that have been found, most have come from the hillfort and mostly from the areas of the gateways. The lead bullets were of two types, acorn- and lemon-shaped, of which a total of 133 have been found (Jobey, 1977-8, 87). Of the stone *ballista* balls found, all were of local red sandstone and of roughly four different sizes (Jobey, 1977-8. 90). The most satisfactory explanation of the Burnswark complex is as a field-exercise area (Jobey, 1977-8, 99), involving, particularly, the use of a variety of arms against the denuded ramparts and gateways of the hillfort.

6. PARADES

The word "parade" has had slightly different definitions at different periods. The following are the definitions according to (a) the Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd Edition, 1989; (b) the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary of 1933; and (c) the New English Dictionary on Historical Principles: Founded on the Materials collected by the Philological Society (1888).

Show, display, ostentation: to display ostentatiously. An assembling or mustering of troops for inspection or display; esp. a muster of troops which takes place regularly at set hours, or at extraordinary times to hear orders read, as a preparation for a march, or any other special purpose. The place where troops assemble for parade; the level space forming the interior or enclosed area of a fortification; a parade-ground. (1844 Regul. & Ord. Army 240. When Barracks are occupied by Troops, the Yards and Parades are to be swept, rolled, and kept clean by them.) (OED 2nd edn 1989) To assemble (troops,etc.) for inspection or review. To march in procession or with great display; to promenade in a public place, esp. for the sake of "showing off". (SOED 1933) The place where troops assemble for parade; the level space forming the interior or enclosed area of a fortification; a parade-ground. 1701 J. Harris Lex. Techn. I. **Parade,** is a military word signifying the Place where Troops usually draw together, in order to mount the Guards, or for any other Service. (1888)

Equally, in translating from the Latin of ancient authors, words or phrases indicating parades are translated variously, presumably in a contemporary context. The following are some examples of the differences in such translations.

Tacitus <u>Ann.</u> XV xxvi: After the customary purification ritual Corbulo addressed the army (Penguin translation): *After the usual lustration, he convoked the army for an address* (Loeb translation); <u>Ann.</u> XV xxix: A few days later both armies (Romans and Parthians) paraded in splendid array (Penguin): *... an impressive pageant on both sides* (Loeb); <u>Hist.</u> I, xviii: 10th January ... His (Galba's) proclamation (of the adoption of Piso Licinianus as his heir) addressed a massive parade (Penguin): *... a crowded gathering of the soldiers* (Loeb); <u>Hist.</u> I. xxix: So it was Piso who addressed the parade (Penguin): *... called the soldiers together* (Loeb); <u>Hist.</u> II. lvii: His (Vitellius's) reaction (to the news of the victorious Battle of Bedriacum - First Battle of Cremona) was to hold a parade (Penguin): *... assembled his troops* (Loeb); <u>Hist.</u> II. lviii: Valens and Caecina received a glowing tribute from Vitellius at a military parade (Penguin): *.. in public assembly* (Loeb) then he ordered the whole army to march out (Penguin) *... to parade before him* (Loeb); <u>Hist.</u> II. lxxix: The whole affair (conveying imperial status on Vespasian) was carried through by a spontaneous move on the part of the troops and there was no time to arrange a formal parade (Penguin): *... without any formal speech or regular parade of the legions* (Loeb); <u>Hist.</u> II. xciii: There was no question of parades (Penguin) *they did no guard-duty* (Loeb); <u>Hist.</u> III. ix: The public reading of this correspondence in the parade-ground (Penguin) *..to their soldiers in assembly* (Loeb); <u>Hist.</u> III. xxxii: Antonius held a parade (Penguin) *.. called them together* (Loeb); <u>Hist.</u> III. lx: Antonius had his men paraded (Penguin) *.. assembled his troops* (Loeb); <u>Hist.</u> IV. lvii: Vocula paraded the troops (Penguin).. *called an assembly* (Loeb); <u>Hist.</u> V. xi: he (Titus) paraded his legions in formation before the eyes of the enemy (Penguin).. *displayed his legions in battle array* (Loeb); Caesar <u>The Civil War</u>: I. 76.2: His men

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(Petreius's) flocked to the parade-ground (Penguin) *a crowd quickly gathers at the general's headquarters* (Loeb) Caesar's men ... were publicly put to death on the parade-ground (Penguin) *when produced (any soldier of Caesar's) they kill him publicly at the headquarters* (Loeb).

There are several occasions on which it might seem likely to hold a parade, that is a gathering together of the entire unit. The *adlocutio*, that is the addressing of the assembled troops by the commander of the unit; the occasions on which each soldier received his pay, *stipendium* or imperial donative; and the annual parading of the standards. Bishop (1990, 21) suggested that parades would be held for *adlocutiones*, pay and award ceremonies, certain religious festivals, and the annual oath-taking and that daily centurial parades were probably held in the area between barrack blocks. He did not appear to differentiate between legions and auxiliary units as to the occasions on which parades might have been held. Bishop cited Hadrian's *adlocutio* to the III Augusta Legion in Lambaesis in Africa, and parade-grounds at Caerleon and Chester in Britain, both legionary fortresses, as well as the pay-parade described by Josephus at the siege of Jerusalem (Josephus, <u>Book V,</u> 348).

There are a number of examples of the *adlocutio*, both from texts and from depictions. On Trajan's column there are a number of depictions described, by Lepper & Frere and using their scene numbers, as Adlocutio in scenes X and LIV; and as Trajan addressing his troops (or his army) in scenes XXVII, XLII, LXXIII, LXXVII, CIV and CXXXVII during his Dacian campaigns. However, these refer, in the main, to commanders, generals or emperors, addressing their armies in the field, during or after a campaign. These contrast with the well-known and oft-cited *adlocutio* of Hadrian (*ILS* 2487) where his speech to the various units after apparently undertaking the spectacular Cavalry Sports has been preserved (see Appendix 'B').

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Josephus was one of the leaders of the Jewish Rebellion in AD70 who defected to the other side. He became an ardent believer in the might of the Roman military machine. His Jewish War relates many details of these wars and, particularly, about the siege of Jerusalem. The reference by Josephus to the four-day pay-parade during the siege of Jerusalem in AD70, with all the soldiers without the coverings on their armour and dressed in their full equipment and silvered and gilded decorations, seems more likely to have been for the purpose of impressing the inhabitants with the might and wealth of the Roman army, than an ordinary annual or bi-annual pay-day (Josephus, Book V, 348). This appeared to have taken place on ground outside the walls of Jerusalem, perhaps on ground which had become trampled down during the siege activities, but there is no suggestion of any other preparation. Josephus tells us that the payment of the legions was completed in four days, but he does not specifically refer to any auxiliaries. However, he does say that each soldier's pay was counted out individually (Josephus, Book V, 348).

A large body of men, comprising a legion, perhaps five or six thousand may well have had such a display, which may have taken place on a specially selected area close to its fortress base such as the legionary parade-grounds at Caerleon and Chester, but an auxiliary unit in Roman Britain, of mostly approximately five hundred men, could all have assembled in the headquarters building, if such pay-days were carried out in front of the whole unit. However, there appears to be no evidence as to exactly how the pay was received by an auxiliary soldier, either by unit, or by century or by *turma* in the case of a cavalry unit.

There does not appear to have been a daily parade of the whole unit. Evidence from the official papers of the *cohors I Augusta Praetoria Lusitanorum*, contained in the Oxyrhynchus Papyri found in Egypt, shows that daily lists were compiled for each century by its centurion and then reported to the commanding officer (Thomas and

Davies, 1977, 51).

Although Hutchinson (1794, 569) described the flat area at Hardknott as possibly for a military parade or exercise, the recognition of the parade-ground and tribunal of the Roman auxiliary fort to the south of Maryport by the Rev. Cummins in 1891, came some time after the construction of parade-grounds for the British Army at Aldershot. The camp at Aldershot was established between 1854-1862 where 25,000 troops were trained in all arms for the war with Russia in 1854. Initially the Queen's Parade was where Queen Victoria held many of her inspections of the garrisons. Later, with the development of military Aldershot between 1863-1902 there was more than one parade-ground which seem to have been used for training this vast number of soldiers. The 20th century handbooks for the Corps of Royal Engineers gives no instructions or specifications for building parade-grounds. Records of the Barrack Department that existed during the Napoleonic War, when a considerable number of barracks were built, were lost in a fire at the Tower of London in the 1840s. (Dr. Peter B. Boyden, National Army Museum, in litt.,1997).

Modern translations of ancient sources appear to refer to parade-grounds in the more recent translations, earlier translations using different terminology. The Latin of the sources does not change, it is the translation that changes. For example, Tacitus's Annals of Imperial Rome, Book XII, xxxvi: the Penguin Classic translation of 1977 by M. Grant states that "while the Guard stood in arms on the parade-ground before their camp": while the Loeb English translation of 1951 by John Jackson translates the same Latin phrase as "the praetorian cohorts stood under arms (an exceptional circumstance in Rome) upon the level ground in front of their camp." In Tacitus's Histories, Book I, xviii, the Kenneth Wellesley (1975) Penguin translation reads "Galba addressed a massive parade": while the Loeb translation of 1951 by Clifford H. Moor calls it " a crowded gathering of the soldiers." (AD68). Again, in Book I, xxix, Piso "addressed the

parade" in the Penguin translation; "called the soldiers together" in the Loeb; and in Book II, lvii, Vitellius's reaction to the news of the victorious Battle of Bedriacum - the First Battle of Cremona, was "to hold a parade" according to the Penguin translation; "to assemble his troops" according to the Loeb.

6.1 Caerleon, Monmouthshire

Exploration at the Roman fortress of Caerleon took place in 1955 when a new five-acre site, immediately adjoining the fortress enclosure on the south-west side, showed intensive occupation of timber bivouacs, perhaps of a supply-base of the conquest period (Jarrett, 1969, 30). When the area was cleared and levelled it was apparently used as the legionary parade-ground inside a boundary wall (JRS, 1955, XLV, 122). The area had become deeply pitted with irregular excavations for clay (Boon, 1962, 13). There does not appear to have been any prepared surface on the parade-ground.

6.2 Chester, Cheshire

At the Roman fortress of Chester, exploration in 1966 revealed the parade-ground traced over an area 92 by 80 feet (28 by 24.3 metres) close to the east defences of the fortress. In the 3rd century the parade-ground was divided by ditches running east-west and north-south (Wilson, 1967, 179) and may have served another function. The parade-ground appears to have been an area that had been cleared, but there is no indication of any prepared surface.

6.3 Campus Martius

In commenting upon the parade-ground to the south of the Roman fort at Maryport, both Cummins, the original discoverer of the parade-ground (Cummins, 1891, 14) and Bailey (1915, 136) compared it to the Campus Martius in Rome. However, their comparison is entirely inappropriate. The Campus Martius in Rome was an area outside the City where political and religious and secular activities took place.

7. CONCLUSION OF CHAPTER III

This chapter has looked at the training and exercising of auxiliary infantry and cavalry in the Roman army in Britain, and at the Cavalry Sports and its specialised equipment, the practice camps and parades. There are references in ancient literature to daily training and exercising but no reference as to where this took place.

It is assumed that these activities took place on the parade-ground that would have been attached to every auxiliary fort. This assumption of a parade-ground at every auxiliary fort has come to be accepted in modern literature and continues to be so. For example, in Webster, 1955, 169; Birley, 1961, 222; Jarrett, 1965, 115; Davies, 1968, 125; Johnson, 1968, 215; and Breeze and Dobson, 1987, 259. These assumptions are based primarily on suggested parade-grounds at, for example, Maryport, Hardknott, Tomen-y-Mur and Ambleside. However, it has been shown in Chapter II that the evidence supporting these parade-grounds is not sound.

Caesar mentions untrained troops (Conquest of Gaul, Book I, 24); Vegetius produced a four-book treatise on every aspect of training in the Roman army (De Re Militari); Arrian wrote a description of the cavalry sports exercise (Ars Tactica). Many pieces of the special equipment used in these cavalry sports exercises have been found in various parts of the Roman empire, but no indication as to the circumstances of why or where the exercises might have taken place.

Hadrian's *adlocutio* to the Legion III Augusta at Lambaesis in Africa (*ILS* 2487) is taken to be one of these cavalry sports parades. This took place over a number of days by various units of cavalry and perhaps each in a different area, thereby suggesting a separate parade-ground for each element of the legion's cavalry. A suggestion in Chapter II, 2.6.3, is that the levelled area near the fort at Hardknott could have been in preparation for such a parade.

A number of areas of earthworks have been identified as being Roman practice camps for the purpose of training soldiers to dig ditches. For example, at Llandrindod Common 18 earthworks were originally identified (Price, 1814), of which 10 are still visible. The number of earthworks are the same site, all of small dimensions and all apparently completed even to include entrances, although clearly too small for occupation, may suggest that these earthworks were practice camps, not for diggers but for surveyors learning their trade. There are five such earthworks at Doldinnas near the fort at Tomen-y-Mur. Several sites suggested as practice camps, however, may well have been forts for occupation. This is the case at Cawthorn, Chew Green, Haltwhistle Burn and Bootham Stray.

Two native hillforts, abandoned prior to the Roman presence, at Woden Law in Roxburghshire and Burnswark in Dumfriesshire and Galloway, appeared to have been training camps with a nearby fort for occupation by the troops undergoing training. At Woden Law the evidence was varying lengths of interrupted ditches and ramparts, clearly showing separate gang-workings. At Burnswark the gateways of the abandoned hillfort appeared to have been used as targets for the missile-throwers situated at the Roman fort at the foot of its southern slope. The suggestion of the besieging of both of these native hillforts has long been discounted.

Parades appear to be suggested as a coming together of the entire unit on a parade-

ground for such purposes as pay-parades. While this may have been the case with the legions, there is no evidence for auxiliary units. English translations of ancient sources appear not always to be consistent. Many of the later translators use phrases which include the word "parade" which was not present in earlier translations.

CHAPTER IV
CONCLUSION

In chapter II evidence has been examined for all the Roman auxiliary forts where a parade-ground had been suggested and none has been found that substantiated the claims.

The fort at Maryport is suggested as having the most compelling evidence of the dedicatory altars supposedly buried annually beside one parade-ground, and a so-called tribunal at the other parade-ground. The evidence supporting the annual dedicatory altars is literary, a reference by Tacitus (Hist. I, 55) and Letters of Pliny (X, 35, 52-3, 100-1 and 102-3) all of which refer to the annual oath-taking to the emperor without mention of altars. Detailed examination (Hill, 1997, 102) has shown also that the altars are more likely to have been buried *en masse* within a period of 20 - 100 years of their making than to have been buried annually. This interpretation casts doubt on the evidence of the altars being used to establish the length of tenure of office of auxiliary unit commanders. Neither can this interpretation of the altars being buried beside the auxiliary parade-ground at Maryport be used to identify possible parade-grounds elsewhere, such as at Birdoswald where altars have been found in the vicinity of the auxiliary fort.

The tribunal at the side of the parade-ground to the south of the fort at Maryport was dug into in 1742, when it was said to be 14 feet (4.2 metres) high, and found to be artificially made, pre-Roman and probably a prehistoric *tumulus*. The flat area was suggested as a parade-ground by Cummins (1891), based principally on its contemporary use as a children's playground.

The artificially levelled area at Hardknott was the first area to be described as an exercise or parade area (Hutchinson, 1794, 569) and was known locally as the "Bowling Green". However, it shows signs of being unfinished, and a pile of stones 20 feet (6 metres) high, apparently from the cleared area, is unconvincing as a tribunal. Another suggested purpose for the levelled area however, as a wagon-park, is also unconvincing. No excavation of these suggested parade-grounds has been undertaken at Hardknott or at Maryport. Once these suggestions have been made, however, and have appeared in the relevant literature, they seem to have been accepted partly on the basis that "every fort must have a parade-ground", although none can be established in the literary evidence.

Another group of putative parade-grounds is based on there being a "flagged area" outside the fort, "as at Ambleside". However, during excavations at Ambleside, Gelligaer and Slack, no such area is suggested by the excavators. Collingwood excavating at Ambleside between 1913 and 1916, stated that: "The paving found in the 1913 excavation is the base of the rampart of fort 'A' (the earlier of the two forts)". However, in 1928 (Collingwood, 1928, 337) in his report on the Roman fort at Hardknott Collingwood claimed the flagged area at Ambleside as a parade-ground. There appears to be no published reference in the intervening years to this change of interpretation. Added to which, a flagged area is not a suitable surface for a parade-ground.

Of the evidence for the two parade-grounds at South Shields, that of the later fort is now

thought to be a temple (Bidwell and Speak, 1994,1), while the more recent excavation (1993) of a putative parade-ground of the as yet undiscovered early fort may be the hard-standing of the junction of several roadways.

There is no doubt that soldiers had to be trained and kept fit by exercises. Daily exercising seemed to have been Vegetius's ideal for a strong army, as he said in his treatise written for the emperor Trajan (De Re Militari). This may have been the case, but there is no evidence that daily exercises actually took place. In the documents that survive, in the Morning Reports or Daily Reports of, for example, the writing tablets from Vindolanda (Tab. Vindol. I) soldiers are detailed to various activities, but none is shown to be undertaking exercises or training. This lack of evidence does not prove that it did not take place, but neither can it confirm that it did.

Cavalry exercises also took place, but this did not necessarily call for a special area. Horses and cavalrymen could have exercised in the countryside around their forts. Cavalry drill-halls have been suggested on the evidence of an inscription from Netherby (RIB 978). However, this stone, commemorating the completion of a building, was found re-used as a drain-cover and therefore cannot be used to identify any particular building.

Arrian wrote a treatise for his emperor, Hadrian, on complex and complicated Cavalry Sports Exercises (Ars Tactica), but much of this is devoted to explaining ancient cavalry techniques and, like those of Vegetius, may have been an idealised version. Pieces of cavalry sports equipment, as described by Arrian, have been found in many parts of the Roman empire, although no area of specially prepared ground has been found.

The evidence for earthworks being interpreted as practice camps is varied. Some, such as those on Llandrindod Common, are too small to have been used for occupation and

therefore were most likely to have been for practice purpose. However, because these earthworks were like miniature forts, complete with entrances, they may have been practice works for army surveyors and not, necessarily, for ditch-diggers. Some of the full-size earthworks may, in fact, have been forts for occupation. Those at Cawthorn have been reinterpreted as forts (Welfare and Swan, 1995) and at Chew Green the earthworks are interpreted as being either marching camps, fortlets or wagon-parks. Bootham Stray and Haltwhistle Burn also appear to have been full-sized complete forts.

The two abandoned hillforts at Woden Law and Burnswark appear to have been used as training areas, Woden Law for digging different types of ditches and ramparts, and Burnswark for use as a missile-throwing practice area. Evidence from the two nearby forts also appeared to support more that one period of occupation , which would be consistent with their use as training areas.

The pay-parade described by Josephus (Jewish Wars) appears to be the only contemporary literary evidence of a parade of the Roman army. As this was during a particular event however, the siege of Jerusalem, it may well have been an unusual parade, put on as a spectacle to impress the besieged with the power and might of Rome, as it seems to have done with Josephus. Josephus was describing a parading of the whole besieging army which was held over several days. Thus, this description cannot be used to demonstrate that parading, even for pay, was necessarily a usual part of an auxiliary unit in Roman Britain.

The definition of the word "parade" has been discussed as well as its use in English translations of Latin authors. While the Latin word remains unaltered in the ancient text, even though its particular meaning may have changed with circumstances, the modern translations have changed, it would seem, with the modern concept.

No evidence has been established for the flat or levelled areas near Roman auxiliary forts being parade-grounds. It seems that a modern concept, that of the necessity of an army unit to have a specially designated parade-ground, has been superimposed on an ancient situation where the needs may not have been the same. Existing fort plans show no available space within the fort that would be suitable for parading or marching soldiers and thus the assumption appears to have become established that these activities must therefore have taken place beyond the fort walls. A suitable, comparatively flat area has therefore been looked for at auxiliary forts to establish the positon of the parade-ground.

APPENDIX A
LITERARY EVIDENCE FOR MARYPORT ALTARS

Pliny, Letters, X, 35, 52-3, 100-1 and 102-3

35: Pliny to the Emperor Trajan: We have made our annual vows (Note 1: 3 January 112), Sir, to ensure your safety and thereby that of the State, and discharged our vows for the past year, with prayers to the gods to grant that they may be always thus discharged and confirmed.

(36): Trajan to Pliny: I was glad to hear from your letter, my dear Pliny, that you and the provincials have discharged your vows to the imortal gods on behalf of my health and safety, and have renewed them for the coming year.)

52: Pliny to the Emperor Trajan: We have celebrated with appropriate rejoicing, Sir, the day of your accession (Note: 28 January) whereby you preserved the Empire; and have offered prayers to the gods to keep you in health and prosperity on behalf of the human race, whose security and happiness depend on your safety. We have also administered the oath of allegiance to the troops in the usual form, and found the provincials eager to take it, too, as a proof of their loyalty.

53: Trajan to Pliny: I was glad to hear from your letter, my dear Pliny, of the rejoicing and devotion with which under your guidance, the troops and provincials have celebrated the anniversary of my accession.

100: Pliny to the Emperor Trajan: We have discharged the vows (Note: 3 January 113; see X:35), Sir, renewed last year, amidst general enthusiasm and rejoicing; and have made those for the coming year, the soldiers and provincials vying with one another in loyal demonstrations. We have prayed the gods to preserve you and the State in prosperity for your many great virtues, and above all for your sanctity, reverance and piety.

101: Trajan to Pliny: I was glad to hear from your letter, my dear Pliny, that the soldiers and provincials, amidst general rejoicing have discharged under your direction their vows to the immortal gods for my safety, and have renewed them for the coming year.

102: Pliny to the Emperor Trajan: We have celebrated with due solemnity the day (Note: 28 January; see X:52) on which the security of the human race was happily transferred to your care, commending our public vows and thanksgiving to the gods to whom we owe your authority.

103: Trajan to Pliny: I was glad to hear from your letter that the day of my accession was celebrated under your direction by the soldiers and provincials, with due rejoicing and solemnity.

Tacitus: Histories, I, 55

However, in Lower Germany the legions were made to take the usual New Year oath of loyalty to Galba on 1 January, though they showed considerable reluctance. Here and there individuals in the front ranks spoke up audibly, but the rest of the troops did not open their mouths. Everybody was waiting for a bold move from his neighbour, for it is only human nature to be quick to follow a lead, however much we dislike taking it.

Hadrian's *adlocutio* to the Legion III Augusta at Lambaesis, in the Province of Africa in AD128. *ILS* 2487.
<u>The Emperor and the Roman Army</u> (1984) J.B. Campbell

To the Third Legion (Augusta)

Your commander has, on your behalf, told me all the details which should excuse you in my eyes; namely, one cohort is absent, since every year one is sent in turn for duty with the proconsul; and two years ago you contributed a cohort and four men from each of the centuries to make up the numbers of the third legion; in addition, many widely scattered guard duties keep you apart; and I myself remember that you have not only changed camp twice, but have even built new ones. For all these reasons I would have pardoned you if the legion had been careless in its training for any length of time. But in fact you have not been lax in your training . . . . The chief centurions and the other centurions were as agile and brave as usual.

To the Legionary Cavalry

Military exercises have, in my opinion, their own rules, and if anything is added to or taken away from these, then the exercise becomes either of no value or too difficult. The more elaborate it becomes, the less pleasing a show it makes. But you have performed the most difficult of all military exercises, in that you have thrown javelins while clad in armour. Furthermore, I praise your spirit.

To the Second (Spanish) Auxiliary Cohort

You have completed in a single day fortifications which others take several days to finish. You have built a wall which normally requires much work and is suitable for permanent winter quarters, in a time not much longer than that usually required to build one of turf. For turf is cut to a regulation size and is easy to carry and work with, and the construction of the wall causes no trouble since the turf is by its nature soft and level. But you have built a wall of huge, heavy stones of all sizes which are difficult for anyone to carry or lift or fit in position unless the irregularities happen to stick together. You have dug a straight ditch through rough and coarse gravel and then evened it off by smoothing it. When your work has been approved you entered the camp quickly and collected your rations and weapons, and then followed the cavalry which had been sent out . . . . I congratulate my commander for having introduced to you this military exercise which resembled a real battle and which has trained you so effectively that I am able to congratulate you. Cornelianus, your prefect, has carried out his duties satisfactorily. However, the cavalry advance did not entirely please me . . .. The cavalryman should ride out from his hiding place and display caution when pursuing. For

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if he does not see where he is going and cannot check his horse whenever he wants to, he will certainly be exposed to hidden traps.

To the First (Pannonian) Auxiliary Cavalry Regiment

You have done everything in an organised fashion. You have filled the plain with your manoeuvres; you have thrown the javelin with a certain degree of grace, although you used short and stiff javelins. A good number of you threw your lances with equal skill. Just now you mounted your horses with great agility and yesterday you did so speedily. If anything had been lacking I would have noticed it; if anything had been below standard, I would have pointed it out; but you have pleased me uniformly in the entire exercise. Catullinus, my legate, *vir clarissimus*, displays equal interest in all the tasks of which he is in charge . . . . your prefect also seems to look after you carefully. I grant you a largess.

To the Cavalry of the Sixth Part-Mounted Auxiliary Cohort (of Commagene in north-west Syria)

It is difficult for the cavalry of the cohorts to give a satisfactory performance even on their own, and it is even more difficult for them to avoid performing unsatisfactorily after an exercise conducted by the auxiliary cavalry. For they cover a larger area of the plain, they have a larger number of men throwing the javelin, they can wheel to the right in close array, they perform the Cantabrian manoeuvre in close ranks, and the beauty of their horses and the elegance of their armour match the level of their pay. But by your energy you have avoided causing any annoyance to the spectators and by doing enthusiastically what had to be done. Furthermore, you fired stones from slings and fought with missiles. Everywhere you mounted your horses speedily. The outstanding diligence of my legate Catullinus, *vir clarissimus*, is clear from the fact the he has men of your calibre under his command.

Abbreviations Used

AA   Archaeologia Aeliana
AC   Archaeologia Cambrensis
Br.   Britannia
CIL   Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
CTh   Theodosian Code
CW   Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian &
      Archaeological Society
ILS   Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae
JRS   Journal of Roman Studies
PSAS   Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland
RIB   Roman Inscriptions in Britain
YAJ   Yorkshire Archaeological Journal

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