

Roman Conquest, Occupation and Settlement of Wales AD 47–410

Contract number 1446

May 2011



Llywodraeth Cynulliad Cymru
Welsh Assembly Government



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Cadw would like to thank Richard Brewer, Research Keeper of Roman Archaeology, Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum Wales, for his insight, help and support throughout the writing of this plan.

Contents

1.	Roman conquest, occupation and settlement of Wales AD 47–410.....	5
1.1	Relationship to other plans under the HTP.....	5
1.2	Linking our Roman assets	6
1.3	Sites not in Wales.....	9
1.4	Criteria for the selection of sites in this plan	9
2.	Why read this plan?	10
2.1	Aim – what we want to achieve	10
2.2	Objectives.....	10
2.3	The scope of this plan	10
3.	Why this plan is needed.....	11
4.	Telling the story – the challenge	12
4.1	Who wants to hear it?	13
4.2	The importance of context	13
4.3	Use of timelines – the presentation of the assets chronologically.....	13
4.4	A local perspective	14
5.	The stories of Roman Wales	15
6.	Our Audiences.....	23
6.1	Audience Groups.....	23
6.2	Four Audiences for the Roman Story.....	24
7.	Development – where the story can be told	27
7.1	Gateway sites.....	27
7.2	Waypoints	28
7.3	Outposts.....	28
7.4	Physical links	30
7.5	Contact sites.....	30
7.6	Hot spots.....	30
7.7	Tangible significance	30
8.	Developing visitor experience ‘packages’	31
8.1	Comments on projects.....	31
8.2	Developing visitor experience packages – Map	32
8.3	Project 1: Caernarfon and Anglesey cluster.....	33

8.4	Project 2: Caernarfon, Tre'r Ceiri and Tomen y Mur cluster	37
8.5	Project 3: Conwy valley cluster	38
8.6	Project 4: Castell Collen	38
8.7	Project 5: Llandovery – Pumsaint Dolaucothi, Carmarthen.....	39
8.8	Project 6: Brecon to Neath cycle route.....	41
8.9	Project 7: Caerleon – Caerwent cluster	44
8.10	Project 8: Caersws – Wroxeter cluster	45
8.11	Project 9: Cardiff Castle, Cold Knap and National Museum Cardiff.....	46
9.	Appendix 1: Roman Conquest of Wales timeline	48
10.	Appendix 2: Historical description of events	50
10.1	The Roman invasions of Britain BC 55–AD 47.....	50
10.2	The Claudian invasion AD 43.....	50
10.3	Invasion of Wales AD 47–60	51
10.4	The Welsh tribes	52
10.5	The first campaigns into Wales.....	52
10.6	Caratacus – ‘the beacon of resistance’	53
10.7	The importance of Anglesey	54
10.8	The Boudiccan Revolt.....	55
10.9	The Flavian Period and the second offensive AD 73/74–120	55
10.10	Significance of the road system	56
10.11	Pacification, prosperity and self-government.....	57
10.12	End of the first century	58
10.13	The second century.....	58
10.14	Third century.....	60
10.15	Fourth century	61
10.16	Fifth century – the end of the Empire.....	61
10.17	Lasting life under the Romans	61
10.18	Religion.....	62
10.19	The End of Roman Britain	62
11.	Appendix 3: Bibliography and Sources of Information	63

1. Roman conquest, occupation and settlement of Wales AD 47–410

In April 2009 Cadw published 'Interpretation Planning: The Historic Environment of Wales'. This strategic document, also known as the Atkins report, identified several barriers to wider public engagement at their sites.

The document makes a series of robust recommendations about how interpretation across Cadw's estate may be improved.

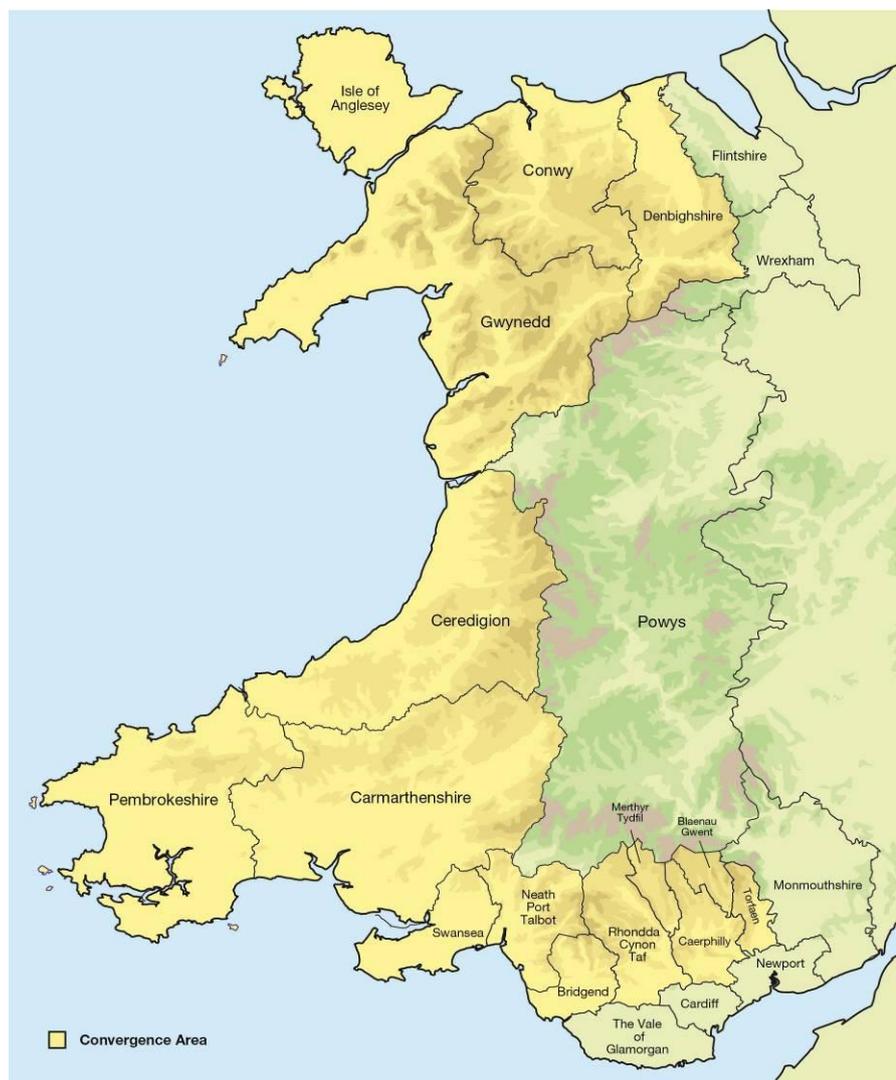
In November 2010 No Nonsense – Interpretation Ltd was commissioned to prepare an interpretation plan for the **Roman Conquest, Occupation and Settlement of Wales AD 47–410**. We have taken the recommendations in the Atkins report as the starting point for this piece of work.

This plan was commissioned to fulfil two objectives. The first was to present the Roman story in Wales as holistically as possible including the principal Roman sites and monuments in Cadw's care and in the care of its partners. The second objective was to relate the principles and themes provided by the first objective to develop a series of linked sites and attractions or 'visitor packages' to be potentially supported by Cadw's Heritage Tourism Project (HTP) where these fall within the Convergence Area (see map).

1.1 Relationship to other plans under the HTP

A parallel project was commissioned to prepare an interpretation plan for the '**Origins and Prehistory of Wales**'. This plan is concerned with pre-Roman archaeology from 230,000 BP to the Roman conquest period AD 47–78. The relationship between these two plans can be defined by the following statements:

- The impact of Roman culture is recognisable in many of the remains of native Iron Age communities of the period, especially in their material culture.
- If one concentrates on the Roman remains in isolation, there is a danger that the interpretation will become too 'Romano-centric'. The emphasis is inevitably on 'them' rather than 'us'. This



becomes especially important if we wish to create a stronger connection between the people of the time and audiences today.¹

- Considering both plans together makes it possible to make comparisons between the two cultures to generate a greater understanding and appreciation of both.

As such it is recommended that when interpreting the Roman Conquest and Settlement of Wales, one should also become familiar with the '**Origins and Prehistory Interpretation Plan**'.

In addition Cadw has also commissioned an interpretation plan that explores early Christian worship in Wales. The '**Celtic Saints, Spiritual Places and Pilgrimage Interpretation Plan**' develops some of the threads concerning the introduction of Christianity to Wales outlined in this plan.

1.2 Linking our Roman assets

The rich culture of the Roman Empire is of considerable interest to visitors of all kinds. It fascinates many people. Even those without a professed interest would recognise the Roman period as a 'cultural anchor', a time in our history that they are relatively familiar with². If any proof of this were required, one would only need to look at the frequency of references to the Romans in modern media. Television and radio documentaries, quizzes, TV dramas, films and video games frequently reference the Roman period.

1.2.1 Sites

The brief concerned those monuments of Roman origin, with some examples of Romano-British settlement where evidence of Roman influences have been found.

There is in fact a huge variety of Roman remains in Wales. Some are well preserved; others are no more than crop marks. For example, Caerwent's has the best preserved town defences in Britain and they are every bit as impressive as the forts along Hadrian's Wall. They are internationally important but also define the modern village. In contrast, the remains of the coastal fort at Neath are almost lost among the bushes and modern street furniture.

Unfortunately many sites that would considerably add to the understanding and accessibility of the story are either hidden, disguised or have been erased from our landscape. Others are in remote places.

The Iron Age and Roman sites and monuments included within this plan are listed below. Not all of them are owned and managed by Cadw (see map).

¹ In addition to native peoples, Roman soldiers, especially auxiliary soldiers, and traders from all over the Empire are also known to have settled in Wales and may be considered among our ancestors.

² Compared to other times such as the Iron Age or the early medieval period, for example.

South East Wales

- Caerleon legionary fortress, amphitheatre, baths and barracks (*Isca*)
- Caerwent tribal capital of the Silures (*Venta Silurum*)
- Gelligaer II auxiliary fort,
- Cardiff Castle, reconstruction and forts
- Cold Knap *mansio*, Barry

South West Wales

- Carmarthen town centre, tribal capital of the Demetae and amphitheatre (*Moridunum*)
- Neath auxiliary fort (*Nidum*)
- Loughor auxiliary fort (*Leucarum*)
- Pumsaint fort and later fortlet
- Dolaucothi fort and gold mine, Pumsaint
- Coelbren campaign and auxiliary forts

Mid Wales

- Castell Collen auxiliary fort, Llandrindod Wells
- Brecon Gaer auxiliary fort (*Cicucium*⁴)
- Caersws campaign and auxiliary forts
- Forden Gaer, auxiliary fort, Montgomery
- Y Pigwn marching camps & Waun Ddu fortlet, Usk Reservoir, Trecastle
- Arhosfa'r Garreg-lwyd marching camp, Usk Reservoir
- Pen y Crocbren, fortlet, Aberhosan
- Careg y Bwci watch tower, Lampeter
- Llanymynech Hill, Roman copper mine, Llanymynech

North Wales

- Caernarfon auxiliary fort (*Segontium*)
- Bryn y Gefeiliau fort and possible *mansio*, Capel Curig
- Caerhun auxiliary fort, Conwy
- Tomen y Mur auxiliary fort and roads, Trawsfynydd
- Tre'r Ceiri hillfort, Llyn Peninsula

Anglesey

- Holyhead coastal fort (*Caer Gybi*)
- Holyhead Mountain watch tower



- Holyhead Mountain hut circles
- Din Lligwy Romano-British settlement
- Caer Leb Romano-British settlement, Brynseincyn
- Llyn Cerrig Bach, Iron Age votive offering site

1.2.2 Roads and settlements

In places the modern road and rail network follows Roman roads and many of our towns and villages are of Roman origin. In some places these remains are evident in our landscape. In other cases they set a pattern for future development.

The following parts of the Roman road network add to visitors' understanding and appreciation by linking some of the sites included above:

- Brecon to Llandovery, via Y Pigwn
- Tomen y Mur south to Brithdir
- Brecon to Neath, via Coelbren (*known as Sarn Helen*)
- Chepstow to Caerleon, via Caerwent
- Caerleon to Carmarthen, via Cardiff, Cowbridge and Neath
- Wroxeter (Shropshire) to Pennal



Planning the experience: 1

Visitors can be offered more fulfilling experiences by exploring beyond our sites physically and intellectually.

Imagine a modern family, crouched on a hilltop overlooking Tomen y Mur imagining through Ordovician eyes an alien Roman outpost deep in the heart of their homelands.

One element of the interpretation of the fort is to encourage visitors to see things from the point of view of the local people. What did they think of these invaders? Did their attitudes change over time? We want them to experience the landscape, not just the fort, to look down at it from the hills and imagine how people living here felt. We want them to look to the distant hills, picking out the hillfort settlements and other ancient features.

The reverse is encouraging them to imagine living in the fort, looking out at the cold, hard land and imagining it full of unfriendly eyes.

The remains of the Roman road network links Tomen y Mur to the other forts of the period and passes campaign forts, practice camps, fortlets and other features. Modern rights of way and open access land provide great opportunities to explore these ancient highways.

1.2.3 Collections and artefacts

We have rich collections of Roman and Romano-British artefacts in Wales in the care of the Amgueddfa Cymru - National Museum Wales. The main access to these collections is provided by the National Roman Legionary Museum Caerleon, National Museum Cardiff and, for the Caerwent collection, Newport Museum & Art Gallery. Other small museums also display local finds.

1.3 Sites not in Wales

Many English sites along the Welsh border have played an important part of the Roman story. Although outside of Cadw's remit, a joined up approach to their interpretation may add significantly to the overall understanding of Wales' Roman story. Examples include:

Shropshire

- Wroxeter (*Viroconium*), *civitas*-capital for the Cornovii
- Old Oswestry Hill Fort, Iron Age hillfort

Herefordshire

- Brandon Camp, hillfort campaign store
- Credenhill, hillfort campaign store
- Croft Ambrey, hillfort

Cheshire

- Chester legionary fortress and amphitheatre (*Deva*)

Chester and Wroxeter are particularly important to the Conquest and Occupation sections of the Roman story.

1.4 Criteria for the selection of sites in this plan

This is not a definitive list of Roman sites and features in Wales. In general they have been selected through the following criteria:

- There are remains that can be visited and explored
- They have the potential to provide a fulfilling visitor experience either in themselves or as part of a 'package' experience
- They are managed (although not all are)
- They are accessible (although access to some is challenging)

There may be other military, industrial or domestic sites that meet the criteria that could be added to the list. There may also be other places of a military, industrial and domestic nature that although have no easily discernable remains are still an important part of the story (see example below).



Planning the experience: 2

Usk was the first legionary fortress in Wales. Later a large sprawling settlement grew up on the site of the early fortress. Its economy was dependent on large-scale ironworking. The site was prone to flooding, which was the reason for transferring the legionary presence to Caerleon.

Although Roman remains in Usk are very difficult to explore as a visitor, reference to the town's Roman significance could be included in the interpretation of the town and within a south east Wales 'cluster'.

2. Why read this plan?

If you have an interest in telling the Roman story in Wales this plan will help you. It has been written to help present the Roman story. It seeks to:

- provoke and excite interest, opening audiences' eyes to the fascinating complexity of our cultural identity, and the part the Romans played in influencing it, our landscape and revealing how events that are almost 2,000 years old, have helped shape modern Wales
- speak to audiences' interests, values and attitudes, and inspire new responses through greater understanding
- show how the Roman story might be presented – its historical and social context and its legacy – presenting ideas that can grow to produce imaginative, engaging and fulfilling interpretive experiences

This plan outlines the significance and complexity of the Roman period in Welsh history. It breaks down that complexity into a suggested series of interrelating themes written to encompass the most important elements of the Roman story. It is written to show how those themes can be related to a collection of objects, a site, series of sites or landscapes where the Roman story still has a strong relevance.

2.1 Aim – what we want to achieve

- i. To provide a document that is useful to anyone seeking to interpret the Roman story in Wales.

2.2 Objectives

- i. To provide a thematic structure that simplifies, conceptualises and contextualises the story of the Roman conquests and settlement of Wales
- ii. To show the relevance of the Roman story to modern Wales
- iii. To facilitate improved engagement with visitors' interests, imagination and emotions
- iv. To show regional Roman stories in the context of the bigger picture but also identify specific regional significances

2.3 The scope of this plan

The Romans mounted their first campaign into the area we now call Wales in AD 47/48. With pressure mounting on the Empire and the fall of Rome an imminent risk, they finally withdrew military support for Britain in AD 410. This plan therefore concentrates on this 360-year period. It also looks into Britain's Iron Age past to establish an understanding of the cultural response to Roman conquest and occupation. The plan also comments on the impact of Roman culture on the peoples of Wales and their way of life following the withdrawal of Roman support.

This plan does not provide an interpretive prescription for each of the visitor destinations described. It seeks to lay the foundations for the interpretive development of these locations. In each case local interpretive planning should be employed to adapt the principles of this plan to local circumstances and audiences.

3. Why this plan is needed

It is hoped that this plan will serve several functions:

- Reference

There are a bewildering number of books about the Roman period. This plan seeks to summarise the main concepts from the most recently published. It provides a 'quick-hit' of the most important aspects of the Roman story and provides references to further reading. Anyone needing an introduction to the Roman story in Wales, when embarking on an interpretation project, should find this useful.

- Message 'unity'

The plan provides a thematic structure of the main concepts behind the story. In many cases our understanding of the facts is incomplete and we can debate them endlessly. However, we can agree the main concepts and the extent of our understanding of the period. These are what we want our audiences to engage with and to apply their own thinking to. This is the essence of interpretation. Through this plan's themes Cadw is seeking to provide these 'statements of engagement'.

- Development – a way forward

Currently Cadw has access to a significant level of resources through the Heritage Tourism Project (HTP) to improve access to the sites in its care. Not all of the Roman sites in Wales fall within the 'eligible areas' for this expenditure. As a result this plan recommends prioritised improvements, targeting locations for immediate development and identifying the links to locations that may be developed when resources allow.

4. Telling the story – the challenge

The Romans did not approach Wales as a single objective. Having invaded the lowlands of south east England, Wales³ was one of the first significant areas of upland the Roman army encountered. It was a large western landmass, occupied by disparate tribes, who at this time were hostile to Rome and its allies. It was a refuge for dissenters, such as Caratacus.⁴ It was also known for its mineral wealth.

Wales was not a unified country at this time; it had no political status. Its people weren't Welsh, they were a set of different tribes with broadly similar cultures. However, they were the products of their landscape. Tribes living in different parts of Wales responded differently to the outside world.

As such, telling the story of the Roman conquest and settlement of Wales is complex because:

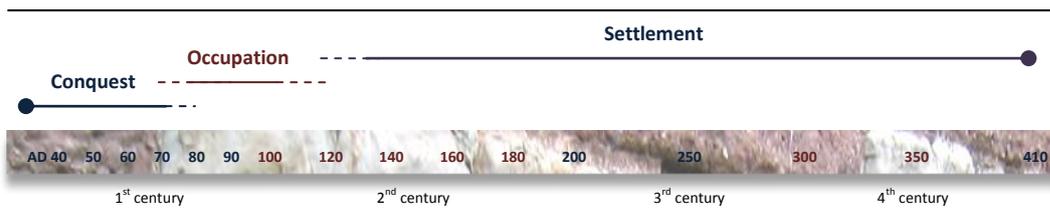
- It needs to explain how the conquest repeatedly started and stopped, often because of changing circumstances, strategic necessities and things that were happening elsewhere in Britain and the Empire.
- It needs to explore the different responses of the peoples of Wales to the Roman occupation.
- It needs to be flexible; aspects of it that may be important in one location may be less relevant in others.
- It needs to encompass a 360-year time span. Some features such as forts, campaign bases, roads etc, may only be relevant to a small part of that period.
- Some of the places that are available to tell the story might not be the most suitable or illustrative of its importance. In short we can only work with what we've got.
- Some of the places to tell the story might not be in Wales.
- For simplicity, the plan breaks the story into three headings: '**Conquest**', '**Occupation**' and '**Settlement**' (see diagram 4.1.1).
 - **Conquest** covers the pre-invasion, invasion and campaign periods to circa AD 77.
 - **Occupation** covers the period from circa AD 78 to the establishment of *civitas*⁵ status for the Silures and Demetae in the early 2nd century.
 - **Settlement** covers the period from the late 1st century to the withdrawal of military and political support at the beginning of the 5th century.

³ This plan uses the modern terms of Wales and Welsh for simplicity to describe the country and its peoples

⁴ *Pn.* 'Ca-ra-ta-cus', Also known as Caractacus, Caradoc and Caradog. The Roman use, as per Tacitus, is used here

⁵ 'Civitates peregrinae' were self-governing communities based on tribal areas. The Silures and Demetae eventually received such status. Both tribes had *civitas*-capitals, Caerwent (Venta Silurum) and Carmarthen (Moridunum).

4.1.1 Roman stories timeline



4.2 Who wants to hear it?

Few phases of our history have a stronger resonance with people than the Roman period. It is still pervasive in modern culture. People's responses are mixed and many people would profess to have no real interest in the Roman story. Yet important figures like Claudius and Agricola and Roman place names come readily to mind. It would be difficult not to have heard of Hadrian's Wall, but a recent simple survey⁶ showed that less publicised figures and places are familiar, even to people with little interest.

As discussed earlier, few of Cadw's Roman sites, other than the obvious exceptions, demand the attention of most visitors. They are either disguised by other features, remotely located or, at face value, not easily recognised for what they are. Without onsite signage and clear directions, many sites would be unreadable or in some cases indistinguishable from their surroundings. Other historic sites may have a stronger presence and atmosphere. As a result, visitors often have to work pretty hard to appreciate Roman sites for what they are.

4.3 The importance of context

How much of the whole story do visitors need to understand in order to appreciate its parts? Tilden (1956) explains the importance of context. Even visitors with a strong interest will have different levels of pre-knowledge and understanding.

It is unlikely that any visitor (except perhaps the very young) will be a blank sheet of paper. The level of visitors' preconception should be a factor in how the story is interpreted.

- Using the story the headings **Conquest**, **Occupation** and **Settlement** will help plan the interpretation of individual sites and where their story fits or links these periods.

4.4 Use of timelines – the presentation of the assets chronologically

Is it important that sites are described as pre or post Flavian, early or late Roman? It may be argued that this is of little importance to many visitors; that the feature is described as Roman or originating in the Roman period is enough. However, this plan establishes that one of the most significant parts of the Roman story is the stop/start nature of the campaign period. Rome didn't invade 'Wales'; it mounted a succession of campaigns against the hostile tribes living within the boundaries of a troublesome and challenging western part of Britain. If this is an intrinsic part of the message, each location's place, especially in relation to other visitable places and their 'time', is important.

⁶ Simple email 'vox pop' survey of 40 people conducted by NN-I January 2011

- Using the story the headings **Conquest, Occupation and Settlement** helps to present the chronological relationships of different sites.

A timeline of the period has been included in Appendix 1.

4.5 A local perspective

Although there was no 'Welsh nation' in the 1st century, that might not stop visitors, especially Welsh visitors, wanting to see the story from the oppressed, rather than oppressors' point of view. Comments from guides and curators⁷ indicate that showing things from the tribes' perspective might be more engaging for local audiences.

In addition, there is considerable evidence that some of the Welsh tribes adopted Roman culture more readily than others. Traces of Roman influences have persisted in our culture even to the modern day. However, there was no uniform adoption of Roman culture in Wales. There are several theories concerning whether this was because certain tribes rejected it or their geographical and social circumstances made them unable to benefit from it.

Local audiences will relate better to stories of how the people who were living where they live now reacted to 'Romanisation'.

⁷ Dolaucothi Mine, Segontium, National Roman Legionary Museum

5. The stories of Roman Wales

The following section shows the development of the Roman story from the circumstances for the invasion to the decline of Roman control. The scale of this story is easy to underestimate. It describes almost 400 years of cultural and technological change and our early ancestors' part in a unified, international exchange of goods, ideas and people. It is one of the significant steps in the development of Wales and its people.

These are a structured series of 'statements of engagement' designed to outline some of the most significant details of the story. However, the subject is already very broad and new ideas and discoveries mean our understanding is evolving. The following provides a model to follow. The themes within it provide a framework that can be developed or adapted as necessity requires.



For more information on themed interpretation see the Bibliography at the end of this document.

Conquest Story 1: Why the Romans invaded Britain – rich potential

Contextual statements: The Romans saw themselves as bringing their civilisation and culture to the 'barbarian' world. They considered their culture to be superior to that of others. Expansion was essential to the stability and wealth of the Empire. Claudius needed the glory of conquest to prove his worth as the new Emperor. British tribes had been trading with the Empire for hundreds of years and Britain was well known for its mineral riches. Bringing Britain into the Empire provided opportunities for new conquest and wealth.

Theme CS1: Rich potential

Wales' mineral riches and agricultural wealth made it a valuable goal, fulfilling Rome's need for empirical expansion.

Conquest Story 2: The peoples and tribes of Wales

Contextual statements: The peoples of Wales did not commit their deeds and ways to written records. Our view of them is through the eyes of the external Roman historians (with their biases and motives), largely reporting on Britain at the time of the Roman invasion. The surviving archaeological evidence from across Wales suggests that people lived in dispersed farmsteads, often defined and enclosed, with local community life circulating around focal hillforts.

During the late Iron Age a ruling class was becoming defined within the tribal hierarchy. This 'social elite' increasingly showed off their importance wearing rich jewellery, clothes and weapons. This was an important time of fluid social changes with identities and allegiances forming, re-forming and coalescing under different competing leaders. This dynamic process was hastened and hardened by the increasing influences of Rome and then the Roman invasion itself. Accounts from Gaul and Britain suggest the Druids had a broad reaching political influence on the peoples. The war leader Caratacus came to prominence at a key moment, enabling him to unite the resistance of the Silures and Ordovices against Rome.

Theme CS2: The peoples and tribes of Wales

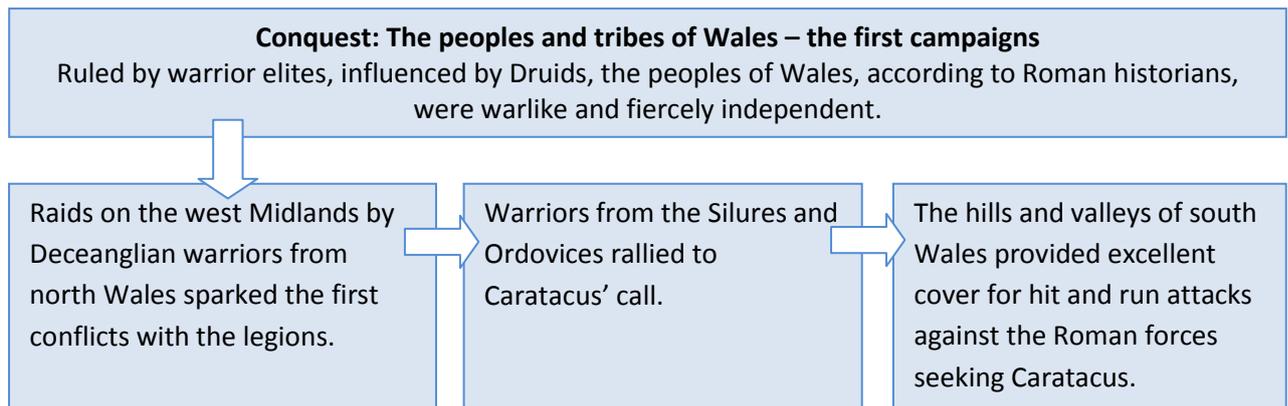
Led by horse-loving, martial elites and guided in their affairs by Druids, the peoples of Wales were viewed by Roman historians as warlike and fiercely independent.

Conquest Story 3: The first campaigns in Wales (AD 47–60)

Contextual statements: The Roman Army quickly gained control of southern, mid and western England. Raids by the Deceangli into the Midlands led to Roman counter attacks into north Wales. Campaigns against the Silures, Ordovices and possibly other warriors led by Caratacus in south Wales followed. The Romans campaigned against individual tribes. They used the river valleys to press inland constructing marching camps and temporary bases to secure their gains.

The Welsh terrain was a significant factor in the conquest's progress, working in favour of the Welsh tribes, especially inland, which was suited to guerrilla warfare. The Romans needed to secure and control the river valleys before they could penetrate and control the Welsh uplands.

Tacitus' report of the early campaigns focuses on Caratacus. His emphasis on just one man has led historians to ask 'Was he "a beacon of resistance" or a romanticised hero?'



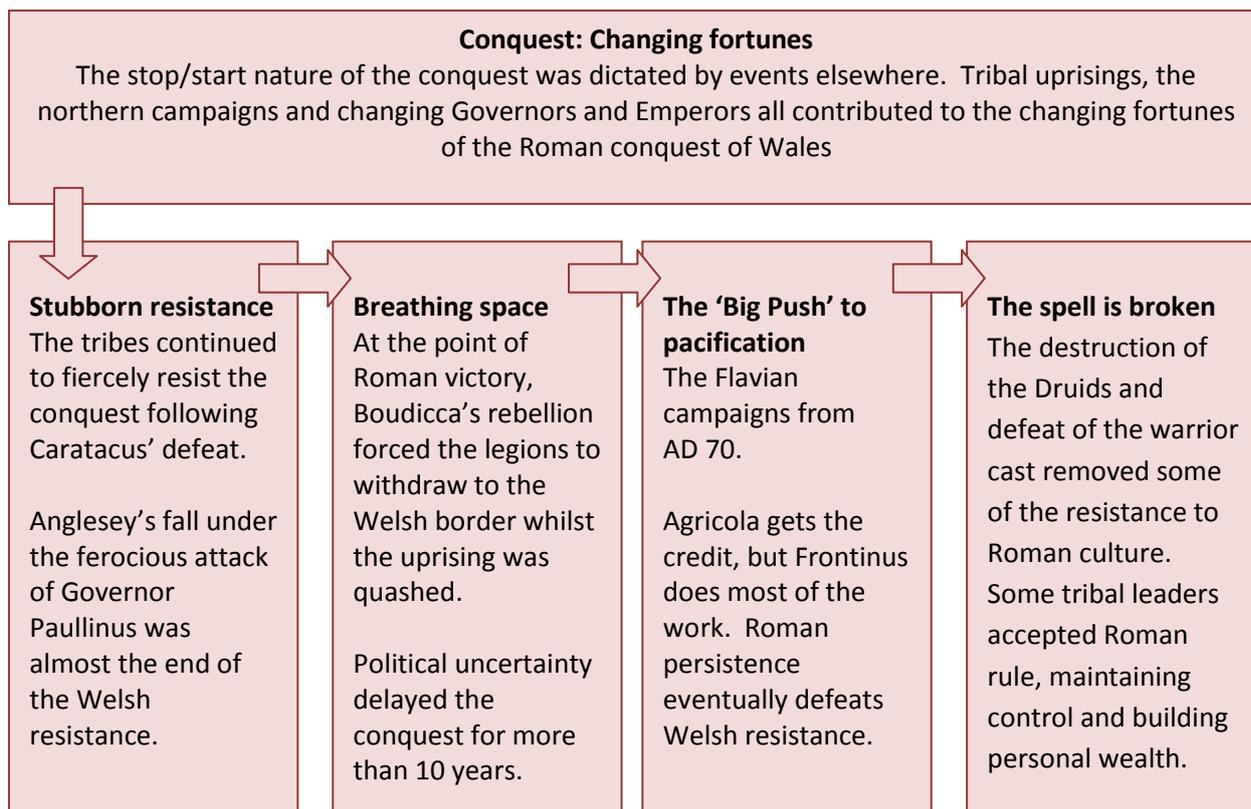
Theme CS3a: The peoples of Wales
 Some Welsh tribes fought bitterly against Roman rule, others possibly succumbed to diplomacy. Tribal rebellion was always a risk to Rome's control.

Theme CS3b: The peoples of Wales
 The Romans had to conquer the terrain before they could control the tribes.

Conquest Story 4: Changing fortunes

The first two major campaigns into Wales in AD 47 and 60 had to be halted to deal with uprisings by 'conquered' tribes elsewhere. The damage and disruption caused by the Boudiccan revolt followed by a change of Emperor delayed the Roman conquest of Wales by more than 10 years.

The final invasion was completed in circa AD 77 with the fall of Anglesey and the defeat of the Ordovices.



Theme CS4a: Changing fortunes

Ambitious and over-confident governors over-stretched their control. Whilst trying to take Wales, they lost their grip on southern Britain. It took 17 years for them to regain their losses.

Theme CS4b: Changing fortunes

It took a massive build-up of forces to finally subdue the Welsh tribes. Many reminders of this epic struggle can be found in our landscape.

Theme CS4c: Changing fortunes

Acceptance of Roman rule brought the promise of wealth and continued power for the tribal elite of south Wales. Caerwent was to become the Silures' capital, centre of trade and the wealthiest town in Wales.

Occupation Story 1: Occupation and control

Contextual statements: The conquest of Britain took considerable manpower. The large number of soldiers stationed here made Britain an important place for the Empire. Roman control in the late 1st and early 2nd centuries was divided between a legion in the north, based at Chester, and in the south, based at Caerleon. These commanded a network of auxiliary forts at strategic strongpoints across Wales. They were linked by a system of roads, a surviving feature of our modern landscape.

There was a gradual but significant reduction of soldiers once the conquest was achieved. This was a balance between maintaining control and providing much needed forces elsewhere. Forts were abandoned or slighted as the soldiers were withdrawn or garrisons reduced. The Roman plan was to steer its conquered peoples to peaceful self-government, developing trade and gathering taxes. This was only partially achieved. Evidence suggests that only the Silures and Demetae fully accepted Roman ways.

Once Roman control of Wales had been achieved it ceased to be a popular topic with Roman writers. Many significant military and political events undoubtedly went unrecorded. As a result our understanding of this period is imprecise and incomplete.

Occupation: Occupation and control

The aims of Roman control were peaceful self-government, developing trade and gathering taxes.



Although conquered, only some tribes accepted the Roman way of life. Others remained under military control for over 350 years.

Theme OS1a: Occupation and control

The withdrawal and relocation of soldiers from Wales reflects the Empire's ongoing struggle for expansion and stability.

Theme OS1b: Occupation and control

The role of the conquering army changed from aggressor to enforcer. New forts linked by a network of roads helped Rome police and control its new subjects.

Theme OS1c: Occupation and control

Unplanned settlements or *vici* provided everyday services and homes for out posted soldiers and their unofficial families. Abergavenny and Caersws started as *vici*.

Theme OS1d: Occupation and control

Bustling settlements and markets called *canabae* were developed to serve the legionary fortresses. People from all over the Empire traded exotic and home grown goods here.

Theme OS1e: Occupation and control

The bases of 21st century occupying forces in Afghanistan and Iraq show similar characteristics to those of 1st century Roman soldiers.

Settlement Story 1: Part of the Empire

Contextual statements: Roman influence on British culture, and vice versa, was gradual and inconsistent. Adoption of Roman-style government is most obvious at Caerwent where the remains

of the forum-basilica have been examined in detail. This and other buildings at Caerwent were built in the Roman style. The adoption of Roman building styles outside the main centres is less uniform. Square buildings can be found replacing or alongside 'British-style' round houses and store houses. For example the square buildings of Din Lligwy on Anglesey reflect Roman influences. The hut circles of Holyhead Mountain thought to have been occupied in the same period do not. Caer Leb, also on Anglesey, has evidence of both styles. Some new buildings even close to the new cities maintained the 'traditional' style.

Theme SS1: Part of the Empire

The comparatively few remains of coins, trade goods and the lack of Roman-style buildings imply that the Ordovices never accepted Roman ways. There may be many reasons for this.

Settlement Story 2: Life in the towns and cities

Contextual statements: The Romans changed the settlement pattern for Wales. New forts provided new markets for trade and commerce. Settlements often grew next to the forts they served. Multi-cultural populations concentrated around bigger forts and fortresses, bringing trade goods from across the Empire. Retired soldiers settled down, setting up homes outside the forts they once defended. The Silures and Demetae achieved *civitas* status, their tribal capitals at Caerwent and Carmarthen became the centres for administration and trade.

New towns sometimes grew near forts, and settlements grew up along roads and at cross roads and river crossings. The Romans introduced large scale industries to Wales, though still modest by today's standards. The massive workings of Dolaucothi gold mine in Carmarthen are testament to this. Few settlements, that originally supported forts continued to be viable after the forts closed. In some cases an industry grew to fill the economic gap left by the military. Examples include smelting and processing iron and lead ore, brick, pottery and tile making such as at Usk. Retired soldiers settled down with their families setting up homes and businesses of their own.

Roman influence on people's way of life probably became weaker the further those people were from Roman forts, settlements and new tribal centres. For many isolated communities it is thought that life went on as it had before the invasion. This is most evident in the remains from the tribes of north Wales where the tribes continued to be managed from Chester and Caernarfon. The scattered settlements, economic activity and material culture indicate that the people of north Wales followed a different path. This gives the appearance of a lack of prosperity in comparison to south Wales.

Theme SS2a: Life in towns and cities

The Empire offered business opportunities, for a small number of entrepreneurs and people. Some goods were mass produced to meet the needs of new markets.

Theme SS2b: Life in towns and cities

Caerwent was to become relatively wealthy because of its status, its links to the legion and access to the trade routes of the Empire.

Theme SS2c: Life in towns and cities

Further from the markets and without a legionary base nearby to sell to, the Demetae's capital at Carmarthen never achieved the wealth of Caerwent.

Settlement Story 3: End of the Empire

Contextual statement: At the height of its powers, Rome controlled a vast empire. Internal strife caused by warring would-be emperors caused divisions. British governors and generals attempted to seize greater control or carve their own kingdoms. Like the Empire, Britain became divided. To restrict the power of ambitious governors, Britain was first divided into two then four provinces.

Britain's riches and perceived weakness drew attacks from Irish and other raiders from the Continent. Instability and the threat of attacks led to new and improved defences at towns and coastal ports. Caerwent and Carmarthen rebuilt their walls in stone. Cardiff became the most important military and naval base defending the Bristol Channel and the Roman provincial capital at Cirencester.

Theme SS3: War and pieces

Divided by warring would-be emperors and harassed by its enemies, the Empire's strength was failing. Welsh riches became a target for seaborne raiders seeking easy prey.

Settlement Story 4: The Roman legacy

Contextual statements: There are many theories concerning the decline of Rome's political and military influence on Wales.

Roman ways improved the standard of living of a small but influential part of the population. They enjoyed central heating, running water, medicine, personal hygiene, improved communications, money and prosperity. By the end of the 3rd century this prolonged period of stability and security was ending. The declining power of the Empire provided opportunities for coastal raiders from Ireland, Scotland and Northern Europe.

Roman culture had changed people's way of life and world view. Christian worship was becoming more widespread. Latin, the language of Rome, became the language of the Church. Roman improvements to agricultural practices made urban populations more sustainable. Christianity was to become an increasingly powerful and influential part of everyday life.

The evidence of Roman times can be found across our landscape, some of it integral to our modern lives. Our road and rail network follows Roman roads. We live in towns and villages that first grew under Roman rule. Our languages retain words and phrases from our Roman past.

Much of what we know of the Roman period is hazy and speculative. Remains, artefacts, writings and other precious things offer only a glimpse of the Roman world. There are many pieces of the jigsaw missing, but regular new finds and theories challenge and expand our understanding of the bigger picture.

Theme RL1a: Views of the past

Reminders of Roman times scatter the hills and valleys of Wales. They provide only a glimpse of this dramatic time. Informed guess work fills the gaps, but there is much more still to be discovered.

Theme RL 1b: Lasting Legacy

Among many things, the Romans introduced money, roads, mass production, regular long-distance trade and communications, sanitation, drainage, literacy...and ultimately Christianity to Wales.

Theme RL 1c: Sensing our past

Our landscape has a long memory. Our imaginations allow us to create a sense of our place in the Roman world and its place in our history.

Relating themes to locations

The themes in this document are not necessarily relevant to all of the sites. They may have a stronger relevance to certain sites. Certain sites may also require their own themed approach, specific to them but related to the bigger picture. Section 7 shows how these themes can be applied.

6. Our Audiences

The locations of the Roman sites dictate their likely audiences and most appropriate use of interpretive media. Broadly speaking, the more remote the location the fewer visitors and the fewer kinds⁸ of visitor it's likely to attract.

The majority of people that visit Cadw monuments travel from England. There are also significant numbers of overseas visitors especially from Northern Europe. The proportion of people living in Wales recorded visiting Cadw's monuments is low.

6.1 Audience Groups

Families are the largest audience segment for Cadw's estate. They are more likely to visit castles than any other type of historic buildings or remains. This is because of their locations, services, accessibility and wow factor. One of the reasons Roman sites are of interest to families is because of the inclusion of the Roman theme in the national curriculum.⁹ Families are most likely to visit during the holiday seasons.

Adult couples and small groups make up a significant section of visitors, especially in the shoulder seasons. They represent 40% and are most likely to be between 34 and 45 years old. The current visitor studies for Cadw are not year round and it is probable that the number of off-season visitors to some of Cadw's unstaffed sites is greater than expected (see Field observation note below). Research shows that this group are more likely to visit Cadw's more remote sites.

Activity and explorer groups – The beautiful and rugged landscape of Wales, with its three National Parks and four Areas of Outstanding National Beauty, is a significant draw to many people who wish to experience 'the great outdoors'. Their needs are geared around thrill seeking, physical exercise, challenge and endurance. Some examples of activities that typically exhibit a variable mix of these elements include:

Long distance walking, orienteering, Geocaching, mountain biking, riding, kayaking and canoeing, climbing, fell-running, parascending...there are many more. Other less challenge orientated pursuits include bird and nature watching, photography, drawing and exploring special interests.

Visitors who engage in these activities are commonly well equipped for the terrain and climate, and prepared to explore further from the 'beaten track'. The likelihood is that in following these interests they will also discover Roman sites. Improving the interpretation adds value to their experience.

⁸ Such as older couples, families with younger children, long distance walkers, regular dog walkers etc

⁹ Atkins 2009

Field observation note – audiences at Din Lligwy

During the fieldwork for this report in mid December 2010 four couples were observed visiting Din Lligwy settlement and Chapel on Anglesey within 45 minutes. Notes:

- Car number plate and garage sticker observation showed that three had come from England (the other couple arrived on foot).
- They were all over 50.
- They all visited in the early afternoon. The weather was warm and sunny for the time of year; however, there had just been a period of heavy snow, which may have discouraged other ‘spur of the moment’ visitors.
- They were all dressed for walking, with good quality walking jackets and boots including other equipment such as binoculars, walking poles and small day packs.
- They explored all three sites within the area.
- A discussion with a mother and daughter couple revealed that they were actively seeking ancient sites and had visited Din Lligwy in the past.

These observations are only a snap-shot and not statistically representative. However, they indicate the potential popularity of certain sites for a segment of visitors even in the ‘off-season’. They also confirm the findings of earlier studies.

6.2 Four Audiences for the Roman Story

Most of the visitors to Cadw’s sites are from ABC1 social economic groups. As such they are fairly affluent and mobile. They have many fewer barriers to visiting heritage sites than C2D&E groups. They are more likely to visit, and be in the habit of visiting heritage sites. They are discerning and have high expectations. They don’t want to waste time or money. Some are looking for specific things such as challenges or opportunities to learn and play. However, all visitors have a certain number of basic needs. If these are not fulfilled they are likely to go elsewhere.

There is insufficient information about the actual people who visit Cadw’s more remote sites. As a result the following four categories are suggested to describe the **kinds of audiences, their motivations, needs and characteristics** that the interpretation of Roman sites and features should seek to respond to and satisfy. It reflects research carried out by NN-I into current approaches to visitor segmentation in the cultural heritage/heritage tourism market.¹⁰

¹⁰ See ‘Understanding Visitors’, Report for Cadw, No Nonsense – Interpretation Ltd 2011

6.2.1 Active adults

Motivations – exercise, challenge, outdoor experiences

Needs – easy to access, quick to consume, bite-sized, punchy, visual messages and media

Characteristics – These are the typical audience for Cadw’s more remote sites. Active adults may be walking, cycling, running, riding or kayaking. They are enjoying the countryside without young children. They are adventurous, seeking challenges and the experience of wild places. Depending on their activity, e.g. mountain biking, they may spend only a short amount of time at a site as part of a longer journey. They are likely to have special equipment, such as GPS for example, that may be employed to help them explore a remote site. The duration of their visit may be quite short, but they may visit more than one location.



Adults carrying small children would fit into this category rather than Active Family category.

6.2.2 Cultural explorers

Motivations – increasing understanding, new learning experiences, intellectual journeys, special interests

Needs – hierarchical messages, thinking space, sequential messages and locations, opportunities to ask questions, one to one interactivity with knowledgeable guides. They like good facilities and a quality food and retail offer.

Characteristics – Adults, couples, groups of couples, older family groups (adult children and parents) Cultural explorers have deliberately chosen to visit. However, their interests are just as likely to be general as specific. Cultural explorers are looking for experiences that indulge their interests as well as their appetites. They will work harder to engage with ideas. The duration of their visit may be quite long. This group fits Visit Wales’ description of ‘Culturally Motivated’ and ‘Culturally Attracted’ tourists (2003).

6.2.3 Active families/Family explorers

Motivations – novelty, fun, fresh air, exercise, activities, hands-on, interactivity

Needs* – opportunities for social interaction and bonding through exploring, challenges, play, exercise and imagination
Multi-sensory, robust, interactive, simple media

Characteristics – independent, seeking new places and experiences. May explore widely on foot, bikes, scooters, quad-bikes, canoes etc. Physical activity is a core part of their experience. May be more than one family travelling together. They want to get the most from the time they spend together as a family. The parents want the children to have fun but also want them to develop and learn in shared family experiences.



6.2.4 Family learners

Motivations – activities, hands-on, interactive, learning

Needs* – opportunities for social interaction and bonding through exploring, challenges, play, exercise and imagination

Characteristics – They are independently minded and have a wide range of activities individually and together. They want to do things which allow them to question, talk, engage and reflect on things rather than passive entertainment. They want worthwhile quality time and have often planned ahead. They could be engaged in outdoor activities or want to join in events.



*Note on Needs

Modern families are a diverse and dynamic audience segment. Although not an in depth guide to planning for families the following points are worth considering:

- The most basic needs of families, especially those with young or very young children, are safe onsite parking, or safe, easy access from nearby parking. They need baby changing facilities, toilets, refreshments, space for buggies and places to sit.
- Children of all ages need space to run around, explore and have fun. Children’s play areas in heritage sites are consequently very popular.
- There are many different kinds of family group, and even groups of families.

6.2.5 Methodology, not prescription

Clearly visitors can fit different categories on different days. However, considering these broad audience categories and their characteristics will help provide more valuable, meaningful and fulfilling visitor experiences. Observation and monitoring as part of formative and summative evaluation will help confirm who audiences are as well as what motivates them and what they need to fulfil their visit.

7. Development – where the story can be told

The following section suggests a method for categorising sites.

7.1 Gateway sites

These are larger, staffed or volunteer run sites, in easy to get to locations with a high or potentially high footfall. They have other visitor facilities or attractions (on site or nearby) such as parking, toilets, refreshments, retail and public transport links. Gateways may also have education services as well as an informal visitor offer. They may have indoor exhibition facilities in addition to an outdoor interpretive offer. They should be accessible to a wide audience. They may be ‘paid attractions’ or part of a group of attractions, paid or otherwise.

Significant or well located museum exhibitions may also be considered gateways. Gateways should:

- Represent a starting or end-point of a route or tour – proscribed or otherwise. As such they should seek to cross reference their offer with that of other associated local attractions. ‘Want to find out more...?’ ‘Why not visit...?’ In the case of the Roman story that may be another Roman or a related Iron Age site.
- Provide connections between places physically and intellectually.
- Offer more context – individual sites struggle to provide the context, or can only do so in limited terms. Gateways should have the resources to present more of the story.
- Be more accessible, having a broader range of media and more opportunities to engage with the Roman world through artefacts, activities and re-enactment.

The gateways for the Roman story are Caerleon and Caerwent, National Museum Cardiff, National History Museum (St Fagan’s), Oriel Gallery (Llangefni) and Dolaucothi Mine (Pumsaint).

Chester, Wroxeter and the new Shropshire County Museum in Shrewsbury may also be considered Gateways, requiring cross-border cooperation with English Heritage, Chester and Shropshire Councils.

Table 1 Audiences and stories for Gateways

Site	Story Period	Location	Audience segments
Caerleon	Conquest & Occupation	Newport	CE,AF,FL
Caerwent	Settlement	Newport	CE,FL
Chester	Occupation & Settlement	England	CE,AF,FL
Pumsaint Dolaucothi	Occupation	Llanwrtha	CE,AF,FL
Wroxeter	Conquest	England	CE,AF,FL
Oriel Gallery	Conquest	Anglesey	CE,FL

7.2 Waypoints

Some places fulfil or could fulfil a similar function to Gateways. They provide a valuable introduction to the Roman story and signpost visitors to Roman sites. Second tier Gateways could include county museums such as at Carmarthen and Brecon, and National Park visitor centres.

Segontium, near Caernarfon, has the potential to be a Gateway but lacks the visitor facilities. Conceptually, however, its story is intrinsic to the Conquest and Occupation stories for north Wales. Comments on developing Segontium's visitor offer have been included in Section 8.

Many of Cadw's Roman sites are close to roads and offer car parking. The size and quality of the car park is most often dictated by the popularity of the site. Well-planned signage to and on arrival at these locations is a vital element of their visitability. This needs to go beyond simple branding, but provide opportunities for early engagement and encouragement to explore further. Visitor orientation is an essential part of this, building confidence and reducing perceived barriers. The level of physical challenge these sites offer should be apparent from the outset.

Popular Waypoints are close to other visitor facilities, and may be within popular visitor destinations, such as National Parks, or be close to beaches or other attractions. They may suffer because of their popularity and require higher levels of visitor management, maintenance and monitoring as a result. Media at Waypoints must be robust and regularly maintained.

Table 2 Audiences and stories for Waypoints

Site	Story Period	Location	Audience segments
Din Lligwy	Throughout	Anglesey	AA,CE,AF
Segontium	Occupation & Settlement	Caernarfon	CE,FL
Cardiff Castle	Occupation & Settlement	Cardiff	CE,AF,FL
Cold Knap	Settlement	Barry	AA,CE
Carmarthen town & amphitheatre	Throughout	Carmarthen	CE
Neath	Occupation & Settlement	Neath	CE

7.3 Outposts

The more remote, less accessible the site, the fewer people are likely to visit it. Some Roman sites are only accessible on foot and are some distance from the modern road network and facilities. Although Cadw does not record visitor figures at these sites, it can be quite confidently assumed that visitor numbers are relatively modest.

Remote sites are most likely to be visited by people exploring the countryside on foot, horseback or bike. Proportionally, the number of families will be low. These sites are most likely to be visited by people with higher levels of mobility and fitness.

Table 3 Audiences and stories for Outposts

Site	Story Period	Location	Audience segments
Caer y Twr	Settlement	Holyhead Mtn	AA,AF
Tomen y Mur	Occupation	Ffestiniog	AA,AF
Brecon Gaer	Occupation	Brecon	AA
Y Pigwn	Conquest	Brecon nr Trecastle	AA,AF
Castell Collen	Occupation	Llandrindod	CE
Gelligaer	Conquest & Occupation	Bargoed, Caerphilly	CE
Arhosfa'r Garreg-lwyd	Conquest	Usk Reservoir	AA
Loughor	Occupation & Settlement	Swansea	CE

Pushing on an open door

Most people who choose to explore the countryside as part of their leisure time are likely to be receptive to well conceived and delivered site interpretation.

Remote sites offer several challenges. Interpretive media needs to be robust and simple, as it is less likely to be regularly maintained. Without access to power, fixed electronic media, such as sound boxes, need to be self-contained either powered by winding, long life batteries, solar panels or a combination of these elements. They are vulnerable to abuse. Typically Cadw installs single panels or panel suites at its remote Roman sites, depending on the size and complexity of the site. These are augmented with printed guides and online content.

Other onsite media to be considered include tactile features and models, sculpture, ceramics or moulded images, carved lettering and images, replica items and reconstructions.

Providing bite-sized insights for sites in walking, cycling and riding guides can be effective where panels are obtrusive. Providing downloadable media such as walks linked to MP3/4 podcasts, Geo and EarthCache can be effective providing they are well promoted and easy to find online. They are of no use to unprepared visitors.

Remote sites with good mobile phone coverage can provide 'on demand' audio and audiovisual media. Access to 3G signals broadens this to audiovisual experiences. These may be cost effective interventions where audience numbers are low.

Knowledgeable, skilled and enthusiastic guides can provide unforgettable experiences of remote sites as part of promoted guided walks, or themed walks.

7.4 Physical links

Parts of the Roman road network may be considered very valuable to interpreting the Roman story especially if the sites along its length can be linked through an activity such as cycling, walking, mountain biking, Geocaching or riding.

Also the network is of great intellectual value, especially to adult audiences because it links places they may know or have visited spatially and contextually.

7.5 Contact sites

These are multi-period sites where the Roman story is not the only focus of interest. Examples include Din Lligwy and Ty Mawr on Anglesey, or Tre'r Ceiri on the Llyn Peninsula. These are sites occupied in the Romano-British period, offering a valuable insight into the Occupation story. However, they may be more relevant to the Origins or Spiritual Landscape stories. The interpretation of Chepstow may feature the town's Roman origins but is a very minor part of the more significant medieval story. Snippets of information provided at contact sites helps to maintain the context for visitors who have visited more significant Roman sites elsewhere.

Contact sites may be categorised as Gateways, Waypoints or Outposts and as such a relevant to the audience groups that correspond to those categories.

Table 4 Audiences and stories for Contact sites

Name of site	Period	Location	Audience groups
Ty Mawr	Throughout	Holyhead Mtn	AA,CE,AF
Tre'r Ceiri	Throughout	Llyn Peninsula	AA,AF

7.6 Hot spots

These are the places on the 'must visit' list. They are the 'wow' sites, delivering a strong experience based on their sense of place and tangible significance (see below). Their landscape setting may contribute significantly to this feeling and spark of engagement.

Hot spots for the Roman story include: Caerleon with its National Roman Legionary Museum, baths, amphitheatre and walls, Caerwent, Wroxeter, Chester, Tomen y Mur, Dolaucothi gold mine, Castell Collen, Brecon Gaer and the Roman road network specifically; Neath to Brecon, Brecon to Llandovery, Tomen y Mur south and in the Conwy Valley.

Hot spots may be Gateways, Waypoints or Outposts.

7.7 Tangible significance

Many Roman and associated sites, such as hillforts, provide a very strong sense of place without any interpretation. The landscape, sounds, light, time of day, weather and season may all combine with a site's 'presence' to create emotional and memorable experiences for visitors. We call this 'tangible significance'. Often the site's sense of antiquity, use and landscape setting provides a strong experience and reaction from its visitors.

We advocate a light touch at such places. The challenge is to provide insightful, informative media that adds to visitors' experience of these sites without dispelling their sense of awe.

8. Developing visitor experience 'packages'

8.1 Comments on projects

The following section describes nine potential projects that attempt to link the sites and locations listed in the first section into a series of cohesive tourism packages.

The following comments have steered our thinking for the project ideas outlined in this section:

8.1.1 Visitor journeys

It is clear that there is an undercurrent of interest in the Roman story. However, we feel that this is not strong enough to predict or assume that visitors will journey between sites purely motivated by their interest in the subject. What is more likely is that visitors will be drawn to the larger sites through their reputation, attractiveness and perceived experience value. This will be influenced by their attitude to the subject, but there will be many other factors.

Other visitors may be attracted by packaging the Roman features as part of another activity, such as a circular walk, cycle trail, car tour etc. The Roman theme plays the part of a marketing tool in this respect. The features along the route support the unique selling proposition (USP).

8.1.2 Current provision

Many of the sites mentioned in this plan are little more than bumps in fields. Access to many of them is poor. Few of them have any onsite interpretation. Many of the sites with interpretation lack a sense of arrival or welcome. In some cases, interpretive provision is undermined by unwelcoming or outdated signage that does little to encourage visitors to engage with the story. In some cases, the site signage, including the interpretation, is in a poor condition.

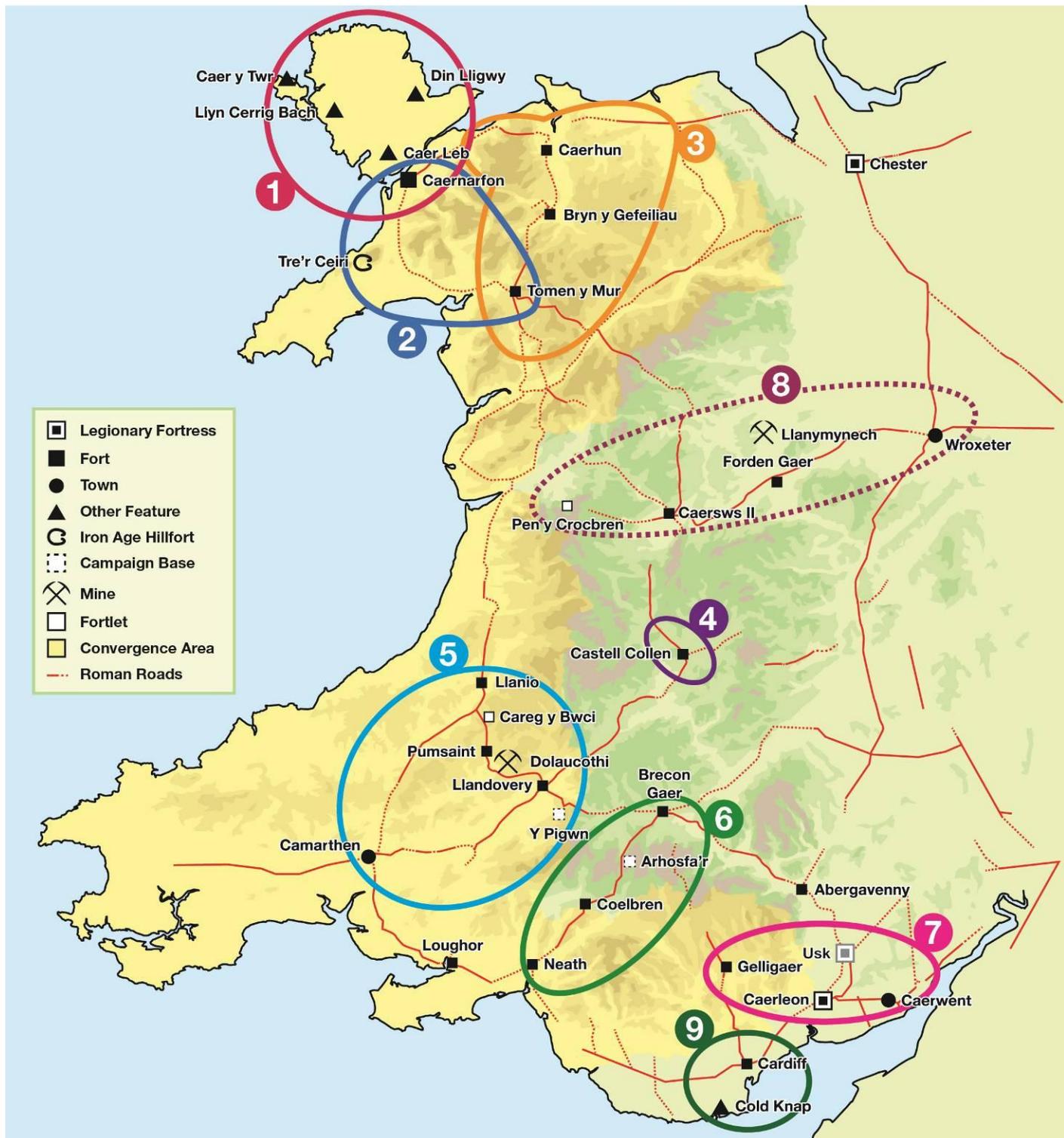
Orientation between sites is poor or non-existent. With some exceptions, most sites are interpreted with little or no reference to other sites. There is little explanation of the bigger picture. They also have a high expectation on visitors to have an advanced understanding of what Roman means in the Welsh context.¹¹

In most cases where it exists, site interpretation is delivered through panels or panel suites. Their presentation is generally good although their tone is distant and matter of fact. The writing is dry, technical and focuses on the sites' excavations rather than their use and meaning. Although of a high technical standard and accuracy, illustrations on the panels lack emotion, movement and life.

The notable exception to this is Gelligaer, where interpreters working with the local community have taken an engaging, hierarchical, multisensory, interactive and progressive approach to telling the fort's story. They have also taken steps to link the site to the other Roman features in the vicinity.

¹¹ The 'vox pop' survey conducted by NN-I during this project identified a low level of knowledge with respect to the Romans in Wales. Most of the people asked the question 'Did the Romans ever conquer Wales?' answered, 'no', 'I don't know' or 'I'm not sure' even though many had professed an interest in the Roman period.

8.2 Developing visitor experience packages – Map



8.3 Project 1: Caernarfon and Anglesey cluster

Location: Caernarfon and Anglesey

Proposal: to improve Segontium as a physical and intellectual gateway to explore the Roman story both on the mainland and on Anglesey. Developing all of the sites identified at the same time to create an interlinking experience supported by virtual and downloadable media.

8.3.1 Segontium

The fort of Segontium in Caernarfon has an essential part in the interpretation of the struggle for the control of north Wales. Intellectually it is an important gateway to the story. Atkins produced an interpretive overview as part of their commission in 2009. Further planning is required involving all the partners and local interest groups. The challenges include:

- Signposting from the town centre on foot and by car
- Parking
- Provision of amenities
- Antisocial behaviour
- Development of the site's 'kerb appeal' and sense of welcome
- Access to and care of artefacts (should this continue to be required)
- Staffing and management
- Commerciality



It may be that only some of these challenges can be overcome. If the issues with the visitor centre cannot be overcome the following thoughts may prove valuable:

8.3.2 Arrival

The site is well signposted from the town, by following the standard Roman helmet icon. However, it is suspected that the anticipation that this creates is not fulfilled. From the road the fort looks more like a cemetery than a visitor attraction. It is very easy to drive past the site without noticing it, even when the gates are open. The drive itself is quite complicated. Publication of the site's latitude and longitude coordinates/postcode would help with visitor orientation.

The brown signs high up on the streetlight posts are easy to miss when approaching along Ffordd Cwestenin (A4085) from the north east.

8.3.3 Sense of welcome

The site's sense of arrival and welcome is very weak. Our assessment of the site was not however conducted during the tourism season. It may be that this aspect is improved at this time by the provision of temporary banners and more vibrant signage. If this is not the case, then this is our recommendation.

8.3.4 Parking

We feel that the lack of any form of reserved or onsite parking is an issue discouraging visitors to stop. The introduction of metered roadside parking is unlikely to be well received by the local

householders. However, we feel that some form of formal parking or allocated parking is required. The provision of a small car park in the north western corner of the fort, not currently available to the public, should be considered. We accept that this may be a radical proposal.

8.3.5 The museum building

The success of the villa reconstruction at Wroxeter and its impact on visitor numbers is worthy of consideration. Doubtless the BBC television programme has been the driver behind this. It is unlikely that simply copying this idea will be successful; however, a similar creative approach may result in new ideas for a renovated or replacement building.

8.3.6 Toilets

Improving the toilets and providing baby changing facilities on site should be considered even if the museum itself remains closed.

8.3.7 The site

The site itself with its impressive views has a strong sense of place that should speak for itself, but is hampered by the formal setting of the remains. Their limited interpretation makes understanding the site's significance very difficult for all but the most committed visitors. The issues of vandalism and antisocial behaviour have clearly been a factor. The potential for the use of virtual media, Bluetooth, dial on demand and QR coded links to online content should be explored.

In addition, a more inclusive approach to developing local 'pride of place' as exemplified by the Gelligaer project should be considered. There is currently nothing on site to encourage family visitors. This needs to be addressed. The potential to open the south western part of the fort should be explored, especially if this might be made more attractive to families.



8.3.8 Links to the town

There is a town guide showing how to get to Segontium from the town centre although this route is not specifically waymarked. The link between the castle and the fort warrants further thought. The potential for a trail using ceramics, metal features and/or mosaics might be sufficient to encourage visitors to the castle to follow the walk to the fort.

8.3.9 Developing links to Anglesey

Segontium's role in the control and administration of north Wales is an important aspect of the Conquest and Occupation stories. The decisive attacks on the island provide the grounds for emotive storytelling. Although it is not clear where exactly the Romans attacked the Druid stronghold, the ancient sites on the south coast of the island provide sufficient focus and potential destinations for visitors wishing to explore this story.

In addition Cadw and the North Wales Tourism Partnership are currently promoting the link between Beaumaris and Caernarfon Castles. The potential for the Roman story to 'piggy-back' on this promotion should be explored.

Consultations with Mentor Mon have outlined the value of promoting Anglesey's ancient monuments' sense of magic and awe. This idea is a development of the principle of 'tangible significance' mentioned earlier in this plan. This requires a creative approach to the relationship between the Romano-British settlements and the rich variety of more ancient monuments. The approach necessitates exploration of the emotional effect that visiting sites of this nature has on visitors. Promoting visits to ancient sites at sunset for example has the potential to create much stronger levels of engagement with visitors' senses and imaginations. Encouraging visitors to 'fine-tune' their senses to the special atmosphere of ancient sites is likely to prove significantly more effective than dry explanations of these site's excavations and use alone.

It should be an aim of the interpretation, linked to the Roman attacks, to encourage visitors to visit the shore at Taicochion. The recently discovered remains of a possible trading point are one reason for this, particularly if the remains are available to view. The other is for them to consider for themselves how the Roman forces crossed the Menai Straits. Accounts of the action describe the cavalry swimming across!

The Gallery and Museum at Llangefni could be developed as a gateway and project partner in the interpretation of the Roman and Romano-British features discussed below.

8.3.10 Din Lligwy Romano-British settlement

Din Lligwy's setting, with views towards Lligwy beach, adds to the strong sense of place, further enhanced by the adjacent 12th century chapel. This is a very rewarding location.

The approach signage, anti-theft and management signage needs to be improved to provide a better sense of welcome. Visitor orientation between the three sites should be improved. The potential for linking these sites to Moelfre and the coastal path is also worthy of development. The sites are mentioned on the panel promoting walks around Moelfre in the village's car park but the footpath links themselves are inadequately waymarked.

Access to the site is limited by the narrow kissing gate and steps. This could be improved if visitors with access difficulties could use the field gate. Waymarking to the Romano-British settlement could be significantly improved.

Interpreting the site at the car park should take into account the interpretation of all three monuments. The interpretation of the settlement itself lacks life; a more creative approach is recommended to appeal to a wider audience. The use of interpretive waymarking, such as a found objects trail, mosaic trail or carved features, should be explored. The use of dial on demand and download on demand QR codes should also be explored.



8.3.11 Caer Leb Romano-British settlement

This unassuming site could offer significantly more than the current interpretive provision allows. Parking for the site has been recently improved and is good. However, the lack of obvious approach signage (there is a small brown sign) and visitor welcome signage means that the sense of arrival is poor. Access to the site was restricted by a wooden fence on both visits. In addition, the site's gate is too narrow to allow wheelchair or push chair access, although the approach to the site is suitable for both. The sighting of the only interpretation panel on the mound of the outer defences makes this inaccessible to some visitors. This is made worse by the degree of flooding onsite (although this may be less of an issue during the summer).

The site sits within a network of fascinating and impressive monuments linked by the footpath network. This has been developed as part of an earlier tourism project. This potentially strong product has the capacity to be enhanced through re-packaging and the development of virtual and downloadable media.

8.3.12 Caer Gybi coastal fort

The interpretation of the coastal fort and watch tower can be explored through the 'occupation' and 'settlement' themes in this plan.

Caer Gybi is easy to find and has good facilities. It offers a strong sense of welcome, especially if approaching from the town. The use of metal sculpture at this entrance is excellent (although it predominantly interprets St Gybi). Clearly this site has been subject to considerable interpretive focus in the past. However, this has led to a difference of signage styles.

The quality of the illustration of the main panel is excellent. The provision of additional media on this site may be unnecessary although improved links to the hut circles, watch tower and hillfort on Holyhead Mountain is recommended. The old Cadw signage adds little to the site's interpretation and should be removed.



8.3.13 Caer y Twr

The link between the watch tower and the late fort could be significantly improved if approaching the tower from Breakwater Country Park. The lack of waymarking from here onto Holyhead Mountain made the tower hard to find. Without Cadw's guidebook it would not have been easy to identify. Two other possible 'tower platform' features could be mistaken for the Roman monument.



The route is more obvious if the tower is approached from the Holyhead Mountain hut circles. The lack of interpretation about the site 'in situ' means that visitors may be unaware that the site is also an Iron Age hill fort. The trig point toposcope says nothing about its location and should be improved to address this.

8.3.14 Holyhead Mountain hut circles

The panel suite used to interpret the site is informative but lacks emotional content. Although technically excellent, the panel illustrations lack life and struggle to convey that ‘people like us lived here’.

A separate interpretive plan that considers the clustering of these three ancient sites (and possibly others nearby) should be developed as a parallel strand to the excellent Breakwater Country Park industrial story. The use of sculpture and mosaic here is excellent and should inspire the interpretation of the Roman and Romano-British features.

8.3.15 Llyn Cerrig Bach

The most impressive hoard of Iron Age date to be found in Wales was discovered here. This lake assemblage is thought to have been a votive offering, and the collection of artefacts provides a unique insight into the ancient world in the late Iron Age and at the outset of the Roman Conquest. Some of the artefacts are on view in the Origins gallery in the National Museum.

Proposed improvements could include:

- Link to Oriel in Llangefni.
- Improved parking, accessibility and facilities
- Sculptural feature drawing reference from the hoard art, developed as part of a project involving the Oriel Gallery and Museum at Llangefni.

8.4 Project 2: Caernarfon, Tre’r Ceiri and Tomen y Mur cluster

Proposal: a signposting project, specifically pitched to appeal to walkers, but also of interest to cyclists and independent travellers.

This project involves development of interpretation both online and on site at Segontium. Information should also be provided through the TICs at Caernarfon, Porthmadog and Blaenau Ffestiniog and Caernarfon Castle. The aim of the project is to provide information to allow visitors to make the intellectual link between Segontium, Tre’r Ceiri and Tomen y Mur. All three locations are highly photogenic and atmospheric (especially Tomen y Mur and Tre’r Ceiri). Both Tomen y Mur and Tre’r Ceiri have the potential to offer excellent walking experiences. The published routes exploring the landscape will need to include downloadable gpx coordinates for GPS and Sat Nav coordinates for the locations of the car parks.

Interpretation media could include an online guide, dial on demand or download on demand media similar to that developed for the Heather and Hillforts project in the Clwydian Range AONB.

8.4.1 Tre’r Ceiri hillfort

This impressive hillfort is accessible from the route of the Llyn Coastal Path. A circular walk starting at Trefor (SH 376474) would have quick access to the coast path.

Alternatively, the route could start from the car park at Nant Gwtheryrn (SH 353440).

8.4.2 Tomen y Mur fort

This is an important site to both the Iron Age and Roman stories. The fascinating remains and landscape setting make it a very memorable location. The National Park is currently in negotiation with the landowner to make much needed access and interpretive improvements. Improvements to the parking facilities, rights of way network and access land would encourage visitors to explore further. The development of circular walks following the road network and linking to the practice camps is recommended.



Developing longer cross country walking and cycle routes linked to Project 3 is also recommended.

8.5 Project 3: Conwy valley cluster

Location Conwy and Clwyd valleys

Proposal: to produce an online and/or printed car and cycle trail guide and website exploring the most impressive sections of the Roman road network set against the outstanding landscapes of the Snowdonia National Park and Clwydian Range.

The route describes a circuit following RR69a south from Conwy via Caerhun, Dolwyddelan, Betws y Coed, Tomen y Mur and Dolgellau, then north following RR66 passing Brithdir, Caer Gai, Llanfor, Ruthin and west following RR67 to Caerhun. The section of RR67 west of Caerhun towards Bangor should also be included.

The route should be described as a series of locations or waypoints using coordinates suitable for car Sat Nav and hand held GPS and OS maps, developed to appeal to 'independent travellers'.

The route should describe the Roman and Ordovician/Deceanglian features, set against the Conquest and Occupation story lines (with emphasis on Occupation). Where possible, access should be developed to the key sites.

The website should include visitor facilities such as B&Bs, hotels, pubs, cycle hire, car hire etc.

A development of the route could include using branded road signing identifying where the modern road follows the Roman line (as Project 5).

8.6 Project 4: Castell Collen

Location: Powys SO 055628

Proposal: To develop access to Castell Collen

Castell Collen is a very impressive Flavian period fort (AD 70s) near Llandrindod Wells. Unlike most of the forts described in this document, the boundaries and internal features of the fort can be clearly seen.



8.6.1 Connections

It's thought that the fort was fortified in stone by a vexillation of *legio II Augusta*, linking the fort to Caerleon. This also demonstrates the story link that the forts of south Wales came under the command of the legion at Caerleon.

The evidence suggests that the fort's defences were initially built of earth then replaced in stone. It was probably slighted in the late 2nd century to accommodate a reduced garrison. It was later abandoned and then reoccupied. As such it exemplifies the changing demands on the Roman garrison. The site also has a bath house and vicus allowing interpretive exploration of life in and around the fort for its soldiers and community.

Finally, there are a remarkable number of practice camps within two miles of the fort, some of which are very close to Llandrindod town centre. These and the links via the Roman road network allow for exploration beyond the fort both physically and intellectually.

8.6.2 Accessibility

The fort is on private land with no published access at present. A bridleway terminates at the farm. Improvements to gateways, fencing and orientation are a fundamental requirement to the site's development.

Llandrindod is linked to National Cycle Route 8. The cycle link by-passes the road to the site. Cycle parking should be included on site.

Radnorshire Museum on Temple Street has a display of finds from the site.

8.7 Project 5: Llandovery – Pumsaint Dolaucothi, Carmarthen

Location: Carmarthenshire

Proposal: to create and promote a series of attractions connected by the Roman road network to be explored by car, bicycle and on foot. Improvements to the gateway locations of Pumsaint and Carmarthen town centre and Museum are strongly recommended.

Llandovery and Carmarthen act as starting points for the development of the Roman story in west Wales. Carmarthen, the tribal capital for the Demetae, is a starting point for visitors from the M4 and Pembrokeshire. Llandovery is an important crossroads and is central to a concentration of both Roman features and tourism infrastructure. Its proximity to the National Park is also a benefit.

8.7.1 Llandovery Roman Fort

Unfortunately little remains of the fort, but the site can be visited (SN 779352). Access and signage should be improved as appropriate.

8.7.2 Dolaucothi

The Roman gold mines at Dolaucothi are unique in Wales. The visible remains of the Roman mining operation are impressive. Pick marks on the tunnel walls provide an instant connection with the ancient miners. The scale of the industry is considerable, leaving a lasting impression of the nature of the Romans' exploitation of the resource and its human impact.



The site (SN 664402) and surrounding estate are managed by the National Trust. The Romans used a method of hydraulic surface mining as well as underground tunnels. The eight-mile long remains of the water system can be followed through the countryside. The Trust provides a guided tour that explores the Roman workings. This is currently less popular than the tour of the later works.



The Trust is very open to the idea of developing the Roman story of the mine.

8.7.3 Pumsaint

The mine is very close to the Flavian period fort (AD 70 onwards) of Pumsaint (SN 656406). Unfortunately, little of the fort survives above ground but there are tantalising traces of its outline in the landscape. Access to this can be explored where it coincides with the National Trust's boundary, if not further.

8.7.4 Roman Roads

Llandovery sits on a Roman crossroads with links to Trawscoed via Pumsaint and Llanio (RR62c) and north east to Castell Collen via Caerau (RR623a). Linking south RR623b connects to Carmarthen and west RR62b connects to Brecon. Parts of this network can be followed by car. Sections can be followed on foot, horse or bicycle.

For example, modern country lanes follow much of RR62c north from Pumsaint via Llanfair Clydogau to the site of the fort at Llanio. This also bypasses the fortlet of Careg y Bwci (SN 645479). Connections via the National Cycle network look entirely feasible.

East of Llandovery the Roman road connects to Trecastle via Y Pigwn marching camps and Waun Ddu fortlet. The potential for a day-walk or cycle route looks promising. Additional links to local cycle routes and promoted walks, such as the Beacons Way, could be explored. The close proximity of Forestry Commission cycling trails at Halfway¹² may provide additional options to connect to the Roman road and forts.

An extension of the project could include specifically using branded signing to identify where the modern road follows the Roman line (as Project 3).

¹² Crychan Forest Trails

8.7.5 Y Pigwn and Waun Ddu

The overlapping campaign bases at Y Pigwn offer an excellent opportunity to explore the pre-Flavian phases of the campaigns. Clearly, the location is challenging and further planning will be required in order to decide the most appropriate media. ICT and dial on demand media should be considered as should the use of global positioning to lead visitors to the best features (such as the clavicular, a curving bank in front of the entrance). The proximity of the site to pre-Roman and medieval features adds to the experience of this outstanding landscape. Although less impressive, the strategic nature of Waun Ddu and the views from its mottè are definitely worthy of interpretation.



8.7.6 Carmarthen Town Centre

Carmarthen is very important to the Roman story. It was the most westerly fort (we currently know of) in south Wales. It became the tribal capital of the Demetae, one of only two *civitas*-centres in Wales. The remains of the fort are very difficult to find. However, the remains of the amphitheatre are still impressive and signposting to it from the town centre should be improved.¹³

8.7.7 Carmarthen Museum

Investment in the museum's display of its Roman collection would significantly help raise the profile of Carmarthen as a *civitas*. In addition, it could provide considerable support to the development of this project package providing improved access to the collection and signposting visitors to the other sites. The museum's closeness to and relationship with Merlin's Hill Iron Age Hillfort could also be explored. The potential for developing a temporary exhibition or 'Curiosity Shop' type exhibition in the town centre should be explored (see Project 9).

8.8 Project 6: Brecon to Neath cycle route

Location: Powys/Brecon Beacons National Park

Proposal: to create an off-road cycle trail from Brecon to Neath, where possible following the route of the Roman road known as Sarn Helen. Improvements to the accessibility and presentation of Brecon Gaer and Neath forts are strongly recommended as are improvements to selected sites along the route.

This route follows Roman road RR622b from Brecon Gaer, via Coelbren to Neath. An alternative start from the National Park visitor centre may also be practical. Brecon Gaer can be connected to Brecon via the bridleway network.



¹³ Anecdotal evidence (and our own experience) shows that visitors having been unable to find the amphitheatre get back in their cars and head to the museum for guidance. The museum is mentioned on the main car park welcome signage, the amphitheatre is not.

8.8.1 The route

The route follows minor roads, unclassified county roads, bridleways and byways. It should be produced as a downloadable guide and series of GPX way points (for navigation using a GPS). The route should potentially be made available from the National Park, Sustrans and Cadw websites (among others). An associated website could provide further information about visitor facilities and services.

The potential for links to the Taff Trail could be considered. Minor diversions (such as via Trallong at the start) may be necessary to avoid busy road sections and crossings. The route's terminus at Neath Roman fort needs careful consideration.

8.8.2 Brecon to Brecon Gaer

If not already published, an alternative route from the start could include Pen-y-crug Iron Age hillfort (SN 032305) and create a short circular cycle/walking route from Brecon suitable for walkers, horse riders, families and non-specialist bike riders. The safety of walkers on the lane between Pen-y-crug and Caradoc needs further investigation.

8.8.3 In search of Caratacus

This location is apt for telling the story of the heroic figure Caratacus, who united the tribes against the Roman invasion in the mid 1st century. There are others, as the location of his last stand is the subject of considerable conjecture. However, the juxtaposition of the Roman fort, hillforts and villages (Caradoc and Battle) in this location are all the elements needed to tell this epic story.

The value of this location as an introduction to the pan-Wales Conquest, Occupation and Settlement themes should not be underestimated.

8.8.4 Brecon Gaer (*Cicucium*)

Access to the fort is not currently promoted (although available). There is no parking close to the site, although a lay by south west of Pont-ar-Yscir could be improved and promote access to the site via the adjacent footpath. Access to the fort itself needs improvement through the provision of self closing gates. If possible, parking should be provided at the farm for visitors with disabilities. Secure cycle parking should also be provided.



There is currently no interpretation on site and the following could be considered and developed further through site interpretation, planning and discussion with the landowner:

- Welcome and orientation panel, possibly mounted in a replica Roman wall style plinth.
- Downloadable audio guide/podcast linked to the promotion of the trail and circular trail.
- Dial on demand audio or QR code activated AV guide (3G signal dependent) or alternatively Bluetooth enabled audio guide (as White Castle).
- Simple 5' post panels or swing arm panels at key locations around the site (as per Offa's Dyke Path).
- Found objects trail – (as Gelligaer) linking this site to Pen-y-crug hillfort.
- Cut out, mild steel life-sized silhouettes of people such as: a Roman sentry, Silurian warrior, Silurian family group etc.

8.8.5 Road junction/Plas y Gors marching camp

The trail passes through the marching camp at Plas y Gors (SO 925164) that cannot be seen, but may be interpreted through the trail guide. The section of road beyond this point is subject to considerable flooding and erosion damage from running water. Where preserved, the quality of the road surface is exceptional, still containing shaped cobbles.

8.8.6 Maen Madoc

Thought to date from just after the Roman period, the standing stone of Maen Madoc (SO 917157) shows the influence of the Roman culture and emergence of Christianity.

Access to the stone is poor and could be easily improved. Interpretation of the stone and inscription could be achieved through the trail guide, podcast and through a simple, unobtrusive post panel on site.

The standing stone Maen Llia (SO 925193) also near the route of the trail (but requiring a slight detour) could also be interpreted through similar media.



8.8.7 Coelbren campaign fort and marching camp

The fort and marching camp at Coelbren are difficult to discern from Camnant Road without visual aids. They may be more easily seen from the view point at Cefngwaenhynog (SO 873114). Access to the campaign base may be possible from the adjacent footpath. There appears to be a gap in the byway at Toncastell (SO 861108), possibly requiring landowner negotiation to avoid a lengthy diversion.

8.8.8 Hirfynydd and Rheola Forest fortlets

Both fortlets (SO 828066 and ST 812040) are small rectangular, ditched bank defensive enclosures. Interpretation of these sites should be from the more accessible Hirfynydd.

The Coelbren and Hirfynydd/Rheola Forest forts are close to and accessible from the communities of Seven Sisters, Banwen and Coelbren. This suggests an opportunity for a community engagement project similar to the Gelligaer project.

8.8.9 Neath (Nidum)

The remains of the fort/s at Neath are not easy to find without accurate guidance (SS 740976). Only parts of the fort are on view and they are almost hidden behind a high post and rail fence. There is no interpretation of the fort on site other than a small plaque at the excavated remains of the south east gate.



Although it is accepted that this site offers little for tourism (other than as a terminus to the cycle route) there is considerable potential for a community engagement project with links to the adjacent college.

8.9 Project 7: Caerleon – Caerwent cluster

Location: Newport and Monmouthshire

Proposal: to strengthen the relationship between Caerleon and Caerwent.

Caerleon is the main gateway for visitors in south Wales to experience the Nation's Roman story. It is the only legionary fortress with significant, above ground, physical remains.¹⁴ The location of the National Roman Legion Museum and Roman Baths within the town, as well as the walls, barracks and amphitheatre, provide a significant USP. This is a place of international significance. It should be achieving a higher status in the national consciousness than appears to be the case. The location needs a more powerful vision that combines all of its constituent parts into a more holistic and inspiring whole. This would ensure that the totality of each Roman experience does not begin and end within the boundaries of the individual features.

Recent improvements to the Roman Legionary Baths should be the catalyst for future development involving a stronger local partnership.

The equally impressive and remarkable Roman town at Caerwent should form a strong part of this vision, developing a much closer relationship between the two locations for visitors.

8.9.1 In search of Caratacus

Caratacus' role in the Roman story was complete before the fortress at Caerleon and *civitas* came into being. However, the story's romance, glamour and intrigue could provide a strong impetus for new visitor journeys. The scope of the story, exploring the hills and valleys of south and mid Wales, takes in some of the best sites and most inspiring landscapes. This project would require considerable support from the tourism marketing sector. As with Projects 3 and 5, use of the Roman road network would be an intrinsic part of this project linking Caerleon to Brecon and Llandoverly.

8.9.2 Living with the Romans

The impressive Roman town at Caerwent should be benefiting from more visitors from the Wye valley and M4 corridors. Its scale and the quality of its remains rival those of Hadrian's Wall; however, it is probable that many visitors to south Wales and the Bristol Channel area have never heard of it.

'Living with the Romans' is an outline proposal to increase visitors' awareness and visits to the tribal capital by providing:

- Regular live re-enactment events
- Increased person to person interpretation
- Family friendly, costumed interactive tours and play facilities
- Development of the main visitor car park hub



¹⁴ The remains of the earlier fortress in Usk are hidden by the modern town.

- BBC television docu-soap (as 'The Victorian Farm') following a family experiencing life of the Silures and the cultural cross-over to Romano-British standards of living. Including a strong cosmopolitan, multi-cultural and multi faith theme exploring 'the market (town) of the Silures' and its hinterland. The potential for including families from or with roots in North Africa, Spain, Germany and Italy should be considered.

Clearly a proposal of this scale will require significant buy-in from local inhabitants and the support of the local authority and National Museum. Early contact with Lion Television¹⁵ the programme's production company or similar company is recommended if this concept is to be pursued.

8.9.3 Llanmelin Wood Hillfort

Situated close to Caerwent is one of a number of Iron Age hillforts in Silurian territory. It is with in easy walking from Caerwent (2km). However, there is no path linking the site to the *civitas*. The Caerwent guide suggests that the site can be approached from the north, however there is no public right of way¹⁶, signage, parking or obvious entrance.

The potential for Llanmelin Wood as an 'outpost' and walking destination from Caerwent is worthy of further consideration provided the access issues can be overcome.

8.10 Project 8: Caersws – Wroxeter cluster

Location: Powys and Shropshire

Proposal: To work in partnership with English Heritage, Shropshire Council and Powys County Council to promote Wroxeter and the new county museum in Shrewsbury as a gateway into Mid Wales. In addition, to explore with the corresponding authorities the potential of other sites such as Croft Ambrey, Credenhill and Brandon Camp in Herefordshire and the legionary fort at Chester to contribute to a stronger cross border relationship.

This project proposal is unorthodox in that it recognises sites outside Wales as major contributors to its development.

8.10.1 The importance of Wroxeter to the Roman Conquest story

Prior to becoming the Cornovian tribal capital, Wroxeter played an intrinsic part in the conquest of Wales. It is thought that the legion based here attacked north Wales in reprisal for raids by the Deceangli on the Cornovii. When the Boudiccan rebellion threatened Rome's hold on Britain, the troops withdrew from most of Wales and Wroxeter became a pivotal part of the new front line. Finally in AD 70s Wroxeter became the staging area for the build-up of forces that ultimately led to Roman domination.

The routes visitors travel today from the west Midlands into Wales follow the same valleys the Romans followed.

¹⁵ <http://www.liontv.com/London/Productions/Victorian-Farm>

¹⁶ The public footpath from Great Llanmelin does not extend into the wood, although people have made their own path.

8.10.2 Caersws and Forden Gaer

Little can be seen of either of these forts that guarded the mid Wales River Severn crossing. However, their story is an important part in the Conquest and Occupation themes within this plan. Caersws is a stop on the Severn Way long distance footpath and Forden Gaer is only a short diversion from the popular marches town of Montgomery on Offa's Dyke Path National Trail.

Interpretation of both sites would be beneficial to visitors' understanding of the history of the area.

8.10.3 Pen y Crocbren

This fortlet lies on the route of Glyndwr's Way National Trail on its route from Llanidloes to Machynlleth. Appropriate interpretation media here could explore Roman mining at Dyliffe and occupation along the west Wales coast especially at Pennal near Machynlleth.

Media could include

- Swing arm panels
- A Geocache
- Dial on demand or downloadable audio podcast

8.10.4 Llanymynech Copper Mine

The stunning cliffs and views on Llanymynech nature reserve are a memorable part of Offa's Dyke Path National Trail. The mineral riches of the hill were exploited by the Romans. They are also thought to be Offa's motivation for including the hill within the Mercian boundary when constructing his famous earthwork. The National Trail's interpretation includes a downloadable walking route and podcast that draws attention to the Roman mine.

8.11 Project 9: Cardiff Castle, Cold Knap and National Museum Cardiff

Location: Cardiff and Barry

Proposal: to interpret the castle 'Outside the walls', linking traditional street interpretation to community arts/sculpture and the national collection through in situ and outreach projects.

Cardiff Castle is the only example of a reconstructed Roman fort in Wales. The Roman origins of the castle were Lord Bute's inspiration for its reconstruction. The northern gatehouse into Cathay's Park is particularly impressive. However, the Roman story plays a very small part of the castle's visitor experience. Some visitors with an interest in the castle's history might also be interested in Wales' Roman history and the castle's part in this. In addition, the number of visitors both to the castle and past its walls is a compelling reason to provide interpretation and signposting that might benefit other Roman sites.

8.11.1 Outside the walls

The stone work of the late Roman fortress is clearly visible in the 'modern' outer walls. This is more obvious and impressive than the Roman wall within the attraction because it can be seen in the context of the greater reconstruction. Interpreting the fort's history here would have the most

impact and catch the attention of the most visitors. Any interpretive proposal would need to be sympathetic to the existing street furniture and setting.

The close proximity of the National Museum and access to the national collection provide an excellent opportunity to develop this project.

We recommend an interpretive planning project involving the City Council and National Museum as key partners. Public consultation and involvement should be a key focus of the project.

Potential interpretive projects may include:

- A tactile plan of the late Roman fort and its earlier forms
- Dial on demand audio / QR coded, download on demand AV
- Wind up/solar powered audio
- Sculptural features or mosaics outside the castle and in Cathay's Park
- Additional or replacement murals in the adjacent subway
- Museum outreach such as by through a 'Museum on the Move' or 'Museum in a Box'¹⁷ type projects or potentially 'Curiosity Shop'¹⁸ designed to bring elements of the Roman and Ancient British collection into the public domain.
- A twinned project developing greater emphasis on 'living in Roman times' could be included as part of the planned development of the excellent reconstruction of an Iron Age settlement at St Fagan's: National History Museum.

In addition to interpreting the castle's Roman history, the castle should signpost visitors to the Caerleon – Caerwent cluster and Cold Knap.

8.11.2 Cold Knap (ST 093664)

The interpretation panels of the building complex, possibly a *mansio*, at Cold Knap are in need of replacement. This could be done as part of Project 9, developing an intellectual link between the site, central Cardiff and the national story. As well as improvements to the signposting and onsite interpretation of the site, Cold Knap could be a location for a Museum on the Move/Museum in a Box project to engage holiday visitors to Barry.

Other media ideas include:

- A tactile plan and solar/wind up audio point
- Dial on demand/download on demand AV presentation
- Large sized Roman board games using pebbles from the beach

¹⁷ <http://www.museumonthemove.co.uk/>

¹⁸ Hartlepool Arts and Museums Service 2005

9. Appendix 1: Roman Wales timeline

Date	Main Event	Additional Events
43	invasion of Britain under Claudius	Dobunni submit to Roman rule
47	Ostorius Scapula attacks Deceangli in north Wales possibly as reprisal for attacks on allied tribes in the Severn Valley (details not recorded)	Scapula brings West Midlands under Roman control
47	Romans attack Ordovices and Silures	Tacitus states how Caratacus 'leads' Silurian/Ordovician resistance against invading army Evidence of attack and massacre at Bredon Hill, Herefordshire Caratacus' army is defeated in the Marches.
51	Caratacus flees to Cartimandua, Queen of the Brigantes. She is a 'client queen' allied to the Romans and turns him in	Silurian and Ordovician resistance continues. Crack legionary units brought in to fight replacing outmatched auxiliaries
52	Scapula dies Didius Gallus replaces Scapula as governor	War in Wales in full swing, legion holds lands in Silurian territory. A legion suffers defeat by Silures
54	Emperor Claudius dies and is succeeded by Nero Gallus builds Wroxeter and moves <i>legio XX</i> to Usk	Probable that Gallus ordered not to invade Wales, but undertake a programme of fort building and reorganise Roman forces to defend the border and in preparation for future campaigns. He creates auxiliary forts blocking the main valley routes into Wales Many vexillation forts abandoned as part of reorganisation
57	Gallus replaced by Quintus Veranius	Veranius mounts major campaign against Silures
58	Veranius dies and is replaced by Suetonius Paullinus	Welsh conquest continues, northern Wales assumed to be brought under Roman control in preparation for the assault on Anglesey
60	Paullinus takes Anglesey and breaks the strength of the Ordovician and Silurian tribes	Boudiccan Revolt: Paullinus' forces in England are too far away to deal with the Icenii uprising and he is forced to withdraw the army from Wales Auxiliaries and cavalry sent by Rome to reinforce the Roman garrison in Britain The army is insufficient to control both England and Wales, so conquest of Wales is abandoned
Mid 60s	Conquest of Wales delayed for over 10 years. Romans withdraw to the Marches and south Wales.	Cartimandua overthrown by her husband. Brigantes are now hostile to Rome. In AD 67/8 Nero withdraws XIV Legion based at Wroxeter from Britain for build up to war with Parthia. XX moved to Wroxeter, <i>Legio II Augusta</i> is thought to have moved to new fortress at Gloucester Period of border warfare, probable military activity but not recorded. Silures and Ordovices have time to recover their holds on their territories
68	Nero deposed. Finally Vespasian becomes Emperor in Dec 69	
71	Conquest of Britain renewed with vigour	Governor Cerealis brings <i>II Augusta</i> and regains the Northern Border as far as Carlisle
74	Sextus Julius Frontinus replaces Cerealis	Frontinus ordered to complete the conquest of Wales. A series of difficult campaigns ensue lasting four years.
78	Agricola replaces Frontinus in 77/8 Agricola takes Anglesey	Responds very aggressively to attack on Roman cavalry by Ordovices Wales is all but subdued Forts built at strategic locations to control the population Caerleon replaces Usk to become the legionary fortress in south Wales. Chester replaces Wroxeter
		Romans begin further conquest of Scotland

Date	Main Event	Additional Events
		Trade, made easier by terrain and access to the sea, causes economic boom in south Wales. Agriculture is the basis of wealth, but minerals are Britain's most valuable commodity
87	Roman conquest of Scotland finishes (not completed)	Troops withdrawn from Scotland to cover shortfall left by forces sent to other parts of the Empire Government of south Wales moves towards set up of self governing city states for Silures and Demetae. Many auxiliary forts are abandoned
c120		Silures and Demetae become self-governing communities with Caerwent as tribal capital of the Silures and Carmarthen for the Demetae Iron Age life continues mostly unchanged in rural areas, especially in the north and south-west
	Caerwent fortified with earthen bank and wooden palisade in late 2 nd century	Indicates level of trust Romans placed on their allegiance. Threat that caused the need for defences unclear
193	Roman Civil War	Emperor Commodus assassinated. British Governor, Clodius Albinus, makes bid for throne. He is killed by new emperor Septimus Severus who divides Britain into two provinces.
287	Carausius, commander of the Channel fleet, seizes control of Britain and Northern Gaul	Is assassinated and succeeded by Allectus in 293
	Diocletian reforms the Empire	Britain now split into four provinces. Legions reorganised
296	Constantius Chlorus restores Britain to the Empire by defeating the army of Allectus	Third Roman invasion
330	Caerwent town walls built in stone	Cardiff fort rebuilt in stone. Saxon Shore forts built on South Coast of England to defend against raids from Northern Europe. Cardiff may have replaced Caerleon as the main defensive stronghold in south Wales. Raiders attacking from Ireland cause fortifications to be improved at Caernarfon (Segontium) and Holyhead (Caer Gybi)
	Christianity becoming state religion but little evidence of impact in Wales	Welsh tribes still also maintain local religious practices
367	Scottish, Irish and Continental tribes ally to attack western Britain and Wales	Caused extensive damage in countryside. Field army brought to Britain to answer threat.
383	Magnus Maximus controls Britain and Gaul but is killed fighting Theodosius to take Italy	Appears in Mabinogion as Maccsen Wledig
393	Civil War on the continent stops garrison pay at Segontium, the last manned Roman fort	Theodosius restores unity of Western Empire
398		General Stilicho sends troops to Britain to deal with the invading Irish, Picts and Saxons
410	Rome sacked by Visigoths	Emperor Honorius withdraws Roman support from Britain

10. Appendix 2: Historical description of events

This section has been included to provide enough information for interpreters who wish to get to grips quickly with the key aspects of the story. It is not definitive, but has been written in an easy to digest manner. We hope that if you are planning a project, you find it useful. Many excellent books describe the Roman invasion and occupation in detail. A bibliography of the books used to inform this plan is provided as Appendix 3.

10.1 The Roman invasions of Britain BC 55–AD 47

The first invasion under Julius Caesar

At the beginning of the last century BC, Britain was seen as a mysterious place and a rich source of metals, especially tin. The south eastern British tribes were trading with Rome before the ‘Invasion’.

By 58 BC the Roman Empire dominated most of the Mediterranean, from the deserts of North Africa to the Pyrenees. Across this vast empire they imposed their laws, culture, administrative systems, language and taxation.

General Julius Caesar was fighting to secure Gaul for Rome. Britain lay very close, on what was thought to be the edge of the world. The Romans saw the British people as primitive and uncivilised. They were in fact highly skilled in many crafts and traded across Northern Europe. They were however a divided people, made up of many fragmented clans and tribes with frequently changing alliances. Caesar calculated that conquering Britain and Gaul would be a tremendous boost to his career.

Caesar mounted his invasion in 55 BC only to have a significant part of it beaten back by storms. The remainder met strong resistance. He withdrew to come back in greater strength a year later. This invasion was more successful adding to Caesar’s growing prestige, but after a short time he withdrew to deal with a revolt in Gaul.

After Caesar’s invasion, some tribes in the south east of England had much closer links with the Roman Empire. Some paid taxes to Rome and courted Roman support and protection. There is very little evidence however to suggest that the Welsh tribes had been affected by the invasion or had connections with Rome. There is no evidence of exotica in the form of wine amphorae or metal and ceramic vessels of Mediterranean or Gallic origin west of the Severn in this period.

10.2 The Claudian invasion AD 43

Dio provides a record of the Claudian invasion that took place in AD 43, led by Aulus Plautius.

Emperor Claudius had been put on the throne by the Praetorian Guard after they had murdered the Emperor Caligula. He was aware that his position was tenuous and he needed to prove himself. Britain provided Claudius with the opportunity to better the achievements of his esteemed ancestor Julius Caesar to gain glory and secure support.

Verica, king of the Atrebates, appealed to Rome for help against tribal aggression in Britain, possibly because of the death of Cunobelinus, the powerful king of the Catuvellauni. Claudius acted swiftly; his predecessor Caligula had ordered a huge build-up of forces on the German border, but had not used them. Un-assigned they may have been used by an enterprising General to threaten Claudius' new position. He ordered the invasion under General Plautius, thereby removing the threat and furthering his plans. It is assumed that the invading force was approximately 40,000 men, including four legions, *II Augusta*, *IX Hispana*, *XIV Gemina* and *XX* and their auxiliaries. All of these are known to be present in Britain by AD 60. However, the only legion noted by the Roman historian Tacitus to have taken part was *II Augusta* under General Vespasian. Other legionary vexillations (partial legions) may have been involved and it's possible that not all the legions mentioned above were present or present in full force. They landed unopposed. Although the exact location of the landing or landings is uncertain it's thought to have been near Richmond.

The Romans soon had a major foothold in Catuvellaunian territory, having defeated their army under Caratacus and his brother Togodumnus, the sons of King Cunobelinus.

This advantage was made more decisive by the sudden death of Togodumnus. Plautius dug in and sent for his Emperor to complete the advance and take the glory. Claudius arrived with elephants and advanced to the Catuvellaunian capital of Camulodunum (Colchester) establishing his military base there.

Claudius could have halted at this point, claiming to have defeated Britain as Julius Caesar had 100 years before him. However, the temptation to better Caesar's achievement was too great. In addition, Caratacus had escaped to south Wales to raise the tribes against the invasion.

He ordered General Vespasian, later to become Emperor Vespasian founder of the Flavian Dynasty, to advance with *II Augusta* along the south coast.

By **AD 47** much of southern Britain had capitulated and the legions had set up bases as far west as Exeter and north as far as Lincoln.

10.3 Invasion of Wales AD 47–60

Wales did not exist as a nation in AD 47. It was an unconquered frontier, with a mountainous heartland known to be home to a number of tribes, hostile to Rome and its allies. In addition, the renegade leader Caratacus had fled to the south of the country and was fermenting trouble.

The Roman campaign that followed was not against a Wales but against individuals, tribes and regions. The Romans typically used diplomacy and gifts to recruit allies. Where this didn't work, they would seek to crush all resistance with punitive aggression. Diplomacy was especially effective whilst seeking Caratacus. Roman success at befriending Cartimandua, queen of the Brigantes, ultimately resulted in Caratacus' capture. However, there is no evidence of peaceful dealings with the Welsh tribes prior to the invasion of north Wales in AD 47.

10.4 The Welsh tribes

Our understanding of the tribes known to inhabit Wales at the time of the invasion is imperfect owing to a lack of written records and other evidence. The topography of Wales is thought to have created a fragmented society of individual clans. The evidence suggests that the peoples lived in dispersed farmsteads, often defined and enclosed, with local community life circulating around focal hillforts. At the time of the invasion Tacitus refers to three hostile tribes. These were the Ordovices, Deceangli and Silures. According to Roman historians, they were warlike, defensive and hostile to outside interference. It is possible that the Druids had a political influence over them. Caratacus is thought to have unified the two largest tribes, the Silures and Ordovices, against the Roman advance.

Other tribes thought to inhabit Wales were the Demetae and Gangani. Recent study has added the Octapitae and Decanti to this list, although it's thought that these could be off-shoots of the larger tribes. The extent and location of these tribal lands is uncertain. It is possible that the Gangani or 'geese people' were a tribe living on both sides of the Irish Sea. They may also have been a sub-tribe of the Ordovices.

During the Late Iron Age elites were forming and increasingly expressing themselves through material display, while linked sub-tribal identities were being forged. This was a key time of fluid social change with identities and formations forming, re-forming and coalescing under different competing leaders. Many think that it took a character like Caratacus to unite them and become the driving force against the Romans in the period AD 47–51.

The two tribes at the edge of the western frontier were the Cornovii in the northern Marches and Dobunni, in the south. The extent of these tribal lands westwards is uncertain. They are thought to have been subject to Roman rule at the time of the invasion. Archaeology suggests that Roman soldiers were garrisoning Dobunnic territory by AD 47. The presence of burnt buildings and javelin heads (*pila*) at The Wrekin hillfort in Shropshire, in the heart of Cornovii lands, are thought to be evidence that this was attacked in or around AD 50.

10.5 The first campaigns into Wales

Early campaigns into Wales had broad objectives, such as the separation of the Silures and Ordovices, and the seizure of Anglesey. River valleys (even small ones) were used to penetrate inland.

Tacitus records ten years of military operations in Wales. This started with Governor Publius Ostorius Scapula's punishing offensive against the Deceangli in AD 48 and ended with Suetonius Paullinus taking Anglesey in **AD 60/61** (see Appendix 1).

In **AD 47–48** Scapula moved *legio XIV Gemina* to occupy the lands between the rivers Trent and Severn following an attack on Roman allies. The Cornovii are thought to be one of the tribes to have been attacked. This led to new campaign bases being established in the west Midlands. Invaders in this area were cleared and preparations were made for an attack into Wales. He also disarmed the

tribes to east of the Severn and Trent, causing a revolt among the Iceni that was dealt with by his auxiliary forces.

Having established himself Scapula then launched a campaign against the Deceangli in north Wales. This was a very successful action with Tacitus stating that the Roman army almost reached the sea facing Ireland. However, Scapula was forced to retreat to deal with an uprising among the Brigantes.

10.6 Caratacus – ‘the beacon of resistance’

Caratacus has special significance in the history of the Roman conquest of Wales. This is because he was recognised by Tacitus as being a leading figure in the resistance to Roman rule. In fact he is the only individual named in any reports of the conquest of the Welsh tribes. It is believed that he was able to draw the tribes together to fight under his banner. He may also have drawn warriors from other tribes creating a combined force with which to engage the enemy.

Tacitus may have romanticised Caratacus ‘as a ‘beacon of resistance’ in order to make a better narrative for his readers. However, despite this Caratacus was clearly an important figure and essential to the story of the first Roman assault in south Wales.

In **AD 49–50** Scapula began a campaign against the Silures in south Wales with Caratacus as war leader. The *legio XX* is thought to have moved from Colchester no later than AD 49 and built legionary base in the Gloucester area.

Caratacus refused to fight a pitched battle, employing hit and run tactics instead and drawing the legion up the south Wales valleys and into central Wales and Ordovician territory. Having now the support of two significant tribes, Caratacus chose to stand and fight. The outcome was decisive, he had given the Romans exactly what they wanted and they made him pay for it. He escaped, but his army was crushed and his family captured.

The next stage of this story is a testament to Roman control. Caratacus escaped north seeking refuge among the Brigantes. Instead of helping him, Cartimandua took him prisoner and handed him over to the Romans. He was taken to Rome and was eventually pardoned by Claudius. He never returned to Britain.

In **AD 51–52** far from subduing the tribes, the defeat and capture of Caratacus was followed by heavy fighting against the Silures. For the first time Rome faced heavy losses. Scapula died in office to be replaced by Didius Gallus.

In **AD 52–57** Gallus restored order after the Silures defeated a legion. He made some territorial gains but Tacitus accused him of inertia. Irrespective of Tacitus’ opinion, the frontier is thought to have been pushed well into the west of the lower Severn by AD 51/52 despite fierce resistance. Some of the individual actions were recorded.

In the north it’s possible that the large fort at Leighton was built in this time as the occupation of the Cheshire plain sought to sever links between the Welsh tribes and the Brigantes. Accusations of inertia may have been misplaced with Gallus’ emphasis being on pre-offensive consolidation, rather than conquest. The founding of the legionary bases at Wroxeter and Usk and the associated

network of forts established in this period shows that the Romans strategy was to gain control of the area and hold it. Between **AD 48** and **60/61** the western border became an established military frontier with the formation of a line of military installations looking west and controlling access into the province.

In **AD 54** Emperor Claudius died to be replaced by Nero. This is thought to have contributed to the emphasis on consolidation rather than conquest as British commanders reacted cautiously to the new regime.

This was to change in **AD 57/58**. The new governor Quintus Veranius mounted an offensive against the Silures in order to fulfil his promise to Nero. He had sworn to lay the whole province at Nero's feet. He died in office without completing his task and was replaced by Seutonius Paullinus.

Paullinus conducted two successful campaigns (that we know of) between **AD 58** and **60**, probably in 58 and 59. His success made it possible for him to attack and take Anglesey in **AD 60**.

10.7 The importance of Anglesey

Anglesey is one of the few recognisable places in Wales referred to by Tacitus. Paullinus' governorship is thought to be one of the most decisive in the history of Roman Britain, as it destroyed the Druids' influence on the tribes. However, Anglesey's politico-religious status is unclear. It is thought to have been the stronghold of the Druids, a highly influential order in Ancient British society and central to the tribes' resistance to Rome. In addition, it has been proposed that the Romans found the druidic practice of human sacrifice abhorrent and attacked Anglesey to stop it (though it was only in 90 BC that Romans themselves stopped human sacrifice).

The attack by the XIV and XX legions is documented by Tacitus. It does much to perpetuate the mythology behind the Druidic cult.

'Ranks of warriors lined the Anglesey shore, urged on by their women, shrieking like furies, dressed in burial black, while druids, with arms outstretched to heaven, cursed the invaders.'

It is thought that the Romans crossed the Menai Straits at low tide, when there was only a narrow strip of water between Anglesey and the mainland. Although they were initially cowed by their superstitions, urging from their commanders soon led them to inflict a bloody slaughter.

The Druids' influence and whether Anglesey was in fact their centre of their power cannot be proven. Anglesey's strategic importance was clearly significant. It was a place of refuge for dissenters, and had considerable agricultural and mineral wealth. It was thought that agriculturally it had enough reserves to feed all of Snowdonia. The Roman strategy may have been simply to cut off this vital supply to the unconquered Ordovices.

No military forts (other than Caer Gybi) have yet been found on the island. However, this is not taken to mean that there weren't any. Taicochion, a coastal trading post currently under excavation might be the start of a Roman road to Holyhead and may provide a greater insight into early Roman occupation.

10.8 The Boudiccan Revolt

In **AD 60** the tide turned against the Roman conquest of Wales. A series of events fanned the earlier embers of dissent into the raging flames of rebellion. Queen Boudicca of the Iceni had been publically flogged and her daughters raped, following the death of her husband Prasutagus. Their household had been pillaged by soldiers and slaves. In the resultant uprising Boudicca's forces wiped out the Roman settlement at Colchester and razed London and St Albans, routing a vexillation of *legio IX*. The Romans had to scramble to gather sufficient forces to bring the situation under control. This included relocating a legion from Gaul.

Such was the impact of this revolt in the heartland of the new province that Paullinus was forced to withdraw from Wales almost entirely. In doing this he lost many of the gains made in the preceding five years.

Paullinus' successor, Petronius Turpilianus, is thought to have conducted some operations against rebel tribes in **AD 61–62**. However, the Silures and Ordovices were probably exhausted and a period of diplomacy with the threat of reprisals was enough to keep the border peaceful. A stalemate ensued with no record of any further major campaigns for over 10 years. There were many reasons for this, not least Nero's suicide followed by a period of civil war in 68-69.

The frontier now stretched over 210 km and took all of the remaining resources to maintain. As a result it appears to have remained static in this period. The withdrawal of *legio XIV* from the region caused a shortage of manpower that needed to be covered by the remaining forces.

10.9 The Flavian Period and the second offensive AD 73/74–120

AD 73/74–77 The civil war resulting from Nero's suicide led to the rise to power of Vespasian and the start of the Flavian Dynasty. A new governor Petillius Cerealis (**AD 71–73/74**) arrived with a score to settle. He was in command of *legio IX Hispana* when it was routed during the Boudiccan rebellion. His first task was to help Cartimandua escape a bloody civil war among the Brigantes and defeat her husband before he could turn his attention to Wales. The forts at York were well advanced by AD 70 and Carlisle was founded in this period.

According to Tacitus, new governor Sextus Julius Frontinus (**AD 73/74–77/78**) '*subdued by force of arms the strong and warlike tribe of the Silures, after a hard struggle, not only against the valour of the enemy, but against the difficulties of the terrain*'.

Theories state that he was forced to turn to Wales before he could consolidate the gains in the north made possible by Cerealis.

The Silures are thought to be only one of the tribes subjugated in this period. Frontinus is thought to have struck further south west, possibly as far as the Cleddau, and almost certainly as far as Carmarthen. It is probable that the fortresses at Caerleon and Chester were founded at this time with trees being felled in preparation for Caerleon in **cAD 73/74** possibly at the end of Cerealis' governorship.

Anglesey and Snowdonia were the only parts of Wales thought not to be under Roman control by this time. There was a massive build-up of forces along the Welsh border under Frontinus including *legio XX* now operating out of Wroxeter. Although not yet complete, both Chester and Caerleon would have been important bases for the new campaigns.

Unfortunately, understanding the Flavian conquests as the Romans pushed forward into Wales is entirely dependent on our ability to understand the archaeology. There is insufficient evidence to identify the forts built by Cerealis, Frontinus and Agricola and it is therefore not possible to attribute them to particular campaigns.

However, the presence of new marching camps in this period signifies the opening of new routes into the difficult terrain. Coelbren, Caerau, Pen Llystyn and Tomen y Mur are almost certainly Flavian camps. The remains of Roman lead-silver mining are taken as clear evidence that the Deceangli were pacified by AD 74.

Agricola AD 73/74–77/78

Tacitus wrote his 'Agricola' in honour to his father in law Gnaeus Julius Agricola. As such, it is believed that it may be a biased account of his achievements. However, Agricola is credited with completing the conquest of Wales, suppressing the Ordovices and capturing Anglesey. He had been present during the capture of the island in AD 60 and it is clear that his knowledge of the terrain and people helped him now.

According to Tacitus, this campaign saw '*almost the entire tribe (of the Ordovices) cut to pieces*'. However, this shouldn't be seen as an easy victory. The fight for north Wales was fierce and bloody, with the Ordovices only succumbing after fierce resistance. By comparison, the surrender of Anglesey soon after seems to have been a much less bloody affair, possibly because of the ruthlessness of the attack in AD 60.

The fall of Anglesey in **AD 77/78** is seen as the end of the conquest period. The legionary fortress at Caerleon and Chester (still under construction AD 79) had been established by the end of Agricola's term of office. These were vital to the ongoing control of the province, having been set up in areas expected to require long term supervision. Caerleon had replaced Usk in this respect because the latter was liable to flooding.

10.10 Significance of the road system

It is probable that the fleets were used to supply and support troops, both on the coast and inland, using the river system. However, an essential element of the Flavian scheme was the extension of the all weather road system. Strategic roads had existed from AD 50, but now 1,100 km of new roads and bridges were built for the unhindered movement of supplies as only 25% of the new garrisons could be supplied by ship.

Excellent communication and administration were at the heart of the success of the Roman system. The roads facilitated this. Once Wales was brought under control, the legions quickly secured their position by developing a system of forts connected by a network of roads. These facilitated the movement of troops and orders as well as supplies. Many of the new forts were inland and not

close to navigable rivers. The road system meant that they could be re-supplied and assisted quickly if trouble broke out.

The roads made communication very quick. A messenger could travel 50 miles in a day and expect fresh horses, food and shelter at a series of wayside inns called '*mansiones*' along their route. The road network is one of the most obvious Roman features of the modern Welsh landscape. Many of our modern roads follow the Roman pattern. There is also a correlation between the locations of railway stations and Roman forts.

10.11 Pacification, prosperity and self-government

The number of men and distribution of forts by the middle of the **AD 80s** shows that the army's role had switched from conquest to occupation. The build-up of troops and forts necessary for peace keeping soon became a surplus. Demands from elsewhere saw a steady removal of forces, but this was a selective withdrawal. Wales was only newly conquered; sufficient troops were needed to maintain an effective military presence.

By as early as **AD 79** the number of troops and forts was reduced for an offensive against the north under Agricola. Also troops from across Britain were being drafted to serve in Emperor Domitian's Chattan War in **AD 83**.

Wroxeter, which had served as the lynch-pin of operations in mid and north west Wales was demilitarised by **AD 83/84**. This left control of the auxiliary forces to the two remaining legionary bases. Pacification led to the establishment of a network of garrison bases designed to overawe and police the vanquished. They show us the areas that the Romans expected to be most troublesome, including Forden, Caersws, Llandeilo, Llandovery, and possibly Llanfor, Rhyn Park, and probably Neath.

New forts were built in populous areas, or used to supervise tribes living in the uplands. They also served to control passage between upland areas by encircling and penetrating mountain strongholds. Most of these were new forts, not part of previous campaigning. Some were old sites put to new use such as Hindwell Farm, Cardiff and Abergavenny. The average distance between forts in the new network was only 20 km. In addition, the Romans built fortlets at intermediary locations, especially river crossings and at the heads of steep gradients, such as at Pen y Crocbren.

It is no longer credible to assume that the lack of Flavian bases in Demetae and Deceangli lands shows them as 'friendly' areas. The base at Carmarthen and the 40 km of road running west from it indicates the need to police west Wales. Although no forts have been positively identified the discovery of remains in/near Whitland, Haverfordwest and St Clears is thought likely. There are probable sites in Deceangli lands too, such as at Ruthin, Denbigh, St Asaph and Rhuddlan.

North and south Wales were managed separately, divided between the two legionary commands at Caerleon and Chester. Castell Collen near Llandrindod was the northernmost fort of the Caerleon command. Chester's command extended south as far as Caersws. The legate of *legio II Augusta* had control of 8,000 out posted auxiliaries; Chester had fewer.

10.12 End of the first century

Some tribes adopted Roman culture and eventually became self governing civitates in the post conquest era. The Romans still kept garrisons in some places, such as south-east Wales, but their strategy was to encourage self-government. This ensured the collection of taxes, trade and public works without the need to maintain a significant military presence. They achieved this with the Silures, Cornovii and, soon after, the Demetae who all created tribal administrative centres called civitates. It is not thought that the Ordovices or Deceangli ever fully accepted Roman culture. As a result they were not granted self-government. This is thought to be one of the reasons for the prolonged use of Segontium as an administrative centre and garrison. Although settlement patterns and the tribal way of life seem not to have changed radically, the adoption of terracing improved agricultural productivity.

Established in AD 77, Segontium became the centre of Roman control for north Wales. A force of 1,000 auxiliary soldiers was stationed there for 30 years and smaller units thereafter. The fort managed the considerable wealth of copper mined from Parys Mountain on Anglesey. A large villa at Segontium is thought to have been the mine prefect's quarters.

10.13 The second century

Once Roman rule was established, Wales is seldom mentioned by any of the reporters of the time. More significant events were taking place in Rome and elsewhere in the Empire.

Emperor Trajan reduced the garrisons to support his two wars against the Dacian Kingdom in **AD 101–102** and **AD 105–106**. As a result some auxiliary units never returned to Britain.

Late in Trajan's reign and possibly at the start of Hadrian's there seems to have been trouble in northern Britain. The new governor, Pompeius Falco, arrived in **AD 119** with or at the same time as 3,000 new troops from Germany and Spain, brought in to deal with the problem. Welsh troops were also relocated to meet the threat. Fierce fighting ensued, and although the Romans were ultimately victorious, Hadrian decided to delimit the northern boundary and commissioned Hadrian's Wall in **AD 122**. Part of the Welsh garrison was sent to help build it.

It is probably at this time that the Silures, and not long after the Demetae, were granted a form of self-government, although some garrisons remained. Building the wall caused further unrest on the northern border in **AD 124–126** causing a rapid reduction of the Roman garrison in Wales. This resulted in the abandonment and reduction in size of some forts. Fighting units may have been split between more than one fort. Reduced forts include Tomen y Mur and Castell Collen. Gelligaer was rebuilt as a smaller stone fort close to the original timber and earth fort.

Few forts show occupation beyond Hadrian's reign. Wales was perhaps no longer seen as a frontier zone. By **AD 150–230** it is thought that possibly as few as nine forts were left. These were:

Chester, Caernarfon, Forden Gaer, Caersws II, Castell Collen, Brecon Gaer, Caerleon, Gelligaer and possibly Abergavenny.

It is also believed that British *civitas*-capitals developed defences at the end of the second century perhaps in response to a threat or in preparation for expected future trouble. Fortifications had to be granted by the Governor or possibly the Emperor. The walls were initially made from earth and timber, but fronted in stone by the end 3rd century. Caerwent added its stone towers in **AD 349 – 350**.

The establishment of the civitates

The Romans' ideal for the acquisition of new territory was based on preparing conquered tribes to develop cities as centres for trade, administration, amenity and entertainment. In Britain, as elsewhere in the Empire, the Romans created various kinds of self-governing communities based for the most part on the existing pre-Roman tribal divisions. The plan allowed them to withdraw military resources without losing control and, more importantly, taxes. By AD 140 there were too few forts in Wales to provide an effective military response to an uprising, so the Romans must have been confident that much of Wales was now stable.

Only the south achieved self-government with *civitas* status being granted to the Silures and Demetae and the establishment of Caerwent and Carmarthen as their tribal capitals. Wroxeter also became the *civitas*-capital for the Cornovii in the west Midlands. The forts at Chester and Caernarfon were retained in the north to fulfil the area's administration.

It has been suggested that the reason why so few towns were founded in Wales was because its mountainous, rugged terrain made communications difficult and divided the population into small communities without the economic and social momentum required for growth. In the lowland coastal areas agriculture was the basis for wealth, but markets were too far away and too difficult to get to. Only in the south were conditions more favourable.

The Roman occupation introduced a different culture giving access to mass produced goods, trade opportunities, security and new lifestyle. Roman cities were cosmopolitan places with access to exotic goods from all over the Roman world. Agricola is said by Tacitus to have used the trappings of Romanisation to 'enslave' the British tribes. He provided support for building bath houses, basilicas, forums and amphitheatres.

The economy of south Wales grew considerably as a result acceptance of Roman rule by the Silures and Demetae. The award of *civitas* status for Caerwent and Carmarthen no doubt added to this. Some lavish villas were built in the Roman 'square' style in the surrounding countryside. The Romans allowed the Celtic ruling classes to keep their lands. It has been suggested that some villa estates were the homes of 'Celtic' landowning elite who adopted Roman styles for their homes.

The Romans did not discourage the use of hillforts and many, such as Tre'r Ceiri on the Llyn Peninsula show evidence of use throughout the Roman period. Many farmsteads and settlements away from the main municipal centres show little evidence of cultural adaptation beyond some pottery and small quantities of coins, especially in areas of the mid, north and south-west Wales. The classic Iron Age round house remained the norm for many settlements; it has been calculated that less than 1% of the British population lived in villas.

Other settlements grew up around established military bases: the legionary *canabae* and auxiliary *vici*. They depended on the life of the garrison providing a market for goods and services to the incumbent population. Roman soldiers were not allowed to marry, although many had unofficial families living outside the fortress walls. It's thought that Abergavenny and Usk started as *vici* that managed to continue after the forts had closed. These small towns had no legal status and were undefended. Other small settlements grew up along the road network.

10.14 Third century

The century started with the new Emperor Septimius Severus dividing Britain into two provinces in order to limit the power of its governors. Wales became part of Britannia *Superior*, ruled from London.

The remaining units of auxiliaries were becoming few in number. We know that Cardiff, Castell Collen, Caersws, Forden Gaer and Caernarfon were probably occupied, showing a distinct clustering of forces in mid Wales. Brecon Gaer may also have still been in use. There may have been fewer than a dozen soldiers (*stationarii*) at some posts. There were still legions based at Caerleon and Chester. However, the role of the soldiers was changing. The few remaining garrisons were probably kept on to 'police' the tribes and oversee tax collection. Their numbers had been gradually denuded to supply soldiers for the Scottish frontier and to fight on the Continent.

In **AD 260** Postumus seized control of Gaul and Germany and two years later Britain and Spain, to create the 'Gallic Empire'. Meanwhile a new threat gained momentum. Raiders from Ireland, Scotland and Gaul, encouraged by the depletion of forces, started to attack the English and Welsh coast. Over the next 100 years this resulted in the construction of a line of coastal defences that stretched from the Wash to Portsmouth Harbour known as the 'Saxon Shore' forts. Ironically, the same defences built to keep the Saxons out, may also have helped defend Britain from being re-possessed by Rome. The only fort in Wales thought to have been built in the same period is Cardiff. It resembles the 'Saxon Shore' forts and may have supported a naval fleet that protected both sides of the Channel from Irish raiders. The forts at Loughor and Neath may also have been reoccupied for same purpose during this time. Fortifications were also improved in north Wales as the danger from Ireland increased. It's thought that Caer Gybi on Holyhead and its later watch tower were built to defend the north Welsh coast and mining interests on Anglesey.

It was not until **AD 274** that Emperor Aurelian brought Britain back into the Empire, but not for long. Carausius, admiral in charge of the Channel fleet, managed to seize control of Britain and northern Gaul in **AD 286** or **287**.

The century closed with Britain being re-taken by Rome under Constantius Chlorus who in 296 defeated the usurper Allectus, Admiral Carausius' murderer. Chlorus also restored Hadrian's Wall and its forts. Britain was now divided into four provinces. Wales was part of Britannia *Prima* and was governed from Cirencester. Emperor Diocletian also reduced the strength of a legion from 5,500 to only 1,000 men. This may have resulted in the down-sizing of some of the auxiliary forts and the demolition of principal buildings at Caerleon that were no longer needed.

Part of *legio II Augusta* may have been relocated to Cardiff, which now held military control of south Wales. Later, in the 4th century, elements of the legion are found at the Saxon Shore fort at Richborough. There may also have been a garrison based at Caerwent. This seems to have marked a period of prosperity for the town as *civitates* became the strongholds for commerce.

10.15 Fourth century

The 4th century saw a commercial boom in Britain which was to end abruptly. There were a number of crises both in Britain and elsewhere. It's thought that Caerwent fortified its walls in stone late in the 3rd century. This may have been an act of civic pride or a response to a growing feeling of insecurity and the need to protect the administration. In **AD 367** an alliance of tribes from Scotland, Ireland and Gaul attacked Britain and ransacked the undefended areas of countryside. Count Theodosius brought a field army from the Continent to deal with the marauders; he also overhauled the Province's defences. The Scots remained a problem, to be met this time by Magnus Maximus in **AD 384**. By the end of the century the Empire was split between Constantinople in the East and Rome in the West.

In addition to the fortification of the *civitas*-capitals, many villas and farmsteads are thought to have been abandoned by the mid-4th century, if not before.

Magnus Maximus gained control of Britain, Spain and Gaul but was finally defeated by Theodosius I whilst trying to capture Italy. He became part of Welsh legend as Maccsen Wledig in the Mabinogion. He is thought to have based himself at Caernarfon.

In **AD 398** General Stilicho sent troops to Britain to deal with the invading Irish, Picts and Saxons. They were soon withdrawn.

10.16 Fifth century – the end of the Empire

At the beginning of the 5th century the Western Roman Empire was ruled by Honorius, Theodosius' youngest son, who came to power aged just 14. He was a weak ruler, made weaker by his decision to execute General Stilicho, his strongest supporter and defender. Without Stilicho's aid, Honorius failed to repel a substantial force of Visigoths, who laid siege and eventually sacked Rome in AD 410. It is thought that during this period, Honorius wrote that he was withdrawing the Empire's protection of Britain and that its cities should fend for themselves. The protection of the imperial power that had dominated Britain for almost 400 years ended.

10.17 Lasting life under the Romans

Romans changed Britain beyond recognition. In Wales the Empire's impact was not as widespread but no less important. The Empire introduced money, roads and cities, restructuring societies and expanding long distance trade that had started to develop in prehistory. As the Empire declined, so did Britain's international links; however, it took over 150 years. Our current understanding of the archaeological record and other sources allows us only a glimpse of life under Roman rule. However, this is enough to speculate that life in Wales, outside of the main cultural centres, changed very little. It's very possible that people living in the most remote areas never saw the cities and

rarely saw Roman soldiers. However, economically viable areas with good access to the trade routes across the Empire probably saw considerable changes.

10.18 Religion

Romans were very tolerant of the religions of others. Roman subjects were expected to respect the gods of the Roman state, but many Celtic beliefs and practices were developed and maintained. The exception was the Druid caste. The Romans immediately identified the Druids as a threat to their control and acted to eradicate their influence. As a result Celtic cults remained relatively unchanged during the Roman period until the official acceptance of Christianity under Constantine I.

10.19 The End of Roman Britain

There are several theories regarding the end of Roman Britain: There are five models:

‘Progressive Devolution’: This traditional interpretation argued that Roman Britain wound down as the 5th century AD progressed. No Roman political and economic structures and culture existed beyond AD 450.

‘Discontinuity’: This perspective argued that a distinct and identifiable discontinuity existed between the demise of Roman Britain and the emergence of Anglo-Saxon England. Roman Britain had prospered until approximately AD 400, but then dramatically collapsed around 430 leaving no obvious traces.

‘Unsuccessful Acculturation’: The proponents of ‘Unsuccessful Acculturation’ argued that Roman Britain underwent a transition between the 3rd and 4th centuries AD, rather than in the 5th century. The model of Classical urbanism had floundered by the 4th century and Romano-British towns merely functioned as ‘administrative villages’.

‘The East–West Divide’: This perspective is similar to ‘Unsuccessful Acculturation’ with one exception; the indigenous population maintained certain aspects of the Roman administrative system into the 5th century AD. Britain was essentially divided into two halves. In the east, society centred on a highly Romanised Christian élite, whilst to the west and north society focused on an un-Romanised pagan aristocracy.

‘Continental Late Antiquity’: Between the 4th and 6th centuries AD, Britain underwent the same cultural, political, social and economic transition as Continental Europe. Britain during this period shared the same Romano-Christian identity with the rest of Europe.

A mixed scenario: a mix of the above with very different regional responses to the end of the Roman administration. Certainly in the south east of Wales, urbanisation seems to continue late into the 4th century at Caerwent. The end of the Roman administration and emergence of the Welsh Kingdoms is a very complicated period and is a good subject for debate.

11. Appendix 3: Bibliography and Sources of Information

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- **Expert advice, support and comment**

Thanks to the following people and organisations for their comments and support

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