

# Arma

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### CONTENTS

Editorial.....	1
News.....	1
An Imperial-Gallic helmet in Wales.....	3
A 'Trojan' Horse at Caerleon, South Wales?.....	6
Roman cavalry belt fittings from Britain?.....	14
Contributions.....	16
Contact .....	16
Colophon .....	16

### EDITORIAL

I must apologise for the tardy appearance of this issue of *Arma*. The intention of this journal was originally, and remains, that it would be a newsletter within which the archaeological community could be made aware of up-to-date developments in the field of Roman military equipment. The feeling prior to its re-launch was very positive and that this would be a very good idea. However, contributed articles have been slow to appear and rather than delay any further I have put together what I have.

Those readers who attended the recent RoMEC conference at St Andrews (whose theme was the Roman cavalry arm), might be particularly drawn to Mark Lewis' contribution on the chamfron from Caerleon.

### NEWS

#### RoMEC XVIII

Amidst the skirl of bagpipes and the thunder of cavalry horses' hooves, RoMEC XVIII rolled into St Andrews, home to the oldest university in Scotland (and third oldest in the UK). With a theme of 'Cavalry in the Roman World', it promised to be an exciting event from the beginning. However, the series of surprises Dr Jon Coulston sprang upon attendees only served to enhance the experience for all concerned. Re-enactment group Comitatus set up camp (quite literally) in the science campus and provided two displays (one early, one late), including a display of long-reining. A field trip to the Hunterian Museum, Rough Castle (including the Kelpies, in keeping with the conference theme), and the National Museum of Scotland was enjoyed in blazing hot sunshine. Participants were treated to a reception in the Museum of the University of St Andrews (with an exhibition of cavalry equipment and Gurkha kukhris), a whiskey-tasting in the School of Classics, as well as a conference meal complete with 20-strong pipe band, a wargame refighting the Battle of Mons Graupius, and a prize raffle in aid of the Gurkha Welfare Trust.



*Rough Castle: the pits*



*At the National Museum of Scotland*



*A pre-prandial pipe band*



*Long-reining demonstrated*



*Discussing Hadrian's Cavalry*



*The conference meal*

In addition, there were the usual papers on the conference theme, sundry other papers, posters, and a new development: a plenary session discussing the forthcoming Hadrian's Cavalry exhibition and *hippika gymnasia turma* display. Breaking into three groups, various aspects around the display, exhibition, and presentation were discussed and useful new ideas put forward.

## A Paper Portal

### CAVALRY IN THE ROMAN WORLD

ARMES Research Series (Series 10)

RoMEC XVIII  
Conference 2016



Edited by

Jon Coulston

One of the new developments at RoMEC XVIII was the announcement of the first of a new series of books aiming to provide background to a conference theme, in this case 'Cavalry in the Roman World'. It is intended that future conferences will also be accompanied by similar background reading around the theme chosen for that RoMEC. Contributors to the first volume include Jeremy Armstrong (Archaic Roman cavalry), Mike Bishop (Republican and Early Imperial Roman cavalry), John Conyard (reconstructing Roman cavalry), Jon Coulston (Late Roman cavalry, Steppe nomads, and Partho-Sassanid cavalry), Michael Furmann (Classical Greek cavalry), Fraser Hunter (Iron Age chariotry), Xenia Pauli-Jensen (Germanic cavalry), Thom Richardson (armouring cavalry), Fernando Quesada Sanz (Celtiberian cavalry), and Nicholas Sekunda (Hellenistic cavalry). The book will be published in September 2016 and a pre-order form can be found on the ARMES website at [a-r-m-e-s.org](http://a-r-m-e-s.org).

## AN IMPERIAL-GALLIC HELMET IN WALES

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It seems to be generally accepted that the helmets worn by the infantry soldiers of Rome through the Republic (from about the 4th century BCE) and the first two centuries of the Empire went through a process of continuous development that had its origins in the so-called 'Celtic' types from Spain and France. In his seminal work on the armour of Imperial Rome, H. Russell Robinson described in some detail how the different designs of helmet were related, one to another.<sup>1</sup> His thesis seems to have been largely accepted by other writers, e.g. Bottini *et al.*,<sup>2</sup> Junkelmann<sup>3</sup> and Klumbach.<sup>4</sup>

Robinson did not just divide the helmets into a number of broad groups (Montefortino, Coolus, Imperial Gallic, etc). Within each group, he attempted to define a number of characteristics that served not only to show how the helmets changed over time, but also how they were related to each other. At the time of writing, it remains the case that Robinson's typology is the only attempt to do this over the 600- to 700-year period that these infantry helmets were in use (cavalry helmets are a different question entirely). This is in contrast to the naming system employed within Europe, where helmets are classified according to their similarities to type examples, designated by their initial find sites. Thus, we find helmets referred to as 'Hagenau', or 'Weisenau' types. Sub-types will have still more name sites appended, e.g. 'Montefortino-Buggenum' or 'Montefortino-Canosa'. There are two major disadvantages to this 'Continental' system. Firstly, it is not clear what the chronological order is between sub-types and secondly there is no clear listing as to the criteria that are being compared; if one is not aware of what a 'Hagenau' helmet looks like, there is little point in describing one as such. These difficulties do not exist with Robinson's system. Each sub-type was given a precise description and it is immediately obvious that an 'Imperial Gallic, Type A' is going to precede a 'Type B', while an 'Imperial Gallic, Type J' is going to be some way along the development route as compared with a 'Type C', for example.

Robinson theorised that the helmets he described as being 'Imperial Gallic types' (by which name they will be referred to in this discussion) were derived from Celtic predecessors of the 'Coolus' (sometimes referred to as the 'Jockey-cap' type) and Agen-Port types.<sup>5</sup> The former were almost invariably made from a copper alloy, except for one or two later examples that were made of iron. The Agen-Port designs, however, were always iron helmets. The features that Robinson regarded as being characteristic of the Imperial Gallic types included the presence of raised 'eyebrows' on the upper frontal area of the helmet, a series of raised ridges in the occipital region and on the face of the neck guard and (on the later sub-types) large decorated bosses and rivets on the cheek guards and at the sides of the helmet skull. In addition, semi-circular recesses were cut at the sides of the later helmets for the ears, which were further protected by having projecting copper-alloy ear guards riveted over the top of these openings. These last were required because, whereas the 'Coolus' helmets were wider and accommodated the ears within the circumference of the helmet bowl, the new 'Gallic' helmets were more oval in form and fitted closer to the sides of the head.<sup>6</sup> The metal from which the helmets were constructed was of some importance as well in deciding to which sub-group a helmet could be assigned. Although the vast majority of these helmets were made of iron, there is one known example that was recovered from dredging operations in the Rhine at Mainz in the 19th century (Type I) that was fashioned from copper alloy.<sup>7</sup> In all other respects, however, even this example conformed to the Imperial-Gallic pattern.

The Imperial-Gallic helmets do not form a particularly large grouping. The present author has an ongoing project to construct a catalogue of known Roman military helmets, to include those helmets whose details have either been published, or those which are known to exist within museum or private collections. Approximately 800 helmets have thus far been traced; of these no more than 66 examples are of the Imperial-Gallic variety (i.e. fewer than 9%). Considering that the majority of the Imperial-Gallic helmets known are made of iron, this should be no surprise. Iron is a fairly reactive metal and will only remain intact if buried in rather special conditions, whereas the various copper alloys are much more likely to survive burial for two millennia. A further complication is that where the iron helmet bore copper-alloy structural or decorative elements in contact with the iron, these would exacerbate rusting through sacrificial corrosion of the iron because the iron has a higher electrode potential than the copper (i.e. the iron would show a greater tendency for the atoms to lose electrons and pass into solution as ions). It is not unexpected, therefore, that some sub-types are represented by perhaps only a few examples. To date, so far as the Author is aware, only two helmets have been identified as 'Type-J'.





Left: Viewed from the right proper side, original cheek-piece. Centre: Viewed from right proper rear, showing sloped neck guard and sloped brow guard. Right: Viewed from left proper side, (modern plastic cheek-guard) and showing sloped neck and brow guards. ©: *Amgueddfa Cymru* – National Museum Wales.

The helmet we are concerned with here was designated by Robinson as an 'Imperial Gallic, Type J'.<sup>8</sup> At the time Robinson published his book (in 1975), the helmet temporarily formed a part of the collections of the Tower Armouries, in London. Prior to this, it had been on loan to the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford.<sup>9</sup> However, its provenance goes much further back than this. It appears to have been recorded first in 1896, as being in the Hollitzer collection at Vienna. Robinson recorded it as coming from Bregetio, in Hungary, but there is nothing in the records of the National Museum of Wales to support this contention. It is entirely possible that Robinson had access to information that was not available to the Museum but only a detailed examination of his papers and notes would reveal whether this were the case. Apart from this, the earliest reference that the present author can find is a very brief mention in a publication dating from 1914<sup>10</sup> where it is merely recorded as being in Vienna in the M. C. Hollitzer collection and described as being (translated from the French): 'A helmet of iron ... with a large neck cover and with simulated horns above the face/visor'. That this is the helmet displayed at Caerleon is beyond doubt because the insurance assessment for the collection when it came into the possession of the Museum indicates that it was the only iron helmet in the collection.<sup>11</sup> From the Hollitzer collection it passed to Lord Howard de Walden, who bequeathed it (and the remainder of his collection) to the National Museum of Wales (as it was then called). It is currently on display at the National Roman Legion Museum, at Caerleon (one of the component sites of the National Museums and Galleries of Wales).<sup>12</sup> Before proceeding further with a consideration of the helmet itself, a word about the de Walden collection might be useful.

The de Walden collection included some 40 items (helmets, weapons, etc.), ranging from ancient Greek to Roman and Near Eastern types.<sup>13</sup> Sadly, when the collection was recently examined by modern techniques at Cardiff,<sup>14</sup> such as X-ray photography, it was found that a large portion of the collection (about half, in fact) were 'pastiches', having been assembled from individual (though genuine) bits and pieces. One cannot blame de Walden for this as he obviously bought the items in good faith and the techniques for examination and verification simply did not exist in his time. However, the fact remains that a fraud (or series of frauds) was/were perpetrated and this must inevitably call into question the authenticity of this helmet. In this case it appears as though he acquired the genuine item. Examination of the helmet has revealed no evidence that it has been assembled from fragments of other helmets and the corrosion patterns are consistent with this. However, it is wise to be cautious here as this particular helmet has yet to be subjected to an X-ray examination, a procedure that the Museum currently has on its 'to do' list.

It would be useful to summarise Robinson's description of this helmet.<sup>15</sup> He indicated that it is similar to his types G, H and I (the latter being the single extant copper alloy example), except that the Type-J helmet has a much larger neck guard, which sloped downwards at a steep angle in the centre of approx. 45°. He noted the presence of various copper alloy decorative features (bosses, rivets and reeded strips) as well as the ubiquitous 'eyebrows' placed high up on the forehead region. He commented on the presence of the holes for the split pins that would have retained the carrying handle and also those for the retaining hooks of the crest holder, although the latter was itself lost. Finally, he describes the right (original) cheek guard as being very similar to that found on the 'bronze' specimens on the Type-I helmet. He tentatively dated the helmet to be between AD 100 and 125.

Robinson did not record any physical measurements for this helmet (indeed, his book contains very little in the way of such information for any helmet included therein). These can now be supplied, as follows.<sup>16</sup>

Weight:	1.59 Kg
Length (helmet bowl only):	195mm
Width (helmet bowl):	180mm
Maximum width of neck guard:	340mm
Height:	175mm
Bowl circumference:	872mm
Thickness of brow guard:	7mm
Thickness of helmet bowl:	1.5mm (estimated average from 6 readings)
Length (right proper cheek guard):	160mm
Width (right proper cheek guard):	120mm
Approximate angle of brow guard:	40°
Approximate angle of neck guard:	45°

## Discussion

The first consideration is that, given that this is only the second example known of this type of helmet, to what extent is this a genuine sub-type? It is clear that all the Imperial Gallic series of helmets show a steadily increasing angle from the horizontal for the neck guard, which reaches its most extreme form (in this series) with this helmet. What is also clear, however, is that for all the preceding types, the brow guard has been arranged almost horizontally, whatever the angle of the neck guard. Here, however, the brow guard is also steeply angled, the angle of slope being virtually parallel to that exhibited by the neck guard. This is such an obvious feature of the helmet that it must indicate that it is a genuine sub-type and not merely another (iron) example of a Type-I. Careful measurement of the helmet bowl and the brow guard leads to the conclusion that the latter has not just been pushed up into the position it now holds but it would almost certainly not fit lower down the bowl, i.e. it was designed to be in the position we now see it in.

Indeed, so steeply angled is the brow guard that if the solder were to stand upright, it would afford no protection for his face at all. The only possible conclusion is that the fighting stance of a soldier wearing this helmet would have to have been partially crouched. If this is done, then the two guards become horizontal (or close to it) and the brow guard assumes a position where it can offer protection to the forehead and facial region. This idea has been proposed before by Peter Connolly<sup>17</sup> but this helmet would appear to be the best example of a helmet designed specifically for this fighting attitude.

Robinson noted that a crest holder does not appear to have been fitted to the helmet. In these helmets, the crest holder support fitment was normally a copper alloy sheet that had a central raised channel into which the bottom bar of the crest holder support would have been slid. The holder was normally attached to the crown of the helmet bowl by four copper rivets. It is odd that, since the rivets for the crest support rings have survived, those for the crest support itself have not. It is sometimes the case that rivet holes are filled in with corrosion products but that does not seem to be the case here. It is entirely possible that the crest holder was never fitted and this may be related to the previously mentioned fighting angle. Although relating to Republican times, Cæsar indicated that it was the normal practice for Roman soldiers to fit the helmet crests before battle commenced (if the term 'emblems' can be interpreted as being the crests).<sup>18</sup> However, a large crest on top of the helmet, coupled with a crouched stance, might make for a very unstable situation in terms of keeping the helmet on the wearer's head (unless, of course, in a change of procedure in later times, the crest was actually removed before battle commenced).

The genuine cheek guard (the proper right hand one) is of a somewhat simplified form. Those fitted to Imperial Gallic type helmets generally have a raised central section. Only two rivet holes can be seen on the guard, one in the centre of the plate and one under the rivet head that held the chin tie-ring. In addition, there is a small hole at the top, near the front, which may have held another rivet. The guard is surrounded by a narrow copper alloy sheet-metal channel.

This helmet is an important link in the chain of development of the Imperial Gallic type of helmet. Its importance lies not only in its almost unique nature but also in the clues it might give to the way in which the Roma soldier went about his business.

## Notes

- 1 Robinson 1975.
- 2 Bottini, A. (ed) (1988)
- 3 Junkelmann, M. (2000)
- 4 Klumbach, H. (1974)
- 5 Robinson, *ibid*, p.45
- 6 Robinson, *ibid*, p.46
- 7 Robinson, *ibid*, p.58
- 8 Robinson, *ibid* p.61
- 9 Hill, P., in Butler, C. & Davis, M. (Eds) (2006), p.99
- 10 Coutil, L. (1914), p.31
- 11 Personal communication from Mr. E. Chapman, M.Phil., National Museum of Wales.
- 12 I should like to record my gratitude and appreciation to Mark Lewis, M.Sc., Ph.D. Curatorial Officer (Roman) at the National Roman Legion Museum, Caerleon, for permission to photograph and examine the helmet in detail. I should also like to thank him for examining the initial draft of this paper and for making several useful suggestions.
- 13 Joubert, F., (1923), "Catalogue of the Collection of Arms and Armour formed by Lord Howard de Walden", (H. & W. Brown, London)
- 14 Hill, P. *ibid*, p.104
- 15 Robinson, *ibid*, p.61
- 16 It should be noted that only the right hand cheek guard (from the point of the wearer) is original. The left hand guard is a modern plastic reproduction and this should be borne in mind when considering the weight measurement recorded.
- 17 Connolly, P. in Maxfield & Dobson (Eds.) (1989), p.361
- 18 Gaius Iulius Cæsar, "The Gallic War", 2.21, (Translation by Carolyn Hammond, OUP, 1996)

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## A 'TROJAN' HORSE AT CAERLEON, SOUTH WALES?

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In 2012 all Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum Wales sites were asked how they might be able to contribute to 'Cymru'n Cofio – Wales Remembers 1914–1918', a series of exhibitions and events to mark the centenary of the First World War. This presented a challenge for the National Roman Legion Museum in Caerleon.<sup>19</sup>

Noting that a production of 'War Horse' would appear at the Millennium Centre in Cardiff in 2014, I was reminded that the horse, pivotal in the Roman war machine, was heavily used during WWI, really for the last time, drawing to a close a millennia-old relationship between the horse and warfare.<sup>20</sup> The cavalry was always among the Roman army's elite. They were a significant resource and a significant draw on resources at the legionary fortress of the Second Augustan Legion, Isca. Notably, whilst there is no shortage of equine artefacts amongst the collections of the National Roman Legion Museum in Caerleon,<sup>21</sup> attribution of horse-related structures within the fortress plan has been very limited.<sup>22</sup> In total it is estimated that a full legion had 230 horses for cavalry, officers and remounts. With one pack-mule per company of 8 soldiers or *contubernia* (but there may have been two) and one large wagon per century, there may also have been 900 mules and 400 oxen!<sup>23</sup> The legion had 120 cavalrymen or *equites*. These were mounted despatch riders or scouts. We know one of our Caerleon legionary troopers by name from his tombstone which probably dates to the third century.<sup>24</sup> 'To the spirits of the departed (the *Manes*); Aurelius Herculanus, trooper, lived 28 years; his wife had this made.'



Figure 1. The Caerleon Nike tropaeophore. © Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum Wales. Accession Number 86.29H.

The standard auxiliary unit was the *ala*.<sup>25</sup> According to Arrian (*Tactica*, 4),<sup>26</sup> who served under Hadrian in the late 130s AD, there were two types of cavalry, armoured and unarmoured, the armoured horses often equipped with side-protectors and forehead-protectors. From the fourth century the importance and role of the cavalry increased, especially after the division of the army into frontier troops (*limitanei*) and field armies (*comitatenses*).

Cavalry helmets of iron or bronze could be extravagantly decorated – sometimes with human features. Colourful sports days, not unlike medieval tournaments, celebrated pay days and religious festivals. For these both horse and rider probably wore elaborate face-masks.<sup>27</sup>

One of the most obvious, and finest, cavalry links from Caerleon was recovered from beneath the Museum itself during its construction.<sup>28</sup> It is a bronze cooking pan made in Gaul by Maturus and it came from a well which was refilled before AD 85.<sup>29</sup> It is stamped 'ΛΛΛ . Ι . TH[R]' for *ALA I THRACUM* – the first *ala*, or wing, of the Thracians.<sup>30</sup> It is permanently displayed at the National Roman Legion Museum in Caerleon.

One of the most accomplished Roman artistic works also displayed permanently at Caerleon is a repoussé copper alloy plaque depicting Victory (Figure 1). It came from a centurion's quarters of the Caerleon Prysg barracks series.<sup>31</sup> Dr Garbsch concluded that the plaque is of appropriate size to have been the frontal of a horse head guard – a *chamfron*.<sup>32</sup> If correctly attributed to a *chamfron*, the Victory plaque is likely to have been one of three hinged plates of the highly decorated all-metal type, but it is unfortunate that no true edges survive with hinges to establish beyond doubt that this object was a middle *chamfron* plate. A second type of *chamfron*, known at the British forts of Newstead and Vindolanda, took the form of a leather horse mask with holes for the eyes of the horse. Leather *chamfrons* were decorated with pins, decorative mounts and pierced copper-alloy eye-guards.

The focus of the 'Equus' exhibition at Caerleon was an internationally significant find from the 2010 Caerleon Priory Field excavation of a probable legionary storage building or magazine, directed by Dr Peter Guest of Cardiff University and Dr Andrew Gardner of University College London with the Museum's support.<sup>33</sup> Upon excavation, the floor of one room of the building was found to be littered with fragments of iron which clearly included armour and military fittings. I was asked to oversee the lifting and subsequent conservation of the 42 blocks of finds I called upon colleagues Penny Hill (Senior Archaeological Conservator) and Evan Chapman (Senior Curator (Archaeology)) to assist. A large linen sheet was cut into strips and coated in plaster-of-Paris to encase the cling-film wrapped objects, giving them support to enable them to be moved to the Museum's laboratory in Cardiff for a forensic





Figure 2. Finds from just the one Caerleon Priory Field block containing the copper alloy leaf-shaped mount (SF No. 2604) with applied cast copper alloy head with Phrygian cap. © Amgueddfa Cymru – National Museum Wales.

excavation. Without this approach critical information would have been lost and the outcomes discussed below would not have been possible.

Conventionally, a block is encased and undercut so that a support board can be slid underneath. This was not possible with the largest block, measuring over 1m square, due to the rubble foundations of the Roman floor of the room onto which the fragments had been dropped, and into which they had been trampled. This resulted in the novel, and hitherto unpublished, successful use of a 2lb lump-hammer and iron spikes driven beneath the encased floor, through its foundations!<sup>34</sup>

In the archaeological conservation laboratory of the Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum Wales in Cardiff, the blocks were worked on by a team including the author of

this note, Penny Hill, and Conservation interns Julia Tubman and Alaina Schmisser. An online blog, charting our progress, is available through the National Museum Wales website.<sup>35</sup> The blog was useful in that it facilitated international collaboration as the work progressed.

X-radiography and investigative cleaning enabled important relationships to be recorded. The date of the abandonment of the armour appeared to be associated with the last phases of military occupation at Caerleon, probably somewhere from the late-third century to the second half of the fourth century AD. Were we looking at the abandonment of the Fortress itself? Was the store being sorted for recyclable material? Copper alloy fittings were wrenched off iron plate and the plate was being abandoned and trodden into the floor. Either in haste, or, more likely, because of the wealth of material that was removed, lots of representative and important objects were left behind for us to find.<sup>36</sup>



Figure 3. Detail of the head wearing a Phrygian cap. The applied cast copper alloy head measures 18mm wide by 20mm in height. © Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum Wales.

One area comprised a strange arrangement of different types of pins and a leaf-shaped copper alloy mount with a little face wearing a Phrygian cap on it – nothing like it had been seen by us here before (Figure 2).<sup>37</sup> I suggested that there may be an equine aspect to this find. The pins are delicate – akin to jewellery making and capable of the most detailed decorative work. Their manufacture was laborious, so a small number, comprising a high status object of small size, might be expected. It was felt that the peculiar leaf-shaped mount that had an applied human head wearing a Phrygian cap might help to explain the strange collection of pins, etc. Everything in Roman iconography has the potential for allegory or other message delivery. What is the story here? Is the mount incomplete through damage or corrosion or is it really such a peculiar 'leaf' shape? I felt strongly that the shape



was genuine and the strange curves would ultimately prove to be crucial.

The pins must have been mounted – the black stain suggested leather. Intricate pin arrangements on a small leather object brought the Vindolanda and Newstead horse head-guards or chamfrons to mind. Study of images of the Vindolanda chamfron online with Penny Hill gave rise to that ‘eureka!’ moment – the leaf shaped mount with human head clinched it. Forearmed, Penny Hill set about the forensic investigation of the block.<sup>38</sup> Leather survived as fibrous residue confirming the theory that the pins were originally leather mounted. Before deconstruction, Penny Hill made a detailed plan to record any meaningful relationships between the fragments. Penny Hill also made a 1:1 plan of the Newstead chamfron to attempt to work out whether or how our deposit might relate to it. This helped to show how some of our pins (in sections) that were upside down might indeed be explained, either by fragmentation or folding.

Attention turned to the leaf mount. Penny Hill showed that the holes on the leather Newstead chamfron perfectly match the pins of the Caerleon mount. By this time, we were beginning to feel we had cracked the mystery. One Vindolanda chamfron retains three leaf stops with heads, but on close inspection the heads turn out to be different to the Caerleon head – having flowing hair and no Phrygian cap? Is this meaningful? The Vindolanda heads are typical of representations of Bacchus (Dionysus), and his iconographic attribute is present – his top-knot. Amongst other roles, Bacchus was the divine communicant between the living and the dead.<sup>39</sup> He presided over a cult of souls and his Bacchic wand, the thyrsus, could be used as a weapon to destroy all who opposed the freedoms he represented.<sup>40</sup> Could the message from the head on the Vindolanda chamfron possibly be that of Death or his agent, in the form of a kind of ‘grim-reaper’, riding towards its victim(s) to communicate them the afterlife?<sup>41</sup>

But what of our figure? Arrian, writing in the second century AD,<sup>42</sup> also described the training undertaken by the Roman cavalry in his work *Ars Tactica* – The tactical art. The cavalry performed in tournaments called the *Hippika Gymnasia*. Drs Mike Bishop and Jon Coulston argue that the origins of the manoeuvres performed lie in the *lustus Troiae* – the Troy Game.<sup>43</sup> The cavalry troopers split into two teams dressed as Greeks and Trojans. The two teams were identified by masks. The Greeks were dressed as Greek men – *epheboi*. The others as Trojans wearing Phrygian caps, or as female amazons who took part in the Trojan War.<sup>44</sup> Their queen, *Panthesilia*, was killed by Achilles.

One thing we may note about Trojans is that Trojans wear Phrygian caps. This is illustrated in the mosaic images from High Ham just across the Severn estuary from Caerleon, in Somerset,<sup>45</sup> which illustrates the story of Aeneas of Troy and Dido of Carthage from Virgil’s *Aeneid*.<sup>46</sup> Given that Aeneas, and other Trojans, are depicted in Roman art wearing the Phrygian cap, and given that a link between the Caerleon Priory Field figure on his leaf stop and other Phrygian cap-wearing figures such as Attis or Mithras would be perhaps less pertinent to the ‘Troy Game’, could the little Caerleon figure be a depiction of a Trojan? – or even Aeneas himself? Did our chamfron belong to the ‘Trojan team’ in the *Hippika Gymnasia*, who perhaps wore helmets like the famous recent find from Crosby Garrett?<sup>47</sup> Could the Vindolanda ‘Bacchic’ chamfron possibly have been used by the ‘Greek’ team?

Chamfrons and cavalry helmets are so rare that there is international interest in this new discovery. The author of this note knows of only 13 other leather fragments of chamfrons or their elements – from



Figure 4. A copper alloy mount from the Caerleon British Telecom Site. Its context was the interior of the stone taberna which replaced its timber predecessor, phase IIIb (c. late-first or early-second century AD). Wearing a Phrygian cap, is this another possible ‘Trojan’ with equine links? © Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum Wales. Accession Number: 88.3H, SF No. 620.

Vindolanda, Newstead and Carlisle. The (originally) leather chamfron described in this note is the first of its type from Wales. Hopefully, our findings will enable new replicas to be made, displayed and used.

If you want to read more, see Sebastian Schukelt's Cardiff University dissertation, available freely online, showing just how rare chamfrons are!<sup>48</sup>

## Notes

- 1 The Roman legionary fortress of ISCA. See RIVET & SMITH, 1979, 376–9.
- 2 The Roman and 20th century horse at war became the focus for the temporary exhibition 'EQUUS – The Horse at War' which was exhibited at the National Roman Legion Museum in 2014–15.
- 3 See Chapman, 2005.
- 4 See Boon, 1972. See also Boon, 1987 and Petrikovits 1975.
- 5 See SHIRLEY, 2001, 97–9 & 109
- 6 *RIB* 356.
- 7 The Latin word for wing. An *ala* of normal strength consisted of 16 troops of 32 men (512 horse). Each *turma* or troop was led by a decurion and each *turma* of 32 men had its own standard bearer.
- 26 De Voto, 1993.
- 27 Breeze & Bishop, 2013.
- 28 Zienkiewicz, 1993.
- 29 Boon, 1984.
- 30 *RIB* 2415.39
- 31 Evans, 1991.
- 32 Zienkiewicz, 1990. See also Garbsch, 1978.
- 33 See the 2008 interim excavation report available online at <http://bit.ly/28TjKz>. Also, GARDNER & Guest, Undated.
- 34 See <http://bit.ly/28Tz3Ji>.
- 35 E.g. see <http://bit.ly/28WjvXS>.
- 36 Guest & Gardner, forthcoming. See also <http://bit.ly/28WjPG9>.
- 37 <http://bit.ly/28TzbbR>.
- 38 <http://bit.ly/28Wk0Bw>.
- 39 Riu, 1999, 105.
- 40 Caerleon is well known for its 'thyrsus' mosaic (see Boon, 1986), but this interpretation has recently been questioned by the author of this note, who offers an alternative interpretation of the Caerleon Backhall Street mosaic spandrel fragment as a possible representation of a beneficiarius lance tip (Lewis, forthcoming).
- 41 Similarly, Jackson, 2010, argues that the Crosby Garret helmet winged griffin, as companion of Nemesis, goddess of fate, is a symbolic agent of death. As such, 'its image was entirely appropriate for the finial of a helmet worn by an élite cavalryman of the Roman army'. The National Roman Legion Museum displays a very fine cast copper-alloy griffin mount, possibly, but not certainly, from a helmet. With no physical means of fixing, it was probably soldered to the object to which it was attached. It was found at the Caerleon Vine Cottage site. See Nash-Williams, 1936, 318–9. Amgueddfa Cymru-National Museum Wales Accession No. 36.472.
- 42 Op.cit.
- 43 Bishop, M.C. and Coulston, J.C.N, (2013), 39–43 in Breeze, D.J. and Bishop, M.C. (eds).
- 44 Ibid., 34–39.
- 45 Cosh, S.R. and Neale D.S. (2005), 253–263.
- 46 To summarise, Aeneas, seeking Italy to found a new state for his lineage, is blown off course to Carthage. He has an affair with Dido, the Queen of Carthage, but is reminded of his duty and destiny so he abandons Dido and sails away. Heartbroken, she commits suicide on a funeral pyre. 'Dido's lament', or more accurately, the aria 'When I am laid in earth' from Henry Purcell's 'Dido and Aeneas', is played each Remembrance Sunday at the Whitehall Cenotaph in London to set the mood of pain of loss.  
'When I am laid, am laid in earth, may my wrongs create  
No trouble, no trouble in thy breast;

Remember me, remember me, but ah! forget my fate.

Remember me, but ah! forget my fate.'

47 Breeze, D.J. and Bishop, M.C. (eds) (2013).

48 <http://bit.ly/1Uiq9sS>

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## ROMAN CAVALRY BELT FITTINGS FROM BRITAIN?

M. C. Bishop

In 1992, I examined known examples of a particular form of early 2nd-century AD enamel- and niello-inlaid buckle plates from Britain.<sup>1</sup> More examples of this and related types have now come to light, together with a suggested function for these unusual fittings.

To the original list of finds of inlaid buckle plates (Staxton, Corbridge, Manchester, Holt, Caerleon (x2), Brough, and Chesters) can now be added Ribchester,<sup>2</sup> Carlisle,<sup>3</sup> and Vindolanda.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the collection from Caerleon has now been boosted to six, one of which retains its buckle (Fig. 1, I).<sup>5</sup> At the

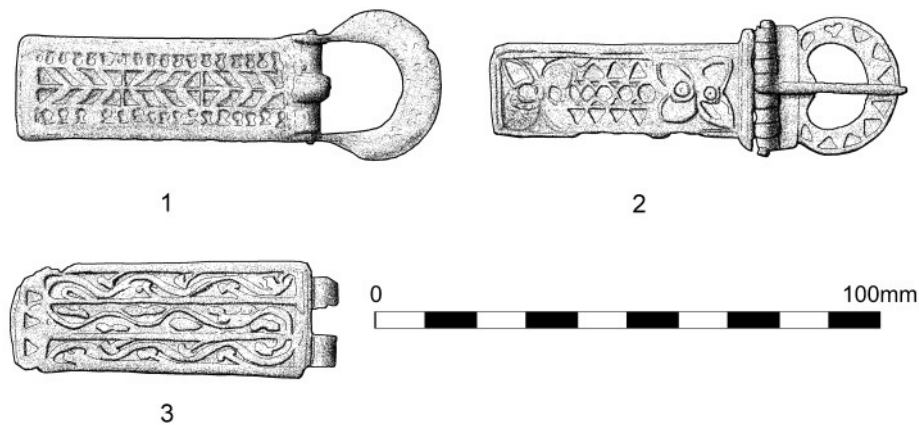


Figure 1: Inlaid belt plates from Caerleon of both the British and Continental European forms.

same time, a series of similar buckle plates from the Rhine and Danube frontiers have been suggested as having belonged to the cavalryman's belt.<sup>6</sup> One of these plates is in the collection of the National Museum of Wales and comes from Caerleon (Fig. 1,2), paralleling a published example from Richborough.<sup>7</sup> Finally, one more type of buckle plate, with a different inlaid design but of a similar width to the other British examples and still exhibiting the three shanks on the underside can be identified amongst the Caerleon finds (Fig. 1,3).<sup>8</sup>

The possibility therefore exists that these two sequences of belt plates – British and continental European – may in fact represent the same items, namely cavalry belts. Certainly, the preponderance of British sites with early 2nd-century cavalry associations amongst that list is interesting.

If the identification of such buckle plates with cavalry belts is correct, then the uniformity of design of the majority of British plates is striking, coming as it does from *ala*, *cohors equitata*, and legionary sites with a broad geographical spread across western and central Britain (Fig.2).

One very obvious question remains begging, however: where are the 1st-century AD cavalry belt fittings?

## Notes

1. Bishop, 1992.
2. Buxton & Howard-Davis, 2000, Fig.54, 18.
3. Howard-Davis, 2009, Fig.357,4.
4. I am grateful to Dr Barbara Birley for confirming the existence of such plates amongst the Vindolanda material.
5. Chapman, 2005, Sd01–02, 05–06, 10, 12. The example retaining its buckle is Sd05.
6. Hoss, 2009. See also now Jost 2007 for an update on examples of such plates (I am grateful to Dr Stefanie Hoss for drawing my attention to this last reference).
7. Chapman, 2005, Sd07.
8. Chapman, 2005, Sd09. Cf. Sd03.

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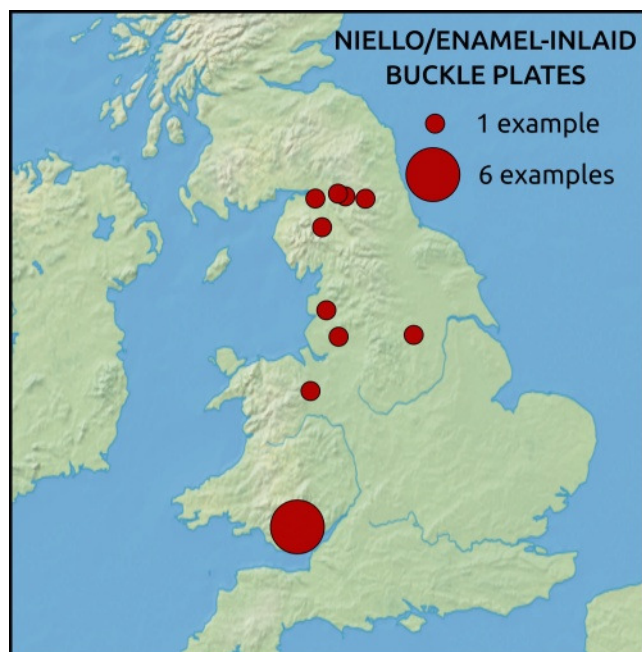


Figure 2. Distribution of niello/enamelled belt plates in Britain

- Chapman 2005: Chapman, E. M., *A Catalogue of Roman Military Equipment in the National Museum of Wales*, BAR British Series 388, Oxford
- Hoss 2009: Hoss, S., 'The military belts of the equites', in H.-J. Schalles & A. W. Busch (eds), *Waffen in Aktion. Akten des 16. Internationalen Roman Military Equipment Conference (ROMECC), Xanten, 13.–16. Juni 2007*, Xantener Berichte **16**, 313–22
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## CONTRIBUTIONS

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