

A SURVEY OF ROMANO-BRITISH TOWN DEFENCES OF THE EARLY AND MIDDLE SECOND CENTURY

By JOHN WACHER¹

Sections cut through the defences of Roman towns have usually shown that the town wall is backed by an earth rampart; in some cases the rampart has been cut to insert the wall, and is thus certainly of earlier date (Fig. 1). In others the rampart has been piled up behind the wall and by sealing its offsets reveals the contemporaneity of design. The excavator rarely has epigraphic evidence to help him date such ramparts: to reach the date it is usually necessary to examine the datable objects contained within the rampart, all of which are earlier, often much earlier, than the deposit they are in. No sound date can be expected from just one cutting: only the cumulative evidence of a number will, by producing a fair sample, begin to approach the truth. This truism was emphasized by Dr. Corder² in his article on town walls, and is just as important for the present study of earth banks.

It has long been recognised that certain towns in Britain received earthwork fortifications during the 1st or 2nd century, well in advance of subsequent walling in stone. Examples of this type of defence were first discovered at Verulamium,³ Caerwent,⁴ Wroxeter,⁵ Silchester,⁶ and Brough-on-Humber.⁷ In recent years, eleven more towns have been added to this list, and there is less definite evidence for others. In addition to these, it now appears reasonably certain that some were left undefended when others were fortified, but greater caution must obviously be exercised in drawing a conclusion of this nature. It is evident that the number of towns now known to have been defended by earthworks has increased during the last decade, and more may yet be found. Negative evidence is always difficult to evaluate, and it is possible that earlier defensive circuits await discovery at some towns, which must at present be classed as undefended during the period under discussion. The deductions made in this account may, therefore, have to be altered when more positive evidence has been obtained.

To consider the evidence in greater detail. In addition to those towns already mentioned, defences of the earth rampart type have now been found at Dorchester (Oxon.),⁸ Rochester,⁹ Chichester,¹⁰ Cirencester,¹¹ Dorchester

¹ The writer would like to thank all those people who freely gave information for this paper; he is particularly indebted to the late Dr. P. Corder, Professor I. A. Richmond, Miss M. V. Taylor and especially Professor S. S. Frere, for many useful discussions and suggestions.

² *Arch. J.*, cxii (1955), 20 ff.

³ R. E. M. Wheeler, *Verulamium: A Belgic and two Roman cities* (Soc. Ant. Research Rep. XI, 1936), 49 ff.

⁴ *Arch.*, lxxx (1930), 268.

⁵ *Arch.*, lxxxviii (1938), 176; and more recently *J.R.S.*, LI (1961), 173.

⁶ *Arch.*, xcii (1947), 121 ff.

⁷ *J.B.A.A.*, 3rd series, vii (1942), 11.

⁸ See p. 114 ff.

⁹ Information from Mr. A. Harrison and Mr. C. Flight; *Arch. Cant.*, lxxvi (1961), lxxiv.

¹⁰ Chichester Civic Soc. and others, Joint Archaeological Committee, *Bulletin no. 3* (1959-60); and *J.R.S.*, L (1960), 233, LI (1961), 189. It seems likely that Chichester was so defended, *pace Sussex A.C.*, c (1962), 86.

¹¹ *Ant. J.*, xli (1961), 63.

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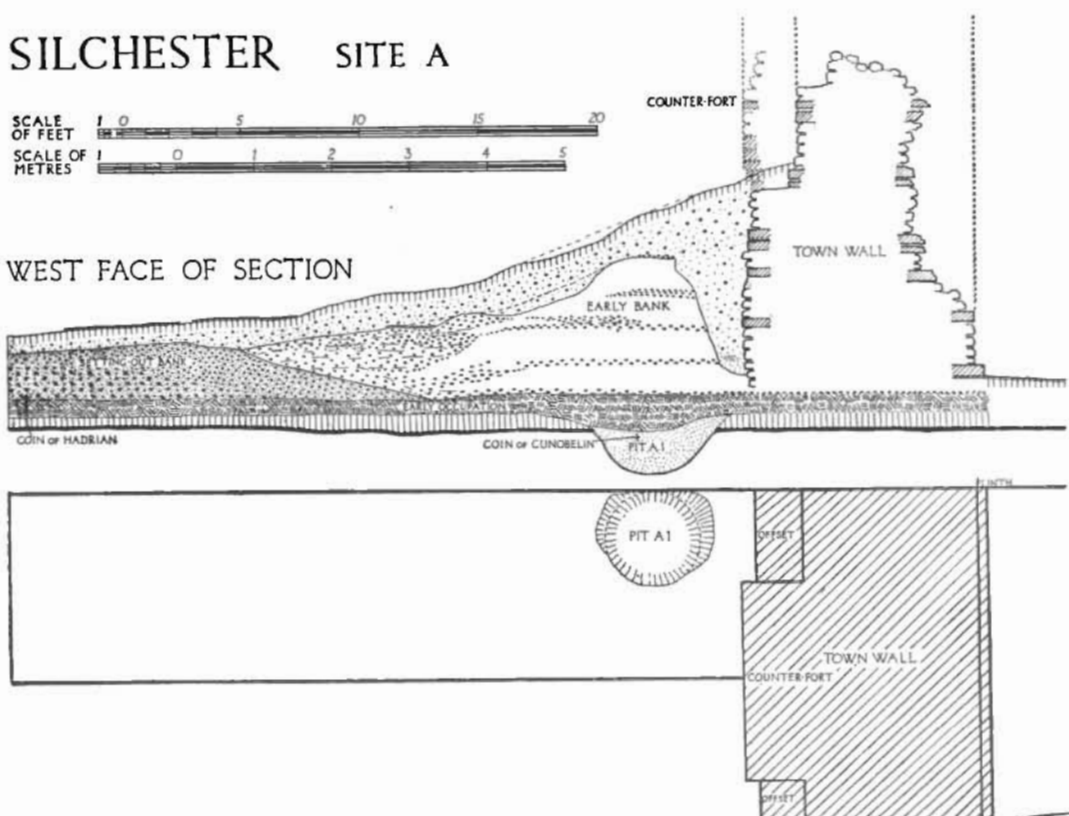


Fig. 1. A typical section of an earth rampart cut away in front for the insertion of a later stone wall

(Reproduced from *Arch.*, XCII (1947), by permission of the Society of Antiquaries of London)

(Dorset),¹ Exeter,² Winchester,³ Ilchester,⁴ and Kenchester,⁵ while fortifications of a different kind have been recorded at Clausentum⁶ and Caister-by-Yarmouth.⁷

In 1962, Professor Frere found definite evidence for the existence of an earth rampart at Dorchester (Oxon.), which he dated c. A.D. 185. Recently, excavations at Rochester have revealed the presence of an earth and turf rampart earlier than the town wall and dated to c. A.D. 150-60. At Chichester excavations have proved the existence of an earth rampart and small ditch, dated to the late 2nd century. The earth bank at Cirencester, also found in recent excavations, is not earlier than the first half of the 2nd century. Here, it was almost

¹ *J.R.S.*, XLII (1952), 99, XLVI (1956), 142.

² Lady Fox, *Roman Exeter* (1952), 19; confirmed in *J.R.S.*, LII (1962), 184.

³ Information from Mr. B. Cunliffe. *Proc. Hants. F.C.*, XXII (1962), 57.

⁴ *J.R.S.*, XXXIX (1949), 108; XL (1950), 110.

⁵ *Trans. Woolhope Nat. Field Club*, xxxv, pt. II (1956), 138.

⁶ M. A. Cotton and P. W. Gathercole, *Excavations at Clausentum, 1951-4* (1958), 34 ff.; *J.R.S.*, L, 233.

⁷ *J.R.S.*, XLII (1952), 96; *Norfolk Arch.*, xxxiii (1962), 94.

certainly associated with a double ditch, and was probably contemporary with the stone-built Verulamium Gate. The exact relation between gate and rampart will be discussed more fully below. At Dorchester (Dorset) there is an earth rampart for which a *terminus post quem* of A.D. 140 has been suggested, while at Exeter a similar feature is dated to the second quarter of the second century. The early rampart at Winchester has yet to be dated satisfactorily. A *terminus post quem* of c. A.D. 90 has been given to the earth rampart at Ilchester, but additional work may prove it to be later. It was also observed by the excavator to have been destroyed 'not earlier than A.D. 150, possibly A.D. 200'. There can be no doubt of the existence of a rampart earlier than the town wall at Kenchester; the date is not later than c. A.D. 140-80.¹ Clausentum is a difficult case. Here, Mrs. Cotton found an outer earthwork, which could not be accurately dated, and a multiple stockade on an inner line, which she dated to the Antonine period. But there are difficulties in accepting this interpretation of either the date or the purpose of the post-holes of the stockade, and they are probably better taken as piles to carry the fourth-century A.D. town wall. It is beyond the scope of this paper to argue this point in detail; suffice it to say that excavations in 1960 at Wroxeter showed how thoroughly a town wall could be removed without trace even of spills of mortar: thus one of the main arguments advanced in 'Clausentum' falls to the ground. If conclusive evidence is ever produced to show that it is the underpinning for the wall, then attention must be turned to the outer earthwork, which may well prove to be of 2nd-century date. It would seem likely, therefore, that Clausentum was defended in one way or another, during the period under discussion.

No less than three towns have more than one period of earth rampart. At both Verulamium² and Silchester³ a 1st-century earthwork was replaced by another some time during the first half of the 2nd century, or just after. At Brough-on-Humber⁴ the first civil fortification was built c. A.D. 125-45, and was later replaced by another on a different alignment dated to c. A.D. 150-80.

The rampart at Caerwent was originally dated to the Flavian period, but a reassessment of the samian from it would suggest that a Hadrianic or later date would be more accurate.⁵ Recent excavations at Wroxeter have now shown that an Antonine date is more appropriate for the rampart,⁶ hitherto accepted as late Flavian.

In addition to the authenticated cases mentioned already, a number of towns show suggestive traces, but need further exploration. In these, hints of defensive circuits either earlier than, or on different alignments from, the known stone walls have been found. These doubtful cases merit longer discussion.

¹ The excavator did not distinguish the pottery from the bank from that from the wall-trench of the town wall in his report.

² *Ant. J.*, XL (1960), 2.

³ G. Boon, *Roman Silchester* (1957), 50 ff. For an alternative theory see *Ant. J.*, XXXVIII (1958), 113.

⁴ *Ant. J.*, XL (1960), 58 ff.

⁵ *Ant. J.*, XXXVIII (1958), 4 n.

⁶ *J.R.S.*, LI (1961), 173; *Trans. Birm. Arch. Soc.*, LXXXVIII (1962), 31.

At Colchester it is possible to argue a case for a pre-wall rampart. Some seven sections have now been cut through the defences, and in two¹ of these Mr. M. R. Hull could find no satisfactory explanation for a bank apparently underlying the later rampart. It is difficult to equate the two features, since in one published section the bank appears to seal the wall-footings, and in the other it does not. Both sections relate to the south part of the town wall, and there appears to be no similar bank on the north, east, or west sides of the town. If this clay bank is part of an early rampart, which is by no means certain, it would appear either to enclose a different area from that subsequently walled, or to have been left incomplete; neither explanation is, however, entirely convincing. In attempting to provide Colchester with an earth rampart, it must not be overlooked that Mr. Hull has dated the town wall to c. A.D. 140.² If this date is accepted, a reason for the absence of an earlier bank could be put forward. It appears likely that the majority of earth ramparts were built in the middle of the 2nd century. Therefore it might be suggested that when lesser towns began to think in terms of earth defences, Colchester, as the senior British *colonia*, had already translated these thoughts into stone. But it would seem to be unlikely, since no other *colonia* has produced evidence in support of such an early date for its walls, and London was by then outstripping Colchester in size and prosperity, if not in dignity.

At Lincoln the reconditioned rampart of the legionary fortress is thought by Mr. D. F. Petch to have provided protection for the Upper Colonia,³ while at Gloucester it would seem that a similar sequence of events occurred. Here, recent excavations⁴ have shown that there was an early military rampart behind the *colonia* wall. This rampart was ultimately cut away in front for the insertion of the stone wall, and in the interval it may well have served as the defences for the early *colonia*. At Caister-by-Norwich an aerial photograph,⁵ taken by Dr. St. Joseph in the dry summer of 1959, revealed a double ditch system running parallel with the south wall of the town and about one hundred yards south of it. This earthwork encloses the extra-mural streets and clearly forms one side of a larger and earlier version of Venta Icenorum.

At Alchester⁶ there is a rampart and double ditch earlier than the wall but, according to the published dating evidence, they seem to be too early for the scope of this paper. Nevertheless, further excavation might make a reassessment possible. An early ditch underlies the later town wall rampart at Mancetter,⁷ but the dating evidence so far suggests that it had been filled by A.D. 120. At Mildenhall (Cunetio),⁸ Dr. St. Joseph has shown that there is a double-ditched enclosure on a different alignment from the 4th-century town wall, but excavation⁹ has failed to date it.

In the case of some towns, where sufficient evidence has accumulated, it must now be reasonably certain that they were never defended until their

¹ M. R. Hull, *Roman Colchester* (Soc. Ant. Research Rep. xx, 1958), Section vi, fig. 18, and Section vii, fig. 22.

² *Ibid.*, 54. But a later date is suggested by some of the published pottery.

³ *Arch. J.*, cxvii (1960), 54.

⁴ *J.R.S.*, lII (1962), 180.

⁵ *J.R.S.*, lI (1961), 132.

⁶ *Ant. J.*, ix (1929), 105, xii (1932), 36.

⁷ *Trans. Birm. Arch. Soc.*, lxxiv (1956), 30.

⁸ *J.R.S.*, xliii (1953), 90.

⁹ *Wilt. Arch. Mag.*, lvi (1956), 241.

stone walls were erected at a later date. Such towns as Canterbury,¹ Great Casterton² and Aldborough³ appear to fall into this category, but there is less certainty concerning London.⁴ Still less can it be regarded as proved in other towns where, at most, excavations have been restricted to one or two sections. Although, at present, early earth ramparts seem to be completely lacking in all these cases, further excavation may reveal their presence on different and hitherto unexpected circuits. The towns where there is little or no hint of such defences, but where insufficient work has been done for certainty can be listed: Leicester,⁵ Ancaster,⁶ Caistor (Lincs.),⁷ Droitwich,⁸ Great Chesterford,⁹ Horncastle,¹⁰ Towcester,¹¹ Wall,¹² Penkridge,¹³ Water Newton,¹⁴ and Godmanchester.¹⁵

Lastly there are those towns, about whose fortifications even less is known: York, Alcester, Braughing, Irchester, Cambridge, East Stoke, Dorn, Chesterton-on-Fosse and Brough (Notts.).

It remains to consider the purpose of these defences, and the historical events, if any, which may have caused their erection. It may be suggested that they were built for one of two possible reasons: first, as a defensive measure against an attack thought at the time to be impending; or secondly, as a delimitation whereby the boundaries of the town could be marked and patrolled, and all entry and exit channelled through the gates. Civic pride has sometimes been cited as a motive for town-wall building; it is less likely to be operative in the case of earthworks.

It is more convenient to discuss the second hypothesis first. Individual towns were not allowed to ring themselves with walls without first obtaining permission from the central government, as we know from the Digest:¹⁶ no doubt similar prohibitions also related to defences of the type under consideration. Permission would be obtained by the council of the *civitas* concerned, in communication with the provincial governor, and through him with the emperor.¹⁷ If granted, the resulting earth ramparts would ease the collection of dues and the control of traffic, and might thus in time acquire a symbolic value indicative of status.

But this reason cannot satisfactorily explain certain inconsistencies among the known examples. For instance, why should Canterbury and Aldborough, both cantonal capitals, not have been provided with ramparts, when they were being built round small towns such as Kenchester or Mildenhall? These

¹ S. S. Frere, *Roman Canterbury* (3rd ed. (1962)), 10.

² P. Corder (ed.), *The Roman Town & Villa at Great Casterton*, 2nd Report (1954), 1.

³ *Y.A.J.*, XL, pt. 1, (1959), 1 ff.

⁴ W. F. Grimes in *Recent Archaeological Excavations in Britain* (ed. R. L. S. Bruce-Mitford (1956)), 128.

⁵ *J.R.S.*, XLIX (1959), 113.

⁶ *J.R.S.*, XLVII (1957), 210.

⁷ *Ant. J.*, XL (1960), 187.

⁸ *J.R.S.*, XLVI (1956), 130.

⁹ *J.R.S.*, XI (1950), 106.

¹⁰ *Arch. J.*, CIII (1946), 22.

¹¹ *J.R.S.*, XLV (1955), 135.

¹² *Trans. Birm. Arch. Soc.*, LXXV (1957), 25.

¹³ *Trans. Birm. Arch. Soc.*, LXXIV (1956), 3.

¹⁴ *J.R.S.*, XLVIII (1958), 139.

¹⁵ Mr. H. J. M. Green, in *Proc. Camb. Ant. Soc.*, LIV (1960), 76, hinted at early defences, as the result of excavations in 1959, although little more was said on this important subject in the note by Mr. C. Green in *J.R.S.*, LII (1962), 174.

¹⁶ *Digest*, I, viii; 9, 4. (Ulpian) 'Muros autem municipales nec reficere licet sine principis vel praesidis auctoritate nec aliquid eis coniungere vel superponere'.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, x; 6. (Modestinus) 'De operibus quae in muris vel portis vel rebus publicis fiunt aut si muri extruantur divus Marcus rescripsit praesidem aditum consulere principem debere'.



Fig. 2. Towns and forts mentioned in the text

could not have been of greater importance than the cantonal capitals. If reference is made to the distribution maps (Figs. 2, 3), it can be seen that the great majority of towns possessing these ramparts lie south-west of Watling Street. There are certain exceptions and these will be considered below, but there seems to be no good reason to explain why the south-western towns alone would require marked boundaries, while those in the east did without them. Nor can it be said that this concentration is due to a greater volume of excavation in the south-west, since just as much work has been done in some towns in the east, and it would be an incredible coincidence if fortune had only favoured the excavators in the former towns. So it would seem that this motive for the building of earth ramparts cannot be seriously considered at present. However, if, at some future date, more of the eastern towns are found to possess early ramparts, then a reconsideration would be necessary.

The alternative hypothesis, the building of earth ramparts primarily for defence, implies a choice of premises. Their nature would seem to suggest that they were built either in emergency or else for cheapness. At Cirencester, however, there is a serious objection to the former. Here, the rampart is stratigraphically later than the stone-built gate, but almost certainly belongs to the same chronological period as the bridge abutment outside the gate. Also, although direct proof is lacking, the bridge and gate appear to be contemporary. So it would seem that the rampart belongs to the same chronological period as the gate, and it would be unlikely that in an emergency the completion of the rampart would be delayed while massive stone gates were built. This is the most sensible interpretation of the facts; but the alternative explanation must not be overlooked, which is that a monumental gate or arch was built some time before the rampart—unlikely but not altogether impossible.¹ But towns, which by now were probably familiar with the methods of building in stone, would hardly surround themselves with earth defences if they could build at leisure, except for reasons of economy.

That the fortifications could not be built without permission from the central government has already been stressed, and indeed the towns may even have received orders to defend themselves. If so, what was the occasion which caused these measures to be put in hand? To begin with, it may be suggested that, although the dates provided for the ramparts of individual towns are often widely divergent, they are not so wide, remembering the nature of the dating evidence, that they may not all have been the product of one particular occasion. A date for this occasion soon after the middle of the 2nd century would not, perhaps, be stretching the evidence too far. The latest satisfactory date to be assigned to any one of these ramparts is about A.D. 180, which is the date of the bank at Dorchester (Oxon.);² the rampart at Chichester³ has also been dated to the late 2nd century. The north of Britain, where a series of revolts occurred during the 2nd century, is the most obvious place to look for a

¹ Owing to robbing it was not possible to be certain whether such an arch formed the core of the gate; but the suggestion might explain its anomalous plan.

² See p. 104; also p. 130 below.

³ *J.R.S.*, LI (1961), 189.

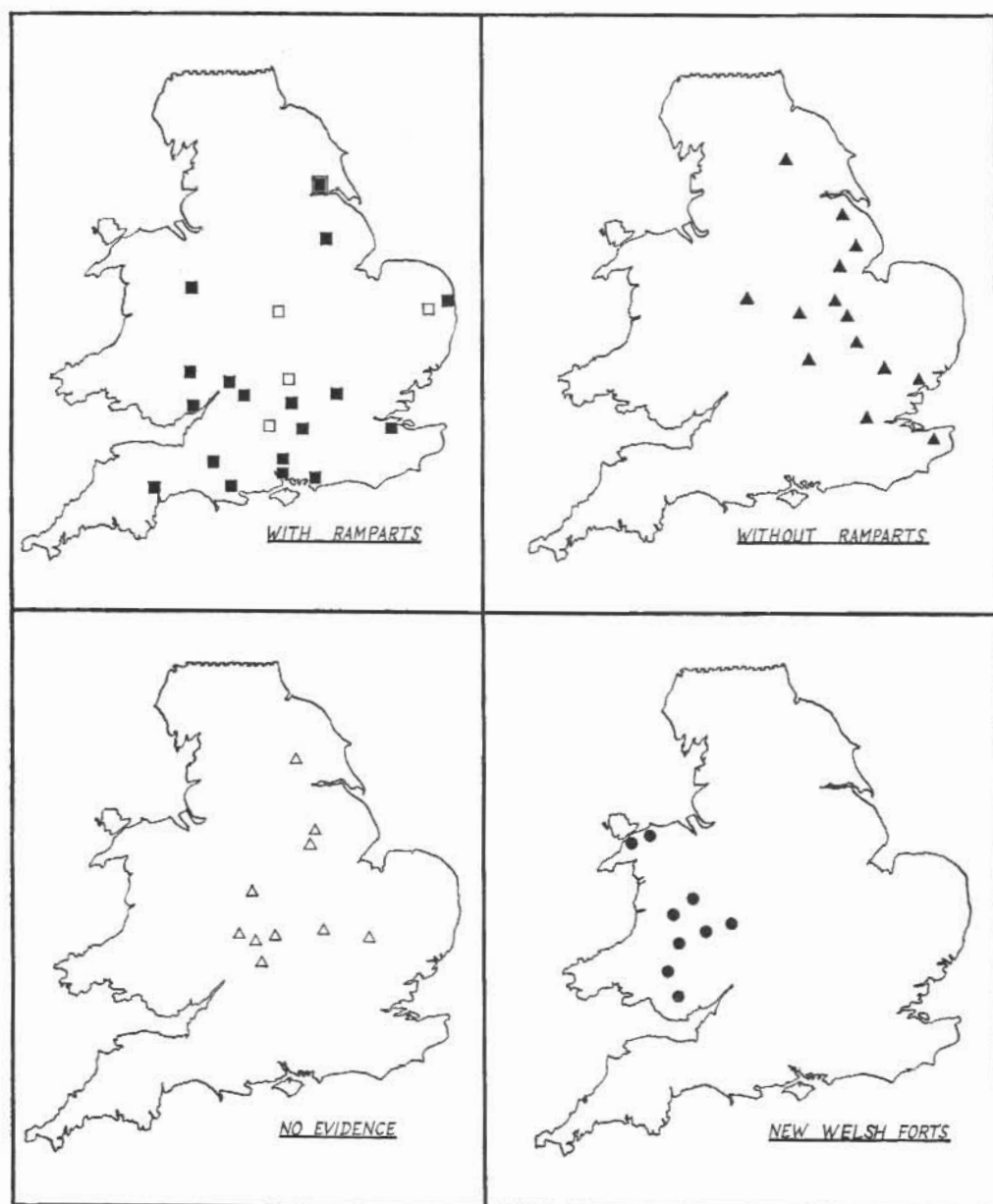


Fig. 3. Comparative maps showing the distributions of different classes of fortified towns

source of trouble. Of these revolts those in A.D. 117-8¹ and A.D. 154-5² would appear to be too early to account for the majority of these town defences. But the period of unrest which followed the latter, lasting as it did at least ten years, with a subsequent outbreak in 169,³ was long enough to have been the reason for the erection of these fortifications, although their geographical distribution is against it. Next came a more localised outbreak in A.D. 182,⁴ affecting the northern frontier, which does not seem widespread enough to warrant the preventive measures taken so far south, and finally there was the more serious invasion at the very end of the 2nd century.⁵ This last would seem to be ruled out if Dr. Corder's proposals⁶ relating to the dating of the stone walls of towns are accepted, for he made out a strong case for their context being the revolt of Albinus in A.D. 196. It appears difficult, therefore, to reconcile the construction of these earth ramparts with any known historical event in the north of Britain. Furthermore, although the absence of early defences at Canterbury might be explained by the distance of the town from the seat of any revolt in the north, this same reason will clearly not do to explain their presence at the equally remote towns of Exeter, Ilchester or Dorchester (Dorset), or even Chichester and Winchester. A satisfactory explanation must therefore be looked for elsewhere than in the north, and so far only one seems plausible.

The concentration of towns with 2nd-century earth defences in the west and south-west may suggest that, at some period during the middle of the 2nd century, trouble occurred among the Welsh tribes or even among the Dumnonii in the remoter south-west. Until more evidence has been accumulated, the nature of this unrest, or where its focus lay, cannot be certainly determined, but a clue is perhaps provided by the history of some of the forts in Wales and near the border (Fig. 3). At Forden Gaer the fort was burnt about A.D. 160;⁷ a number of other Welsh forts, notably Caersws, Castell Collen, Brecon Gaer, Gellygaer, Caernarvon and Caerhun appear to have been refurbished in the middle of the 2nd century, judging from the evidence of certain samian sherds.⁸ A new fort was also built at Leintwardine⁹ at about the same time, while the fort at nearby Buckton¹⁰ was dismantled, and at Wall Town (Cleobury Mortimer) a new stone fort was erected on a deserted Flavian site.¹¹ From these troop movements it is clear that a reorganisation took place not only along the Welsh borders but also in central Wales soon after the middle of the century, perhaps c. A.D. 160, but it is not certain whether this was caused by local unrest or by repercussions from the recent revolt in the north. But if local unrest was the cause, it would seem that the Ordovices in central Wales were involved. It could be that the tribe was encouraged by the events in other areas, and also possibly by the continued absence in North Africa of a vexillation of the

¹ *Hist. Aug.*, Hadrian, 5.

² As suggested by the inscription in A. R. Burn, *The Romans in Britain* (1932), no. 104.

³ *Hist. Aug.*, M. Antoninus, 8, 4-8: 22, 1.

⁴ *Cassius Dio*, LXXII, 8.

⁵ *Eutropius*, VIII, 19.

⁶ *Arch. J.*, CXII (1955), 20 ff.

⁷ J. Stanfield & G. Simpson, *Central Gaulish Pottery* (1958), p. xlv.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *J.R.S.*, XLIX (1959), III.

¹⁰ *Trans. Woolhope Nat. Field Club*, xxxvi, pt. II (1959), 210.

¹¹ *J.R.S.*, LI (1961), 174.

Twentieth Legion of unknown size. This is attested by an inscription¹ recently published from Rome. Its absence would weaken not only the northern frontier, but also the military occupation of Wales. It is impossible, however, to distinguish the primary cause; the reorganisation of forts on the Welsh borders may have been a general tightening of the defensive network due to the absence of part of the Legion, or to unrest due to this absence and inspired by rebellion elsewhere. It must also be remembered that Wroxeter suffered a disastrous fire c. A.D. 165,² which burnt the Forum³ and a large number of neighbouring buildings.⁴ It did not affect all buildings,⁵ however, since some survived untouched, and it might be thought that this incompleteness rules out any possibility of the fire having been started by insurgents.

For the remainder, there is an even greater scarcity of information, and intensive research has failed to reveal a single site which suffered in the same way as Wroxeter, except that a large quantity of burnt Antonine samian has recently been found at Worcester.⁶ There are only two possible finds which may be related to military activities in the south-west, and they are two tiles stamped with the mark of the Second Legion,⁷ one from Seaton in Devon, the other from Sea-Mills near Bristol. But it is doubtful if either can be directly related to troop movements following an insurrection, and more probably they derive from detachments working mineral deposits in the region.

A period of unrest along the Welsh border has already been hinted at by Mr. S. C. Stanford, in connection with the new forts of this period which are found there.⁸ Taken with the evidence now provided by the towns, it would seem that this is the most likely explanation of the facts as they stand at present.

Lastly, something must be said of the few towns in the eastern part of the country which possess this type of defence, and of some towns in the west where these defences appear to be absent. In the east, there are only three where they are adequately attested by excavation, Brough-on-Humber, Caister-by-Yarmouth and Rochester, while the suggestion of another, implied by the aerial photograph of Caister-by-Norwich, still has to be dated. Brough is the only town where *two* periods of earth rampart can be exclusively ascribed to the 2nd century. It is possible that the exceptional state here is due to causes which did not affect the more southern part of the province, since it is near enough to Brigantia and the north to feel the repercussions of the revolts in the years 154-5 and 182. But if this is so, it is difficult to see why Aldborough should have been accorded different treatment. Alternatively, therefore, it should be noted that the three proved examples already quoted lie on the coast or on tidal estuaries. Up to the present, it has generally been acknowledged that east coast defences belong to the later 3rd or 4th century. But the finding of a Severan inscription at the Saxon Shore Fort of Reculver⁹ might suggest that the east coast was becoming unsafe as early as the beginning of the 3rd

¹ *American J. Arch.*, 64 (1960), 274.

² D. Atkinson, *Excavations at Wroxeter* (1942), 124.

³ *Ibid.*, 175.

⁴ *Society of Antiqs. Research Reports*: I (1913), 6, 9, 11, 15; II (1914), 9; IV (1916), 4, 21.

⁵ Information from Mr. B. R. Hartley.

⁶ Information from Mr. B. R. Hartley.

⁷ V. E. Nash-Williams, *The Roman Frontier in Wales* (1954), 8 (with references).

⁸ *Trans. Worcs. Arch. Soc.*, n.s. XXXVI (1959), 28.

⁹ *Ant. J.*, xli (1961), 224.

century, if not before. If this were so, then these three towns could belong to a second group, defended for reasons different from those already advanced above.

Two towns lying on the margins of the region where many were fortified have as yet produced no trace of evidence for earth banks, namely London and Towcester. At London the absence might be explained by the presence of the fort, on which the population would certainly have relied for defence.

One further point of interest arises from this consideration of 2nd-century earth ramparts. In all known cases, except at Verulamium, the stone walls which, at the end of the 2nd century or slightly later, replaced the earthworks, occupied virtually the same positions as their predecessors. But in the few towns where the walls are known to be later in date, the alignments appear to have altered. It can be suggested that, in the first instance, the rampart would probably still be defensible by the time the stone walls were built, and would provide a convenient line and backing. In the last instance, however, the line of rampart and ditch may well have become obscured, and any fortifications erected in the later 3rd or 4th century might have no relation to the earlier line. The towns of Mildenhall and Mancetter provide good examples, while Caister-by-Norwich may also belong to this class. In the latter town the date of the wall is given as about A.D. 200,¹ but since, like the wall at Canterbury,² it is of one build with the bastions it might well be later.

Some attempt has been made in this account to draw attention to the 2nd-century earth ramparts of certain towns, and to explain them in the light of historical events. Because in many instances there is a scarcity of accurate information, it is impossible to draw any but the most tentative conclusions, and much more work is required before positive deductions can be safely made.

Postscript

Since this article went to press, information has been received that Rocester (Staffs.) possessed an earthwork fortification, not earlier than A.D. 160.³ Dr. Grace Simpson has also published her findings on Welsh Forts,⁴ which in many ways support the conclusions drawn here; but the new reassessment of the Welsh evidence will require some slight modifications to be made to the theory of a revolt in Wales during the 2nd century. It emphasises the fact that the military dispositions in Wales at this time can no longer be viewed in isolation, but must be considered in conjunction with evidence from the civilian areas.

¹ *Arch. J.*, CVI (1949), 64.

² *J.R.S.*, LI (1961), 191.

³ *N. Staffs. Jnl. of Field Studies*, II (1962), 37.

⁴ *Arch. Camb.* (1962), 103.