Soldiers and Bureaucrats in Late Roman Britain: interpreting the imperial occupation through the medium of the crossbow brooch

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MA by Research

University of York

History

September 2017

Abstract

The crossbow brooch is a type of material culture which has been associated by scholars with the soldiers and bureaucrats of the late Roman state. Building upon previous research, this thesis examines the distribution of a sample of 350 crossbow brooches discovered throughout the landscape of the former diocese of Roman Britain. By utilising typological schemes which locate these particular objects within a chronology ranging from the third to the early fifth centuries; this thesis argues that the regional distributions of the crossbow brooch throughout Britain can be considered as the consequences of long-term developments relating to when and where imperial servants were posted rather than a late fourth-century phenomenon per se. Furthermore, by employing various discursive approaches to data analysis this thesis discusses how the crossbow brooch was constructed, considered and discussed within late Roman society. In particular, the rhetorical and political utilities of the crossbow brooch are explored to contemplate its roles in localised identity work within various social practices which allowed contextually dependent subject positions to be claimed. It is argued that the crossbow brooch was associated with a particular discourse relating to the concepts of gender and service that acquired the status of 'truth.' Thus, while this brooch type could have signified a potential multiplicity of contextually dependent meanings within society, this 'truth' was an important discourse in structuring power relations and one that had permeated society to reach its widest influence during the mid-late fourth century. Consequently, when the networks supplying this material culture failed c. AD 400, the construction of new discursive 'truths' and subsequent power relationships would have been required in Britain as the empire's occupation disintegrated.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to express particular thanks to my supervisor, Professor Guy Halsall, who has not only offered guidance and support throughout the process of writing this thesis, but who has also had a profound influence upon my academic development since my early years as an undergraduate at York. Furthermore, I would like to express my gratitude to Dr Mary Garrison and Mr Steve Roskams who offered support to this project during its early stages of development, as well as more widely to the University of York as a whole whose various departments have supported me throughout. Moreover, I am indebted to all of the authors cited whose work this thesis has intended to build upon.

Finally and perhaps most importantly, I would like to thank Becky, Megan and Freya for their continued support at home and for their understanding when I have missed particular family outings and engagements to commit time to completing this work.

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

I. Introduction

I.i. Soldiers and Bureaucrats: the perspective of Ammianus Marcellinus

Ammianus Marcellinus' late fourth-century history[1] is a fascinating construction of a particular account of the Roman Empire during the mid-late fourth century[2] and one that has had a pivotal role in modern scholars' interpretations of the late Roman Empire.[3] The surviving portion of the narrative is constructed with a highly autobiographical element to it,[4] situated within a wider contextual framework which functions to record prominent events and not the minor elements.[5] This is the purpose of historical writing Ammianus' stated,[6] where selectivity is required to omit the life stories not worth telling.[7] Seemingly therefore, the accounts' autobiographical components would suggest that Ammianus deemed particular events from his own life to be of note-worthy importance. Furthermore, Ammianus' selectivity within this context of inserting the self within this narrative highlights a particular emphasis upon associating his life with that of service to the empire;[8]

'Beholding such innumerable peoples, long sought for to set fire to the Roman world and bent upon our destruction, we despaired of any hope of safety and henceforth strove to end our lives gloriously, which was now our sole desire.'[9]

It can be considered that one of the functions of constructing such an account was to allow Ammianus to position himself within the discourse, deploying for rhetorical effect 'memory-claims' developed around particular versions of events to direct the audiences perception of his stake in the

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[1] Timothy D. Barnes, *Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1998), 54.
[2] Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae, Volume I*, trans. John C. Rolfe (London: William Heinemann, 1935); Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae, Volume II*, trans. John C. Rolfe (London: William Heinemann, 1937); Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res Gestae, Volume III*, trans. John C. Rolfe (London: William Heinemann, 1964).
[3] Barnes, *Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality*, 2.
[4] Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, "Introduction," in *Ammianus Marcellinus: The Later Roman Empire, (AD 354-378)*, trans. Walter Hamilton (London: Penguin, 1986), 14-16.
[5] *Res Gestae*, XXVI.1.1.
[6] Ibid., XXVI.1.1.
[7] Ibid., XV.1.1;XXVIII.1.15..
[8] Wallace-Hadrill, "Introduction," 14-16, 34-35.
[9] *Res Gestae*, XIX.2.4.

narrative.[10] Such a strategy thus allowed Ammianus to conclude his work with a 'factual' personal identity claim:[11] '… a former soldier ….'[12] Consequently, the construction of such a particular veteran military identity in this style would suggest it was of some importance to Ammianus at his time of writing; perhaps in part due to his families' presumed military heritage and associated status.[13]

What is of primary interest to this current discussion and the primary function for discussing this narrative is not however Ammianus per se but the finite discourses accessible to Ammianus from which to construct his subjects;[14] specifically, the institutional categories that give structure and meaning to Ammianus' social reality.[15] Thus, we can consider such categories from a fourth-century perspective and as evidence that such groups were of relative importance within the late Roman world and not anachronistic constructs. Accordingly, discourse within this context is to be defined as a structure composed of categories and their associated concepts which give meaning to subjects within specific historically and culturally relevant contexts.[16] Furthermore, language can be suggested to be a 'self-referent system' whereby categories can only be understood when their concepts are set in opposition to other categories and concepts.[17] As such, Ammianus' narrative can be read as constructed by such categories which were associated with the institutions of imperial service during the fourth century.

Stylistically, Ammianus frequently utilised these institutional categories in dyadic form, one category discussed within the same context as the other, and as such constructed a distinction within

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[10] After Michael Billig, "Discursive, Rhetorical and Ideological Messages," in *Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader*, ed. Margaret Wetherell, Stephanie Taylor and Simeon J. Yates (London: SAGE, 2001), 212-213; Vivien Burr, *Social Constructionism* (Hove: Routledge, 2003), 58-59, 113-114, 126-127; Bronwyn Davies and Rom Harré, "Positioning: The Discursive Production of Selves," in *Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader*, ed. Margaret Wetherell, Stephanie Taylor and Simeon J. Yates (London: SAGE, 2001), 262, 266; Jonathon Potter and Margaret Wetherell, "Unfolding Discourse Analysis," in *Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader*, ed. Margaret Wetherell, Stephanie Taylor and Simeon J. Yates (London: SAGE, 2001), 198-199; Margaret Wetherell, "Themes in Discourse Research: The Case of Diana," in *Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader*, ed. Margaret Wetherell, Stephanie Taylor and Simeon J. Yates (London: SAGE, 2001), 16-17, 21.
[11] After Burr, *Social Constructionism*, 106-107.
[12] *Res Gestae*, XXXI.16.9.
[13] Barnes, *Ammianus Marcellinus and the Representation of Historical Reality*, 59.
[14] After Burr, *Social Constructionism*, 106-107; Stuart Hall, "Foucault: Power, Knowledge and Discourse," in *Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader*, ed. Margaret Wetherell, Stephanie Taylor and Simeon J. Yates (London: SAGE, 2001), 72, 80.
[15] After Davies and Harré, "Positioning: The Discursive Production of Selves," 262.
[16] After Burr, *Social Constructionism*, 7-8.
[17] Ibid., 80-81.

his narrative between the subjects that he positioned as military and those which he positioned as civilian bureaucrats.[18] For example, in an account of Constantius' virtues;

'… and he never let the military lift their heads too high … The governor of a province never paid court to a commander of the cavalry, nor was the latter official allowed to take part in civil affairs … It very rarely happened that any military officer passed to a civil magistracy, and on the other hand, none were put in command of soldiers who had not grown hardy in the dust of battle.'[19]

Such distinctions were thereby constructed through linguistic labelling and also at times by constructing a perception of an inherent antagonism between the two categories;

'Rufinus, who was at the time praetorian prefect, was exposed to extreme danger; for he was forced to go in person before the troops, who were aroused by both the scarcity and by their natural savage temper, and besides are naturally inclined to be harsh and bitter towards men in civil positions ….'[20]

However, Ammianus also constructed a particular account whereby the governor of Tripolis (North Africa) also temporarily had command over the military within his provincial area of responsibility.[21] Thus, Ammianus categories can be considered to not be mutually exclusive if the context required.

Additionally, Ammianus also constructed a third subject position in his narrative situated within the context of imperial service; that of the imperial servants at court.[22] Thus in a further account of the emperor Constantius' reign Ammianus wrote;

'For under him the leading men of every rank were inflamed with a boundless eagerness for riches, without consideration for justice or right; among the civil functionaries first came Rufinus, the praetorian prefect; among the military, Arbetio, master of the horse, and the head-chamberlain Eusebius ….'[23]

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[18] For examples see *Res Gestae*, XIV.10.3-4; XX.5.7; XX.8.14; XXI.16.1-2.
[19] Ibid., XXI.16.1-3.
[20] Ibid., XIV.10.3-4.
[21] Ibid., XXVIII.6.11.
[22] Ibid., XV.3.1-2; XXXI.15.10.
[23] Ibid., XVI.8.13.

However, as with the military/bureaucratic convergence in relation to the governor of Tripolis, Ammianus constructs a contextually fluid conception of this category also, with the military and court subject positions combined so that a contrast is made between soldiers attached to the court and those not;[24] as similarly with bureaucrats in the central or provincial administrations.[25] Furthermore, Ammianus also constructed accounts of fatal antagonisms between those he positioned as imperial servants of the court and those which he positioned as provincial. One such event is constructed within a Romano-British context, whereby the emperor Constantius orders to Britain his 'state secretary' Paulus to arrest those individuals who had supported the failed usurpation of Magnentius.[26] However, Paulus was confronted by the governor of Britain, Martinus, who opposed his methods.[27] In characteristic dramatic style, Ammianus wrote;

'[Martinus] continued to defend those whom he was appointed to govern, Paulus involved even him in the common peril, threatening to bring him also in chains to the emperor's court, along with the tribunes and many others. Thereupon Martinus, alarmed at this threat, and thinking swift death imminent, drew his sword and attacked that same Paulus. But since the weakness of his hand prevented him from dealing a fatal blow, he plunged the sword which he had already drawn into his own side.'[28]

Consequently, although we must continually reflect upon the wider contextual framework within which Ammianus constructs and positions such accounts,[29] the overall narrative can be considered to be structured around at least three institutional categories associated with imperial service that were constructed fluidly for and within particular contexts.   In one context therefore Ammianus can be considered to have utilised these particular discourses within these localised contexts for their rhetorical effects in personal identity construction.[30] However, on a wider structural

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[24] *Res Gestae*, XXV.3.14.
[25] Ibid., XXVI.7.6.
[26] Ibid., XIV.5.1-9.
[27] Ibid., XIV.5.6-8.
[28] Ibid., XIV.5.8.
[29] Brigitta Hoffman, *The Roman Invasion of Britain: Archaeology versus History* (Barnsley: Pen & Sword Archaeology, 2013), 189, 194.
[30] After Burr, *Social Constructionism*, 122; Davies and Harré, "Positioning: The Discursive Production of Selves," 262.

level it can also be considered that Ammianus and his narrative are simultaneously constructed by the discourses active within later fourth-century Roman society, as meaning-making can only be constructed and subsequently perceived via the prevalent discourses.[31] These themes will be returned to below but the main point within this context is that the concept of a soldier and a bureaucrat as institutional identity categories within late Roman imperial service were and thus are relevant.

Modern scholars have interpreted the military and bureaucratic branches of imperial service to be developments of the reforms set in motion under the Tetrarchy at the end of the third/beginning of the fourth century.[32] Prior to this military personnel had been temporarily transferred to the staff of the governor to carry out administrative duties.[33] However, the so-called 'crisis' of the third century had seen a devastating failure of strong central leadership and consequently a significant number of usurpations arose in the provinces.[34] The separation of powers therefore, particularly in relation to the management of the militaries food supply,[35] was intended to negate such further instances.[36] Not surprisingly the developing bureaucracy was modelled on the only other large state institution, the army,[37] and subsequently grew in size during the fourth century to perhaps approximately 30,000 staff.[38] However, it has also been proposed that this number could be increased by a factor of ten if officials from the bottoms ranks of imperial service (e.g. postman) were included.[39] Compared to a contemporary military of potentially 300-600,000 soldiers,[40] the bureaucracy can therefore be considered on a comparative scale as somewhere between considerably smaller than and potentially comparable in manpower to the military.

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[31] After Burr, *Social Constructionism*, 122; Davies and Harré, "Positioning: The Discursive Production of Selves," 262.

[32] Averil Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire, AD 284-430* (London: Fontana Press, 1993), 39; Guy Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West*, 376-568 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 76; Pat Southern and Karen Dixon, *The Late Roman Army* (London: Batsford, 1996), 23, 53-59.

[33] Guy de la Bédoyère, *Eagles over Britannia: The Roman Army in Britain* (Stroud: Tempus, 2001), 213; Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376-568*, 76.

[34] Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376-568*, 71-74.

[35] Southern and Dixon, *The Late Roman Army*, 62.

[36] Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376-568*, 76.

[37] Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire, AD 284-430*, 40-41; Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376-568*, 76.

[38] Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376-568*, 76; Chris Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000* (London: Penguin, 2010), 26.

[39] Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000*, 26.

[40] Ibid., 32.

Furthermore, the fluidity of contextually dependent institutional identities discussed above has been contemplated by scholars, with exceptions to a strict delineation between military and bureaucratic duties and responsibilities considered.[41] As such, it has been suggested that bureaucrats would have been employed within the late Roman military for administrative purposes.[42] It is therefore perhaps due to the potential for such fluidity between the institutions that elements of the Roman military constructed stereotypically non-Roman identities in an attempt to position themselves as the binary opposites of their bureaucratic counterparts.[43]

Additionally, rather than conceptualising this imperial system as static in a pan-imperial context, it has been suggested that such structures would have been adapted to the different regional contexts of the empire.[44] Moreover, it has been argued that this new imperial system of the fourth-century secured the political coherence of the empire through the creation of 'patronage networks,' which connected the provinces to the imperial centre.[45] Thus, these reciprocal relationships can be suggested to have structured the interactions between the state and its servants in particular contexts. Imperial service offered social advancement and the associated legal exemptions attached to such positions[46] and as a consequence imperial favour would have been highly desired within the context of the rivalry to access such institutions and their patronage networks.[47]

In summary, this brief introduction has sought to introduce the reader to the concepts of soldiers and bureaucrats in the late Roman Empire by briefly discussing one of the more dramatic and tragic narrative primary sources of the late Roman Empire, as well as by outlining some of the key points that have been established within modern scholarship. As such and based upon the above works discussed and cited, this thesis progresses with the understanding that a new structure of imperial service developed during the fourth century which was established (at least theoretically) on the principle of the separation of military and bureaucratic powers. The growing bureaucracy was

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[41] Southern and Dixon, *The Late Roman Army*, 61-62.
[42] Ibid., 64.
[43] Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376-568*, 103.
[44] Southern and Dixon, *The Late Roman Army*, 62; see the *Notitia Dignitatum* below for the proposed late fourth century structure within Roman Britain specifically.
[45] Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376-568*, 79; Chris Wickham, *The Inheritance of Rome: A History of Europe from 400 to 1000*, 27.
[46] Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376-568*, 77.
[47] Ibid., 77.

modelled, in part, upon the structure of the military and grew in manpower to perhaps only a small fraction of its sister institutions size. However, this separation and distinction was not completely developed or maintained, with instances of the military and bureaucracy adopting one another's' responsibilities and duties, as well as being open to secondments between the two institutions. Furthermore, a third institution of the imperial servants at court has also been discussed in relation to the concepts of soldiers and bureaucrats, and thus the potential difference between those personnel in service at the court and those within the provincial structures was briefly considered. Consequently, a contextually fluid conception of these institutional categories and their contextually dependent associated identities requires contemplation, particularly considering the potential regionalism of state structures and the patronage networks that bound them to the imperial core(s).

On a theoretical level, the brief analysis of Ammianus Marcellinus' narrative has enabled the introduction to this thesis of the methodological framework which will be elaborated upon further and employed in Chapter II. In particular, the discursive techniques of construction, function and positioning have been considered in the localised context of Ammianus' own identity work relating to imperial service. Furthermore, it was briefly discussed how such methodologies can be broadened into considerations of how discourses can structure reality at the social level, with a further contemplation of the institutional categorisations which Ammianus constructs and is simultaneously constructed by.

However, although Ammianus' narrative can be considered both interesting as well as entertaining due to its style and themes, Roman Britain only features as a periphery subject within it.[48] Additionally, Ammianus overall framework does not offer the particular depth of detail required within this thesis to explore the late Roman occupation of Britain. Therefore such depth will be sought by first all considering what is possibly the pre-eminent source for interpreting the structure of the late Roman state in Britain, the *Notitia Dignitatum*.

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[48] Hoffman, *The Roman Invasion of Britain: Archaeology versus History*, 173.

I.ii. The *Notitia Dignitatum*

The *Notitia Dignitatum* is generally considered by scholars to be an administrative document of the late Roman Empire which lists the composition and disposition of the offices of the military and state bureaucracy at the end of the fourth/beginning of the fifth century (c. 395-420).[49] As a source of information for the late imperial system the *Notitia* has been indispensable to scholars, providing a significant proportion of the detail necessary for the establishment of reconstructions of the structural hierarchy of the state[50] and its logistical support networks.[51] Indeed, the employment of the *Notitia* by successive generations of archaeologists and historians concerned with Roman Britain emphasises this source's value.[52] As such, the *Notitia* can be considered as the pre-eminent source within Romano-British historiography from which to reconstruct the military and bureaucratic structure of the late Roman diocese.[53] Accordingly, any discussion regarding the late Roman occupation of the island and the role of the empire's soldiers and bureaucrats within it often pivots around this document. As a consequence, the structure of the military and state bureaucracy within Roman Britain, c. AD 400, is frequently discussed thus.

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[49] Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire, AD 284-430*, 25-26; Peter Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History* (London: Pan Books, 2006), 246, 272-273, 387, 492.

[50] Southern and Dixon, *The Late Roman Army*, 56-64.

[51] M.C. Bishop and J.C.N. Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment from the Punic Wars to the fall of Rome* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1993), 186-189.

[52] A. S. Esmonde Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd, 1989), 46-56; Anthony R. Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 401-404; J.B. Bury, "The Notitia Dignitatum," *The Journal of Roman Studies* vol. 10 (1920): 131-154; R. G. Collingwood and J. N. L. Myers, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), 279-301; Rob Collins, *Hadrian's Wall and the End of Empire: The Roman Frontier in the 4th and 5th Centuries* (London: Routledge, 2012), 38-51; Rob Collins and David Breeze, "Limitanei and Comitatenses: Military Failure at the End of Roman Britain?," in *AD 410: The History and Archaeology of Late and Post-Roman Britain*, ed. F. K. Haarer (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 2014), 63-71; Guy de la Bedoyère, *Roman Britain: A New History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 2006), 92, 94-98, 115, 231, 239-246; Sheppard Frere, *Britannia: A History of Roman Britain* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978), 260-269; James Gerrard, *The Ruin of Roman Britain: An Archaeological Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 26-29; Roger Goodburn and Philip Batholomew, "Aspects of the Notitia Dignitatum," *BAR Supplementary Series* 15 (1976); Stephen Johnson, *Later Roman Britain* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), 26-27, 85, 102; John Morris, *The Age of Arthur: A History of the British Isles from 350 to 650* (London: Phoenix Press, 2001), 49; Peter Salway, *Roman Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 257, 336, 346, 392-393, 412, 418, 422-426, 656.

[53] Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain*, 46.

In the north, the office of the *dux Britanniarum* held overall command[54] with responsibility for the Sixth Legion, the units posted along Hadrian's Wall and the northern coastlines, as well as those stationed within the region's interior.[55] Additionally, the *dux* had at his disposal a personal staff consisting of a chief of staff, a record-keeper, a judicial officer, accountants and assistants.[56] In total, it has been estimated that the *dux Britanniarum* had between 5,000 and 20,000 personnel under his overall command.[57]

Turning to the south east of Britain and the coastal region between The Wash and the Isle of Wight was the command of the *comes litoris Saxonici*.[58] This office held responsibility for the Second Legion, as well as for various further units posted to the coastal forts.[59] Furthermore, the *comes* had a similar personal staff to that attached to the northern *dux*.[60] However, in comparison to the northern garrison the total personnel under the overall command of the *comes litoris Saxonici* has been estimated as somewhat smaller, between approximately 2,000 and 6,000 in strength.[61]

Finally, a third military command held responsibility for a relatively small field army with the official title of *comes Britanniarum*.[62] Unlike the two previously discussed formations the field army is not attested as having been fixed to any one site or region and instead it has been suggested to have campaigned wherever it was required within the diocese and billeted accordingly.[63] Similarly to the *dux Britanniarum* and *comes litoris Saxonici*, the *comes Britanniarum* also had a personal staff at his disposal[64] as part of an estimated overall number of personnel comparable to that of his fellow *comes*, approximately 5,000 men.[65]

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[54] Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain*, 401; Collins and Breeze, "Limitanei and Comitatenses: Military Failure at the End of Roman Britain?," 63.
[55] Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain*, 401-402.
[56] Ibid., 402.
[57] Collins and Breeze, "Limitanei and Comitatenses: Military Failure at the End of Roman Britain?," 64.
[58] Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain*, 402; Collins and Breeze, "Limitanei and Comitatenses: Military Failure at the End of Roman Britain?," 63.
[59] Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain*, 402; Collins and Breeze, "Limitanei and Comitatenses: Military Failure at the End of Roman Britain?," 67.
[60] Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain*, 402.
[61] Collins and Breeze, "Limitanei and Comitatenses: Military Failure at the End of Roman Britain?," 64.
[62] Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain*, 402-403; Collins and Breeze, "Limitanei and Comitatenses: Military Failure at the End of Roman Britain?," 63.
[63] Collins and Breeze, "Limitanei and Comitatenses: Military Failure at the End of Roman Britain?," 66.
[64] Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain*, 403.
[65] Collins and Breeze, "Limitanei and Comitatenses: Military Failure at the End of Roman Britain?," 64.

Alongside the military structure of the diocese was that of their state bureaucratic counterparts. The highest office was that of the *vicarius* who was responsible for the overall supervision of the provinces of the diocese,[66] in particular the important aspects of state finance and the supply of military provisions.[67] Furthermore and in a similar manner to his military counterparts, the *vicarius* had at his disposal a personal staff of officials, such as inspectors and secretaries.[68] Additionally, there were a small number of high ranking bureaucrats who had responsibility for specific areas of state interest, for example tax collection, the diocesan treasury and the state *fabricae*.[69] Finally (within the specific context of the *Notitia*), there were the provincial governors of *Maxima Caesariensis*, *Britannia Prima*, *Britannia Secunda* and *Flavia Caesariensis*.[70] These officials had responsibility for the administration of each region,[71] probably from particular administrative centres at London, Cirencester, York and Lincoln respectively.[72]

However, although the *Notitia Dignitatum* can be considered as providing a detailed description of the imperial system within Roman Britain the majority of scholars to utilise it have noted that it has particular problems as evidence; for example, debate has ensued as to whether or not the document can be back projected to the late third/early fourth century,[73] or alternatively if its contents can be projected forward into post-Roman fifth-century Britain.[74] Additionally, discussions have considered whether there are missing sections relating to western Britain, the presence of *laeti*, *gentiles* and *foederati*[75] and how the contents of this source can be reconciled with certain aspects of contradictory evidence within the archaeological record.[76] Consequently, the *Notitia* has often been described in paradoxical terms, such as by John Morris who considered the document as both

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[66] de la Bedoyère, *Roman Britain: A New History*, 89; Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain*, 403.
[67] Birley, The Roman Government of Britain, 403.
[68] Ibid., 404.
[69] Ibid., 404.
[70] de la Bedoyère, *Roman Britain: A New History*, 89; Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain*, 404.
[71] Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain*, 404.
[72] de la Bedoyère, *Roman Britain: A New History*, 89.
[73] Collingwood and Myers, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, 279-281; Johnson, *Later Roman Britain*, 85; Salway, *Roman Britain*, 257; Southern and Dixon, *The Late Roman Army*, 18, 23, 29-30.
[74] Collingwood and Myers, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements*, 289; Morris, *The Age of Arthur: A History of the British Isles from 350 to 650*, 49-54; Salway, *Roman Britain*, 438.
[75] Collins and Breeze, "*Limitanei* and *Comitatenses*: Military Failure at the End of Roman Britain?," 63; Frere, *Britannia: A History of Roman Britain*, 267; Peter Salway, *Roman Britain*, 417-418.
[76] Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain*, 51; Collins and Breeze, "*Limitanei* and *Comitatenses*: Military Failure at the End of Roman Britain?," 63-64.

'precise' and 'comprehensive,' as well as, 'difficult to assess and interpret,'[77] and Guy de la Bedoyère who judged the *Notitia* to be 'unreliable but indispensable,' and 'far from ideal but better than nothing.'[78] Furthermore, as the document is a list of offices it provides no actual numerical statistics,[79] thus the personnel estimates discussed above must be treated with a high degree of scepticism.[80] Indeed, such problems as evidence led Michael Kulikowski to suggest that the *Notitia* is an incoherent accumulation of out-of-date and conflicting information[81] and consequently it is so fundamentally flawed that it has no real value for reconstructing the late Roman imperial system in the west.[82]

It can therefore be considered that the contents of the *Notitia Dignitatum* exist on an epistemological continuum. At one pole scholars have taken the stance that the things which the *Notitia* describes existed as represented by the document c. AD 400,[83] and therefore the source has been used to construct, for example, a relatively detailed account of the demise of the Roman military in the west.[84] At various other points along this continuum travelling towards the opposite pole are the interpretations of scholars who regard the source to be a compilation of information reflecting various temporal contexts and thus not representative of a specific point in time.[85] For instance, Sheppard Frere suggested that the different sections of the *Notitia* relating to the military commands within Britain did not reflect a single homogenous context, but rather a number of contexts; arguing that the records for Hadrian's Wall were relevant only between AD 296-367;[86] for the wider northern frontier after AD 383;[87] for the *comes litoris Saxonici* post AD 369;[88] and for the *comes Britanniarum*

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[77] Morris, *The Age of Arthur: A History of the British Isles from 350 to 650*, 49.
[78] de la Bedoyère, *Eagles over Britannia: The Roman Army in Britain*, 92, 95.
[79] Southern and Dixon, *The Late Roman Army*, 56.
[80] Collins and Breeze, "*Limitanei* and *Comitatenses*: Military Failure at the End of Roman Britain?," 64.
[81] Michael Kulikowski, "The Notitia Dignitatum as a Historical Source," *Historia: Zeitschrift fur Alte Geschichte* Bd. 49, H. 3, 3rd Quarter (2000): 362, 375.
[82] Ibid., 375-376.
[83] For example see Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History*, 63 on the wider Western Empire and Collins *Hadrian's Wall and the End of Empire: The Roman Frontier in the 4th and 5th Centuries*, 39 on northern Roman Britain specifically (caveated p. 48).
[84] Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History*, 246-248.
[85] For example see Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire, AD 284-430*, 26; Frere, *Britannia: A History of Roman Britain*, 261-269; Kulikowski, "The Notitia Dignitatum as a Historical Source," 362, 375.
[86] Frere, *Britannia: A History of Roman Britain*, 263.
[87] Ibid., 267.
[88] Ibid., 268.

c. AD 396.[89] Within these interpretations the *Notitia Dignitatum* can be considered to be a product of context collapse:[90] whereby the accumulation of material superficially reflects a single context (the official hierarchy of the empire at the end of the fourth century), rather than the multiple idiosyncratic temporal contexts from which its contents were originally drawn.

Therefore, the *Notitia Dignitatum* can be considered as a superb example of the highly problematic evidence which scholars of the late Roman Empire have to interpret. Moreover, as a source for discussing the military and bureaucratic structures of late Roman Britain it can be suggested that the paradoxical phrase that the document is both illuminating and confusing is indeed justified. Consequently, innovative research has been required to complement the *Notitia*, as well as attempt to offer more nuanced understandings of the personnel charged with sustaining the occupation of Britain and the geo-political implications for and of their presence.

I.iii. The crossbow brooch

The crossbow brooch is a late Roman dress accessory which was employed to fasten a cloak at the shoulder in a style termed 'the *chlamys*-costume'[91] and has been associated by scholars with the late Roman male elite,[92] in particular those serving within the imperial army.[93] While the crossbow brooch has been discussed as a minor topic within such studies it has become popular within English speaking academia during the last twenty years to construct more detailed accounts of the social significance of this particular brooch type.

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[89] Frere, *Britannia: A History of Roman Britain*, 269.

[90] Considered from but not to be confused with the Social Media definition, see Jenny L Davis and Nathan Jurgenson, "Context collapse: theorizing context collusions and collisions," *Information, Communication and Society* 17, 4 (2014): 476-485.

[91] Maria Parani, "Defining Personal Space: Dress and Accessories in Late Antiquity," in *Objects in Context, Object in Use: Material Spatiality in Late Antiquity*, ed. by Luke Lavan, Ellen Swift, and Toon Putzeys (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 500-501.

[92] Richard Hattatt, *Iron Age and Roman Brooches* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1985), 128; Catherine Johns, *The Jewellery of Roman Britain: Celtic and Classical* Traditions (London: UCL Press Ltd, 1996), 166.

[93] Justine Bayley and Sarnia Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection* (London: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 2004), 199, 203; de la Bedoyère, *Eagles over Britannia: The Roman Army in Britain*, 178; J. C. N. Coulston, "Military equipment of the 'long' 4th century on Hadrian's Wall," in *Finds from the Frontier: Material Culture in the 4th-5th Centuries*, ed. Rob Collins and Lindsay Allason-Jones (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2010), 52; Richard Hattatt, *Ancient Brooches and Other Artefacts* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 1989), 202.

In 1996 Dominic Janes catalogued the multiple sources constructed during antiquity that depict the crossbow brooch, including diptychs, glassware, monumental architecture, mosaics, numismatics and silverware.[94] From this evidence Janes suggested that the late Roman state employed these particular objects to construct, maintain and reinforce the social hierarchy which was communicated in visual terms.[95] Janes proposed that the crossbow brooch evolved from a basic form which was initially worn by the lower ranks of the Roman army during the third century.[96] Subsequently, this brooch type was then adopted by the officer class, as well as by the emerging state bureaucracy during the fourth century whose language and consequently structure was modelled on the military.[97] Differentiation between service ranks was based upon the metallic composition with gold used to distinguish the elite,[98] as well as by the production and issue of specific copies awarded to particular individuals in the form of imperial donatives.[99] Janes considered that it is within the context of supplying these elevated positions within the imperial service that centralised state production should be interpreted.[100] Thus, Janes suggested that between the third and seventh centuries the crossbow brooch became and was maintained as an important component of the official costume of imperial servants.[101] Furthermore, Janes considered that uniform objects, such as the crossbow brooch, therefore functioned to bind a diverse military and civil bureaucracy of multi-ethnic Romans and non-Romans to the state under the emperor,[102] who distinguished himself from these imperial servants through his own distinctive dress.[103]

Four years later a further detailed analysis of the crossbow brooch was published in two works by Ellen Swift and which focused primarily upon the Western Roman Empire.[104] Comparable with Janes, Swift also concluded that the crossbow brooch was a piece of material culture produced to

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[94] Dominic Janes, "The golden clasp of the late Roman state," *Early Medieval Europe* 5, no. 2 (1996).
[95] Ibid., 127, 132.
[96] Ibid., 129.
[97] Ibid., 133.
[98] Ibid., 133.
[99] Ibid., 129-131.
[100] Ibid., 129, 133.
[101] Ibid, 128-129, 146.
[102] Ibid., 148, 153.
[103] Ibid., 142-143, 153.
[104] Ellen Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West* (Montagnac: Monique Mergoil, 2000); Ellen Swift, *The End of the Western Roman Empire: An Archaeological Investigation* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing, 2000).

construct, distinguish and sustain a particular classification of people within late Roman society, official imperial servants.[105] Furthermore, Swift also suggested that the crossbow brooch evolved during the fourth century from a primarily military piece of material culture to one also utilised by the state bureaucracy.[106] However, Swift further argued that by c. AD 400 the crossbow brooch had again stylistically and socially evolved into an object reserved for the highest echelons of the late Roman political elite.[107] Additionally, Swift considered the logistical arrangements associated with this particular type of material culture, discussing that the manufacturing of crossbow brooches was undertaken throughout the frontier provinces of the Roman west,[108] particularly in the central-northern provinces to supply the military forces operating throughout the Danubian frontier.[109] However, Swift's work also went beyond the sources that Janes explored to include a discussion of the crossbow brooches relationship with burial practices.[110] Swift considered that a pan-imperial burial custom developed during the later Roman Empire in which deceased males were buried with a crossbow brooch positioned at the shoulder.[111] As a consequence, Swift proposed therefore that the identification of this relationship between the sex of the deceased and the positioning of this particular type of material culture within the grave allows archaeologists to identify the remains of late Roman military personnel.[112]

In addition to Swift's two works a further detailed study of the crossbow brooch was published in 2000 by Barbara Deppert-Lippitz,[113] who in contrast to Janes and Swift proposed a somewhat earlier late second-early third-century chronology for the initial development of the crossbow brooch.[114] Deppert-Lippitz argued that by the end of the second century early forms of the crossbow brooch had become fashionable within the Roman military[115] and subsequently attained a

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[105] Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 9-10, 232.
[106] Ibid., 73, 81, 231.
[107] Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 88, 231-232; Swift, *The End of the Western Roman Empire*, 108-110.
[108] Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 88.
[109] Swift, *The End of the Western Roman Empire*, 112-113.
[110] Ibid., 42-44.
[111] Ibid., 42-43.
[112] Ibid., 43.
[113] Barbara Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Crossbow Fibula in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, Vol. 35 (2000).
[114] Ibid., 42.
[115] Ibid., 42.

favoured position as the preferred type of brooch during the first half of the third century.[116]

Specifically, Deppert-Lippitz considered that this initial development of the crossbow brooch was

linked to the military reforms of the Severan dynasty (193-235),[117] which by the later third century

had become an intrinsic part of the Roman military officer's official dress.[118] Therefore, although

Deppert-Lippitz study is in broad agreement with Janes and Swift regarding the military origins of

this brooch type, the earlier second-century initial phase of development is a new addition to the

discussion. However, Deppert-Lippitz analysis of the subsequent fourth –fifth-century development

of the crossbow brooch can be read as generally comparable to that of Swift's. During the period of

the Tetrarchy (c.293-324)[119] the imperial system was reorganised and an official imperial bureaucracy

'*militia*' was created in addition to the imperial army '*militia armata*.'[120] This new branch of imperial

service was modelled upon the military with bureaucrats adopting military style titles and dress[121] and

therefore by the late fourth century the crossbow brooch was utilised by a range of ranks in both the

military and semi-civilian bureaucratic departments of the government.[122] The final social

evolutionary stage of the crossbow brooch began during the fifth century when the brooch became a

symbol solely utilised by the elite ranks of Roman society.[123]

The final work to be considered within the context under discussion was published in 2017 by

Vince Van Thienen and which offers the most up-to-date synthesis, catalogue and analysis of the

diverse antique sources representing the crossbow brooch to be reviewed in this thesis.[124] In perhaps

the most systematic evaluation of the evidence to date, Van Thienen constructed detailed tables of the

available evidence relating to the crossbow brooch, including the art historical evidence,[125] examples

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[116] Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Crossbow Fibula in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," 42.
[117] Ibid., 43.
[118] Ibid., 51.
[119] Ibid., 46.
[120] Ibid., 52.
[121] Ibid., 52.
[122] Ibid., 56, 61.
[123] Ibid., 61.
[124] Vince Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," in *Social Dynamics in the Northwest Frontiers of the Late Roman Empire: Beyond Decline or Transformation*, ed. Nico Roymans, Stijn Heeren and Wim De Clercq (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017).
[125] Ibid., 103.

of engraved crossbow brooches,[126] as well as ancient documentary sources which discuss the wearing of brooches more generally.[127] Van Thienen's subsequent discussion of the social development of the crossbow brooch suggests that from c. AD 250 this particular brooch type related to military use,[128] with its appropriation by the higher ranks of that institution during the late third to early fourth centuries.[129] As the fourth-century progressed the crossbow brooch became established within the state bureaucracy also[130] and by the latter fourth century this relationship had crystallised further, with an apparent opposite reduction in the symbolic connection between the crossbow brooch and the military.[131] By the early-mid fifth century Van Thienen considered that the crossbow brooch had shifted to an elite association within Roman society, corresponding to the very highest political strata below the emperor.[132] Thus Van Thienen's analysis can also be considered to have reached similar conclusions to those of Janes, Swift and Deppert-Lippitz.

It can therefore be considered that the current general academic consensus suggests that the crossbow brooch underwent a symbolic transformation during the third to fifth centuries; from a primarily military piece of material culture to one that was also adopted by the state bureaucracy and then subsequently at the highest levels of the Roman state below the emperor. Such developments have been identified by scholars as having important implications for understanding the geo-political landscape of the late Roman Empire. Consequently, there has also been a growth in academic interest during the last seventeen years relating to how the crossbow brooch can be utilised to consider the geopolitical landscape of the empire and late Roman Britain in particular. Of fundamental importance to this approach has been the work of Swift, who has inspired, to varying degrees, all subsequent works that will be discussed below. Accordingly, a recurring theme within these studies is how imperial authority can be considered within different regions of Britain through the distribution of

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[126] Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 112.
[127] Ibid., 110.
[128] Ibid., 118, 122.
[129] Ibid., 119, 122.
[130] Ibid., 122.
[131] Ibid., 120.
[132] Ibid., 122.

crossbow brooch finds and how these interpretations can inform our understanding of the end of the imperial occupation.

In 2000 Swift published an analysis of several forms of material culture including 1083 crossbow brooches that were discovered in the regions of several provinces of the former Western Roman Empire, and which were sourced from museum collections and published texts.[133] Swift examined this catalogue of brooches by utilising the typological scheme first developed by Keller in 1971 and which has been subsequently elaborated upon by Prottel and then latterly by Swift,[134] before mapping the distribution of each type of crossbow brooch.[135] From these distribution maps Swift considered that an account of the disintegration of the Roman state in the west could be constructed.[136] Within the particular interest of this thesis are the 108 crossbow brooches which Swift catalogued and analysed in relation to Roman Britain.[137] From this sample and working within the method outlined above, Swift concluded that the typological distributions of these brooches suggests that Roman power in Britain decayed during the fourth century. Crossbow brooch find-spots of later typologies are distributed evermore towards the east of the island and then only in the extreme south east by the end of the fourth/first half of the fifth century.[138] Swift interpreted these findings as relating to the disengagement of imperial troops, and thus imperial control, from areas of Britain in the north and west;[139] however, additionally noting that a shift in the social function of the brooch and/or a change in the material culture of the frontier army may also account for the distributions observed.[140]

In 2007 Guy Halsall adopted an interdisciplinary approach to considering the geo-political landscape of late Roman Britain, combining documentary sources with a survey of material culture based upon Böhme's 1986 work.[141] Considering the distribution of the metalwork within Böhme's sample, Halsall proposed that during the late fourth century the imperial army was withdrawn from the north and west of Britain to new positions further south, which ranged from the south-west –

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[133] Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 7, 24-31.
[134] Ibid., 13-26 – See Method for a more detailed discussion regarding the Keller typology.
[135] Ibid., 27-77.
[136] Ibid., 233.
[137] Ibid., 27.
[138] Ibid., 211-212.
[139] Ibid., 212-213.
[140] Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 79, 212-213, 231.
[141] Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West*, 376-568, 195-197.

north-east (from the Severn Estuary into present day Yorkshire).[142] Furthermore, Halsall suggested

that this redeployment was part of Magnus Maximus' preparations for his bid for the imperial throne,

relocating regular military units to key theatres of operations and transferring military responsibility

for the British highland zones to more localised forces.[143] In 2013 Halsall elaborated further upon this

thesis by considering the distribution of a sample of fourth-century Roman metalwork (including

crossbow brooches) initially assembled by Stuart Laycock (see below).[144] Consequently, Halsall

reasserted his argument that Magnus Maximus redeployed the late fourth-century imperial garrison of

Britain, transferring control of the northern frontier to local, non-official, semi-militarised forces.[145]

A further but quite different interpretation of the geo-political landscape of late Roman

Britain considered through the distribution of imperial metalwork was undertaken by Stuart Laycock

in 2008.[146] This work draws heavily upon Laycock's personal experiences of the fragmentation of the

former Yugoslavia during the late twentieth century and the subsequent conflicts which were fought

along ethnic distinctions.[147] Accordingly, Laycock constructed a sample of approximately 116

crossbow brooches sourced from the Portable Antiquities Scheme, as well as a further single

catalogue of brooches.[148] From the consideration of the distribution of this sample and within an

overall narrative of inter-tribal rivalry and violence, Laycock argued that from the third century

military garrisons were deployed within the defences of Britain's *civitas* capitals, suggesting that

defence was organised locally and based upon the political unit of the *civitas*.[149] Laycock utilised this

interpretation, in part, to assert that Roman Britain continued to be fragmented politically and

culturally by its pre-Roman tribal identities.[150]

In distinction to the previous studies, Rob Collins published a regional analysis of the

crossbow brooch in 2010 which was specifically concerned with establishing a profile for the northern

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[142] Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West*, 376-568, 196-197.
[143] Ibid., 197.
[144] Guy Halsall, *Worlds of Arthur: Facts and Fictions of the Dark Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 217.
[145] Ibid., 216-219.
[146] Stuart Laycock, *Britannia the Failed State: Tribal Conflicts and the End of Roman Britain* (Stroud: The History Press, 2008).
[147] Ibid., 9-11.
[148] Ibid., 244.
[149] Ibid., 103-105.
[150] Ibid., 105.

frontier of Roman Britain.[151] Collins constructed a sample of 74 crossbow brooches sourced from

reports, museum collections and the Portable Antiquities Scheme, and subsequently analysed this

corpus utilising the typological system initially established by Keller.[152] From this analysis Collins

concluded that a significant proportion of crossbow brooches were discovered at sites which were

essential to imperial interests in the region.[153] Furthermore, the reduction in the number of later types

in comparison to earlier versions of the Keller sequence suggested that the frontier became evermore

isolated from the imperial core/s as the fourth century progressed.[154] Additionally, Collins noted that

his sample's profile differed from that of Swift's wider profile for Britain as a whole and that the

incorporation of data from the Portable Antiquities Scheme may be the distinctive variable;

suggesting that the incorporation of such material into a wider sample may subsequently modify

Swift's findings.[155] Subsequently in 2017, Collins published a further study which analysed the

distribution of a sample of 286 crossbow brooches sourced from the Portable Antiquities Scheme,

Swift's (2000) study and Collin's own (2010) previously discussed work.[156] Unlike the previous

analysis Collins did not construct a typological profile but was more concerned with the overall

distribution of this particular type of material culture.[157] Collins concluded that crossbow brooches

have been discovered throughout much of present-day England; however, the sample showed a bias

towards military sites, particularly and importantly where groups of these specific brooches have been

recovered.[158]

       The final work to be considered here was also published in 2017 by Simon Esmonde

Cleary.[159] In this study Cleary considered a series of distribution maps which were suggested to

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[151] Rob Collins, "Brooch use in the 4th- to 5-century frontier," in *Finds from the Frontier: Material Culture in the 4th-5th Centuries*, ed. by Rob Collins and Lindsay Allason-Jones (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2010), 64-77.
[152] Ibid., 64-65.
[153] Ibid., 66.
[154] Ibid., 73.
[155] Ibid., 68.
[156] Rob Collins, "Decline, Collapse, or Transformation? The case for the northern frontier of Britannia," in *Social Dynamics in the Northwest Frontiers of the Late Roman Empire: Beyond Decline or Transformation*, ed. Nico Roymans, Stijn Heeren and Wim De Clercq (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), 209.
[157] Ibid., 209-211.
[158] Ibid., 209.
[159] Simon Esmonde Cleary, "Roman state involvement in Britain in the later 4th century: an ebbing tide?" in *Social Dynamics in the Northwest Frontiers of the Late Roman Empire: Beyond Decline or Transformation*, ed. Nico Roymans, Stijn Heeren and Wim De Clercq (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017).

highlight a particular south-east/north-west divide (defined as two areas demarcated by a line running

from the Severn Estuary north-east to North Yorkshire),[160] in the material culture of late Roman

Britain.[161] Specifically, Cleary focused his attention on samples of coinage,[162] belt fittings,[163] and

brooches,[164] with the discussion of the crossbow brooch particularly focused upon the two samples

constructed previously by Swift and Collins (2010).[165] Cleary's conclusions reiterated Swift's

argument that crossbow brooches were biased towards the south-east of Britain,[166] as well as Collins'

consideration that a greater proportion of earlier fourth-century type crossbow brooches had been

discovered in the north in comparison to later types.[167] Incorporated into the overall discussion,

Cleary subsequently suggested that this contrast between the north-west and south-east brought into

question whether Roman Britain existed as a homogenous political entity into the first decade of the

fifth century and whether the garrisons of the northern frontier remained a coherent military force

under the command of the imperial state.[168]

In sum, it has been discussed above that the crossbow brooch has become a topical subject

within academia in recent decades[169] and scholars publishing in English have produced detailed

interpretations of the social development of this particular brooch type during the late Roman Empire.

These studies have been suggested above to have reached a current general academic consensus

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[160] Cleary, "Roman state involvement in Britain in the later 4th century: an ebbing tide?" 196, 198.
[161] Ibid., 181.
[162] Ibid., 182-189.
[163] Ibid., 189-194.
[164] Ibid., 194-195.
[165] Ibid., 194-195.
[166] Ibid., 194.
[167] Ibid., 195.
[168] Ibid., 199-200.
[169] In comparison to this specific thesis, a far smaller, less detailed and less theoretically developed contribution was made by this author at undergraduate level; Stephen Twort, "Britannia and the Brooch," (undergraduate dissertation, University of York, 2014). This 2014 study aimed to test the hypotheses of Swift, Laycock and Halsall (p.4) by analysing 71 of the crossbow brooches catalogued by Laycock (p.6-7, 52-54). The findings from this sample suggested a cluster of find-spots relating to later dated crossbow brooches distributed throughout the north-east midlands region, and it was considered that this spatial pattern may have related to the Roman road network 'funnelling' personnel through this area (p.45-46). Furthermore, it was discussed that the findings indicated that this sample of crossbow brooches had been recovered from a diverse range of sites and therefore it was difficult to assess on the present evidence whether these distributions were evidence for general garrisoning and billeting of soldiers at such sites, as proposed by Laycock and Halsall (p.46-49). It was concluded that the distribution of the 71 brooches analysed should be considered as the result of a long process of activity that encapsulated numerous contexts of use (p.50). Moreover, it was considered that future research should attempt to examine a much larger data set to attempt to better understand the crossbow brooch and its distribution throughout the landscape (p.46).

which suggests that the crossbow brooch developed from a primarily third-century military association to one that had shifted towards the political elite by the early fifth century. Furthermore, it has been considered how the influential work of Ellen Swift has created an interest in relation to how this specific type of material culture can inform our understanding of the geo-politics of the late Roman west. In particular the studies relating to Roman Britain have suggested that the Roman military potentially withdrew from the north-west during the late fourth century or became isolated from the provinces further south. Such interpretations are based upon the identification of a north-west/south-east divide in the distribution of later fourth-century crossbow brooch depositions. Consequently, the relationship between northern and southern Britain has been considered to have changed significantly before AD 400.

Thesis statement and structure

The above introductory section has attempted to set the context into which this thesis hopes to make a valuable contribution to the present state of knowledge relating to the crossbow brooch and the wider late Roman occupation of Britain.

In summary, the thesis to be subsequently advanced can be encapsulated thus. The general distribution of the crossbow brooch in Britain has a strong bias to the east of the island. Indeed, such a bias relates to the areas where the most intense evidence for state involvement during the occupation is found; the northern frontier and the south/east. In contrast, the relative paucity of finds from western regions can be linked to the reduction of state activity in this area from the early fourth century. Consequently, as the crossbow brooch became established within the wider diocese fewer imperial servants were posted to the west of Britain and by association fewer crossbow brooches entered this region. Therefore, rather than a late fourth-century phenomenon per se, the distinction between east and west is suggestive of developments which occurred from as early as c. AD 300.

Additionally, it will be argued that during the mid-late fourth century the crossbow brooch reached its widest influence within Britain, being utilised at multiple sites for localised identity work within various social practices. However, from the mid-fourth century new types were also produced which were restricted to the elite in imperial service and thus associated with the highest offices of late Roman Britain positioned primarily in the south, central and east. This elite signification is identifiable particularly from c. AD 400 when the networks supplying copper-alloy crossbow brooches to sub-elite imperial servants failed. This consequently caused a crisis for those who utilised the crossbow brooch for identity construction and which associated the state with various social practices. Therefore, the construction of new discourses, 'truths' and subsequent power relationships would have been required in Britain as the empire's occupation disintegrated.

Therefore, to propose these arguments and how they relate to the previously discussed literature regarding the social significance of the crossbow brooch and its symbolic transformation, as well as the associated geo-political implications for considering late Roman Britain, this thesis will be structured into three main component parts. Thus, to firstly consider and build upon the previous

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research relating to the symbolic interpretations of the crossbow brooch discussed in Chapter I, an investigation of the surviving art historical evidence utilised by scholars such as Janes, Swift, Deppert-Lippitz and Van Thienen (as discussed above) will be undertaken in Chapter II. However, in the attempt to approach this evidence from a different perspective, asking new questions of the evidence, and consequently with the intention to open fresh avenues of investigation, discursive tools of analysis will be applied to investigate themes such as localised identity construction and how these constructions were situated within wider cultural discourses. Consequently, by applying elements of discourse theory, poststructuralism, and Foucauldian thought, questions regarding the construction and structuring of social realities, power relationships and truths will also be interrelatedly explored. Therefore, this discursive analysis will aim to assess how the crossbow brooch was potentially constructed, considered and discussed within late Roman society and how these constructs may have varied over time and in the depth in which such discourses permeated society.

Following this analysis of the art historical evidence an investigation of a newly constructed sample of 350 crossbow brooches will be explored in Chapter III. This chapter will discuss the methods utilised for identifying, selecting, categorising and visualising this catalogue of finds. Furthermore, a consideration of the particular problems as evidence will be undertaken so as to inform the subsequent interpretation. Themes such as the geography of the landscape, recovery methods, curation and residuality, recycling, survival rates, how representative the sample is and negative evidence will be discussed with the function of acting as an important caveat that the subsequent interpretation must be deemed as provisional. Upon the completion of these discussions the findings of the analysis of this catalogue of crossbow brooches will be presented in the form of charts, maps and tables which will relate to the composition, distribution, and context dating of this sample. Additionally, to complement these tools of data presentation, a discussion of these findings will be subsequently developed in Chapter IV to contextualise these data in relation to the previously discussed works of Swift and Collins (2010) who also constructed compositional profiles and distribution maps.

The third main component to this thesis will put forward in Chapter V an interpretation of the late Roman occupation of Britain based upon the findings from the discursive analysis and the sample

of 350 crossbow brooches. It will seek to advance the above thesis in relation to the themes of the symbolism of the crossbow brooch and the geo-political implications for late Roman Britain discussed within Chapter I with regards to the previous research. Thus, this chapter will interpret the typological distribution of this sample of finds in the context of an island-wide discussion, as well as by constructing three regional analyses which relate to the north, west and south-east of what was Roman Britain. These analyses will be compared and contrasted to discuss where, when and potentially who was utilising the crossbow brooch within the Romano-British landscape and the implications for the debate previously discussed with regards to a north-west/south-east divide in the distribution of this particular type of material culture. Furthermore, the most numerous and widest distribution of a particular crossbow brooch typology will be contrasted with that of the least numerous and interpreted in connection with the discursive analysis. This interpretation will aim to develop further the implications of these distributions in relation to the crossbow brooches' role in constructing social realities and the implications for how these evolved at the end of the fourth century. Finally, Chapter VI will aim to bring these strands of thought together and relate them to the arguments proposed by the previous researchers discussed in Chapter I.

Therefore, this thesis aims to investigate the crossbow brooch and interrelatedly late Roman Britain with regards to quite specific themes which are born out of the influences of Janes, Swift, Deppert-Lippitz and Van Thienen in relation to the material/symbolic transformation of the crossbow brooch; as well as Swift, Halsall, Laycock, Collins and Cleary in relation to how these significations combined with analyses of material culture distribution can potentially inform an understanding of the geo-political landscape of late Roman Britain. It is the arguments of these works that have inspired this thesis and consequently focus it onto exploring these particular themes. While it is acknowledged that there are multiple other avenues for investigation and for interpretation of this sample, this thesis is specific in its focus on what it is and is not investigating. A discussion of some final thoughts and future research avenues will elaborate this point further in Chapter VII and consider how this work can be subsequently expanded upon and deepened.

II. The crossbow brooch: a discursive analysis

The introduction to this thesis discussed the important works undertaken in relation to understanding the socio-political importance of the crossbow brooch within late Roman society, with particular interest in the conclusions of Janes, Swift, Deppert-Lippitz and Van Thienen. It was suggested that a certain consensus had become established which interpreted a general line of development in the social evolution of the crossbow brooch from a primarily military association, to also including the state bureaucracy, as well as being adopted by the aristocratic political elite. This chapter intends to build upon such works from a discursive perspective and to investigate the appropriation of the crossbow brooch for localised identity construction, as well as broadening this analysis into a discussion of the discourses at work within wider late Roman society.

The opening chapter to this thesis discussed the fourth-century work of Ammianus Marcellinus and in so doing considered some of the key principles of discourse analysis. Comparable with such documentary sources, objects, such as the crossbow brooch, 'can be read for meaning'[170] and thus analysed with regards to questions relating to identity construction and social structures.[171] Therefore, within localised contexts of identity construction we need to assess the rhetorical functions of constructing accounts in particular ways,[172] the subject-positions made available by doing so[173] and consequently the identity claims that are attempting to be achieved.[174] Furthermore and intrinsically linked, on a wider structural level it is also important to consider how objects/subjects are constructed by the discourses active within society as meaning-making can only be constructed and subsequently perceived via the prevalent discourses.[175] In so doing we can begin to explore further the 'political utility' of appropriating the crossbow brooch within particular contexts.[176] In the first instance

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[170] After Burr, *Social Constructionism*, 66.
[171] Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 232.
[172] After Burr, *Social Constructionism*, 58-59, 126-127; Potter and Wetherell, "Unfolding Discourse Analysis," 198-199; Wetherell, "Themes in Discourse Research: The Case of Diana," 16-17.
[173] After Burr, *Social Constructionism*, 113-114; Davies and Harré, "Positioning: The Discursive Production of Selves," 262.
[174] After Burr, *Social Constructionism*, 106-107.
[175] After Burr, *Social Constructionism*, 122; Davies and Harré, "Positioning: The Discursive Production of Selves," 262.
[176] After Michel Foucault, "Lecture Two: 14 January 1976," in *Michel Foucault, Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, ed. Colin Gordon and trans. Alessandro Fontana and Pasquale Pasquino (Hemel Hempstead: The Harvester Press, 1980), 101.

therefore a specific example will be considered to suggest how such principles can offer another set of resources for interpreting the crossbow brooch.

In approximately AD 296[177] Galerius' (Caesar under Diocletian from AD 293-305)[178] commissioned the construction of a triumphal arch at Thessalonica[179] to commemorate his victorious campaign against Sassanid Persia.[180] Originally incorporated into this monumental piece of imperial architecture was a bust of Galerius (now housed within the museum at Thessalonica) which depicts the Caesar wearing a crossbow brooch on his right shoulder.[181] We therefore need to question why this particular resource was selected for this specific context, indeed the crossbow brooch and the cloak which it is represented as fastening are the only items of material culture depicted.[182] Moreover, what is this specific representation of Galerius trying to achieve, what is its function and how does this particular construction position Galerius in the attempt of accomplishing such a purpose and what do the available discourses suggest about these objects/subjects within wider society?

Such questions can start to be explained by contemplating the immediate context of the military nature of the arch itself.[183] Considering this context in connection with the previously discussed interpretations of the military association of the crossbow brooch at the end of the third century; it can be suggested that the employment of the crossbow brooch within this representation had the function of converging Galerius' dress with that of the military. In so doing, this representation is therefore linking the person of Galerius with the military, or at least a particular influential section of it.[184] Accordingly, this construction of Galerius can be suggested to be a strategy

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[177] Nancy H. Ramage and Andrew Ramage, *Roman Art: Romulus to Constantine* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1991), 259; Richard Reece, *The Later Roman Empire: An Archaeology, AD 150-600* (Stroud: Tempus, 1999), 25.

[178] Simon Corcoran, *The Empire of the Tetrarchs: Imperial Pronouncements and Government AD 284-324* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 5-6.

[179] Anthony Bonnano, "Sculpture," in *A Handbook of Roman Art: A Survey of the Visual Arts of the Roman World*, ed. Martin Henig (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1983), 81; Ramage and Ramage, *Roman Art: Romulus to Constantine*, 259-261; Reece, *The Later Roman Empire: An Archaeology, AD 150-600*, 25.

[180] Ramage and Ramage, *Roman Art: Romulus to Constantine*, 260.

[181] Jona Lendering, "Small Arch, Galerius." Livius, 2015, accessed February 23, 2017, http://www.livius.org/pictures/greece/thessaloniki/palace-of-galerius/small-arch-galerius/; Janes, "The golden clasp of the late Roman state," 137-8.

[182] Lendering, "Small Arch, Galerius."

[183] Ramage and Ramage, *Roman Art: Romulus to Constantine*, 260.

[184] Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire, AD 284-430*, 101.

of 'reflexive positioning,'[185] where the personal identity being claimed is one of a legitimate ruler established through military association and accomplishment.[186]

(Fig.1 - Illustration of a bust of Galerius, c.AD 296)[187]

Additionally, by broadening this analysis to consider how Galerius was positioned within the wider political structure of the empire further explanations become available for contemplation. Thus, in the context of the Tetrarchic system ('rule of four')[188] state propaganda was constructed with the function of claiming 'unity and concord' between the rulers and therefore by extension the empire as a whole.[189] To that end porphyry portraiture was produced where individuality was suppressed in favour of homogeneity, whereby the tetrarchs were depicted in uniform style and dress.[190] However as Cameron concluded, such a system was dependent upon the individual rulers conforming to this

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[185] After Davies and Harré, "Positioning: The Discursive Production of Selves," 264.

[186] Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire, AD 284-430*, 32.

[187] See Appendix 2.

[188] Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire, AD 284-430*, 31.

[189] Ibid., 32.

[190] Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire, AD 284-430*, 32; Ramage and Ramage, *Roman Art: Romulus to Constantine*, 263; Reece, *The Later Roman Empire: An Archaeology, AD 150-600*, 37.

ideal.[191] To that extent, Galerius' bust must also be considered in relation to how these competing

discourses of individuality and homogeneity interacted.

Within each regional territory the Tetrarchs undertook their own building programs,[192] which

in the context of Galerius specifically included the building of monumental architecture at his capital

at Thessalonica.[193] The construction of the bust of Galerius can therefore be set in this context, where

ideological uniformity gave way to regional individualism which can be seen in the individual

portraiture produced at this time. Although Ramage and Ramage have suggested that an individual

porphyry bust of [Diocletian[?] from Egypt was designed to suppress a personal identity,[194] the style

and dress do not conform to the homogeneity of the portraiture of the combined tetrarchs discussed

above, nor with that of the bust of Galerius which is individually distinct again. Consequently, it can

be suggested that within this context the bust had the function of constructing a particular personal

identity for Galerius. As such, difference was achieved within this context, in part, through the

contrasting employment of dress accessories – the crossbow brooch in contrast to the disc brooches

represented on the porphyrys of the combined tetrarchs.[195] Thus, the appropriation and employment

of the crossbow brooch within this construction of Galerius can be considered to have had a further

and interrelated political utility of functioning to add to the personal identity claim attempting to be

achieved: individual imperial 'legitimacy.'[196]

In this particular context therefore the crossbow brooch can be considered to have had a

particular rhetorical utility for the identity claims Galerius attempted to construct within the political

framework he was situated. The collective identity constructed by the porphyry portraiture of the

tetrarchs and the personal identity constructed by the bust of Galerius highlight that identities are fluid

constructs,[197] intrinsically linked to particular purposes,[198] and consequently to the contextually

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[191] Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire, AD 284-430*, 32.
[192] Ramage and Ramage, *Roman Art: Romulus to Constantine*, 255.
[193] Ibid., 259.
[194] Ibid., 264.
[195] Ramage and Ramage, *Roman Art: Romulus to Constantine*, 263; Reece, *The Later Roman Empire: An Archaeology, AD 150-600*, 37.
[196] Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire, AD 284-430*, 32.
[197] After Burr, *Social Constructionism*, 53-54, 104.
[198] Ibid., 106.

relevant subject positions constructed.[199] Thus, Galerius can be considered to have appropriated the crossbow brooch and the associated discourses for the purpose of this localised identity work.[200] But what is more, Galerius can be considered to thereby not only be the author/patron of this particular construct but simultaneously the product of the discourses active within the historical and cultural context he was situated in.[201] Consequently, the arguments discussed above regarding the military signification of the crossbow brooch at this time would appear consistent with this evidence, however with an additional fluid element of direct and personal imperial association within this specific context.[202]

In summary, when considered from a discursive perspective we can further contemplate the constructive utility of the crossbow brooch and its associated discourses rather than merely viewing it as a passive object. Indeed, the various individual sources of evidence could all be analysed in such a manner to draw out the specific utility of employing the crossbow brooch within their specific contexts. However, particular attention will now be given to considering the wider societal implications of the discourses associated with the crossbow brooch within late Roman society and how these may have structured people's social realities. To this end, a particular discursive approach will be subsequently applied which is commonly referred to as Foucauldian discourse analysis.

Foucauldian discourse analysis is based upon the influential work of the twentieth-century French philosopher Michel Foucault and within this context discourse is defined as 'language and practice.'[203] What this means is that discourse is conceptualised not only as the structure of language which determines how a particular subject can be 'meaningfully' discussed/considered within a specific historical context,[204] but how the discourse acquires the label of 'truth,'[205] and consequently the 'power' to be applied in the material world.[206]

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[199]After Burr, *Social Constructionism*, 53-54, 104; Davies and Harré, "Positioning: The Discursive Production of Selves," 263.
[200] After Foucault, "Lecture Two: 14 January 1976," 101.
[201] After Hall, "Foucault: Power, Knowledge and Discourse," 72.
[202] Janes, "The golden clasp of the late Roman state," 137-8.
[203] Hall, "Foucault: Power, Knowledge and Discourse," 72.
[204] Ibid., 72.
[205] Ibid., 74.
[206] Ibid., 76.

Foucault stated;

'In the end we are judged, condemned, classified, determined in our undertakings, destined to a certain mode of living and dying, as a function of the true discourses which are the bearers of the specific effects of power.'[207]

Thus knowledge and power are conceptualised as 'inextricably' connected.[208] What Foucault meant by this is that within a society power relations operate but that these power relations cannot be brought into material effect without a relevant discourse of 'truth' flowing through that society and accordingly the 'truth' of a particular discourse must be established for power to be exerted within a particular context.[209] Consequently, Foucault was interested in exploring and understanding how such associations came into effect within their own particular contexts; how discourses of 'truth' came/come to positions of predominance within a society.[210]

Foucault therefore interested himself not with the analysis of the central authority within a particular society per se, but with the interactions of wider society as a whole.[211] To this end, Foucault inverted the questions relating to power, moving the focus away from a central authority towards more localised groups, such as the family.[212] In so doing Foucault attempted to understand how such subjects became discursively and subsequently materially formed[213] and accordingly how power relations at this level operated.[214] Therefore, such an analysis would start by understanding how power relations operated at the level of the smallest units within a societal structure, questioning

[207] Foucault, "Lecture Two: 14 January 1976," 94.
[208] Hall, "Foucault: Power, Knowledge and Discourse," 75.
[209] Foucault, "Lecture Two: 14 January 1976," 93.
[210] Ibid., 95.
[211] Ibid., 95.
[212] Ibid., 100-101.
[213] Ibid., 97.
[214] Ibid., 100.

why and how discourses of 'truth' became/become socio-economically favourable and consequently, potentially appropriated by a dominant group.[215]

As Foucault stated;

'It is only if we grasp these techniques of power and demonstrate the economic advantages or political utility that derives from them in a given context for specific reasons, that we can understand how these mechanisms come to be effectively incorporated into the social whole.'[216]

Consequently, the subsequent discussion will not focus upon the central characters of the imperial system per se, but instead consider how the crossbow brooch was an important element within wider societal discourses which could be subsequently appropriated. Therefore, what Foucault termed the 'episteme' will be considered: 'the way of thinking or state of knowledge at any one time,'[217] in relation to the antique evidence for the crossbow brooch. Accordingly, the consistency (or lack of) in representations of the crossbow brooch will be explored, contemplating the knowledge produced within these sources; the 'rules' employed which dictate how the crossbow brooch can be conceptualised and utilised; the stereotypes employed which 'personify the discourse;' the 'institutional practices' associated with the crossbow brooch; and how the discourses employed obtained a 'truth' and therefore potential utility.[218] Furthermore, it is important to consider how these 'discursive formations' may have been challenged by competing discourses which in turn potentially had an impact upon the established 'truth.'[219]

The evidential record to ask such questions of is, however, not unproblematic. There is no known textual evidence to survive from antiquity which identifies and defines the object which has

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[215] Foucault, "Lecture Two: 14 January 1976," 101.
[216] Ibid., 101.
[217] Hall, "Foucault: Power, Knowledge and Discourse," 73.
[218] Ibid., 73.
[219] Ibid., 74.

subsequently become termed the crossbow brooch[220] and as a consequence the surviving continental

art historical evidence[221] is the best source record from which to 'read' and interpret the crossbow

brooch from. Such a methodology is in keeping with the previous research discussed, however it is

acknowledged that while the crossbow brooch has been discussed as a 'trans-Empire symbol of

status'[222] this is not to suggest that the regionalism of the Empire[223] would not have had an influence

upon the fluidity of the signifier. Consequently, while a general discourse/s related to the crossbow

brooch may be identifiable it is imperative to caveat this reading by considering that further

contextual information would have played a fundamental role in constructing the potential

multiplicity of further contextually dependent meanings that may have been associated with the

crossbow brooch. Examples of such readings are highlighted below to emphasise this point.

Moreover, as this thesis' primary concern is with late Roman Britain the evidence up to the end of the

first quarter of the fifth century will be considered and subsequently extrapolated from in Chapter V,

while the sources dated after this point and on into the sixth and seventh centuries will be omitted.

A reading of this evidence will quickly concur with the overall introductory discussion that

there is a consistency to the statements regarding the crossbow brooch, in that it is only ever depicted

on the right shoulder of representations of male figures; the right side being symbolically associated

with power.[224] Indeed this distinction is constructed implicitly within those art works which can be

suggested to depict representations of both female and male figures together, such as on the late third-

early fourth-century funerary monument discovered at Tilva Roš;[225] the mid fourth-century tomb

constructed at Silistra;[226] the gold glassware recovered from the sites at Dunaújváros and Dunaszekeső

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[220] Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 109.

[221] See both Janes, "The golden clasp of the late Roman state" and Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," for two of the more detailed catalogues of relevant art historical sources from antiquity.

[222] de la Bedoyère, *Eagles over Britannia: The Roman Army in Britain*, 178.

[223] Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376-568*, 79-96.

[224] Hella Eckardt, *Objects and Identities: Roman Britain and the North-Western Provinces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 167-168.

[225] Sofija Petković, "Crossbow fibulae from Gamzigrad (Romuliana)," *Starinar* 60 (2010): 131; Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 104.

[226] Georgi Atanasov, "Late Antique Tomb in Durostorum - Silistra and Its Master," *Pontica* (2007) 40: 447-453; Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 103-104.

which are dated to the second half of the fourth century;[227] the mid-late fourth-century silverware known as the as the Projecta Casket;[228] and on the ivoryware entitled the Diptych of Monza (c. AD 400).[229] Therefore, a specific and consistent construction of distinctions between genders can be observed within the art historical record whereby the crossbow brooch can be considered to have signified masculinity in difference to its binary opposite of femininity. Moreover, it can therefore be suggested that this was one of the fundamental rules associated with how the crossbow brooch was constructed, considered and discussed during late antiquity; intrinsically linked therefore to the power relationships relating to gender.[230]

(Fig.2 - Illustration of the Projecta Casket, mid-late fourth century)[231]

Additionally, such readings also concur with the overall introductory discussion that there is a further consistency to the evidence in relation to the types of male figures that are depicted wearing the crossbow brooch and the institutions of imperial service they are often overtly associated with.

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[227] F. Fülep, "Early Christian gold glasses in the Hungarian National Museum," *Acta Antiqua* 16 (1968): 401, 404, 412, Plate 1; Janes, "The golden clasp of the late Roman state," 142-3.
[228] Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire, AD 284-430*, 161; Janes, "The golden clasp of the late Roman state," 142; "The Projecta Casket," The British Museum, 2017, accessed February 24, 2017, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=59394&partId=1; Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 107.
[229] Swift, *The End of the Western Roman Empire*, 108-111; Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 107.
[230] Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376-568*, 96-99.
[231] See Appendix 2.

For example, a number of sources construct overtly military representations of their subjects, such as on the late third-century Arch of Galerius discussed above; the figures depicted advancing as part of Constantine's victorious army on the early fourth-century Arch of Constantine;[232] the representations on the fourth-century military *stelae* recovered at the sites of Strasbourg, Aquileia and Gamzigrad;[233] the *magister militum* Stilicho possibly depicted on the Diptych of Monza (c.AD 400);[234] as well as the triumphant representation of Flavius Constantius' defeat of the goths depicted on the Diptych of Halberstadt (c.AD 417).[235]

(Fig.3 - Illustration of the Diptych of Halberstadt, c.AD 417)[236]

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[232] R. Ross Holloway, *Constantine and Rome* (London: Yale University Press, 2004), 19, 31, 36-39; Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 103-104.

[233] Bishop and Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment from the Punic Wars to the fall of Rome*, 168-169.

[234] Swift, *The End of the Western Roman Empire*, 108-111; Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 107.

[235] Cecilia Olovsdotter, "Representing consulship: on the conception and meaning of the consular diptychs," *Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome* (2011) 4: 102, 116; Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 103, 107.

[236] See Appendix 2.

Similarly, a small number of sources construct overtly bureaucratic representations of their subjects, specifically the office of the *vicarius* of Rome represented on the Diptych of Probianus (c. AD 396 or 416)[237] and the governor of Malta greeting St Paul depicted on the Diptych of Carrand (c. AD 404).[238] However, the military/bureaucratic distinctions are not always easily distinguishable within the art historical record; for example a number of representations depict subjects with their codicil: their official symbol of office,[239] such as on the Projecta Casket[240] and the Missorium of Theodosius,[241] however whether these refer to military or bureaucratic offices is debatable. Therefore particular associations relating to imperial service can also be identified which can be suggested to be associated with how the crossbow brooch was constructed, considered and discussed during late antiquity; intrinsically linked to the importance of service to the imperial state.[242]

It can be suggested therefore that there were consistent and fundamental rules relating to how the crossbow brooch could be constructed, considered and discussed within late Roman society related to the concepts of gender and service. Indeed, this particular discourse relating to the signification of gender and service has been suggested to be a central 'truth' which structured power relations within the late Roman Empire.[243] However, this discourse can be suggested to have had a certain fluidity to it in relation to the institutional categories of imperial service that could be positioned within this framework as the crossbow brooch underwent socio-cultural developments (as

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[237] Dale Kinney and Anthony Cutler, "A Late Antique Ivory Plaque and Modern Response," *American Journal of Archaeology* (1994) 98: 463-465; Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 103, 107.

[238] Laurence Gosserez, "The diptych Carrand: The conversion of the Gentiles and the imperial ideology of the fifth century," *Journal of Augustinian Patristic Studies* (2005) 51: 112-125; Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 103, 107.

[239] Olovsdotter, "Representing consulship: on the conception and meaning of the consular diptychs," 102.

[240] Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire, AD 284-430*, 161; Janes, "The golden clasp of the late Roman state," 142; "The Projecta Casket," The British Museum; Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 107.

[241] Saul Martin González, "The Missorium of Theodosius: imperial elites and the Lusitanian countryside in the Later Roman Empire," *BAR International Series* (2013): 91-98; Richard Reece, "Art in Late Antiquity," in *A Handbook of Roman Art: A Survey of the Visual Arts of the Roman World*, ed. Martin Henig (Oxford: Phaidon Press, 1983), 241-2; Janes, "The golden clasp of the late Roman state," 144; Ramage and Ramage, *Roman Art: Romulus to Constantine*, 286-7; Reece, *The Later Roman Empire: An Archaeology, AD 150-600*, 44; Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 103,106.

[242] Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376-568*, 76-78.

[243] Ibid., 96-99.

discussed above). Therefore male gendered subjects within imperial service could be positioned

based upon their associated institutional constructs as long as there was no transgression of the

fundamental rules relating to gender and service.   Furthermore, this rule-bound fluidity can be

considered to have extended into localised representational choices, where individuality,[244] or group

association; such as family,[245] or institutions,[246] could be constructed. Moreover, these positions

could be located in a range of social practices, such as burial,[247] birthday and marriage celebrations[248]

institutional promotion,[249] as well as within representations of social engagements connected with

particular social classes; such as the association of hunting with the Roman aristocracy.[250] Therefore

the overarching discourse of gender and service can be considered to have had the flexibility to be

associated with a range of important social practices, such as burial, and which consequently suggests

that this discourse had permeated society relatively deeply.

However, this is not to suggest a reductionist and simplistic reading.   The emphasis here is

that identity is conceptualised as a contextually dependent performative construction.[251] Thus,

Galerius needed to promote his military associations through the performance of wearing this

particular dress accessory, as similarly did the numerous figures discussed above who are depicted

wearing the crossbow brooch and thus are represented as men in imperial service; a role performed in

the various social practices described. The crossbow brooch could be utilised for this identity work

and thus particular statuses within the interaction claimed but they are also the subjects of this

dominant discourse. Therefore, as well as this general discourse of gender and service it should also

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[244] See for example the discussion relating to Galerius above.

[245] See for example the glassware discovered at Dunaújváros and Dunaszekeső in Fiilep, "Early Christian gold glasses in the Hungarian National Museum," 401, 404, 412, Plate 1; Janes, "The golden clasp of the late Roman state," 142-3.

[246] See for example the military *stelae* in Bishop and Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment from the Punic Wars to the fall of Rome*, 168-169.

[247] See for example the funerary monument discovered at Tilva Roš in Petković, "Crossbow fibulae from Gamzigrad (Romuliana)," 131.

[248] See for example the glassware discovered at Dunaújváros and Dunaszekeső in Fiilep, "Early Christian gold glasses in the Hungarian National Museum," 412 and the Projecta Casket in Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire, AD 284-430*, 161.

[249] See for example the Missorium of Theodosius in Reece, "Art in Late Antiquity," 242.

[250] See for example the Great Hunt mosaic in Patrizio Pensabene and Enrico Gallochio, "The Villa del Casale of Piazza Armerina," *University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology Expedition Magazine* 53(2) (July 2011): 31-34; and in relation to Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376-568*, 343.

[251] Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376-568*, 40.

be considered that what the crossbow brooch further signified during late antiquity was also contextually dependent with the context influencing the particular meaning.[252]

To emphasise this point, the crossbow brooches depicted in the family portraits of the glassware discovered at Dunaújváros and Dunaszekeső[253] can be suggested to be also part of more nuanced discourses associated with the family due to their positioning within such a specific context. Therefore the crossbow brooch within these contexts is also potentially signifying patriarchy and how the concepts of a father and husband were constructed. A further example can be considered in relation to the tomb at Silistra where the crossbow brooch is also associated with the discourses relating to the relationship of the master and his servants,[254] and therefore is potentially also signifying the hierarchy of the extended household in this context. Additionally, the crossbow brooch depicted on the sarcophagus of Marcus Claudianus and inserted into the scene representing the 'Arrest of St Peter'[255] could also be associated in this context with discourses relating to religious persecution for instance. Therefore, the crossbow brooch could have been associated and utilised within a multiplicity of contexts where more nuanced meanings were constructed within the framework of the general discourse relating to gender and service. Consequently, context should be considered as constructive of the crossbow brooch within that particular time and space as well as constructed by its presence within it. As such, the final signification of the crossbow brooch is left open.[256]

The permeation of society by the crossbow brooch and its associated discourses can be considered to have reached its widest influence during the mid-late fourth century when the number of medias utilised for constructing representations associated with the crossbow brooch appears to have become their most diverse; for example the *stelae* from Aquileia;[257] the frescoes in the tomb at Silistra;[258] the glassware discovered at Dunaújváros and Dunaszekeső;[259] the ivoryware of the Brescia

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[252] After Catherine Belsey, *Poststructuralism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 7; Eckardt, *Objects and Identities: Roman Britain and the North-Western Provinces*, 20; Passmore, "Poststructuralism and history," 128.

[253] F. Fülep, "Early Christian gold glasses in the Hungarian National Museum," 401, 404, 412, Plate 1; Janes, "The golden clasp of the late Roman state," 142-3.

[254] Atanasov, "Late Antique Tomb in Durostorum - Silistra and Its Master," 449-450, 457, 463-465.

[255] Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 107.

[256] After Belsey, *Poststructuralism: A Very Short Introduction*, 22.

[257] Bishop and Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment from the Punic Wars to the fall of Rome*, 28, 168-169.

[258] Atanasov, "Late Antique Tomb in Durostorum - Silistra and Its Master," 463-465.

casket;[260] the silverware of the Projecta Casket[261] and Missorium of Theodosius;[262] the establishment of chlamydatus portraiture at Corinth;[263] the coinage for the *vota publica* discovered at Trier and Milan;[264] and the monumental architecture of the Obelisk of Theodosius.[265] Furthermore, it is through these diverse medias that the broadest range of social practices to be associated with the crossbow brooch are represented, such as burial;[266] marriage and birthdays;[267] occupational promotion;[268] Christian religious observances (reliquary);[269] the honouring of local dignitaries;[270] imperial donations;[271] and imperial triumphs.[272] As discussed above, under the rules of the general discourse the crossbow brooch would have signified something particular within each context and therefore its meaning would have been part of the construction of the social practice, as well as constructed by it. Additionally, it can be further suggested from the surviving evidence that the mid fourth-century witnessed the widest availability of such discourses in relation to the social status and institutional rank signified: for example, the relative simplicity of the *stelae* discovered at Aquileia and dated to AD 352,[273] in comparison with the relatively ornate mid-fourth century tomb at Silistra.[274] This suggests that at least within a military context the discourses relating to the crossbow brooch could be appropriated by reasonably disparate ranks; if their burial markers can be considered to be

[259] Fiilep, "Early Christian gold glasses in the Hungarian National Museum," 484-484, Plate 1.

[260] Carolyn Joslin Watson, "The Program of the Brescia Casket," *Gesta* 20(2) (1981): 288.

[261] Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 107.

[262] Ramage and Ramage, *Roman Art: Romulus to Constantine*, 286-7.

[263] Amelia R. Brown, "Chlamydatus Portraits and Public Life in Late Antique Corinth," *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 81(1) (2012): 159.

[264] Janes, "The golden clasp of the late Roman state," 131-132.

[265] Thomas S. Burns, *Barbarians within the gates of Rome: a study of Roman military policy and the barbarians, ca. 375-425 A.D.* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 89-90; Reece, "Art in Late Antiquity," 242; Linda Safran, "Points of View: The Theodosian Obelisk Base in Context," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 34(3) (1993): 409-435; Ramsay Traquair and A. J. B. Wace, "The Base of the Obelisk of Theodosius," *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 29 (1909): 65.

[266] Atanasov, "Late Antique Tomb in Durostorum - Silistra and Its Master," 447; Bishop and Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment from the Punic Wars to the fall of Rome*, 28, 168-169.

[267] Fiilep, "Early Christian gold glasses in the Hungarian National Museum," 412 and the Projecta Casket in Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire, AD 284-430*, 161.

[268] Reece, "Art in Late Antiquity," 242.

[269] Watson, "The Program of the Brescia Casket," 290.

[270] Brown, "Chlamydatus Portraits and Public Life in Late Antique Corinth," 169-170.

[271] Janes, "The golden clasp of the late Roman state," 131.

[272] Burns, *Barbarians within the gates of Rome: a study of Roman military policy and the barbarians, ca. 375-425 A.D*, 89-90.

[273] Bishop and Coulston, *Roman Military Equipment from the Punic Wars to the fall of Rome*, 28, 168-169.

[274] Atanasov, "Late Antique Tomb in Durostorum - Silistra and Its Master," 448-450, 453.

representative of their wealth and social status and by extension in this context the signification of their imperial ranks.

Therefore the evidence suggests that during the mid-late fourth century the discourses relating to the crossbow brooch had reached their widest influence, permeating society into various social practices, constructing and being constructed by the multiplicity of contexts. Indeed, the above discussion has suggested relatively strong associations between state structures and wider social relations. Furthermore, such a conclusion converges with the archaeological evidence for the Western Roman Empire which suggests that during this period of the fourth century crossbow brooches were being manufactured on a relatively large scale.[275] This can therefore be considered to suggest that the crossbow brooch and the general discourse which it signified had developed to a level of 'domination.'[276] In this context domination is defined as more than a simple relationship relating to 'subservience'[277] and is more concerned with the power of discourses to act through 'mutual relations' within the populace of a society.[278] For example, for individuals, groups and institutions to include the crossbow brooch within particular social practices (e.g. birthday celebrations and burial), the 'truth' of the general discourse and its utility for the performance/construction of identity/ies and their associated status/es which would have influenced particular power relations within such contexts must have been strong.

However, this relatively wide-scale influence that is discernible during the mid-late fourth century does not appear to have been maintained into the fifth century. In stark contrast to the relatively large corpus of archaeological evidence and the diversity of the sources discussed above for the mid-late fourth century, the archaeological evidence[279] and the art historical evidence becomes more limited. With the present state of knowledge the only surviving art-historical objects that construct and transmit representations of the crossbow brooch between the last decade of the fourth

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[275] Swift, *The End of the Western Roman Empire*, 108.
[276] After Foucault, "Lecture Two: 14 January 1976," 95-96.
[277] Janes associates the crossbow brooch as a symbol of both 'allegiance' and 'subservience' to the state in Janes, "The golden clasp of the late Roman state," 134.
[278] Foucault, "Lecture Two: 14 January 1976," 96.
[279] Swift, *The End of the Western Roman Empire*, 108.

century and the first half of the fifth century are potentially one or two chlamydatus erected at Corinth,[280] as well as a small number of ivory-ware diptychs.[281]

Diptychs are a form of high status ivory-ware constructed as presentational leaves and decorated to celebrate advancement within the institutions of imperial service.[282] These particular forms of material culture are dated primarily to the fifth century in the Western Empire and to the sixth century in the surviving Eastern Empire.[283] Of particular interest are five diptychs that depict the crossbow brooch and which are dated between the very end of the fourth century up to the end of the first quarter of the fifth century.[284] In contradistinction to the diversity of evidence for the mid-late fourth century discussed above, these five diptychs constitute the only surviving art historical evidence to be tightly dated to this period which construct representations of the crossbow brooch.[285] As such, this evidence is considered by Swift and Van Thienen as an indicator that the latter crossbow brooch had undergone a socio-cultural transformation becoming socially restricted to the elite ranks within imperial service.[286] However, in contrast it has been argued by Deppert-Lippitz that the Diptych of Monza specifically (if indeed it represents Stilicho, Eucherius and Serena), should be read as representing the disparate ranks that could appropriate the crossbow brooch at the end of the fourth century - the head of the Roman military Stilicho in contrast to his son Eucherius a mere tribune.[287] Furthermore, such a line of argument relating to the position of Eucherius and the construction of the diptych is supported elsewhere.[288] Deppert-Lippitz's argument must consequently be acknowledged and therefore requires some attention.

It has been considered above that meaning is constructed by and constructive of particular contexts and therefore as long as the fundamental rules relating to gender and service were not

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[280] Brown, "Chlamydatus Portraits and Public Life in Late Antique Corinth," 159.
[281] Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 103.
[282] Alan Cameron, "City Personifications and Consular Diptychs," *Journal of Roman Studies* (2015) 105: 254.
[283] Ibid., 250.
[284] Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 103, 106-107.
[285] Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 103.
[286] Swift, *The End of the Western Roman Empire*, 108-111; Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 120-121.
[287] Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Crossbow Fibula in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," 56.
[288] Cameron, "City Personifications and Consular Diptychs," 280.

transgressed the crossbow brooch could have represented a potential multiplicity of contextually dependent significations. Therefore, in contrast to a fixed signification of a particular rank, as suggested by Deppert-Lippitz, it will be argued below that the Diptych of Monza and the crossbow brooches depicted within it represent a far more complex number of discourses at work. Consequently, perhaps of fundamental importance to the Diptych of Monza is the concept of hereditary service within the late Empire, whereby fourth-century Roman law prescribed the conscription of soldiers' sons into imperial service.[289] In one context therefore, we may consider that the crossbow brooches depicted represent this relationship between father, son and the state. Indeed, such an interpretation has been previously suggested to account for the discovery of crossbow brooches within the graves of juveniles.[290] However, the particular context here is more nuanced due to the presence of Stilicho's wife/Eucherius' mother, Serena, within the diptych. Serena had been a member of the extended imperial family before being adopted by Theodosius I as his legal daughter.[291] Thus, the depiction of Serena can be argued to signify the group's imperial inheritance. Consequently, the crossbow brooches represented on the diptych can be suggested to signify not only gender and service (including inherited service) but also personal imperial power and legitimacy.

Therefore, we may consider that there is a significant amount of interrelated identity work being undertaken within the Diptych of Monza. Moreover, we need to consider this work within the wider political context of the powerful role that Stilicho held within the Empire as a member of the imperial household,[292] which, by the time of the diptych's construction (c.395-408),[293] was as regent during the minority of a ruler in the west (as well as claims to a similar regency in the east) following the death of Theodosius I in 395.[294] Consequently, it is considered that Stilicho dominated the emperor Honorius after becoming regent and succeeded in preserving this political hegemony for over

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[289] Southern and Dixon, *The Late Roman Army*, 67

[290] Janes, "The golden clasp of the late Roman state," 134.

[291] Alan Cameron, "City Personifications and Consular Diptychs," 280.

[292] Ibid., 280.

[293] Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 102.

[294] Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire, AD 284-430*, 102; Halsall, Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376-568, 188-189; Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History*, 475-476.

a decade after.[295]   Furthermore, Stilicho's claims to regency over Arcadius in the east produced

resistance from the eastern court and hostile relations between the two.[296]   Thus, considering such

power relations at work we may propose a particular context for the construction of the Diptych of

Monza, for although the diptych cannot be categorically dated to a specific year or event, the

antagonism with the eastern court appears to have been a consistent source of enmity. However,

before such a proposition is presented it is important to consider the artistic style which potentially

influenced the representational choices for how Stilicho, Eucherius and Serena are constructed in this

diptych.

      The Obelisk of Theodosius was erected in the Constantinopolitan Hippodrome (Istanbul)

c.AD 390 to celebrate the military victories of Theodosius I.[297]   Within the panels carved into the base

of the obelisk several figures are depicted as wearing the crossbow brooch[298] which are set within

scenes suggested to represent the imperial household and their officials overlooking spectators at the

hippodrome.[299]   Of particular interest are the depictions interpreted as the imperial family,[300] in which

the Emperor Theodosius I is represented as the central figure with his two sons to his front left and

right.[301]   The figure to the front right of Theodosius is depicted wearing a crossbow brooch and

considering that it was Theodosius's eldest son, Arcadius, who was the senior of the two (having been

raised in rank by his father in AD 383),[302] this figure can be suggested to be a representation of him

with the brooch acting to signify his distinction with Honorius. Within this context, it can be

suggested that the crossbow brooch did not signify a particular rank for Arcadius per se. Indeed, the

crossbow brooch can be argued to signify not only difference to Honorius, but also gender and service

in the form of a ceremonial military context[303] emphasising Arcadius' heritage as the son of a

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[295] Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History*, 216-217
[296] Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376-568*, 189, 194-195, 200; Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History*, 217-222.
[297] Burns, *Barbarians within the gates of Rome: a study of Roman military policy and the barbarians, ca. 375-425 A.D.*, 89-90.
[298] Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 106.
[299] Safran, "Points of View: The Theodosian Obelisk Base in Context," 410-11.
[300] Reece, "Art in Late Antiquity," 235; Ramage and Ramage, *Roman Art: Romulus to Constantine*, 275-5; Reece, *The Later Roman Empire: An Archaeology, AD 150-600*, 29.
[301] Traquair and Wace, "The Base of the Obelisk of Theodosius," 67.
[302] Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376-568*, 187-188.
[303] Swift, *The End of the Western Roman Empire*, 112.

successful military emperor.[304] Such an interpretation would place the representation within the

military context of the architecture, as well as within the wider discourses circulating regarding

inheritance and service discussed above.

Therefore, considering that Stilicho was a member of Theodosius' senior military staff and

family from the 380s at Constantinople[305] it can be suggested that he was aware of the Obelisk and its

symbolic content, perhaps even being in attendance at its dedication. Consequently, it can be

proposed that within the context of the antagonism with the eastern court and claims to regency over

Arcadius, Stilicho drew upon the symbolism and positioning which he had seen employed to construct

Arcadius' identity to also construct that of Eucherius. Thus, situated within this context the

positioning of Stilicho, Eucherius and Serena within the diptych allowed multiple subject positions to

be claimed, such as, father/husband; son; mother/wife; regent/*magister militum*; legal heir; and

imperial daughter of Theodosius. As such, the depictions of the crossbow brooches within this

context, whilst maintaining the rules of gender and service, potentially also represented a complex

political narrative under construction in which particular identities are performed within the context of

an imperial power struggle for supremacy. Furthermore, similar discourses were constructed by

Stilicho's opponents to bring about his downfall in AD 408 which linked his ambitions for Eucherius

to the imperial throne.[306]

Thus, the representation of Eucherius wearing a crossbow brooch did not necessarily signify

the specific rank of tribune, as has been suggested by Deppert-Lippitz and Cameron.[307] Such an

interpretation rests upon a singular and static reading of the Diptych of Monza and although not fully

discountable fails to account for the potential multiplicity of context dependent readings. In contrast,

it has been proposed here that the Diptych of Monza should be considered as a resource which was

produced to accomplish much more rhetorical work, constructed within the context of an elite power

struggle for domination within the imperial family, with the crossbow brooch incorporated as a

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[304] Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376-568*, 110.

[305] Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History*, 216.

[306] Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376-568*, 213; Heather, *The Fall of the Roman Empire: A New History*, 222.

[307] Cameron, "City Personifications and Consular Diptychs," 280; Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Crossbow Fibula in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," 56.

specific device to enable such a construction. Additionally, Swift has advanced the argument that the type of crossbow brooches depicted on the Diptych of Monza represent a distinctive style connected with 'very high-status persons' within imperial service.[308] Therefore Swift's specific analysis of the crossbow brooches represented in the Diptych of Monza suggests further evidence for the elite interpretation, which also converges with the limited nature of the archaeological evidence for this specific type[309] (see Chapter III).

Therefore, the contrast between the evidence for the mid-late fourth-century and the early fifth-century suggests that the discursive formation had changed.[310] While the discourse relating to gender and service was still maintained a competing discourse to that of the mid-late fourth-century diversity appears to have become established and which constructed a discourse that the brooch, or at least the latter types to be produced, were now restricted to the elite strata of Roman society. It has been suggested by Swift in particular that this socio-cultural development of the crossbow brooch was due to a number of potentially interrelated factors, such as a the demand amongst high ranking soldiers and bureaucrats for a brooch type which distinguished them from the wide spectrum of institutional ranks which could appropriate the crossbow brooch during the fourth century.[311] As discussed above, rank has been previously suggested to have been visually delineated through the use of different types of manufacturing material, such as gold, silver and copper-alloy. However, now a specific type/s were produced and as such Collins, for example, has suggested that the Keller type 5 (see Chapter III) may have been limited to a particular group within the late Roman army, such as officers of the *comitatenses*.[312]

Moreover however, Swift considered that it was the failure of logistical networks due to geo-political instability at the end of the fourth/beginning of the fifth century which would have affected production and distribution.[313] Consequently, the fall in large scale manufacture of copper alloy crossbow brooches at the beginning of the fifth-century has been suggested by Swift to relate to the

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[308] Swift, *The End of the Western Roman Empire*, 110.
[309] Swift, *The End of the Western Roman Empire*, 108.
[310] After Hall, "Foucault: Power, Knowledge and Discourse," 73.
[311] Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 231.
[312] Rob Collins, "Brooch use in the 4th- to 5-century frontier" 68.
[313] Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 88; Swift, *The End of the Western Roman Empire*, 112.

inability of the state to supply the wider ranks of the military and bureaucracy, rather than a rejection

of an identity associated with the crossbow brooch.[314] However, assessing in any detail the collapse

of these networks is problematic due to the lack of archaeological evidence to indicate where

crossbow brooches were manufactured. Some scholars have advanced the argument that these

brooches would have been produced at state run *fabricae* on the continent,[315] with sites in Pannonia,[316]

northern Italy,[317] and at Trier suggested.[318] As such, regional manufacturing centres throughout the

north-west provinces have been considered,[319] with the possibility that a certain degree of production

was also undertaken within Roman Britain.[320] However, the Romano-British hypothesis does have its

critics[321] and re-assessments of the evidence previously proposed as indicating crossbow brooch

manufacture within the northern frontier have not been supportive.[322] Therefore, the specific details

of crossbow brooch manufacture and supply currently require more research to reach firmer

conclusions; a task not currently within the scope of this thesis (see Chapter VII). Nevertheless, this

thesis advances in line with Swift's argument that a failure of logistical networks effected distribution

and not initially a rejection of an identity/ies associated with the crossbow brooch. Consequently, a

certain degree of centralised control of production and distribution rather than a fully devolved system

is considered but far from certain.

Additionally, the chronology for the crises within the state's logistical networks also fits

within the broad political context of imperial power struggles discussed above in relation to the

Diptych of Monza. Specifically, it has been argued by Halsall that the late Roman Empire in the West

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[314] Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 232.

[315] Ibid., 3.

[316] Janes, "The golden clasp of the late Roman state," 129; Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 3; Swift, *The End of the Western Roman Empire*, 112; Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 100

[317] Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 100.

[318] Mackreth, *Brooches in late Iron Age and Roman Britain: Volume 1*, 239.

[319] Janes, "The golden clasp of the late Roman state," 133; Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 88; Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 100.

[320] Collins, "Brooch use in the 4th- to 5-century frontier," 65; Collins, "Decline, Collapse, or Transformation? The case for the northern frontier of Britannia," 211; Mackreth, *Brooches in late Iron Age and Roman Britain: Volume 1*, 239; Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 3, 88.

[321] Hattatt, *Iron Age and Roman Brooches*, 128.

[322] Bayley and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, 40.

was heavily dependent upon patronage as a system of government.[323] Within this system the crossbow brooch would have had the reciprocal function of constructing a position of authority and status for the wearer and by extension the state which granted that authority.[324] However by the end of the fourth century minority rule and court politics (discussed above in relation to Stilicho and Arcadius) have been suggested to have caused a crisis in the ability of the imperial centre/s to efficiently dispense patronage.[325] Consequently, this crisis altered the balance of power relations which structured the empire and caused political voids within late Roman society to form.[326] Within such voids regional elites could compete to secure their own power bases, reinforcing their own localised patronage networks[327] and at the same time the senatorial classes had the ability to accumulate great wealth and political power;[328] the very men constructing their identities through the media of the diptych.[329] Therefore, if we draw together the above discussions with the considerations relating to the interrelated crises within the logistical and patronage networks of the empire c. AD 400, we can consider that a failure to maintain large scale production and distribution of crossbow brooches would have had profound effects. If these networks were no longer functioning efficiently to offer a wide social range of individuals and groups the opportunities for social display, performance and advancement through imperial service then the 'truth' of the associated discourses would be potentially undermined. Thus, crises in the interconnected networks of supply and patronage would have had real effects for how the crossbow brooch was constructed, considered and discussed within society during late antiquity and the failure of the late Roman Empire to maintain a uniform material culture would have had regional implications and responses.[330] Such themes will be extrapolated from this discussion and subsequently applied within Chapters V in relation to Roman Britain specifically.

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[323] Halsall, Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376-568, 34.
[324] Swift, *The End of the Western Roman Empire*, 43.
[325] Halsall, Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376-568, 188.
[326] Ibid., 34.
[327] Cameron, *The Later Roman Empire, AD 284-430*, 107-108.
[328] Ibid., 117-118.
[329] Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 106.
[330] Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 233.

In summary, it has been proposed that a discursive approach offers another set of tools for analysing the evidence relating to the crossbow brooch. This discussion has considered that a particular discourse relating to the concepts of gender and service acquired 'truth' and determined to a certain extent how the crossbow brooch could be constructed, considered and discussed within late Roman society. Furthermore, it has been suggested that these particular social categories were important components which structured power relations within the late Roman Empire. Furthermore, within the framework of this general discourse it was argued that the crossbow brooch and its associated discourses had constructive power and therefore rhetorical utility for the purpose of localised identity constructions which allowed contextually dependent subject positions to be claimed. Indeed, the importance of context was highlighted and a poststructuralist position taken in relation to the potential multiplicity of meanings which the crossbow brooch could signify within the constraints of the discourse relating to gender and service. Thus, while the crossbow brooch would have acted as a visual 'badge' which signified the status of the wearer, this signification would not have been divorced from the situational activity. Indeed, the argument proposed above has attempted to show that identity is a contextually dependent performative construction and thus intrinsically linked to the content of the activity. As discussed, gender and service were important concepts which structured power relations within the late Roman Empire and which would have had the reciprocal function of constructing positions of authority and status for both the wearer and the state. However, within this framework a multiplicity of further contextually dependent meanings could be constructed; a point discussed in relation to the examples of family and the extended household where the crossbow brooch was also potentially an important element signifying patriarchy and/or the relationship of master/ servant. Therefore, when considering the status of the wearer we must also consider the context of the interaction which will determine which identity/ies and thus statuses are salient; man, soldier, bureaucrat, father, husband, master etc., for example, which may have been multiple and interrelated, and thus contextually fluid.

Additionally, it has been argued that these discourses and power relations associated with the crossbow brooch had permeated society and reached their widest influence during the mid-late fourth century. During these decades such discourses were suggested to be at their most diverse in relation

to the social practices that they were associated with and the breadth in institutional rank that could appropriate them. This diversity was subsequently contrasted with the evidence for the very end of the fourth century into the first quarter of the fifth when the discursive formation is argued to have changed to a more restricted and elite association. Such change was considered to have been influenced by the manufacture of new types of crossbow brooch which were produced for the elite within imperial service only. Initially this was not a process which was intended to restrict 'lesser' forms from wider appropriation and disparate types would have been in circulation simultaneously. While the restriction of these new types to high ranking officials would have been visually noticeable they would not have meant that the lower ranks would have been deprived of appropriating this particular material culture as long as large scale copper-alloy production was maintained. However, the failure of the production networks at the end of the fourth century which supplied copper alloy brooches to sub-elite ranks would have caused a crisis for those now unable to officially appropriate this material culture. Moreover and intrinsically linked was the contemporary crisis within the imperial patronage system. The failure of these interconnected networks would have thus effected who could appropriate the crossbow brooch and by extension influenced the established 'truths' and associated identities, statuses and power relationships which structured the late imperial state. This analysis will be subsequently applied to the case of late Roman Britain in Chapters V but first this thesis will discuss the construction of a new catalogue of crossbow brooches that will be analysed and the findings subsequently combined with the conclusions of this discursive analysis.

III.i. Sample

A total of 350 crossbow brooches were selected for this sample from excavation reports/finds catalogues housed in the University of York library and from the online database of the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS). This research was undertaken between autumn 2015 and summer 2016. A final trawl of the PAS database for any new additions was undertaken on the 08/09/2016. A total of 194 crossbow brooches were selected from 45 individual excavation reports/finds catalogues housed in the University of York library and a further 156 crossbow brooches were selected from the same number of individual records on the PAS.[331]

III.ii. Method of analysis[332]

The selection of objects for incorporation into this sample was based upon two primary considerations; firstly, could the object be positively identified as a crossbow type brooch and secondly, did the crossbow brooch have a provenance? The characteristics of these two sets of data required differing approaches to answering these questions.

The academic status of the records contained within the excavation reports and finds catalogues housed in the University of York library meant that the identification of an object as a crossbow brooch was somewhat deferred to the authors, as crossbow brooches described as such were included even when they were not accompanied by an image for independent corroboration. This method of selection was followed due to an underlying assumption that the authors of such reports are experts within their respective fields.[333] However, the description of an object and where available the image were cross-referenced for accuracy against the catalogues within the extensive works of both Justine Bayley and Sarnia Butcher, as well as Ellen Swift.[334] Additionally, the provenances of the

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[331] The overall total of 350 as a round number is purely coincidental and no upper limit/cut-off point was created. See Appendix 1 for detailed information.

[332] The foundations of the method utilised here were discussed in 2014, Twort, "Britannia and the Brooch," 11-13, 17. However, these initial thoughts were underdeveloped and have been greatly expanded upon here.

[333] For example see Lindsay Allason-Jones, "Lindsay Allason-Jones," Centre for Interdisciplinary Artefact Studies, 2009, accessed Oct 3, 2016, http://cias.ncl.ac.uk/Lindsay_Allason_Jones.htm .

[334] Justine Bayley and Sarnia Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection* (London: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 2004), 106-120; Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 13-24.

crossbow brooches sourced from the resources housed in the University of York library were established due to their inclusion within their specific sites excavation reports/finds catalogues.

The data from the online database of the PAS[335] was utilised in line with Collins' 2010 future research remarks that the incorporation of such material into a broad sample for Roman Britain would be an innovative avenue of research.[336] The search term 'crossbow brooch' was entered into the 'search' field of the database and which subsequently returned 330 results in the final data trawl dated the 08/09/2016. Many of these records were then omitted due to their various problems as evidence (which also highlights some of the overall problems with the PAS in general – see also Chapter III.iii). For example, the search term retrieved all records that contained 'crossbow brooch' within their text, even if the records imagery and descriptive data clearly indicated that the object was not a crossbow brooch[337] and thus these records were excluded from this sample. Consequently, due to this issue with the retrieval of the PAS data it was deemed necessary to only include records where the object could be visually corroborated by cross-referencing with the catalogues created by Bayley and Butcher, as well as Swift.[338] Additionally, visual corroboration and subsequent cross-referencing further prevented the inclusion of objects where the finder was unsure of the brooch type in their descriptive text[339] or where the imagery showed that the object was a brooch but not of the crossbow type.[340] Furthermore, objects were also omitted where the object was recorded, described and imaged in fragmentary form and there was significant enough doubt regarding its classification.[341] Finally,

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[335] "About the Scheme," Portable Antiquities Scheme, accessed Oct 3, 2016, https://finds.org.uk/about.

[336] Collins, "Brooch use in the 4th- to 5-century frontier," 68.

[337] For example see, "WMID-F692A9," Portable Antiquities Scheme, accessed Oct 3, 2016, https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/630872.

[338] Bayley and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, 106-120; Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 13-24.

[339] For example see, "NMS-048493," Portable Antiquities Scheme, accessed Oct 3, 2016, https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/656578.

[340] For example see, "BH-4B6AF8," Portable Antiquities Scheme, accessed Oct 3, 2016, https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/548234, cross referenced with Bayley and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, 102, 105-106, which suggests that this object is in fact a sheath-footed, P-profiled sprung brooch which precedes the crossbow series.

[341] For example see, "DENO-4DCF04," Portable Antiquities Scheme, accessed Oct 3, 2016, https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/602249.

records were excluded which were found to be duplicates within the database[342] and those that contained no geographical data as to their provenance.[343]

Provenance can be an issue with the PAS data and the objects which exhibited these problems as evidence were omitted as their inclusion would impact upon any subsequent interpretation. Examples of such records include; NCL-F43624, described as 'Think found near Middlesbrough?';[344] SF-CE6E91, 'Found during the 1980's and brought in to be recorded by Jan Champion, finder now deceased ....';[345] and LANCUM-C07F08, 'this find was bought off EBay and recorded by the local FLO of the buyer. The findspot information was given to the buyer by the seller.'[346] The employment of such data in a thesis which seeks to interpret the materials distribution would have a negative impact upon any conclusions if the uncertain and second hand information was indeed found to be incorrect. For these reasons the uncertainty regarding such information was deemed too high to be included. However, the PAS records were included when the geographical label on the records Unique ID was found to conflict with the records spatial metadata.[347] These records were included because it was considered that the spatial metadata was correct due to the several fields which would have required to be incorrectly input in comparison with the single field for the Unique ID.

Once the crossbow brooches had been identified and selected they were classified typologically according to the schemes described within Bayley and Butcher,[348] and Swift.[349] It was deemed justifiable to consider both typologies as the former considers the whole series from the 'light'-'developed' types, whereas the latter only focuses upon the 'developed' types but with greater sub-categorisation.

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[342] For example see the four records attached to SF-CD82C5 when mapped, "SF-CD82C5," Portable Antiquities Scheme, accessed Oct 3, 2016, https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/155468.

[343] For example see, "NCL-F43624," Portable Antiquities Scheme, accessed Oct 3, 2016, https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/94990.

[344] "NCL-F43624."

[345] "SF-CE6E91," Portable Antiquities Scheme, accessed Oct 3, 2016, https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/155480.

[346] "LANCUM-C07F08," Portable Antiquities Scheme, accessed Oct 3, 2016, https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/415184.

[347] For example see, "LVPL-DC15D2," Portable Antiquities Scheme, accessed December 02, 2016, https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/533452.

[348] Bayley and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, 106-120, 199, 203-204.

[349] Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 13-24.

The typological scheme utilised by Bayley and Butcher was originally constructed by Rex Hull[350] who classified crossbow brooches into four groups. T191A light crossbow brooches are simplest in physical form when compared to their typological cousins[351] and are well known from excavations along the Rhine and Danube frontiers where they have been dated to the early/mid-third century.[352] T190 light crossbow brooches are similar to T191As in their slender form; however the development of terminal knobs at the end of the central bow and at both ends of the crossbar were incorporated into the design.[353] Although Bayley and Butcher highlight the lack of datable evidence to assign this type a chronology,[354] Donald Mackreth cites examples which have been dated to the second half of the third/first half of the fourth century.[355] T191B developed crossbow brooches are of a more robust design when compared to the T190 and a number of examples of this type appear to exhibit features which show the transition from one style to the other.[356] This type of crossbow brooch has been studied in relative detail (see Keller Type 1 below) and is dated to the end of the third/beginning of the fourth century (AD 290-320).[357] The final group of Hull's typology is the T192 (see Keller Type 2+ below) which incorporates a diverse group of developed crossbow brooches[358] that are often highly ornate in comparison with the three previous types[359] and are dated to the fourth century+.[360] Thus, while the all-encompassing nature of Hull's typology justifies its inclusion so that both light and developed crossbow brooches can be considered, the diverse and general nature of the T192 group makes it problematic for detailed analysis. Therefore, the utilisation of Keller's more detailed typology was justifiably included.

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[350] Bayley and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, 3.
[351] Ibid., 106-108.
[352] Ibid., 199.
[353] Ibid., 108-109.
[354] Ibid., 199.
[355] D. F. Mackreth, *Brooches in late Iron Age and Roman Britain: Volume 1* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011), 200.
[356] Bayley and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, 109-115.
[357] Ibid., 204. Bayley
[358] Ibid., 116-120.
[359] See for example cat. nos. 320and 324 in and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, 117-119.
[360] Ibid., 204.
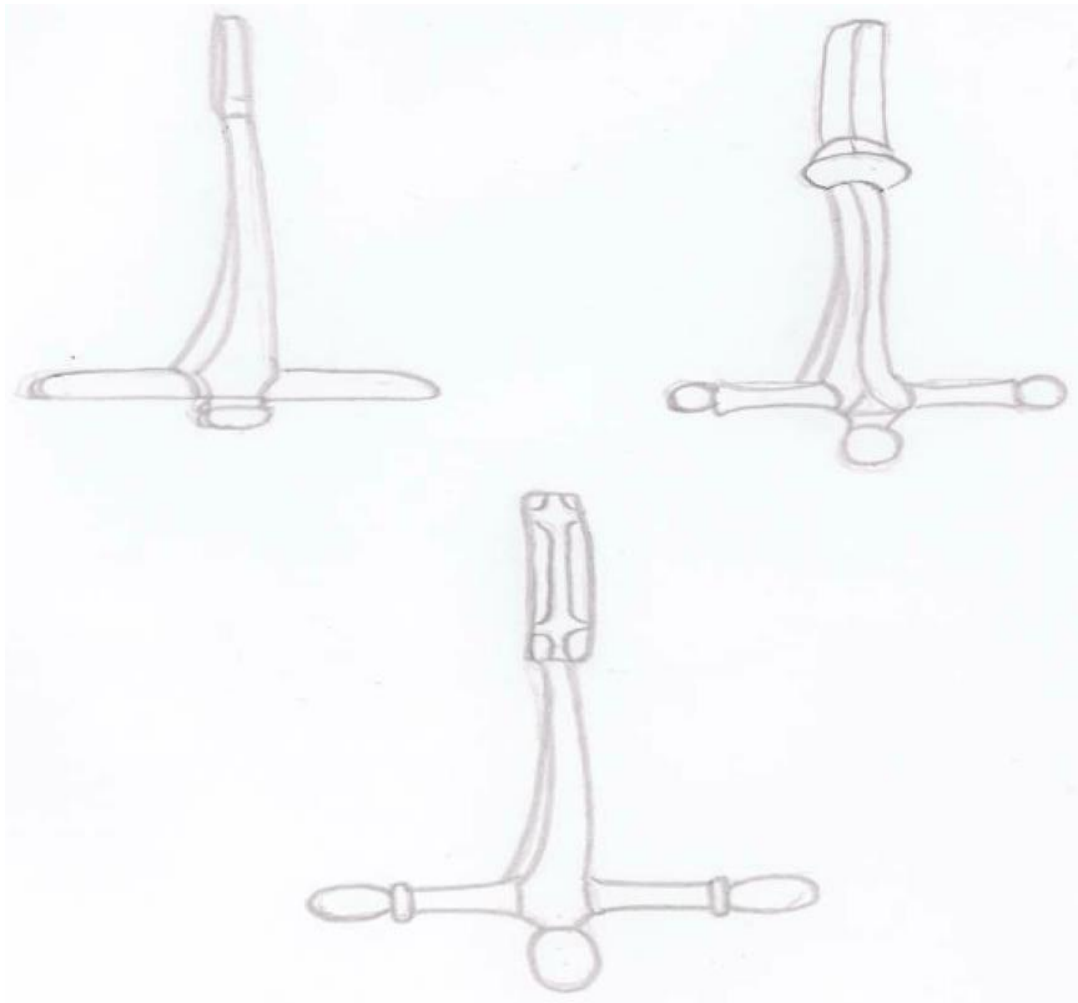
(Fig.4 - Illustrations of examples of Hull's T191A (top left), Hull's T190 (top right) and Keller's

type 1 (bottom centre) crossbow brooches)[361]

The Keller typology employed by Swift was first developed in the early 1970s and has been

subsequently updated.[362] The typology ranges from Type 1 dated AD 280-320; Type 2 dated AD

300-365; Type 3/4 dated AD 325-410; Type 5 dated AD 350-415; Type 6 dated AD 390-460; to Type

7 dated AD 460-500.[363] This dating is based upon crossbow brooches recovered from datable

archaeological contexts and although the initial typology has been updated the chronology has

remained broadly unaltered.[364] However, the system has drawn criticism as too simplistic with a

number of archaeologists noting that some crossbow brooches exhibit characteristics of different sub-

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[361] See Appendix 2.
[362] Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 13-24.
[363] Ibid., 14.
[364] Ibid., 13-14.

categories.[365] For this reason, an 'Uncertain' category was created within this thesis to classify those brooches which exhibited these features. Furthermore, criticism has also been made as to whether the Keller typol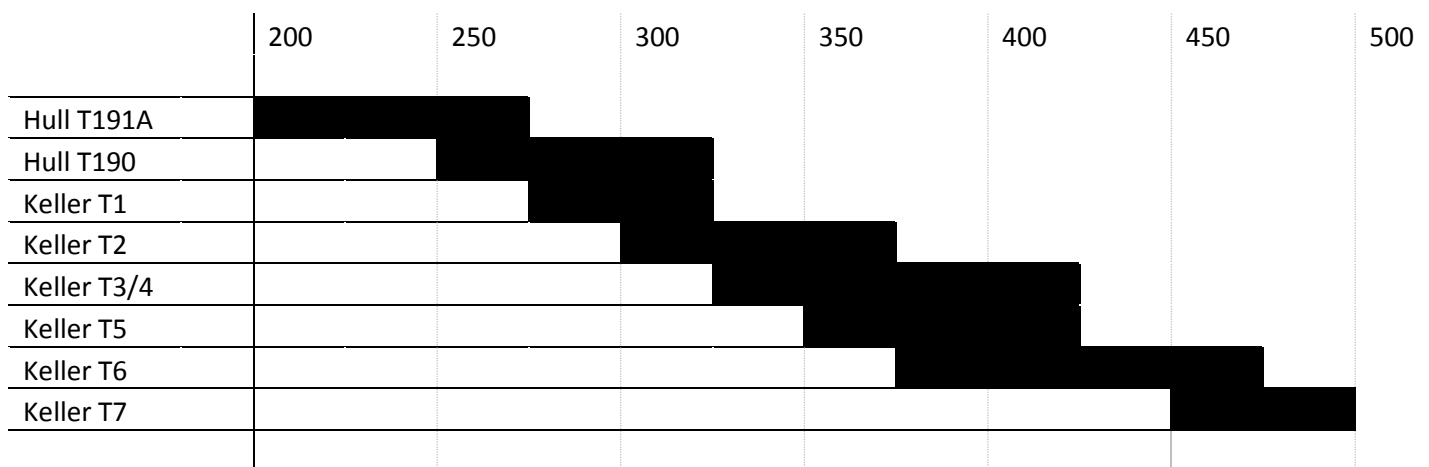ogy can be applied universally due to it being primarily based upon regional work conducted in what is now southern Germany.[366] However, as no comparative typological study for Britain alone has been previously conducted[367] and it is not within the aims or scope of this thesis to undertake such a task, the Keller typology was utilised with these problems in mind and in imitation of Swift's methodology.

	200	250	300	350	400	450	500
Hull T191A							
Hull T190							
Keller T1							
Keller T2							
Keller T3/4							
Keller T5							
Keller T6							
Keller T7							

(Fig.5 - Approximate established chronologies for each crossbow brooch type discussed)[368]

By employing this method the classification of the object has been somewhat deferred to the authority of Bayley and Butcher, as well as Swift, utilising the typological schemes they employed over other systems that have been developed[369] (which in relation to Deppert-Lippitz's analysis previously discussed do not necessarily agree upon the chronologies proposed).[370] However, this decision was based upon the consideration that the greater proportion of academics reviewed here

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[365] Giles Clarke, "Cross-bow brooches," In *Pre-Roman and Roman Winchester, Part II: The Roman Cemetery at Lankhills*, edited by Giles Clarke and Martin Biddle (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 257-263.
[366] Mackreth, *Brooches in late Iron Age and Roman Britain: Volume 1*, 201.
[367] Ibid., 201.
[368] See Appendix 2.
[369] For example see Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Crossbow Fibula in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," and Mackreth, *Brooches in late Iron Age and Roman Britain: Volume 1*, 196-205.
[370] For instance see the examples of dating which are earlier than in the Hull/Keller schemes in Deppert-Lippitz, "A Late Antique Crossbow Fibula in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," 42-43.

utilised either the Hull typology[371] or the Keller typology[372] and therefore this approach was deemed

preferable to maintain the homogeneity of technical language (however, it must be noted that any

misinterpretations are the fault of this author alone).
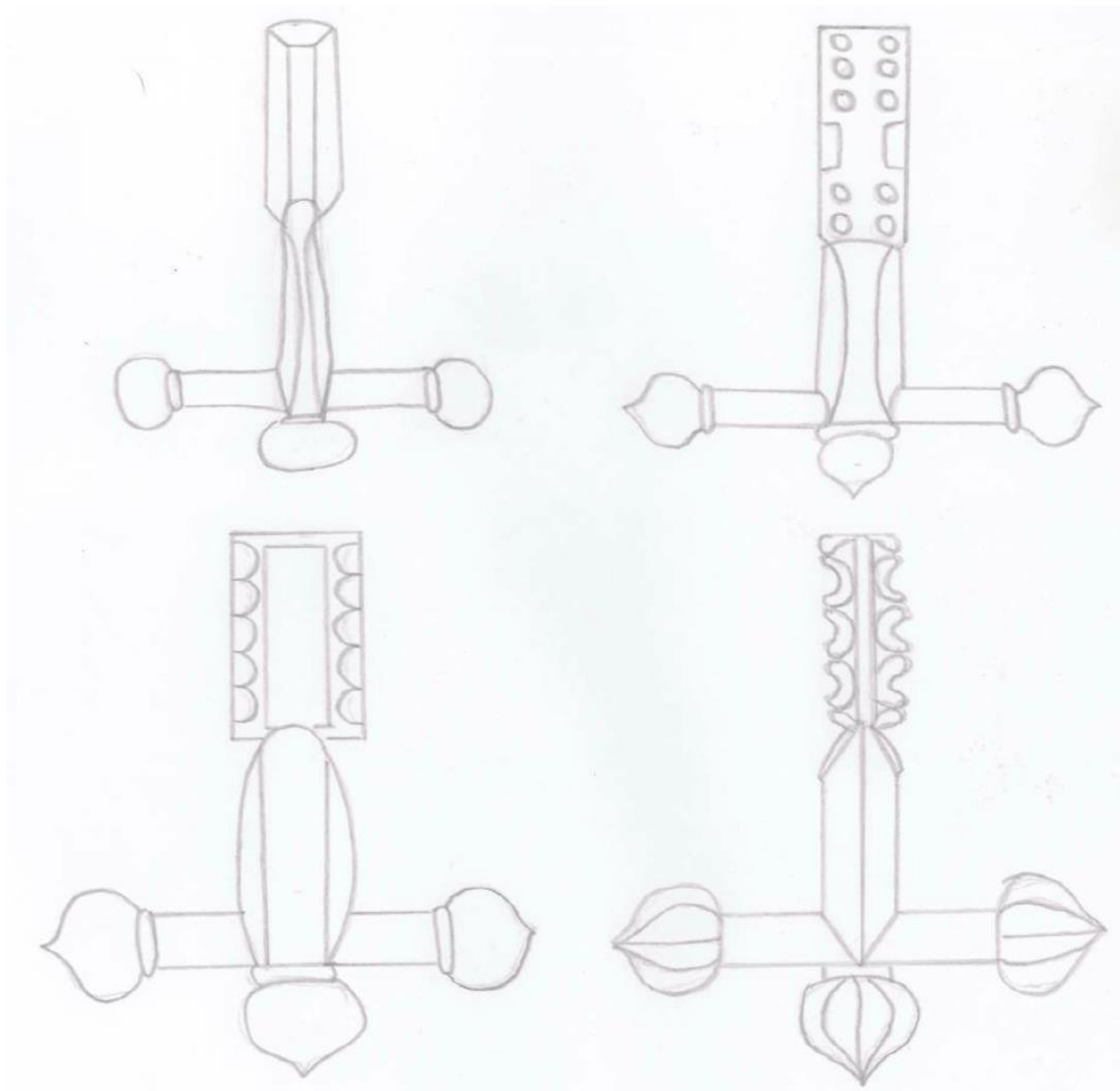
(Fig.6 - Illustrations of examples of Keller's type 2 (top left), type 3/4 (top right),

type 5 (bottom left) and type 6 (bottom right) crossbow brooches)[373]

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[371] For example see Bayley and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, 183-185; Hattatt, *Iron Age and Roman Brooches*, 128.
[372] For example see Giles Clarke, "Cross-bow brooches," 257-263; Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 14, 22.
[373] See Appendix 2.

Once the process of identification, selection and categorisation was complete, the find-spots of all 350 crossbow brooches were mapped using the Google Earth software. This technology was utilised due to its accessible and easy to use applications, such as folders to efficiently catalogue information; the high resolution and magnification imagery to plot find-spots precisely in the landscape; multiple icon symbols and colours to signify different elements; and the multiple layers of human geography that can be activated and deactivated to orientate to and interpret the landscape.[374] Bright yellow circular icons were used to signify the find-spots of each crossbow brooch, which, on the dull green terrain background of the default colour setting of the Google Earth landscape of the British Isles at low magnification, was deemed the most appropriate contrast so as to be accessible to individuals who are colour blind.[375]

The final phase of this process was to undertake site-type identification at the find-spot of each crossbow brooch. Once again the different characteristics of each set of data meant that this task had to be undertaken with differing approaches. For example, the crossbow brooches selected from excavation reports/finds catalogues were site-typed according to the professional interpretation of the site that they were excavated at and therefore the relationship between object and site had been already interpreted by the excavator. Therefore, and again, interpretation of this phase was somewhat deferred to the interpretation of the relevant archaeologist as it was not within the scope or ability of this thesis to critique every excavation and interpretation. However, the attributes of the crossbow brooches selected from the PAS, being primarily submitted by amateur enthusiasts not connected to professional excavations,[376] meant that the contextual recovery information of how the objects may have related to their find-spots was not available. Therefore, cross-referencing was undertaken between the find-spot data stated on the PAS and various other sources, primarily the 420,000+ records on the Historic England PastScape online database.[377] Although the lack of recovery information for these finds meant that interpreting their relationship to their sites was impossible, the

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[374] "Google Earth: Learn," Google Earth, accessed Dec 28, 2016, https://www.google.co.uk/intl/en_uk/earth/learn/.

[375] Connor Turnbull, "Designing For, and As, a Color-Blind Person," envatotuts+, 2011, accessed Dec 28, 2016, https://webdesign.tutsplus.com/articles/designing-for-and-as-a-color-blind-person--webdesign-3408.

[376] "About the Scheme."

[377] "About PastScape," Historic England PastScape, accessed Oct 5, 2016, http://www.pastscape.org.uk/background.aspx.

approach was taken whereby it could be speculated that there was a possibility that the wearer/s of these crossbow brooches may have had a relationship of some kind to any local sites identified.

Therefore the method outlined above was subsequently followed within this thesis; however the critical stance taken towards the selection of the evidence needs to also be adopted to consider the various problems of evidence that these finds and particularly their distributions present.

III.iii. Problems as evidence

It has been discussed above how this sample was identified and selected, as well as the methods that will be utilised in its analysis which relate to the typological classifications, mapping and site-type identification. Additionally, several specific and interrelated methodological caveats must be discussed below before this thesis can proceed to offering a positive interpretation of the evidence presented in Chapter V. These caveats relate to themes such as regional absences, geographical features, recovery methodologies, curation and residuality, recycling, the loss and survival of evidence, negative evidence and the representativeness of this sample. Therefore, these caveats are intended to help structure the thoughts presented in Chapters V and VI.

Thus, the notable regional absences that will be discussed in the overall distribution pattern below and which are suggested to correspond to particular geographical landscape features; specifically the highland ranges of the Pennines, the Cambrian Mountains and the south west of present-day England, as well as the regions of the Weald and the Wash[378] require consideration. These areas of absence converge with Swift's findings,[379] as well as with previous work that has mapped the distribution of Roman coinage within Britain.[380] Consequently, such features must be acknowledged and taken into consideration when interpreting distribution patterns. Furthermore, such geographical variability must also be considered in relation to archaeological method and the contrasting recovery techniques utilised by PAS contributors and professional archaeologists. For

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[378] See Fig.6 in combination with the Ordnance Survey, *Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain, Sixth Edition* (Southampton: Ordnance Survey, 2010).

[379] Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 27.

[380] Sam Moorhead, A History of Roman Coinage in Britain (Witham: Greenlight, 2013), 4; Philippa Walton, Rethinking Roman Britain: Coinage and Archaeology (Wetteren: Moneta, 2012), 171.

example, Tom Brindle has shown that how the landscape is currently managed impacts heavily upon

the PAS record, with a bias of finds towards the south and east where there is a propensity for arable

farming in contrast to the north and west of present-day England and Wales.[381] Furthermore, Collins,

in his work explicitly on the former northern frontier including Hadrian's Wall, highlighted that the

PAS data was biased to the area south of the River Tees.[382] However, Walton has also observed that

since 2008 the PAS has been extended into further areas, such as Wales for example; a policy which

has significantly altered the available dataset with regards to Roman coinage in particular.[383]

Additionally, it has been discussed that such finds recorded on the PAS have been primarily

discovered by metal detectorists and to a far lesser extent field walkers,[384] with research into the

recovery methods employed by the PAS contributors labelling it as 'unsystematically' and

'haphazardly' gathered[385] (a conclusion considered above regarding the data collection stage).

Consequently, the vast proportion of finds submitted to the PAS have no information regarding their

archaeological context making interpretation of their deposition impossible.[386] The PAS data

therefore contrasts with the data from professional excavations. For example, at Richborough the site

has been relatively thoroughly excavated on a number of occasions[387] and which has allowed for a

much fuller interpretation of the site and how the finds relate to it. However, this is not to suggest that

this generalisation does not mask specific individual occurrences where the contrast does not hold.

For example, the excavation finds context cards from South Shields have been misplaced,[388] and the

Bosworth Battlefield Survey[389] has added a substantial body of systematically recovered evidence to

the PAS,[390] highlighting that better resourced initiatives contributing to the PAS have the potential to

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[381] Brindle, *The Portable Antiquities Scheme and Roman Britain*, 3-5.
[382] Collins, "Brooch use in the 4th- to 5-century frontier," 66.
[383] Walton, *Rethinking Roman Britain: Coinage and Archaeology*, 171.
[384] Brindle, *The Portable Antiquities Scheme and Roman Britain*, 2.
[385] Ibid., 1-3.
[386] Ibid., 3.
[387] Bayley and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, 1.
[388] Lindsay Allason-Jones and Roger Miket, "Preface," In *The Catalogue of small finds from South Shields Roman Fort*, ed. Lindsay Allason-Jones and Roger Miket (Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1984).
[389] "Bosworth Battlefield Survey," The Battlefields Trust, 2016, accessed Jan 10, 2017, http://www.battlefieldstrust.com/resource-centre/warsoftheroses/battlepageview.asp?pageid=824.
[390] "LEIC-D49B60," Portable Antiquities Scheme, accessed October 22, 2016, https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/627053; "Objects within a 1km radius of LEIC-D49B60,"

recover a much more detailed sample of what has survived at the site than perhaps a single detectorist would be able to. Nevertheless, systematic excavation can be considered to produce far more comprehensive information for subsequent analysis.[391] Therefore, the geography of the landscape, how it is manged, and how it is accessed by different recovery methods all have an impact upon the distribution of data.

The production or not of comprehensive site data has further important implications that need to be considered when working with small finds, particularly that of the 'life history' of the object.[392] The final deposition of the object is often the only stage of an objects life that can be evidenced and dated[393] (although historical and art historical sources may offer supporting information), and therefore identifying the objects purpose through its depositional context can be problematic.[394] This issue becomes particularly important when considering the nature of the finds recorded on PAS which have not predominantly been recovered in a manner that preserves the information of how the object related to its findspot (as discussed above). Any potential residuality or curation[395] may be detected during a professional excavation of a site (see Chapter IV for further discussion) but it is impossible to detect if the object is simply removed from the ground without the ability or will to assess its relationship to the archaeological context/s of the findspot. Again, this is a specific problem regarding objects recorded by the PAS. For example, if an object is recovered by a detectorist and recorded by the PAS the object is given a chronology often based upon its established typology. However, there is substantial evidence that some types of objects, such as brooches, remained in circulation (curation) for a substantial period of time after their supposed period of production.[396] Therefore, the issue of

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Portable Antiquities Scheme, accessed October 22, 2016,
https://finds.org.uk/database/search/results/lat/52.5977686/lon/-1.41118372/d/1/broadperiod/ROMAN.

[391] R. J. Brickstock, "Commerce," in *Artefacts in Roman Britain: Their Purpose and Use*, ed. Lindsay Allason-Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 37-38.

[392] Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 1.

[393] Mackreth, *Brooches in late Iron Age and Roman Britain: Volume 1*, 2; Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 3.

[394] Lindsay Allason-Jones, "Introduction" in *Artefacts in Roman Britain: Their Purpose and Use*, ed. Lindsay Allason-Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 15-16.

[395] Ken Dark and Petra Dark, *The Landscape of Roman Britain* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1997).

[396] Collins notes evidence for between 30-100 years in his sample Rob Collins, "Brooch use in the 4th- to 5-century frontier," 68; Also see Bayley and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, 2; Ellen Swift, *The End of the Western Roman Empire: An Archaeological Investigation* (Stroud: Tempus, 2000), 24.

'association' needs to be carefully considered,[397] especially when objects are being utilised to try and interpret past events which requires datable evidence. Moreover however, this issue of dating is still a problematic issue whether the object was recovered from an archaeological context or not.[398] Although the Roman period has comparatively good diagnostic information, such as coins and pottery which can be utilised to date sites, the issues of residuality and curation previously discussed can affect the archaeological record.[399] *Terminus post quem* dating is exactly that: the limit after which the event could have occurred (*Terminus ante quem* operating in the opposite way). Therefore, a burial containing a coin dated to the year AD 350 for example; need not mean that the burial took place during the mid-fourth century as the coin may have remained in circulation for a considerable time.[400] Further techniques maybe available to corroborate and refine such dating, however the potential breadth of archaeological dating makes it quite often problematic to relate to narrowly dated events attested in the documentary records.[401]

As well as these factors relating to the geography of the landscape, recovery methodologies, as well as residuality and curation are further interrelated issues regarding the survival of evidence, as well as what evidence if it has survived is made available for subsequent analysis. For instance, the historical recycling of material is a less visible but potentially critical factor to also heavily influence the evidential record and which has been suggested to have impacted upon a significant proportion of the material culture produced during the Roman period.[402] Indeed, Robin Fleming has argued that there is evidence that from the third quarter of the fourth century recycling of old metalwork became a more common occurrence within Roman Britain as the networks which mined, extracted and distributed new metals ceased.[403] Furthermore, Fleming suggested that metalwork produced during

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[397] Dark and Dark, *The Landscape of Roman Britain*, 8.
[398] Mackreth, *Brooches in late Iron Age and Roman Britain: Volume 1*, 2; Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 2.
[399] Dark and Dark, *The Landscape of Roman Britain*, 8.
[400] Ibid., 7.
[401] Bayley and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, 204; Steve Roskams, *Excavation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 38.
[402] Bedoyère, *Roman Britain*, 165; M. C. Bishop, "Weaponry and military equipment" in *Artefacts in Roman Britain: Their Purpose and Use*, ed. Lindsay Allason-Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 114.
[403] Robin Fleming, "Recycling in Britain after the Fall of Rome's Metal Economy," *Past and Present* 217, issue 1 (2012): 9-10.

the fifth and sixth centuries lacks uniformity in metal composition due to the incorporation of various different elements of recycled Roman copper alloy, silver and gold and consequently is evidence for these recycling processes.[404] Additionally, Swift has theorised that in localised contexts where particular new materials are in short supply recycling of existing materials will increase and that consequently this will affect 'poorer socio-economic groups.'[405] Furthermore, that such reuse in relation to other types of material culture has been identified within what was and subsequently what had been the northern frontier of Roman Britain.[406] Therefore, recycling and the potential geographical variations of that recycling must also be considered.

Intimately related to these points made above is the question of what amount of material that has survived from antiquity has been made available to the academic community for subsequent analysis. For instance, the function of the PAS is to record and preserve for analysis finds which have been discovered predominantly by metal detectorists rather than through 'controlled archaeological excavation.'[407] Therefore, the perceived loss of knowledge was deemed high enough to warrant the creation of such a database. Furthermore, a trawl of the online market place eBay or a visit to an antiques dealer will allow a member of the public to buy a crossbow brooch[408] and whether these finds have been recorded before being sold into potentially private collections is unknown. Consequently, the bias of the surviving record must also be contemplated in relation to the availability and accessibility of surviving evidence.

Moreover, it thus needs to be stated 'that an absence of evidence must not be interpreted as negative evidence.'[409] For example, a comparison of the distribution maps below of the crossbow brooches in this sample selected from excavation reports/finds catalogues[410] with those from the

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[404] Fleming, "Recycling in Britain after the Fall of Rome's Metal Economy," 19-24.
[405] Ellen Swift, "Reuse of Glass, Pottery and Copper-Alloy Objects in the Late to Post-Roman Transition Period in Britain," in *AD 410: The History and Archaeology of Late and Post-Roman Britain*, ed. F. K. Haarer (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 2014), 131.
[406] Ibid., 147.
[407] Tom Brindle, *The Portable Antiquities Scheme and Roman Britain* (London: The British Museum, 2004), 1-2.
[408] eBay is a constantly changing online database of products and it is common to find crossbow brooches discovered throughout Britain and continental Europe on the site. Additionally, I visited an antiques shop in York recently and saw 5 good examples of Keller type 2 and 3/4 crossbow brooches on sale for c. £100.00 each.
[409] Rob Collins, "Brooch use in the 4th- to 5-century frontier," 64.
[410] See Fig.7.

PAS[411] show very different spatial variations. Therefore, considered in comparison it can be shown that there is evidence in some regions within one subset where the other suggests that there is not. In another example introduced above, Walton has highlighted that the extension of the PAS into present day Wales since 2008 has significantly altered the available dataset with regards to Roman coinage on the PAS.[412] Before 2008 the evidence for Roman coinage on the PAS was completely biased towards the geographical extent of present day England, however with the extension of the PAS into Wales significant numbers of coin finds have been added. An uncritical evaluation of this evidence before 2008 could have led to a very misguided interpretation of Romano-British coin use.

Therefore these particular methodological precautions relating to regional absences, geographical features, recovery methodologies, curation and residuality, recycling, the loss and survival of evidence, negative evidence and the representativeness of this sample must be considered when interpreting distribution maps. Furthermore, such considerations impact upon how representative this sample can be suggested to be of the original material produced. Some scholars have argued that the surviving body of material to survive from antiquity must represent a minute proportion of that originally manufactured.[413] However, although this sounds plausible it is also surely unquantifiable without any way of determining how many of X were initially produced, to calculate in relation to Y which is an unknown variable of how many of X have survived or have potentially survived and can be recovered. Consequently, it is highly probable that only a minute percentage survives but unknowable if that is 0.01%, 0.1%, 1% or 10%+. Therefore this sample, but perhaps any similar sample, cannot be considered representative in the sense that the distribution mirrors accurately the circulation of the crossbow brooch during antiquity and any assertion that it did would surely fall under the heading of naïve realism.[414] Furthermore, we must thus see the picture as a constantly evolving one, where new discoveries and new technologies to recover, compile and convey the information have the potential to change our interpretations (as the example of the

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[411] See Fig.8.
[412] Walton, *Rethinking Roman Britain: Coinage and Archaeology*, 171.
[413] Bishop, "Weaponry and military equipment," 117; Brickstock, "Commerce," 37.
[414] Burr, *Social Constructionism*, 95.

extension of the PAS into Wales discussed above highlights) and consequently any interpretation must be considered as 'provisional.'[415] It is with these caveats in mind that this thesis advances.

Therefore, this thesis will now proceed to establish the findings in relation to a number of questions which will be subsequently discussed and utilised to inform the thesis advanced within Chapter V. Firstly; what is the composition of this sample of 350 crossbow brooches when categorised by the Hull and Keller typologies and how does this profile compare to Swift's work and Collins' 2010 study?; secondly, what are the overall and typological distributions of this sample and how do they compare to Swift's work and Collins' 2010 study?; and thirdly, what are the dates of those contexts which could be established from which the crossbow brooches were recovered from and how do these compare with the typological chronologies?

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[415] Kevin Passmore, "Poststructuralism and history," in *Writing History: Theory and Practice*, ed. Stefan Berger, Heiko Feldner and Kevin Passmore (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), 138-139.

III.iv. Findings

Findings: composition of this sample
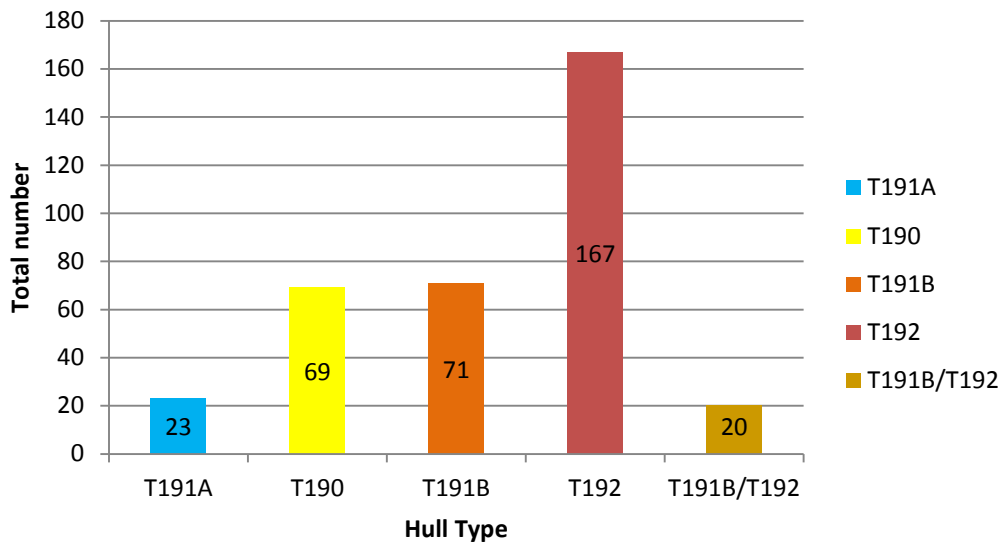
(Fig.7 - Chart representing the sample when categorised by Hull's typology)[416]
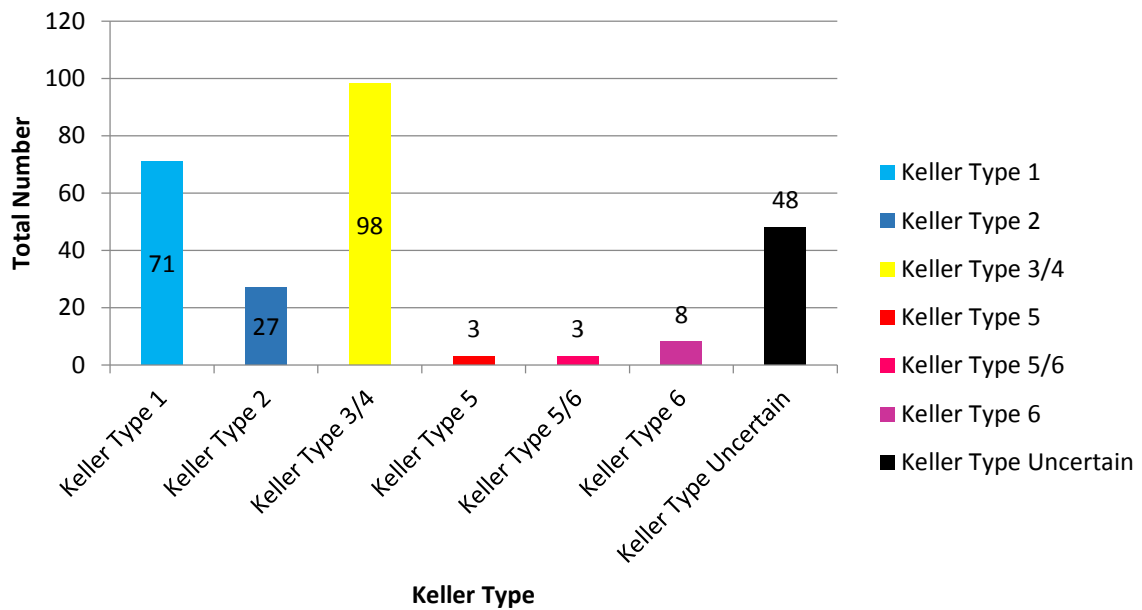
(Fig.8 - Chart representing the sample of developed crossbow brooches when categorised by Keller's

typology)[417]

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[416] See Appendix 2 for full referencing information.
[417] See Appendix 2 for full referencing information.
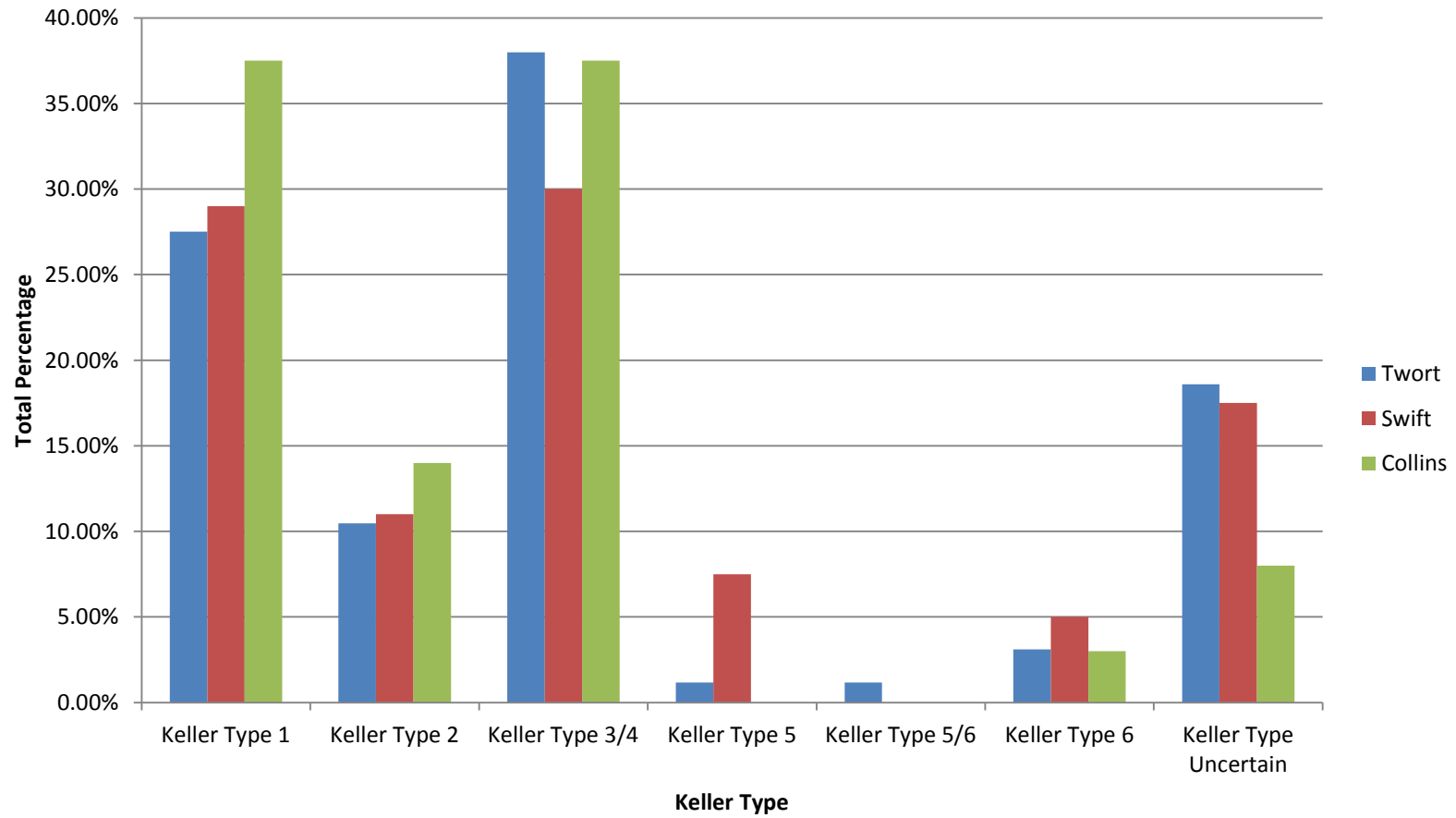
(Fig.9 - Chart representing the sample in comparison with Swift's and Collins' (2010) profiles)[418]

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[418] See Appendix 2 for full referencing information.

Findings: distributions of this sample

(Fig.10 - Distribution of all crossbow brooch find-spots included in this sample)[419]
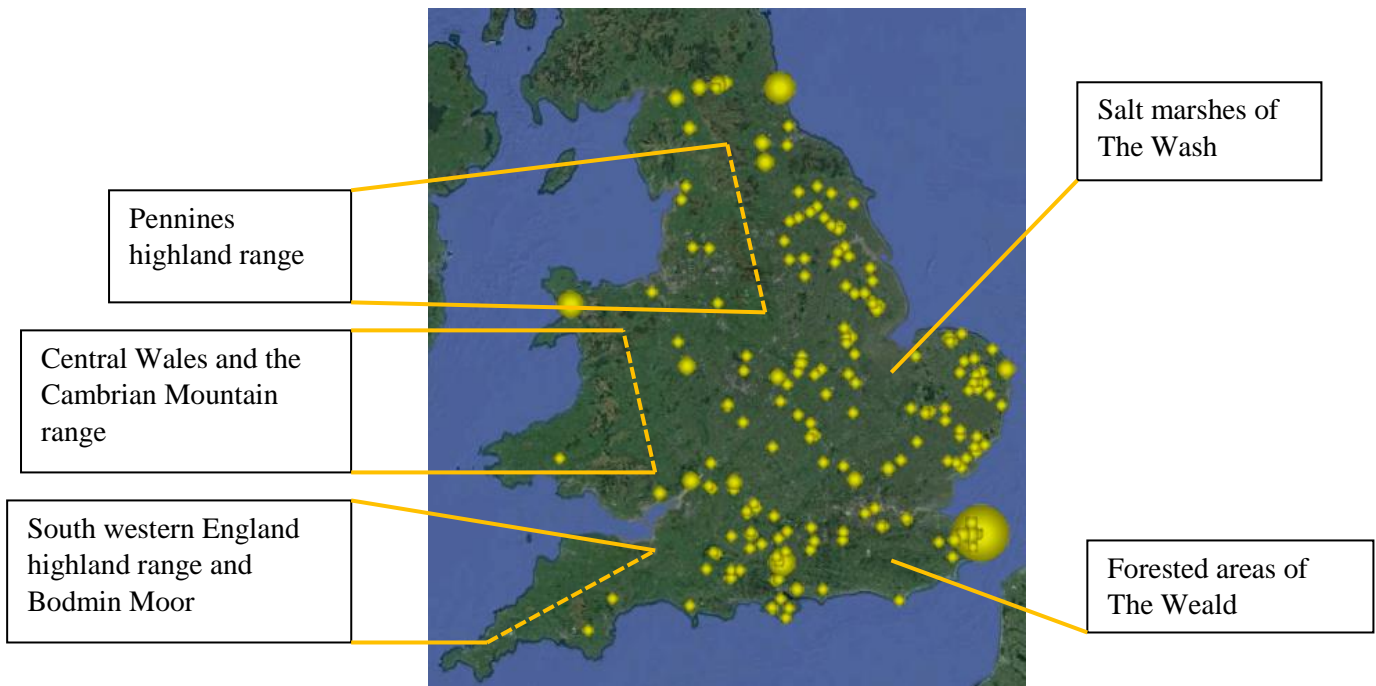
(Fig.11 - Distribution of all crossbow brooch find-spots included in this sample with significant areas of absence

highlighted)[420]

(Fig.12 - Distribution of crossbow brooch find-spots included in this sample selected from the excavation reports/finds catalogues housed in the University of York library)[421]

(Fig.13 - Distribution of crossbow brooch find-spots included in this sample selected from the PAS)[422]

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[421] See Appendix 2 for full referencing information.
[422] See Appendix 2 for full referencing information.
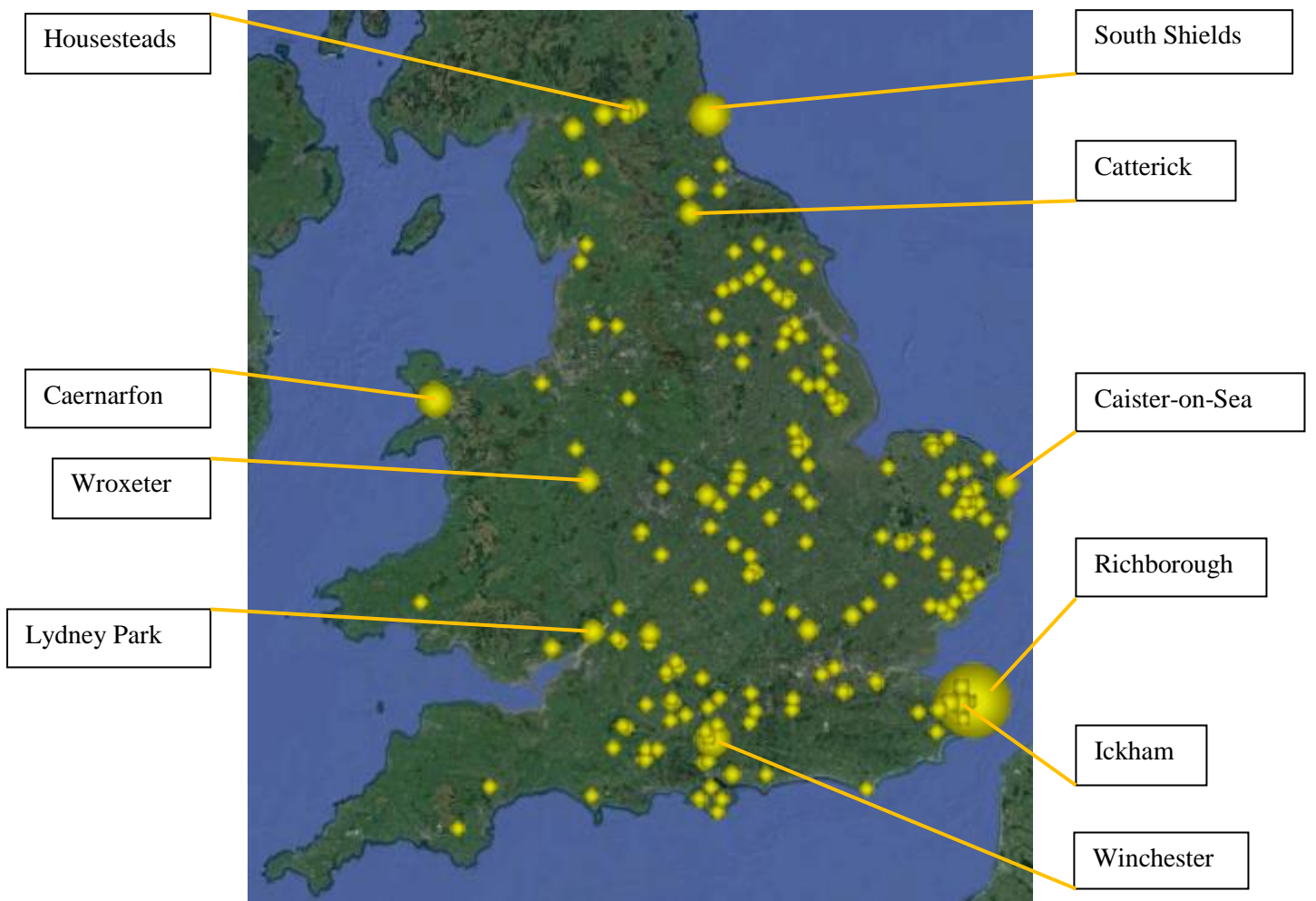
(Fig.14 - Distribution of all crossbow brooch find-spots included in this sample with concentrations of 5 or more

finds at a single site highlighted)[423]

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[423] See Appendix 2 for full referencing information.

(Fig.15 - Distribution of all crossbow brooch find-spots in this sample categorised as Hull's T191A)[424]
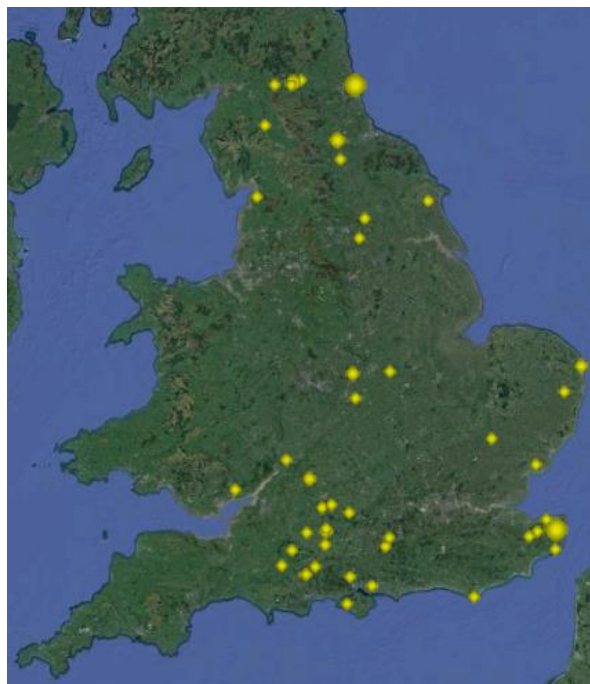
(Fig.16 - Distribution of all crossbow brooch find-spots in this sample categorised as Hull's T190)[425]

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[424] See Appendix 2 for full referencing information.
[425] See Appendix 2 for full referencing information.

(Distribution of all crossbow brooch find-spots in this sample categorised as (from left to right) Fig.17 - Keller's Type 1; Fig.18 - Keller's Type 2; Fig.19 - Keller's Type 3/4)[426]

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[426] See Appendix 2 for full referencing information.

(Distribution of all crossbow brooch find-spots in this sample categorised as (from left to right) Fig.20 - Keller's Type 5; Fig.21 - Keller's Type 5/6; Fig.22 - Keller's Type 6)[427]

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[427] See Appendix 2 for full referencing information.

Findings: context dating of this sample

Key: Type prefixed by the letter H = Hull's typology, K = Keller's typology

Date = all *Anno Domini*

Short reference = first author's surname, year of publication, relevant page number(s), specific

catalogue number of the object

Type	Site	Context date	Short reference
HT191A	Colchester	150-c.300+	Fowler, 1983, p.3,15, no.73
HT191A	St Albans	*Taq.* c.300	Wheeler, 1936, p.209, no.32
HT191A	Richborough	c.300-400	Bayley, 2004, p.106-107, no.271
HT191A	Richborough	c.200+	Bayley, 2004, p.107-108, no.272
HT191A	Richborough	c.280-400+	Bayley, 2004, p.107-108, no.273
HT191A	Richborough	c.375-400	Bayley, 2004, p.107-108, no.274
HT191A	Richborough	c.280-300	Bayley, 2004, p.107-108, no.275
HT191A	Richborough	c.280-400	Bayley, 2004, p.107-108, no.277
HT191A	Richborough	c.280-400	Bayley, 2004, p.107-108, no.278
HT190	Birdoswald	*Tpq.* 367	Wilmott, 1997, p.13,412-413, no.4/2c
HT190	Brougham	c.200-240	Cool, 2004, p.18,219-220, no.273.2
HT190	Canterbury	c.270-300	Stow, 1995, p.982-983, no.F138
HT190	Castleford	c.100-250	Cool, 1998, p.4,49-50, no.85
HT190	Catterick	c.250-350	Mackreth, 2002, p.(83),152,154-155, no.20
HT190	Chesterholm	*Taq.* c.270	Allason-Jones, 1985, p.3,21-22,118-119, no.9
HT190	Neatham	*Tpq.* 367	Redknap, 1986, p.32-33,38,106,109, no.81
HT190	Richborough	c.280+	Bayley, 2004, p.108-109, no.279
HT190	Richborough	c.400+	Bayley, 2004, p.108-109, no.280
HT190	Richborough	c.275-300	Bayley, 2004, p.108-109, no.282
KT1	Brougham	c.240-270	Cool, 2004, p.18,133-134, no.122.1

KT1	Caernarfon	c.275-350	Allason-Jones, 1993, p.17,166,169, no.9
KT1	Carlisle	c.275-425	Howard-Davis, 2009, p.(305),726-727, no.7
KT1	Carlisle	c.275-425	Howard-Davis, 2009, p.(305),726-727, no.8
KT1	Richborough	c.350	Bayley, 2004, p.109-110, no.288
KT1	Richborough	c.325-350	Bayley, 2004, p.110,113, no.289
KT1	Richborough	c.280-400+	Bayley, 2004, p.110,113, no.290
KT1	Richborough	c.375-400+	Bayley, 2004, p.110,113, no.291
KT1	Richborough	c.400+	Bayley, 2004, p.110,113, no.292
KT1	Richborough	c.280-400+	Bayley, 2004, p.111,113, no.294
KT1	Richborough	c.400+	Bayley, 2004, p.111,113, no.295
KT1	Richborough	c.300-400	Bayley, 2004, p.111,113, no.297
KT1	Richborough	c.300-400	Bayley, 2004, p.111,113, no.299
KT1	Richborough	c.280-400+	Bayley, 2004, p.112,114, no.301
KT1	Richborough	c.400+	Bayley, 2004, p.112,114, no.304
KT1	Richborough	c.400+	Bayley, 2004, p.114-115, no.313
KT1	Richborough	c.300-350	Bayley, 2004, p.114-115, no.314
KT1	Richborough	c.280-400+	Bayley, 2004, p.115, no.315
KT1	Richborough	c.250-300	Bayley, 2004, p.115, no.316
KT1	Richborough	c.200-400	Bayley, 2004, p.116, no.317
KT1	St Albans	*Tpq*. c.360	Goodburn, 1983/4, p.28-29,31,(250), no.54
KT2	Richborough	c.300-400	Bayley, 2004, p.116-117, no.318
KT2	Winchester	c.350-370	Clarke, 1979, p.259, no.13
KT2	Winchester	c.350-380	Clarke, 1979, p.259, no.24
KT2	Winchester	c.340-390	Clarke, 1979, p.259, no.121
KT3/4	Caernarfon	c.325-375	Allason-Jones, 1993, p.17,166-167, no.8
KT3/4	Caernarfon	c.325-375	Allason-Jones, 1993, p.17,166,169, no.10
KT3/4	Catterick	*Tpq*. 353	Eckardt, 2015, p.197, no.541AB

KT3/4	Richborough	c.400+	Bayley, 2004, p.117-118, no.320
KT3/4	Richborough	c.400+	Bayley, 2004, p.117-118, no.321
KT3/4	Richborough	c.350	Bayley, 2004, p.117-118, no.323
KT3/4	St Albans	*Taq.* c.300	Wheeler, 1936, p.208-209, no.33
KT3/4	Uley	c.360-370	Butcher, 1993, p.11,154-155, no.1
KT3/4	Winchester	c.350-370	Clarke, 1979, p.260, no.74
KT3/4	Winchester	c.350-390	Clarke, 1979, p.259-260, no.532
KT3/4	Winchester	c.300-350+	Booth, 2010, p.115-117,282, no.745.1
KT3/4	Winchester	c.330+	Booth, 2010, p.150-152,282, no.1075.1
KT3/4	Winchester	*Rcd.*255-414	Booth, 2010, p.218-220,279, no.1846.1
KT3/4	Winchester	c.330+	Booth, 2010, p.229-230, no.1925.1,
KT3/4	Winchester	c.330+	Booth, 2010, p.234-235,282, no.3030.1
KT3/4	Winchester	c.330+	Booth, 2010, p.238-239, no.895.1
KT5	Winchester	c.350-390	Clarke, 1979, p.261, no.278
KT5/6	Winchester	c.370-390	Clarke, 1979, p.261-262, no.447
KT5/6	Winchester	c.390-400	Clarke, 1979, p.262, no.587
KT6	Ingleby Barwick	*Rcd.*340-540	Hunter, 2013, p.57,102, no.SF91
KT6	London	c.350-410	Barber, 2000, p.206-207,411, no.B538.3

(Fig.23 - Context dates for the findspots in this sample – see Appendix 2 for full referencing information)

IV. Discussion of the findings

Findings: composition of this sample

The findings show that the typological composition of this sample of 350 crossbow brooches when categorised by the scheme originally constructed by Hull consists of 23x T191A light crossbow brooches (6.57%); 69x T190 light crossbow brooches (19.71%); 71x T191B developed crossbow brooches (20.28%); and 167x T192 developed crossbow brooches (47.71%); with 20x brooches that were not distinguishable as either T191B or T192 (5.71%).[428] Therefore, this sample contains substantially more of the developed types of crossbow brooch by a ratio of 3:1. However and as previously discussed, Hull's T191B and T192 categories of developed crossbow brooches can be further sub-divided and therefore when these brooches were subsequently additionally categorised by the typology originally constructed by Keller, this sample consists of 71x type 1 (27.52%); 27x type 2 (10.47%); 98x type 3/4 (37.98%); 3x type 5 (1.16%); 3x type 5/6 (1.16%); and 8x type 6 (3.10%); with 48 crossbow brooches of uncertain Keller type.[429] The findings therefore show a significant difference between the most numerous, type 3/4, and the least numerous categorised as type 5 and 5/6. Indeed, the categories of 1, 2 and 3/4 are all substantially larger than those of types 5, 5/6 and 6 which only account for 5.42% (n=14) of this sample of developed crossbow brooches as a whole.

This sample can thus be considered to be in broad agreement with Swift's and Collins' previously-discussed profiles for Roman Britain and the northern frontier of Roman Britain respectively,[430] with types 1 and 3/4 being the most numerous, followed by types 2 and 5, 6.[431] In comparison to Swift's profile specifically, it can be shown that the proportion of Keller types 1 and 2 are broadly similar, as is the number of crossbow brooches which were deemed to be of an uncertain type.[432] However, a noticeable difference is in the larger proportion of Keller type 3/4 (+7.98%) within this sample and the larger proportions of Keller types 5 (+6.34%) and 6 (+1.9%) in Swift's

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[428] See Fig.2.
[429] See Fig.3.
[430] Collins, "Brooch use in the 4th- to 5-century frontier," 66; Swift, Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West, 31.
[431] See Fig.4.
[432] See Fig.4.

profile.[433] These differences can be accounted for by considering the selection bias of each sample, with the incorporation of PAS material into this sample and not within Swift's, and vice versa with regards to the selection of finds from museum collections.[434] Moreover, these findings can be suggested to confirm Collins' hypothesis that the incorporation of data from the PAS may modify Swift's previous findings,[435] as well as highlighting the issues of selection bias and how representative a sample of evidence can be considered to be. In relation to Collins' profile for the northern frontier, the findings show that significantly more Keller type 1 (+9.98%) and slightly more type 2 (+3.5%) were categorised by Collins, while there is a complete absence of Keller type 5 recorded;[436] whereas, the samples in relation to types 3/4 and 6 are comparable.[437]

In summary, the findings show that this sample is composed of significantly more developed than that of the light type crossbow brooches. Furthermore, when sub-categorised further still the findings show that there is a significant difference between the most numerous classification, that of type Keller type 3/4, and that of the least numerous types 5 and 5/6. Additionally, when this sample's composition was compared with that of Swift's, a recognisable difference was distinguished in the number of Keller type 3/4s and 5s categorised, which was suggested to be due to the selection bias of each sample.

Findings: distributions of this sample

The findings show a broad overall distribution pattern for the 350 find-spots of the crossbow brooches included within this sample.[438] Strong concentrations of find-spots are located in northern, eastern, central and southern present-day England, with lesser concentrations in the north-west and west, as well as in present-day Wales.[439] Again, these findings can be suggested to modify Swift's earlier results which contain fewer find-spots overall and fewer regional concentrations, particularly in the

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[433] See Fig.4.
[434] See Appendix 1 and Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 286-288.
[435] Collins, "Brooch use in the 4th- to 5-century frontier," 68.
[436] See Fig.4.
[437] See Fig.4.
[438] See Fig.5.
[439] See Fig.5.

north-east and central areas of present-day England[440] (although it must be acknowledged that Swift did not consider the light types of T191A and T190 as previously discussed). However, there are notable regional absences in the overall distribution pattern which correspond to particular geographical landscape features; specifically the highland ranges of the Pennines, the Cambrian Mountains and the south west of present-day England, as well as the regions of the Weald and the Wash.[441]

Furthermore, the overall distribution can be considered further by assessing both sets of data individually. The 194 crossbow brooches selected from excavation reports/finds catalogues were recovered from find-spots at 42 individual sites.[442] These sites are concentrated in the north and south of present-day England, with more isolated find-spots in the areas of the central east, middle and west, as well as in present-day Wales.[443] Broadly speaking, this distribution shares similarity with Swift's findings,[444] which can be explained by the comparable selection bias of each sample in relation to the excavation reports/finds catalogues utilised.[445] In contrast, the distribution of the find-spots of the 156 crossbow brooches selected from the PAS show fewer concentrations at any one single site.[446] The distribution pattern highlights regional concentrations in the north-east, central, eastern and southern areas of present-day England.[447] Furthermore, significant absences in this distribution pattern can be observed in the extreme north and south-west of present-day England, as well as in present-day Wales.[448] These findings further support Collins' hypothesis that the incorporation of PAS data could modify Swift's previous results.

Additionally, the findings show where concentrations of find-spots have been recorded at any one site. A total of 10 sites were identified where concentrations of 5 or more crossbow brooches have been discovered, at Caernarfon (n=5); Caister-on-Sea (n=7); Catterick (n=6); Housesteads (n=6); Ickham (n=5); Lydney Park (n=5); Richborough (n=68); South Shields (n=19); Winchester (n=15);

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[440] Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 27.
[441] See Fig.6 in combination with the *Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain, Sixth Edition*.
[442] See Appendix 1.
[443] See Fig.7.
[444] See Fig.7 - in comparison to Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 27.
[445] See Appendix 1 in comparison to Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 270-288.
[446] See Fig.8.
[447] See Fig.8.
[448] See Fig.8.

and Wroxeter (n=6).[449] These sites are distributed in the north, east, south and west of present-day

England, as well as in present-day Wales.[450] All of these concentrations were identified from the

finds excavation reports/finds catalogues housed in the University of York library.[451]

When this sample's distribution was analysed typologically the findings show variabilities in

the distributions.[452] The distribution of the find-spots of the 23 crossbow brooches categorised as

Hull's T191A light type are located primarily in the east and south-east of present-day England, with

only single finds from the central midlands and north, with a complete absence from western

regions.[453] In contrast, the distribution of the find-spots of the 69 crossbow brooches categorised as

Hull's T190 light type are located more broadly, primarily in the north, east and south of present-day

England, with a small number of finds from the central region.[454] Although there are a further small

number of find-spots in western regions, there is almost a complete absence of this type from present

day Wales and the south-west peninsula of present-day England.[455]

The distribution of the find-spots of the 71 brooches categorised as Keller's type 1 are

primarily located in the north, east, south and central regions of present-day England.[456] Although

there are also a small number of find-spots in western regions of present-day England, as well as in

Wales, there is a complete absence of this type from the south-west of present-day England.[457] In

contrast, the distribution of the find-spots of the 27 brooches categorised as Keller's type 2 are

geographically more restricted to the north east, east and south of present-day England,[458] sharing a

greater spatial similarity to that of the previously discussed Hull T191A light type. Although there are

also a small number of find-spots in present-day Wales, there is a complete absence of this type from

the south-west peninsula of present-day England.[459] In contradistinction is the distribution of the 98

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[449] See Appendix 1.
[450] See Fig.9.
[451] See Appendix 1.
[452] See Figs.10-17.
[453] See Fig.10 and Appendix 1.
[454] See Fig.11 and Appendix 1.
[455] See Fig.11 and Appendix 1.
[456] See Fig.12 and Appendix 1.
[457] See Fig.12 and Appendix 1.
[458] See Fig.13 and Appendix 1.
[459] See Fig.13 and Appendix 1.

brooches categorised as Keller's type 3/4.[460] The findings show that the distribution pattern of this particular crossbow brooch type accounts for the largest and broadest typological spatial variety within this sample, with find-spots throughout present-day England, including a single find from the south west peninsula, as well as a small number in present-day Wales.[461]

Significantly different to all the preceding findings are the distributions relating to the find-spots of the small number of brooches categorised as Keller's type 5, 5/6 and 6.[462] The find-spots of the 3 brooches categorised as Keller's type 5 are confined to only three individual locations in southern and western present-day England, at Cirencester, Winchester and Wroxeter.[463] Although of a similar small number, the distribution of the find-spots of the 3 brooches categorised as Keller's type 5/6 (due to them sharing characteristics of both types 5 and 6) are confined to only two locations but in the south and north-east of present-day England, at Winchester (n=2) and Settrington respectively.[464] Finally, the distribution of the find-spots of the 8 brooches categorised as Keller's type 6 have a broader distribution in comparison to the previously discussed types 5 and 5/6, in the north-east, west, and south of present-day England.[465] The findings further show a complete absence of find-spots for all these three types from the central-midlands, central-east, south-west peninsula and north-west of present-day England, as well as in Wales.[466]

In summary, the findings show that the find-spots of this sample of crossbow brooches are distributed across a wide area of present-day England, as well as to a far lesser extent in present-day Wales, with particular significant areas of absence relating to specific geographical features. Concentrations of crossbow brooches have also been discussed in relation to 10 specific sites, which will be elaborated upon below with regards to site function and the implications thereof. Furthermore, the typological distributions show a particular overall bias to the east and southern half of present day England; however, larger distributions of find-spots in the north are shown in the spatial patterns of Hull's T190, Keller's type 1 and 3/4. Moreover, all these distributions are in stark contrast to the

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[460] See Fig.14 and Appendix 1.
[461] See Fig.14.
[462] See Figs.15-17 and Appendix 1.
[463] See Fig.15 and Appendix 1.
[464] See Fig.16 and Appendix 1.
[465] See Fig.17 and Appendix 1.
[466] See Figs.15-17.

findings in relation to Keller's type 5, 5/6 and 6, which are restricted predominantly, but not wholly, to a small number of sites in the south of present-day England. A full interpretation and consideration of the implications of these findings will be discussed at length below.

General discussion: context dating of this sample

All of the contextual datable evidence relates to the finds selected from excavation reports/finds catalogues and is therefore important to consider within its own contexts, as well as how it can inform any subsequent interpretations of the PAS data which lacks any such contextual information, as previously discussed above. The findings show that the dating of the archaeological contexts in which the crossbow brooches were recovered from constructs a complex picture, in which there are a variety of narrow, broad and open date ranges.[467] While some of these ranges are consistent with the established chronologies for the typologies discussed above, others are not[468] and can be suggested to be evidence for the curation/residuality that Collins also interpreted in relation to his sample for the northern frontier.[469] Indeed, these findings correlate with Bayley and Bucher's assessment that a typological sequence does not necessarily relate to a strict chronological order.[470]

For example, the dates assigned to the excavated contexts at Richborough exhibit this variety of narrow, broad and open ranges[471] and highlights the complexity of this site, as well as why Malcolm Lyne reappraised this evidence relating to the various excavations.[472] For instance, the datable contexts from which the crossbow brooches of Hull's light T191A category (generally assigned in the literature to the third century) were recovered from were assigned broad dates from the third to the fifth century,[473] with one brooch discovered in a context more narrowly dated to the last

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[467] See Fig.18.
[468] See Fig.18.
[469] Collins, "Brooch use in the 4th- to 5-century frontier," 68.
[470] Bayley and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, 3.
[471] See Fig.18.
[472] Bayley and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, 52.
[473] See Fig.18.

quarter of the fourth century.[474] Furthermore, similar findings can be shown for the reminder of the sample excavated at Richborough.[475] Therefore, the findings suggest that at Richborough the complex archaeology raises questions about the potential curation and/or residuality present in this sample, as well as the possibility that some types of brooches were still produced after the established production chronologies suggest.

Another set of examples are the fourteen crossbow brooches discovered in burial contexts at Winchester.[476] Of this group, three finds were recovered from grave contexts in which numismatic evidence was recovered relating to the House of Constantine,[477] Magnentius[478] and Valentinian I,[479] allowing the excavator to assign *terminus post quem* dates of 350, 350, and 364 respectively[480] to the contexts containing these three individual brooches categorised as Keller's type 2, 3/4 and 5/6.[481] Two further grave contexts which contained brooches categorised as a Keller type 2 and Keller type 3/4[482] were dated more broadly to 350-390 based upon horizontal stratigraphy[483] (calculated in relation to the burials containing numismatics evidence).[484] Additionally, another two graves which contained brooches categorised as Keller's type 5 and 5/6[485] were also dated broadly to 350-390 and more narrowly to 390-400 respectively;[486] however this dating was based upon vertical stratigraphy (the relationship with converging burial contexts).[487] Furthermore, another burial context in which a Keller type 3/4[488] was discovered was subjected to radiocarbon dating which returned a date range of

[474] Bayley and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, p. 107-108, no. 274.
[475] See Fig.18.
[476] See Fig.18.
[477] Giles Clarke, "The Graves," in *Pre-Roman and Roman Winchester. Part II: The Roman Cemetery at Lankhills*, ed. Giles Clarke and Martin Biddle (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979): 24-25, grave 13; Richard Reece, "Coins," in *Pre-Roman and Roman Winchester. Part II: The Roman Cemetery at Lankhills*, ed. Giles Clarke and Martin Biddle (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979): 203, grave 13.
[478] Clarke, "The Graves," 34-35, grave 81; Reece, "Coins," 203, grave 81.
[479] Clarke, "The Graves," 66-67, grave 322; Reece, "Coins," 204, grave 322.
[480] Reece, "Coins," 203-204, graves 13, 81, 322.
[481] Clarke, "Cross-bow Brooches," 259-261, nos. 13, 74, 447.
[482] Clarke, "Cross-bow Brooches," 260, nos. 121, 532.
[483] Clarke, "The Graves," 38-39, grave 106; 86-87, grave 426.
[484] Giles Clarke, "Chronology," in *Pre-Roman and Roman Winchester. Part II: The Roman Cemetery at Lankhills*, ed. Giles Clarke and Martin Biddle (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979): 116-116.
[485] Clarke, "Cross-bow Brooches," 260-262, nos. 278, 587
[486] Clarke, "The Graves," 52-53, grave 234; 78-79. Grave 373.
[487] Clarke, "Chronology," 119-120.
[488] H.E.M. Cool, "Objects of glass, shale, bone and metal (except nails)," in *The Late Roman Cemetery at Lankhills, Winchester: Excavations 2000-2005*, ed. Paul Booth, Andrew Simmonds, Angela Boyle, Sharon Clough, H.E.M. Cool Daniel Poore (Oxford: Oxford Archaeology, 2010): 279, no. 1846.1.

AD 255-414;[489] a timespan further refined by the excavator who assessed the various dress accessories also discovered in the grave and which were interpreted as dating to the mid-late fourth century.[490] The remaining six crossbow brooches in this sample that were recovered from Winchester were discovered in burial contexts dated by the pottery and dress accessory finds alone. A single Keller type 2[491] was discovered in a context which was dated by the pottery evidence to 350-380,[492] while another find categorised as a Keller's type 3/4[493] was recovered from a context dated by the pottery (300-350) and a strap end (350+).[494] The final four brooches however, all categorised as Keller's type 3/4,[495] were discovered in grave contexts which were dated by the brooch type alone.[496]

Therefore, the findings at Winchester suggest that the dates applied to the grave contexts broadly converge with the established chronology of each crossbow brooch category. While it is acknowledged that this is the only conclusion that can be drawn in relation to four of the finds which were themselves the evidence for dating the context, the remaining ten burial contexts were dated by utilising further burial evidence independent of the crossbow brooches within them. Therefore, the findings from Richborough and Winchester can be suggested to show quite different relationships between the dating of the archaeological contexts and the established chronologies applied to the typological schemes, with the sample from Winchester conforming more to the established view discussed above.

However, specific examples from a number of further sites do not suggest that where well defined contexts are identified convergence will be subsequently identified. The findings show that at the fort of Birdoswald, a find categorised as a Hull T190 light crossbow brooch[497] was recovered from

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[489] Paul Booth, Andrew Simmonds, Angela Boyle, Sharon Clough, H.E.M. Cool Daniel Poore, "Chapter 3: Grave catalogue," in *The Late Roman Cemetery at Lankhills, Winchester: Excavations 2000-2005*, ed. Paul Booth, Andrew Simmonds, Angela Boyle, Sharon Clough, H.E.M. Cool Daniel Poore (Oxford: Oxford Archaeology, 2010), 218-220, grave 1846.

[490] Booth et al., "Chapter 3: Grave catalogue," 218-220, grave 1846.

[491] Clarke, "Cross-bow Brooches," 260, no. 24.

[492] Clarke, "The Graves," 26-27, grave 23.

[493] Cool, "Objects of glass, shale, bone and metal (except nails)," 282, no. 745.1.

[494] Booth et al., "Chapter 3: Grave catalogue," 115-117, grave 745.

[495] Cool, "Objects of glass, shale, bone and metal (except nails)," 279-285, nos. 895.1, 1075.1, 1926.1, 3030.1.

[496] Booth et al., "Chapter 3: Grave catalogue," 150-152, grave 1075; 229-230, grave 1925; 234-235, grave 3030; 238, 895.

[497] Tony Wilmott, "Appendix 2: other small finds from Birdoswald," in *Birdoswald: Excavations of a Roman fort on Hadrian's Wall and its successor settlements: 1987-92*, ed. Tony Wilmott (London: English Heritage, 1997): 412-413.

a context dated by a coin of Valentinian I, thus allowing the excavator to assign a *terminus post quem* of 364 to the context.[498] Furthermore, at the small town of Neatham another brooch categorised as Hull's T190[499] was discovered in a context which was allocated a *terminus post quem* of 367 based upon the numismatic evidence[500] (probably coinage issued in the name of Valentinian I but not stated). Moreover, one of the most remarkable finds within the context of this specific discussion was made at the villa site of Ingleby Barwick. In a context interpreted as a pit a crossbow brooch categorised as a Keller type 6 was discovered.[501] In association with this find was the skeleton of a dog which returned a radiocarbon date of AD 340-540, a range further refined by the excavators to c. AD 500 due to the presence of 'Anglo-Saxon' pottery in the layer below the brooch.[502] Consequently, these three finds suggest that these brooches remained in circulation within society for a substantial period after their proposed periods of primary production.

In summary, the findings show that the data recovered from these archaeological contexts constructs a complicated picture. The examples discussed in relation to the sites at Birdoswald, Ingleby Barwick, Neatham, Richborough and Winchester suggest that some contexts are consistent with the established chronologies for the typologies discussed, while others can be considered to show evidence for considerable curation. Consequently, rather than all crossbow brooches in this sample conforming to the established dating of their typological schemes, idiosyncratic examples can be shown to diverge.

The above discussions have therefore laid the groundwork for subsequent interpretation in relation to the specific themes of interest outlined within the introduction. It is to these specific themes that the remainder of this thesis will now turn its attention to.

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[498] Tony Wilmott, "Introduction," in *Birdoswald: Excavations of a Roman fort on Hadrian's Wall and its successor settlements: 1987-92*, ed. Tony Wilmott (London: English Heritage, 1997): 13.

[499] Mark Redknap, "Chapter 5: The Small Finds," in *Excavations on the Romano-British Small Town at Neatham, Hampshire, 1969-1979*, ed. Martin Millett and David Graham (Gloucester: Alan Sutton and Hampshire Field Club, 1986): 106, 109.

[500] C.R.L. Andersen, G.H. Cole and Martin Millett, "Area B," in *Excavations on the Romano-British Small Town at Neatham, Hampshire, 1969-1979*, ed. Martin Millett and David Graham (Gloucester: Alan Sutton and Hampshire Field Club, 1986), 32-33, 38-39.

[501] Fraser Hunter, "Non-Ferrous metalwork," in *A Roman Villa at the Edge of Empire: Excavations at Ingleby Barwick, Stockton-on-Tees, 2003-04*, ed. Steven Willis and Peter Carne (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2013): 102.

[502] Peter Carne and Jamie Armstrong, "The later Iron Age and Roman site: The excavations," in *A Roman Villa at the Edge of Empire: Excavations at Ingleby Barwick, Stockton-on-Tees, 2003-04*, ed. Steven Willis and Peter Carne (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2013): 57.

Soldiers and Bureaucrats in Late Roman Britain: an interpretation

This thesis has intended to build a body of evidence from which to construct an interpretation of the late Roman occupation of Britain which specifically focuses upon the themes introduced within the introduction. These themes relate to the material/symbolic transformation of the crossbow brooch and how these transformations can potentially inform our understanding of the geo-political landscape of late Roman Britain, as per the previous research discussed within Chapter I. Therefore, this chapter will propose a particular interpretation of the evidence discussed within Chapters II –IV, acknowledging, as Chapter III stated, that such an interpretation will be deemed provisional and thus potentially subject to alteration as new knowledge is discovered/produced and different theoretical frameworks are constructed and applied to such evidence. Following this, Chapter VI will consider this interpretation in relation to the previous literature discussed in Chapter I and the implications thereof.

To summarise the considerations of this thesis thus far; Chapter I opened with a consideration of the fourth-century narrative constructed by Ammianus Marcellinus with the function of introducing the concepts of soldiers and bureaucrats, combined with a discussion of modern scholar's interpretations of the role of imperial servants within the late Roman state. Subsequently, a discussion of the late fourth-century/early fifth-century document, the *Notitia Dignitatum*, was undertaken to exhibit this particular sources pre-eminence within Romano-British historiography and to highlight the problems as evidence that this specific source forces scholars to navigate. Consequently, the requirement for innovative avenues of research was suggested so as to compliment such evidence. Thus, the influential work of Ellen Swift was presented alongside a broader discussion of the modern literature relating to the socio-political significance of the crossbow brooch during late antiquity. This discussion highlighted a particular consensus which associates this specific brooch type with soldiers and bureaucrats within the employment of the Roman state. Furthermore, a consideration of the works to utilise this evidence in constructing interpretations of the late imperial occupation of Britain was also undertaken. Such works were contemplated in relation to how the mapping of the distributions of crossbow brooch find-spots has led various academics to present arguments

emphasising a 'disengagement' of the Roman state with north and west Roman Britain during the latter fourth century.

As a result of such discussions this thesis advanced within Chapter II by undertaking a discursive analysis of the surviving art historical evidence. From this investigation a particular discourse relating to the concepts of gender and service was discussed. Furthermore, it was considered how such discourses had penetrated society to be associated with wider social practices. Moreover, this penetration was argued to have been at its most diverse and widest influence during the mid-late fourth century. In contrast, the evidence for the last decade of the fourth-century into the first quarter of the fifth was argued to suggest that the discursive formation relating to the crossbow brooch had changed to a more restricted and elite association. Following the arguments of Halsall and Swift, such change was considered to be due to the interrelated consequences of particular brooch manufacture for elite imperial servants only; the failure of the production networks which supplied the sub-elite with their crossbow brooches; and crises within the effective management of the state.

Following this discursive analysis, Chapter III discussed the construction of a new sample of 350 crossbow brooches and a methodology was subsequently outlined to offer the reader a step-by-step guide to how this thesis' approached the data and to allow for criticism where warranted. Additionally, several methodological precautions relating to regional absences, geographical features, recovery methodologies, curation and residuality, recycling, the loss and survival of evidence, negative evidence and the representativeness of this sample were discussed and will be reflected upon within this chapter.

Subsequently, the findings of an analysis of this sample where discussed within Chapter IV in relation to composition, distribution and contextual dating. Of particular interest is the largest typological group within this sample composed of Keller's type 3/4 crossbow brooch, which contrasts with the relatively small numbers of Keller's type 5 and 6. Furthermore, the overall distribution was highlighted as biased to present-day England, particularly the south and east, with Keller's type 3/4 exhibiting the broadest spatial pattern in contrast to Keller's type 5 and 6. Additionally, dating from archaeological contexts suggested some convergence to the established chronologies, as well as

evidence for curation. Thus, this thesis has explored such various elements to lay the ground work for this chapter and therefore this thesis will now adopt an interpretative stance to this body of evidence.

The overall distribution of the 350 crossbow brooch find-spots throughout the former diocese of Roman Britain can be considered to suggest that this particular type of late Roman material culture was widely employed.[503] As discussed in Chapter IV, these find-spots are primarily biased to present day England and therefore the east of the island as a whole, a distribution perhaps not unexpected considering the problems as evidence discussed above within Chapter III; particularly, the geography of the landscape, how it is currently managed and the linked geographical bias of previous investigations (particularly the PAS). Therefore, it can be suggested that more intensive investigations of such regions showing a paucity of finds could potentially offer new data for subsequent analysis. However, the regional analyses conducted below suggests that historical human interactions with this landscape during antiquity also contributed to this distribution and therefore while these problems as evidence may indeed be important factors they do not account for the distribution alone. For example, it was discussed in Chapter III how the PAS was extended into Wales in 2008 and has subsequently recorded a wealth of information. While this extension has yielded substantial new evidence for Roman numismatics specialists (such as Walton discussed above), the same cannot be said in relation to the evidence for the crossbow brooch (see below) and the implications of this will be subsequently considered.

Furthermore, the typological analysis suggests a nuanced picture which also highlights a series of spatial patterns which are predominantly biased to the eastern half of the island. In particular, the distributions of Hull's T191A,[504] Keller's type 1,[505] and Keller's type 2,[506] exhibit this bias most profoundly. Similarly, the distribution of Hull's T190s also shows a lack of western find-spots, but additionally with a unique spatial pattern within this sample which consists of two regional concentrations in the north and the south.[507] Even when the typological series within this sample reaches its widest geographical extent in the form of Keller's type 3/4 the overall spatial pattern

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[503] See Fig.5.
[504] See Fig.10.
[505] See Fig.12.
[506] See Fig.13.
[507] See Fig.11.

shows a predominantly eastern bias.[508] This widespread distribution pattern in particular contrasts

with that of the latter types of crossbow brooches to be produced in the form of Keller's type 5 and

6,[509] which are restricted to a small number of single sites.[510] However, and as discussed within

Chapters I and II, these brooches specifically have been suggested to have socio-politically diverged

from their earlier cousins and as a consequence their distributions must be considered accordingly

(see below). Additionally, the evidence from datable archaeological contexts[511] has also highlighted

the convergent and divergent examples of such brooches with the established typological

chronologies,[512] as suggested in previous work.[513] Consequently, these typologies should not be read

as clear cut distinctions in the sense that their wearers would have moved progressively in use from

one type to another in a uniform and coherent way, and thus a certain amount of overlap must be

considered. In this context therefore, typologies are a good example of how language constructs

classifications which need not necessarily reflect such clear cut distinctions in the material world.[514]

Another and interrelated feature of this sample are the regional profiles which can be

constructed for the north, west and south-east of what was Roman Britain. Again, such linguistic

distinctions to structure the data probably do not represent such neat contrasts in the late antique

material world, however such an approach is considered to be of use for drawing out the potential

geo-political implications of these distributions. For example, in the north the association between the

state and the landscape had long been established, constituting the northern military frontier of the

diocese.[515] Previous work by Collins discussed the bias of crossbow brooch find-spots to particular

locations with associations to the Roman military and state bureaucracy during the imperial

occupation and this sample shares those findings; with particular concentrations of crossbow brooches

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[508] See Fig.14.
[509] See Figs.15-17.
[510] See Appendix 1.
[511] See in relation to Fig.18.
[512] See Fig.1.
[513] Collins, "Brooch use in the 4th- to 5-century frontier," 68.
[514] After Burr, *Social Constructionism*, 3; Toby F. Martin, *The Cruciform Brooch and Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), 16. See also Ken Gergen, "Social Constructionist Ideas, Theory and Practice," YouTube, 2014, accessed Jan 03, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-AsKFFX9Ib0 on how different academic interests utilise language to construct different perceptions of the same physical object.
[515] David Breeze, *The Frontiers of Imperial* Rome (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2012), 62, 154; Collins, *Hadrian's Wall and the End of Empire: The Roman Frontier in the 4th and 5th* Centuries, xvii, xviii; Collins and Breeze, "Limitanei and Comitatenses: Military Failure at the End of Roman Britain?," 63, 68; de la Bedoyère, *Eagles over Britannia: The Roman Army in Britain*, 8-9; Johnson, *Later Roman Britain*, 25.

discovered at Catterick (n=6), Housesteads (n=6) and South Shields (n=19).[516] The strategically

important location of South Shields on the coast and its possible role as a military logistics base for

the *Horrea Classis* attests to its importance to the state.[517] Additionally, Housesteads occupies a

central position on the line of Hadrian's Wall[518] and it has been suggested that this particular fort may

have served as a regional tax collection/storage site during the fourth century.[519] Furthermore,

Catterick, situated to the south of Hadrian's Wall along the road running north from York,[520] was the

site of an important military centre along this vital logistical route,[521] as well as the location of a small

town with a central role within the regional economy.[522]

The findings of the typological analysis of this sample for northern Britain suggest that the

crossbow brooch became established within the northern frontier with the production of its earliest

forms,[523] with examples having been discovered at South Shields, Birdoswald, Brougham,

Carrawburgh, Castleford, Catterick, Chesterholm, Housesteads, Lancaster and Piercebridge.[524] Such

light crossbow brooches have been discovered in a range of contexts dated from the first half of the

third century at Brougham,[525] to the second half of the fourth century at Birdoswald.[526] Furthermore,

this association of the northern frontier with the crossbow brooch is also evidenced by the recovery of

Keller's type 1, 2 and 3/4.[527] These brooches were discovered at the sites of Birdoswald, Brougham,

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[516] See Fig.9 and Appendix 1.

[517] Andrew Birley, "*BRICOMAGLUS* and *RIACUS*: A Brave New World? The Balance of Power at Post-Roman Vindolanda," in *AD 410: The History and Archaeology of Late and Post-Roman Britain*, ed. F. K. Haarer (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 2014), 197; Breeze, *The Frontiers of Imperial* Rome, 193; A. L. F. Rivet and Colin Smith, *The Place-Names of Roman Britain* (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd, 1979), 256; Salway, *Roman Britain*, 529-530.

[518] Breeze, *The Frontiers of Imperial* Rome, 62; Collins, *Hadrian's Wall and the End of Empire: The Roman Frontier in the 4th and 5th* Centuries, xviii.

[519] Alan Rushworth, "Discussion: aspects of the site's history," in *Housesteads Roman Fort – The Grandest Station. Volume 1: Structural Report and Discussion*, ed. Alan Rushworth (Swindon: English Heritage, 2009), 308.

[520] Collins, *Hadrian's Wall and the End of Empire: The Roman Frontier in the 4th and 5th* Centuries, xvii.

[521] Ibid., 31.

[522] P.R. Wilson, "Roman Catterick discussion," in *Cataractonium: Roman Catterick and its hinterland. Excavations and research, 1958-1997, Part II*, ed. by P.R. Wilson (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2002), 446, 463.

[523] See Figs.10 and 11.

[524] See Appendix 1.

[525] H.E.M. Cool, "Inventory of the deposits," in *The Roman cemetery at Brougham, Cumbria, Excavations 1966-67*, ed. H.E.M. Cool (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 2004), 219-221.

[526] Tony Wilmott, "Appendix 2: other small finds from Birdoswald," in *Birdoswald: Excavations of a Roman fort on Hadrian's Wall and its successor settlements: 1987-92*, ed. Tony Wilmott (London: English Heritage, 1997), 412-413.

[527] See Figs.12, 13 and 14.

Carlisle, Carrawburgh, Catterick, Housesteads, Piercebridge and South Shields[528] and have also been dated from the late third century[529] to the second half of the fourth century.[530] Finally, two single finds of the latest types of crossbow brooch to have been discovered in Britain, 5/6 and 6, were recovered from Settrington[531] and Ingleby Barwick respectively.[532] However, although the villa site at Ingleby Barwick has been interpreted as showing evidence of substantial activity during the later fourth century[533] and thus placing the site within the chronology under discussion here, this particular crossbow brooch is not believed to have been deposited until c.500 in the context of the burial of a dog.[534] Therefore, it can be considered that the crossbow brooch was being utilised within the northern frontier from the third century and certainly into the second half of the fourth century at least. Thus, the contextual information relating to dating does not suggest that a clear cut progression in use from one type to another is easily distinguishable and therefore establishing when these individual brooches went out of their primary use remains problematic to interpret (particularly the find from Ingleby Barwick).

Furthermore, the individual sites suggest a strong military association,[535] however the seemingly logical assumption that these brooches were the dress accessories of soldiers must be proposed with some caution. At both Catterick and Housesteads it has been suggested by the excavators that some localised activities may in fact be connected to bureaucrats tasked with administering the regional taxation system.[536] Indeed, it has been suggested that the associated storehouses to such activity would have been protected by the military but managed by the

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[528] See Appendix 1.
[529] Cool, "Inventory of the deposits," 133-134.
[530] Hella Eckardt, Gundula Müldner and Greg Speed, "The late Roman field army in Northern Britain? Mobility, material culture and multi-isotype analysis at Scorton (N. Yorks)," *Britannia* 46 (2015): 197.
[531] "DUR-57B5D5," Portable Antiquities Scheme, accessed November 04, 2016, https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/539095.
[532] Fraser Hunter, "Non-Ferrous metalwork," in *A Roman Villa at the Edge of Empire: Excavations at Ingleby Barwick, Stockton-on-Tees, 2003-04*, ed. Steven Willis and Peter Carne (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2013), 101, 104.
[533] David Petts, "Late Roman to early medieval settlement at Ingleby Barwick: discussion," in *A Roman Villa at the Edge of Empire: Excavations at Ingleby Barwick, Stockton-on-Tees, 2003-04*, ed. Steven Willis and Peter Carne (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2013), 196.
[534] Ibid., 198.
[535] Breeze, *The Frontiers of Imperial* Rome, 62, 154; Rob Collins, *Hadrian's Wall and the End of Empire: The Roman Frontier in the 4th and 5th Centuries*, xvii, xviii; Collins and Breeze, "Limitanei and Comitatenses: Military Failure at the End of Roman Britain?," 63, 68; de la Bedoyère, *Eagles over Britannia: The Roman Army in Britain*, 8-9; Johnson, *Later Roman Britain*, 25.
[536] Rushworth, "Discussion: aspects of the site's history," 308; Wilson, "Roman Catterick discussion," 466.

bureaucracy[537] whose officials would have also have had a wider administrative remit embedded within the army's structure.[538] Moreover however, it was discussed in Chapter I that these institutional identities were fluid constructs which could be interrelated/combined within particular contexts. Furthermore, Chapter II emphasised that identities are contextually dependent and performative constructions, intimately linked to the content of an activity. Consequently, determining exactly who was using these brooches, at what specific time and in what capacity is not easily resolvable based upon the current evidence under discussion. Nevertheless, considering the conclusions discussed within Chapter II, the presence of imperial servants in one function or another should be considered the most plausible conclusion for the presence of such brooches if they were deposited at a time when the general discourse of gender and service still maintained its truth (see below) and not subsequently transported to these sites in the post-Roman period. As discussed in relation to the problems as evidence and the particular examples highlighted above (e.g. Ingleby Barwick), these complex relationships of the brooches life history are problematic to interpret.

In contrast to the northern frontier, the findings of the typological analysis of this sample suggest that the crossbow brooch did not become widely established within western regions of Roman Britain.[539] Although the problems as evidence discussed above have been suggested to potentially influence a certain bias in the distribution, the extension of the PAS into Wales may suggest that these issues do not problematize the record to the extent that we cannot say anything about human activity during antiquity. For example, a general search of the PAS database in relation to an approximate area consisting of present-day Wales and the extreme west of present-day England identified 37,882 available results, of which the vast majority are labelled as 'coin'[540] and only 350 as brooches;[541] only one of which is identifiable as a crossbow brooch type (LVPL-9B9982).[542] Thus, the extension of the

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[537] Southern and Dixon, *The Late Roman Army*, 62.
[538] Southern and Dixon, *The Late Roman Army*, 64.
[539] See Figs.10-17 and Appendix 1.
[540] Discussed within Chapter III in relation to the work of Walton.
[541] "Bounding box co-ordinates: 51.344339,-5.158081,53.448807,-2.982788," Portable Antiquities Scheme, accessed February 10, 2018, https://finds.org.uk/database/search/results/bbox/51.344339%2C-5.158081%2C53.448807%2C-2.982788.
[542] "Bounding box co-ordinates: 51.344339,-5.158081,53.448807,-2.982788; Object type: BROOCH," Portable Antiquities Scheme, accessed February 10, 2018, https://finds.org.uk/database/search/results/bbox/51.344339%2C-5.158081%2C53.448807%2C-2.982788/objectType/BROOCH and see Appendix 1.

PAS into previously unrecorded areas has not as yet offered significant new data for the presence of the crossbow brooch and therefore is suggestive, on the basis of the current evidence, that the crossbow brooch did not become widely established within these western regions of Roman Britain. Indeed, the majority of finds from this area were discovered at three particular and diverse sites; Caernarfon (n=5), Lydney Park (n=5) and Wroxeter (n=6). Caernarfon was an important military site in present-day north Wales where evidence for continued military activity and refurbishment of the site into the late fourth century has been discovered.[543] Conversely, the site at Lydney Park has been interpreted as an ironworking site which was subsequently developed during the mid-fourth century into a religious complex.[544] While of further general functional distinction, Wroxeter was a town which had particular regional administrative importance as a *civitas capital*,[545] as well as being the focus of important contemporary work on the survival of town life into the post-Roman period.[546] Indeed, the typologies of the crossbow brooches discovered at Wroxeter and included within this sample may indeed support the argument for the importance of this site during the late fourth century into the fifth;[547] with no types attested earlier than Keller's type 3/4 and including types 5 as well as 6.[548]

Consequently, the limited findings of this sample converge with those of previous work which has highlighted the regional distinctiveness of present-day Wales during the Roman period compared to the north, as well as the south and east. For instance, Jeffrey Davies has argued that the surviving archaeological evidence in Wales suggests that over half of the geographical extent under discussion shows almost no indication of the adoption of Romanised cultural traits; such as being

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[543] P.J. Casey, P.J., J.L. Davies and J. Evans, "Synthesis," in *Excavations at Segontium (Caernarfon) Roman Fort, 1975-1979*, ed. P.J. Casey, J.L. Davies and J. Evans (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1993), 10-16.

[544] R.E.M. Wheeler and T.V. Wheeler, *Report on the Excavation of the Prehistoric, Roman, and Post-Roman site in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire* (Oxford: The Society of Antiquaries, 1932), 22-23.

[545] Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain*, 64-65.de la Bedoyère, *Roman Britain: A New History*, 135; Johnson, *Later Roman Britain*, 6; Wacher, *The Towns of Roman Britain* (London: B.T. Batsford, 1978), 22-23.

[546] Philip Barker, Roger White, Kate Pretty, Heather Bird and Mike Corbishley, "Archaeology and history: the site in its setting," in *The baths basilica Wroxeter: Excavations 1966-90*, ed. Philip Barker, Roger White, Kate Pretty, Heather Bird and Mike Corbishley (London: English Heritage, 1997), 247.

[547] Philip Barker, Roger White, Kate Pretty, Heather Bird, Mike Corbishley and Donald Mackreth, "The finds," in *The baths basilica Wroxeter: Excavations 1966-90*, ed. Philip Barker, Roger White, Kate Pretty, Heather Bird and Mike Corbishley (London: English Heritage, 1997), 211.

[548] See Fig.1 and Appendix 1.

influenced by urbanism and a market economy.[549] Furthermore, Davies linked such interpretations to

the presence or not of the Roman army and considered that the garrison and its associated

infrastructure had become significantly reduced by the beginning-mid fourth century;[550] a time when

the crossbow brooch was becoming established in the wider diocese.[551] Indeed, the PAS search for

this region described above identified numerous examples of first to the third century Roman

brooches, such as the dolphin and trumpet types, in contrast to the singular crossbow brooch

described[552] Therefore, this evidence is supportive of the thesis advanced here that apart from at a

small number of particular sites the crossbow brooch did not become widely established in western

regions of Roman Britain due to decreasing state activity from c.AD 300.[553]

In distinction to both the northern frontier and western Britain, the distributions of crossbow

brooch find-spots throughout the south (below the Humber Estuary)[554] and east of the island are more

diverse, particularly due to the incorporation of data from the PAS[555] (which has a specific bias to

such regions as discussed in Chapter III). Furthermore, this broad landscape can be suggested to have

contrasted significantly with the northern frontier and the west in relation to its human geography.

For example, the principal towns of Roman Britain which were integral to the administration, defence,

economy, religious and leisure requirements of the diocese[556] were primarily founded within this

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[549] Jeffrey L Davies, "Soldiers, Peasants, Industry and Towns. The Roman Army in Britain: A Welsh Perspective," in The Roman Army and the Economy, ed. Paul Erdkamp (Amsterdam: Gieben, 2002), 196-197; Gerrard also argued that 'Rome's influence was feebly felt and restricted to specific times and locations,' Gerrard, *The Ruin of Roman Britain: An Archaeological Perspective*, 246.

[550] "Soldiers, Peasants, Industry and Towns. The Roman Army in Britain: A Welsh Perspective,", 169-170, 198-199; for further similar interpretations see Johnson, *Later Roman Britain*, 42, as well as Ken Dark, *Britain and the End of the Roman Empire* (Stroud: Tempus, 2000), 17 who suggested that such a situation suggested comparative peace within western regions.

[551] See Figs.10-14.

[552] "Bounding box co-ordinates: 51.344339,-5.158081,53.448807,-2.982788; Object type: BROOCH," Portable Antiquities Scheme, accessed February 10, 2018, https://finds.org.uk/database/search/results/bbox/51.344339%2C-5.158081%2C53.448807%2C-2.982788/objectType/BROOCH.

[553] It has been conjectured that an unknown military command existed in Wales up to at least c.AD 400 and its absence from the historical record is due to the incompleteness of the Notitia Dignitatum (as discussed in Chapter I), Collins and Breeze, "Limitanei and Comitatenses: Military Failure at the End of Roman Britain?," 63, 67. However, the findings from this particular sample, while not definitively precluding this idea, do not necessarily suggest support for this hypothesis.

[554] Collins, "Brooch use in the 4th- to 5-century frontier," 64.

[555] See Fig.8 and Appendix 1.

[556] Ken Dark and Petra Dark, *The Landscape of Roman Britain* (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), 143; de la Bedoyère, *Roman Britain: A New History*, 143, 149, 150-151; John Wacher, *The Towns of Roman Britain*, 36.

geographical area.[557] Furthermore, the remains of the quintessentially Roman villa type settlements which appear to have boomed during the fourth century while the towns began to decline[558] have also been predominantly discovered within this region.[559] Additionally, evidence of industry during the Roman period also shows a strong bias to this wide area,[560] in particular those industries producing pottery and tiles,[561] as well as the vast tracts of land given over to agricultural production.[562] Finally, the Roman coinage underpinning much of this activity, although distributed throughout the entire diocese, is also concentrated primarily throughout the south, central and eastern half of the island.[563]

Indeed, the sites where particular concentrations of crossbow brooches have been discovered highlight this diversity, at Caistor-on-Sea (n=7), Ickham (n=5), Richborough (n=68) and Winchester (n=14).[564] Richborough specifically stands out within this sample with by far the largest concentration of crossbow brooches at any single site (68 = 19.43%);[565] a concentration which can be considered in connection to the extensive archaeological excavations undertaken at the site discussed in Chapter IV which recovered such evidence, as well as its importance to the Roman state during the occupation which is relatively well attested in the historical record.[566] Moreover, these sources and subsequent modern interpretations of Richborough have suggested that the fort served as a key entry and exit point to the diocese,[567] as well as being one of the installations that formed part of the so-

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[557] Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain*, 65; de la Bedoyère, *Roman Britain: A New History*, 131, 135; Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376-568*, 79; Johnson, *Later Roman Britain*, 6; Salway, *Roman Britain*, xxviii; Wacher, *The Towns of Roman Britain*, 23.
[558] Dark and Dark, *The Landscape of Roman Britain*, 42; de la Bedoyère, *Roman Britain: A New History*, 181.
[559] de la Bedoyère, *Roman Britain: A New History*, 183; Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376-568*, 79; Jeremy Taylor, *An atlas of Roman rural settlement in England* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2007), 34.
[560] Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376-568*, 79; Taylor, *An atlas of Roman rural settlement in England*, 117.
[561] Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain*, 87; Johnson, *Later Roman Britain*, 30; Taylor, *An atlas of Roman rural settlement in England*, 38.
[562] Dark and Dark, *The Landscape of Roman Britain*, 42.
[563] Moorhead, A History of Roman Coinage in Britain; Walton, *Rethinking Roman Britain: Coinage and Archaeology*, 171.
[564] See Fig.9 and Appendix 1.
[565] See Appendix 1.
[566] See for example Ammianus, *Res Gestae*, XX.1.1.; XXVII.8.6.; "Itinerarium Provinciarum Antonini Augusti (Antonine Itinerary)," in *The Place-Names of Roman Britain*, trans. A. L. F. Rivet and Colin Smith (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd, 1979), 154, 158; "Notitia Dignitatum," in *The Place-Names of Roman Britain*, trans. A. L. F. Rivet and Colin Smith (London: B. T. Batsford Ltd, 1979), 219.
[567] Bayley and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, 204.

called Saxon Shore.[568] Similarly, the fort at Caistor-on-Sea has been interpreted as functioning as part

of the Saxon Shore coastal system.[569] However, this site has been interpreted as complex in that it

also shows evidence for significant 'industrial' activity during the fourth century,[570] potentially as a

key site in a logistical network supplying the military frontiers in northern Britain and on the

continent.[571] In contrast to these sites is the town of Winchester which is regarded as having been an

important administrative centre within Roman Britain, a *civitas capital*.[572] Furthermore, it has been

also suggested that Winchester was the site of the only state factory to be documented in Roman

Britain by the *Notitia Dignitatum*.[573] Finally, in contrast to Richborough, Caistor-on-Sea and

Winchester which all have direct military and bureaucratic associations with the Roman state is the

'quasi-industrial settlement' at Ickham.[574] Established on the road linking Richborough to

Canterbury, this settlement has been interpreted as an important site for regional trade and commerce,

including the production and restoration of metalwork.[575] Thus, these sites where particular

concentrations of crossbow brooches have been discovered suggest predominantly strong links to the

state, with perhaps Ickham also in a less direct capacity.

The typological analysis for southern and eastern Britain also suggests that the crossbow

brooch became established in this wide and diverse region during the production of its earliest

forms[576] and this association continued throughout the late occupation as evidenced by the discovery

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[568] Bayley and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, 2; Andrew Pearson, *The Roman Shore Forts: Coastal Defences of Southern Britain* (Stroud: Tempus, 2002), 12; Gerrard extended this interpretation to suggest that Richborough may have been the headquarters of the *comes litoris Saxonici* discussed above in Chapter I, Gerrard, *The Ruin of Roman Britain: An Archaeological Perspective*, 126-127.

[569] Pearson, *The Roman Shore Forts: Coastal Defences of Southern Britain*, 12.

[570] Ibid., 16.

[571] Margaret J. Darling and David Gurney, "Chapter 9. Discussion," in *Caister-on-Sea: Excavations by Charles Green, 1951-55*, ed. Margaret J. Darling and David Gurney (Norfolk: Norfolk Museums Service, 1993), 251-252.

[572] Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain*, 64-65.de la Bedoyère, *Roman Britain: A New History*, 135; Johnson, *Later Roman Britain*, 6; Wacher, *The Towns of Roman Britain*, 22-23.

[573] Paul Booth, Andrew Simmonds, Angela Boyle, Sharon Clough, H.E.M. Cool and Daniel Poore, "Chapter 8: The cemetery in the context of late Roman Winchester and beyond," in *The Late Roman Cemetery at Lankhills, Winchester: Excavations 2000-2005*, ed. Paul Booth, Andrew Simmonds, Angela Boyle, Sharon Clough, H.E.M. Cool Daniel Poore (Oxford: Oxford Archaeology, 2010), 527.

[574] Paul Bennett, "Part 7: Ickham and East Kent in the late Roman period," in *The Roman Watermills and Settlement at Ickham, Kent*, ed. Paul Bennett, Ian Riddler and Christopher Sparey-Green (Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Trust, 2010), 321.

[575] Bennett, "Part 7: Ickham and East Kent in the late Roman period," 321.

[576] See Figs.10 and 11.

of Keller's types 1-6.[577] Examples of all Hull and Keller types have been discovered at sites

associated with the Roman military and state bureaucracy during the imperial occupation;[578] such as at

Canterbury, Caister-on-Sea, Chichester, Cirencester, Dover, Colchester, Leicester, London,

Portchester, Reculver, Richborough, St Albans and Winchester.[579] Furthermore, a number of

brooches have been discovered at or in close proximity to a diverse range of sites categorised as

'small towns,' such as Water Newton, Southfleet, Mancetter, Neatham, Tadcaster, Towcester and

Wanborough.[580] Such a category label superficially constructs uniformity to what have been

suggested to be a diverse range of settlements classified in distinction to the larger sites, such as the

civitas capitals.[581] As such, small towns are considered to have been of localised economic and social

importance,[582] with perhaps a narrow administrative function.[583] For example, Neatham has been

interpreted as a settlement which at its height during the fourth century had a population of between

2,000-4,000 people and functioned on a limited scale as a centre for localised industry and politics.[584]

As well as these associations with the towns, the find-spots of crossbow brooches within this

region also suggest associations with less populous settlements and which again highlights the

diversity of this region and the associations of the material culture to it. Examples of such find-spots

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[577] See Figs.12-17.

[578] Breeze, *The Frontiers of Imperial Rome*, 154; Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain*, 52-65; de la Bedoyère, *Eagles over Britannia: The Roman Army in Britain*, 6; de la Bedoyère, *Roman Britain: A New History*, 103, 135; Johnson, *Later Roman Britain*, 6, 82; Pearson, *The Roman Shore Forts: Coastal Defences of Southern Britain*, 12; Salway, *Roman Britain*, 27-28; Wacher, *The Towns of Roman Britain*, 23.

[579] See Appendix 1.

[580] See Appendix 1 and A.S. Anderson, J.S. Wacher and A.P. Fitzpatrick, "Introduction," in *The Romano-British 'small town' at Wanborough, Wiltshire: Excavations 1966-1976*, ed. A.S. Anderson, J.S. Wacher and A.P. Fitzpatrick (London: the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 2001): 1-6; "Calcaria Roman Town," English Heritage PastScape, accessed October 23, 2016, http://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=54930; de la Bedoyère, Roman Britain: A New History, 157; S S Frere, "Foreword," in *Excavations on the Romano-British Small Town at Neatham, Hampshire, 1969-1979*, ed. Martin Millett and David Graham (Gloucester: Alan Sutton and Hampshire Field Club, 1986), xv-xvi; "Manduessedum Roman Settlement," Historic England PastScape, accessed October 22, 2016, http://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=336160&sort=4&search=all&criteria=manduessedum&rational=q&recordsperpage=10; "Towcester," Historic England PastScape, accessed November 05, 2016, http://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=341226&sort=4&search=all&criteria=Lactodurum&rational=q&recordsperpage=10; Wacher, *The Towns of Roman Britain*, 409.

[581] Keith J. Fitzpatrick-Matthews, "The Experience of 'Small Towns': Utter Devastation, Slow Fading or Business as Usual," in *AD 410: This History and Archaeology of Late and Post-Roman Britain*, ed. F.K. Haarer (London: the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 2014): 43.

[582] Ibid., 43.

[583] Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain*, 64.

[584] Martin Millet and David Graham, "Chapter 8: General Discussion," in *Excavations on the Romano-British Small Town at Neatham, Hampshire, 1969-1979*, ed. Martin Millett and David Graham (Gloucester: Alan Sutton and Hampshire Field Club, 1986), 151-158.

include the villas at Keston[585] and Rockbourne,[586] the religious complex at Uley,[587] and the more 'village' type minor settlements identified at Chisenbury Warren,[588] Laurel Farm,[589] as well as Neigh Bridge,[590] West Lavington[591] and Woking,[592] to give but a few examples. Thus, the crossbow brooch can be considered to have been active throughout the settlement hierarchy and its wearers not restricted to the more recognisable and archaeologically investigated sites which could have perhaps not been suggested without the incorporation of the PAS data in particular.[593]

The findings in relation to the contextual dating for this regional sample of crossbow brooches[594] also show features of convergence and divergence with the established typological chronologies.[595] For example, the interpretations of the complex archaeology at Richborough discussed above highlighted that brooches of the same type were discovered in a range of different dated contexts; for instance three finds categorised as Keller's type 1 were recovered from contexts

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[585] Brian Philp, "Introduction," in *The Roman Villa site at Keston, Kent: First Report (Excavations 1968-1978)*, ed. Brian Philp, Keith Parfitt, John Willson, Mike Dutton and Wendy Williams (Kent: Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit, 1991): 1-9.

[586] "Monument No. Rockbourne," Historic England PastScape, accessed February 08, 2017, https://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=217299&sort=4&search=all&criteria=Rockbourne&rational=q &recordsperpage=10.

[587] Ann Woodward and Peter Leach, "Introduction," in *The Uley Shrines, Excavations of a ritual complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire: 1977-9*, ed. Ann Woodward and Peter Leach (London: English Heritage, 1993): 1-3.

[588] M. G. Fulford, A. B. Powell, R. Entwistle and F. Raymond, "Abstract," in *Iron Age and Romano-British Settlements and Landscapes of Salisbury Plain*, ed. M. G. Fulford, A. B. Powell, R. Entwistle and F. Raymond (Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology, 2006), xi ; "Chisenbury Warren," Historic England PastScape, accessed November 1, 2016, http://pastscape.org/hob.aspx?hob_id=220269.

[589] Barry Bishop and Jennifer Proctor, *Settlement, Ceremony and Industry on Mousehold Heath: Excavations at Laurel Farm (Phase II), Broadland Business Park, Thorpe St Andrew, Norfolk* (Dorchester: Pre-Construct Archaeology, 2011), 1-7.

[590] Alex Smith, "Chapter 9: Excavations at Neigh Bridge, Somerford Keynes," in *Iron Age and Roman Settlement in the Upper Thames Valley: Excavations at Claydon Pike and other sites within the Cotswold Water Park*, ed. David Miles, Simon Palmer, Alex Smith and Grace Perpetua Jones (Oxford: Oxford Archaeology, 2007): 229-273.

[591] "Monument No.903907," Historic England PastScape, accessed February 08, 2017, https://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=903907&sort=2&type=&typeselect=c&rational=a&class1=Non e&period=None&county=None&district=None&parish=None&place=&recordsperpage=10&source=text&rtyp e=monument&rnumber=903907.

[592] "Monument No.394110," Historic England PastScape, accessed October 22, 2016, https://www.pastscape.org.uk/hob.aspx?hob_id=394110&sort=2&type=&typeselect=c&rational=a&class1=Non e&period=None&county=None&district=None&parish=None&place=&recordsperpage=10&source=text&rtyp e=monument&rnumber=394110.

[593] Compare Figs.7 and 8 in association with Appendix 1; a similar finding was made in relation to the much smaller sample in Twort, "Britannia and the Brooch," 29, 37.

[594] See in relation to Fig.18.

[595] See Fig.1.

dated AD 325-50, late fourth century+ and AD 400+.[596] The first example conforms more to the established chronology for this type,[597] in comparison with the subsequent two and consequently there are questions raised about the potential curation and/or residuality, as well as the possibility for continued production beyond the established chronology. In contrast, the findings discussed within Chapter IV in relation to Winchester suggested far more convergence with the established chronologies. Therefore, it can be suggested that the crossbow brooch was being utilised in the south and east of Roman Britain from the third century and into the beginning of the fifth century at least, and similarly to the above discussions the contextual dating information does not suggest a clear cut progression in use from one type to another.

As discussed above, positively distinguishing between individuals categorised as soldiers and those as bureaucrats from this sample of evidence remains equally problematic. The military associations of the forts at Caistor-on-Sea and at Richborough for example suggest a logical assumption that these brooches were the dress accessories of soldiers. However, the function of Richborough as a key port and the potential logistical supply function of Caistor-on-Sea can be considered comparable to the previous suggestions made above in relation to the possible presence of bureaucrats at Catterick and Housesteads. Similarly, the logical assumption that the presence of crossbow brooches in the towns and minor settlements of these regions equates to the presence of bureaucrats, such as Lucius Septimius at Cirencester,[598] is also problematic. Military personnel had been temporarily transferred to the staff of the governor[599] and similarly to the arrangements discussed above in relation to bureaucrats working at military sites in the fourth century; it can be considered that the military could be called upon as a pool of key skills that could be utilised throughout the landscape for the functions of maintaining law and order, tax collection and building work.[600] Consequently, the military in Roman Britain should not be seen as a separate sphere that operated

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[596] Bayley and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, 109-110, 113.
[597] Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 14.
[598] Stephen Ireland, *Roman Britain: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 1996), 137.
[599] de la Bedoyère, *Eagles over Britannia: The Roman Army in Britain*, 213; Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West, 376-568*, 76.
[600] de la Bedoyère, *Eagles over Britannia: The Roman Army in Britain*, 189, 203.

apart from the civilian population.[601] Moreover however, and to reiterate the arguments discussed above, such institutional identities were fluid constructs and thus contextually dependent and performative and therefore determining exactly who was using these brooches, at what specific time and in what capacity is not easily resolvable based upon the current evidence under discussion. However and as discussed above with particular caveats, the presence of imperial servants should be considered as the most plausible conclusion for the presence of these crossbow brooches throughout the south and east of Britain if their deposition related to a time when the general discourse of gender and service still maintained its truth (see below).

In summary therefore, the overall distributive analysis of this sample strongly suggests that a bias to the east of Britain is a consistent feature of this particular type of material culture when considered over the longue durée. In contrast, the limited finds from western regions suggest that the crossbow brooch did not become widely established beyond a small number of sites. This conclusion is consistent with previous work that has suggested that state involvement in this region was decreasing from c.AD 300, as the crossbow brooch was becoming established as a primary piece of official material culture within the wider diocese. Thus, a decrease in official state activity in the west during the fourth century and therefore less postings of crossbow brooch wearing imperial servants to this region is suggested to account for the paucity of finds in the west when compared to the east on the basis of the current evidence.

To reiterate however, this interpretation proposed is considered provisional and heavily caveated in relation to the numerous and at times substantial problems as evidence. In particular, determining when a crossbow brooch was finally deposited has been discussed repeatedly above as a problematic issue due to a number of interrelated factors. Consequently, the proposal that the presence of imperial servants in one function or another should be considered the most plausible conclusion for the presence of such brooches is one made with these problems in mind. Such an approach is in the established tradition of inferring the potential date in relation to the established typologies (Chapter III) when other contextual information is not available. Indeed, such an approach was discussed in Chapter IV in relation to the dating of four graves discovered at Winchester which

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[601] de la Bedoyère, *Eagles over Britannia: The Roman Army in Britain*, 203.

were dated solely based upon the typologies of the crossbow brooches discovered in them. Furthermore, the scholars discussed in Chapter I who utilised the crossbow brooch for understanding the geo-political landscape of the late Roman Empire have made similar inferences within their work when confronted with such issues. For example, Collins acknowledges such problems as evidence[602] but these did not prevent him from offering a positive interpretation of the evidence that is available.

Moreover, the proposal that the presence of imperial servants should be considered the most plausible conclusion for the presence of such brooches is one made with a further caveat that if they were deposited at a time when the general discourse of gender and service still maintained its truth. If they were deposited at a later date (e.g. as discussed above in relation to the find at Ingleby Barwick), when the discourse of gender and service (Chapter II) had lost its truth and thus primary political utility, then they were potentially deposited in contexts associated with individuals who could not claim the position of imperial servant. These considerations relating to political utility have further associations with the problems of evidence associated with recycling practices in and since late antiquity as discussed in Chapter III. It can be considered that when the crossbow brooch finally lost its primary political utility within different localised contexts it could have been melted down and its raw materials reworked, thus influencing the evidential record. As discussed above, Swift argued that where particular new materials are in short supply recycling of existing materials will increase and that consequently this will affect 'poorer socio-economic groups.'[603] Furthermore, that such reuse in relation to other types of material culture has been identified within what was and subsequently what had been the northern frontier of Roman Britain.[604] Considering the recent work that has emphasised the continuity of occupation of some military sites into the post-Roman period by their late Roman garrisons,[605] contemplating how these communities would have reacted to their demand for new

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[602] Collins, "Brooch use in the 4th- to 5-century frontier," 68.
[603] Ellen Swift, "Reuse of Glass, Pottery and Copper-Alloy Objects in the Late to Post-Roman Transition Period in Britain," in *AD 410: The History and Archaeology of Late and Post-Roman Britain*, ed. F. K. Haarer (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 2014), 131.
[604] Ibid., 147.
[605] Collins, *Hadrian's Wall and the End of Empire: The Roman Frontier in the 4th and 5th Centuries*, 161; Rushworth, "Discussion: aspects of the site's history," 315; Tony Wilmott, "The history of the fort and conclusions," in *Birdoswald: Excavations of a Roman fort on Hadrian's Wall and its successor settlements: 1987-92*, ed. Tony Wilmott (London: English Heritage, 1997), 409.

objects in comparison to more affluent groups to the south with potentially a greater access to metal

products is an interesting thought.

To consider such relationships relating to the political utility of the crossbow brooch, this

study will now move beyond the current discussion in this chapter which has primarily considered the

theme of distribution alone and bring the wider conclusions of Chapter II into the discussion.

Therefore, the subsequent discussion will link these interpretations into the wider themes discussed in

Chapter I that relate not only to distribution and geo-politics but also to the material/symbolic

transformation of the crossbow brooch.   In particular, the conclusion from Chapter IV that the

crossbow brooch achieved its most numerous and widest distribution within Roman Britain in the

form of Keller's type 3/4, will be combined with the argument proposed in Chapter II that it was

during the mid-late fourth century that the discourse of gender and service associated with the

crossbow brooch reached its widest permeation of society. This interpretation will be contrasted with

the more limited and restricted profile identified for Keller's type 5/6 and which will be combined

with the further argument proposed in Chapter II, which suggested that by the end of the

fourth/beginning of the fifth century a competing discourse was established which restricted the latter

types of the crossbow brooch to the elite strata of the late Roman state.

The findings highlighted that the widest distribution of any single type of crossbow brooch

was that of the Keller type 3/4,[606] which has a chronology ranging from the first half of the fourth-

century to potentially the first decade of the fifth century.[607]   Indeed, the examples within this sample

that were recovered from datable contexts converge with this broad time span.[608] Furthermore,

considering the above discussions relating to chronologies and curation it can also be considered that

'earlier' types to be produced where also still in circulation contemporarily.[609] Moreover, these

ninety-eight Keller type 3/4 crossbow brooches were discovered at a range of site-types which

transcend the settlement hierarchy. For instance, examples were recovered from the *civitas capitals*

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[606] See Fig.14 and Appendix 1.
[607] Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 14.
[608] See Fig.18.
[609] See Fig.18.

such as Carmarthen, Leicester, Winchester and Wroxeter;[610] military sites such as Birdoswald,

Caerleon, Caernarfon, Caistor-on-Sea, Carrawburgh, Catterick, Richborough and South Shields;[611]

small towns such as Wanborough;[612] the religious complexes at Lydney Park and Uley;[613] the villa

type settlement at Keston;[614] and a range of minor settlements such as at Laurel farm and Neigh

Bridge.[615] As discussed within the regional analyses above, each location would have had their own

political and socio-economic importance within the landscape in which the population would have

interacted in different contexts. Therefore, it can be considered that the crossbow brooch, particularly

in the form of Keller's type 3/4, had penetrated throughout the settlement hierarchy of late Roman

Britain. Consequently, it can also be suggested that the associated general discourse relating to the

concepts of gender and service (discussed in Chapter II as important factors which structured power

relations within the late Roman Empire),[616] had also permeated Romano-British society during the

mid-late fourth century.

Consequently, it can be suggested that the crossbow brooch would have been an important

piece of material culture at these sites for localised identity work within various social practices. For

example, from the excavations at the Lankhills cemetery, Winchester, a total of eight Keller type 3/4

crossbow brooches have been identified which were recovered from burial contexts.[617] Of these eight

burials, seven were inhumations[618] and one a cremation;[619] only a single set of skeletal remains was

physiologically sexable and was interpreted as potentially male;[620] four sets of remains were aged as

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[610] See Appendix 1; Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain*, 64-65; de la Bedoyère, *Roman Britain: A New History*, 135; Johnson, *Later Roman Britain*, 6; Wacher, *The Towns of Roman Britain*, 22-23.
[611] See Appendix 1; Breeze, *The Frontiers of Imperial Rome*, 62, 154; Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain*, 49, 52; Collins, *Hadrian's Wall and the End of Empire: The Roman Frontier in the 4th and 5th Centuries*, xvii, xviii; de la Bedoyère, *Eagles over Britannia: The Roman Army in Britain*, 6-9; Johnson, *Later Roman Britain*, 25, 82, 84; Pearson, *The Roman Shore Forts: Coastal Defences of Southern Britain*, 12.
[612] See Appendix 1; Anderson, Wacher and Fitzpatrick, "Introduction," 1-6.
[613] Woodward and Leach, "Introduction," 1-3.
[614] Philp, "Introduction," 1-9.
[615] Bishop and Proctor, *Settlement, Ceremony and Industry on Mousehold Heath: Excavations at Laurel Farm (Phase II), Broadland Business Park, Thorpe St Andrew, Norfolk*, 1-7; Smith, "Chapter 9: Excavations at Neigh Bridge, Somerford Keynes," 229-273.
[616] Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376-568*, 96-99.
[617] See Appendix 1.
[618] Booth et al., "Chapter 3: Grave catalogue," 115-117, grave 745; 150-152, grave 1075; 218-220, grave 1846; 229-230, grave 1925; 234-235, grave 3030; Clarke, "The Graves," 34-35, grave 81; 86-87, grave 426.
[619] Booth et al., "Chapter 3: Grave catalogue," 238-239, cremation 895.
[620] Ibid., 115-117, grave 745.

'Adult';[621] a further two dated more narrowly to between 25 and 35 years old at death;[622] a single

skeleton aged as 'Adolescent (13-17)';[623] and all had accompanying belt fittings of one type or

another.[624] Furthermore all of these burials were dated to the late-mid fourth century.[625] Similarly,

hundreds of miles to the north of Winchester at Scorton, Catterick, within the northern frontier, three

further Keller type 3/4 crossbow brooches have been identified and which were also recovered from

burial contexts.[626] Of these three burials, all were inhumations;[627] all three skeletal remains were

physiologically sexable as male;[628] all three sets of remains were aged 'Adult' and to an age range

between 17 and 35 years old at death;[629] and all had accompanying belt fittings of one type or

another.[630] Furthermore, numismatics evidence from a single grave allowed the excavators to date

one context to AD 356+.[631] Accordingly it can be suggested that there are particular similarities (e.g.

age, official material culture, potential sex, as well as the mid-late fourth century dating) at both these

sites which are discussed above as having been important centres for the imperial military and

bureaucracy during the fourth century.

　　However this is not to suggest that nuanced differences in burial practices are not identifiable

within these contexts. There are multiple differences in relation to the types of decoration used on the

crossbow brooches (see Chapter VII), the types of belt sets employed, and other forms of material

culture used, such as rings and knives, as well as varying alignments of the graves.[632] Such

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[621] Booth et al., "Chapter 3: Grave catalogue," grave 1075; 218-220, grave 1846; 229-230, grave 1925; 238-239, cremation 895.

[622] Clarke, "The Graves," 34-35, grave 81; 86-87, grave 426.

[623] Booth et al., "Chapter 3: Grave catalogue," 115-117, grave 745.

[624] Booth et al., "Chapter 3: Grave catalogue," 115-117, grave 745; 150-152, grave 1075; 218-220, grave 1846; 229-230, grave 1925; 234-235, grave 3030; 238-239, cremation 895; Clarke, "The Graves," 34-35, grave 81; 86-87, grave 426.

[625] See Fig.18.

[626] See Appendix 1.

[627] Eckardt et al., "The late Roman field army in Northern Britain? Mobility, material culture and multi-isotype analysis at Scorton (N. Yorks)," 195.

[628] Ibid., 191.

[629] Ibid., 196.

[630] Ibid., 196.

[631] Ibid., 197.

[632] Booth et al., "Chapter 3: Grave catalogue," 115-117, grave 745; 150-152, grave 1075; 218-220, grave 1846; 229-230, grave 1925; 234-235, grave 3030; 238-239, cremation 895; Clarke, "The Graves," 34-35, grave 81; 86-87, grave 426; Eckardt et al., "The late Roman field army in Northern Britain? Mobility, material culture and multi-isotype analysis at Scorton (N. Yorks)," 198, grave 1; 200, grave 5; 202, grave 14.

differences are potentially signifying multiple identities[633] and returns us to the point made during Chapter II that what x or a combination of x, y and z are signifying is contextually dependent and by extension the context influences the particular meaning.[634] It is not within the aims or scope of this thesis to deconstruct all of this complexity in relation to the various archaeological methods employed at each site. However, what is important to highlight is that the crossbow brooch can be suggested to have been an important aspect of material culture that was utilised within these practices. As previously considered, Swift suggested that the positioning of crossbow brooches and belt sets within graves during the late Empire was suggestive of military and bureaucratic identity[635] and we can therefore consider that part of the identity work being undertaken within these contexts related to the general discourse of gender and service. Consequently, it can therefore be argued that the associated general discourse of gender and service would have been active at these sites and thus within both northern and southern Britain during the mid-late fourth century.

Therefore, it can be suggested that at one level the localised identity work being performed was associated with constructing both individual and group identity (and thus claiming the associated statuses)[636] through the discourse of gender and service. The positioning of the crossbow brooches within these graves must be considered as selective construction; those persons who organised the individual's burials making particular choices to construct the deceased's identities in this particular way.[637] Not only were the deceased individual's identities being constructed through being positioned in relation to the state by the utilisation of the crossbow brooch, but also by extension so were the identities of those living individuals positioned in association with the deceased.[638] By further extension the imperial individuals, groups and institutions associated with the crossbow brooch (emperor/state/military/bureaucracy) would have had their importance for structuring such practices constructed and emphasised.

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[633] Cool, "Funerary contexts," 312.
[634] Belsey, *Poststructuralism: A Very Short Introduction*, 7; Eckardt, *Objects and Identities: Roman Britain and the North-Western Provinces*, 20; Passmore, "Poststructuralism and history," 128.
[635] Swift, *The End of the Western Roman Empire*, 43.
[636] After Cool, "Funerary contexts," 311.
[637] After Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376-568*, 27-28.
[638] Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376-568*, 28.

Thus, it can be considered that similar practices associated with Keller's type 3/4 can be identified in both the north and south of the diocese and which took place during the mid-late fourth-century. Furthermore, it can be therefore suggested that the crossbow brooch was an important element in structuring people's social realities, which within such contexts were intrinsically linked to the state. As such, the conclusion of Chapter II that the discourse relating to gender and service had developed to a level of 'domination' during the mid-late fourth century can also be associated with the archaeological evidence from late Roman Britain. Consequently and by extension, it can be argued that potentially similar and equally complex localised identity work was also being undertaken throughout the diocese at the multiple forts, civitas capitals, small towns, religious centres and more localised minor settlements that this type of brooch was active at during the mid-late fourth century. Hence, it can be argued that during the mid-late fourth century the crossbow brooch was being utilised by a wide range of imperial servants within a multitude of mutual relations, incorporated into a variety of social practices and thus allowing the general discourse to permeate such interactions and subsequently construct particular power relations structuring certain aspects of Romano-British society.

In contrast however to the relatively numerous and wide geographical range of the Keller type 3/4 crossbow brooches, the findings highlighted that the smallest number of types within this sample were represented by Keller's type 5(n=3), 5/6 (n=3) and 6 (n=8),[639] which have only been discovered from a small number of sites within Britain.[640] These brooches have a chronology ranging from approximately the mid-fourth century to the second decade of the fifth century in relation to Keller's type 5,[641] and from potentially the last decade of the fourth century to the mid-fifth century with regards to Keller's type 6.[642] Dissimilar to the findings for Keller's type 3/4, these particular brooches are restricted in this sample to the diocesan capital at London;[643] the provincial and *civitas capitals* of

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[639] See Fig.3 and Appendix 1.
[640] See Figs.15-17 and Appendix 1.
[641] Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 14.
[642] Ibid., 14.
[643] See Appendix 1; Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain*, 41; de la Bedoyère, *Roman Britain: A New History*, 135; Johnson, *Later Roman Britain*, 6; Wacher, *The Towns of Roman Britain*, 94-95.

Chichester, Cirencester, Winchester and Wroxeter;[644] the fort and port at Richborough;[645] the potential

imperial 'estate centre' or official residence at Kingscote;[646] and the villa type settlements at Ingleby

Barwick;[647] as well as at Settrington;[648] a site where potential evidence for a fourth century villa type

settlement has been recorded and which is in close proximity to the late Roman military site at

Malton.[649] Consequently, while some of these brooches would have been in contemporary use

alongside Keller's type 3/4 (as well as potentially earlier types as discussed), they do not appear to

have penetrated the settlement hierarchy of late Roman Britain to anywhere near a comparable

extent.[650]

Such findings converge with the conclusion of Chapter II which suggested that a new

discursive formation had become established by the late fourth century which constructed an

additional and alternative discourse that the crossbow brooch, or indeed these particular later types,

signified the elite strata of Roman society only in imperial service.[651] Consequently, it can be

suggested that these brooches may have in their primary functions related to individuals of the highest

offices in late Roman Britain and therefore would not have been associated with lower ranks in

imperial service and their more minor postings. For example, we may draw inspiration from the

discussion in Chapter I which related to the *Notitia Dignitatum*; a document that is considered here to

be of general use when considering the importance of sites within the landscape due to the

corroborating evidence in supporting documents also constructed during the late fourth century.[652]

Thus, we may speculate that the find from London potentially had an association with the office of the

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[644] See Appendix 1; Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain*, 64-65; de la Bedoyère, *Roman Britain: A New History*, 135; Johnson, *Later Roman Britain*, 6; Wacher, *The Towns of Roman Britain*, 22-23.
[645] Bayley and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, 2, 204.
[646] Jane R. Timby, "Kingscote General Discussion," in *Excavations at Kingscote and Wycomb, Gloucestershire: A Roman estate centre and small town in the Cotswolds with notes on related settlements*, ed. Jane R. Timby (Cirencester: Cotswold Archaeological Trust, 1998): 282.
[647] Petts, "Late Roman to early medieval settlement at Ingleby Barwick: discussion," 195-196.
[648] See Appendix 1.
[649] "Settrington," Historic England PastScape, accessed May 29, 2017, https://www.pastscape.org.uk/searchresults.aspx?a=0&criteria=Settrington&search=ALL&rational=q&sort=4&recordsperpage=60.
[650] However, Swift's sample contains the identification of two latter types to be discovered at the very extremes of the western and northern boundaries of Roman Britain; at the forts at Caernarfon and Corbridge; Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 73-81.
[651] Swift, *The End of the Western Roman Empire*, 108, 110; Van Thienen, "A symbol of Late Roman authority revisited: a sociohistorical understanding of the crossbow brooch," 120-121.
[652] For example see Ammianus on *Rutupias* (Richborough) and *Lundinium* (London) in *Res Gestae*, XX.1.1.

vicarius,[653] or that the find from Cirencester with the office of the *praesides* of *Britannia Prima*.[654] It may be further contemplated that the these particular latter types to be discovered at Winchester had a connection with the office of the *procurator gynaecii in Britanniis Ventensis*, the official charged with managing the state weaving house[655] (if indeed this is the correct site identification, as discussed above). Furthermore, we can speculate that the Keller type 5/6 discovered at Settrington, North Yorkshire,[656] was associated with a high ranking official who owned a rural villa in relatively close proximity to York,[657] such as an individual connected with the office of the *praesides* of *Britannia Secunda*[658] or the *dux Britanniarum*.[659]

Moreover, such a discussion of the elite signification of Keller's type 5 and 6 may suggest why these particular brooch types are biased to areas predominantly to the south of the northern frontier. For instance, the *Notitia Dignitatum* positions the majority of the elite offices within the geographical regions of the south; central and east of present-day England (admittedly there are potentially lost sections for the west discussed above). For example, the office of the *vicarius* was based at London,[660] the four provincial governors at probably London, Cirencester, York and Lincoln[661] and the high ranking bureaucrats, such as the offices with responsibility for the diocesan treasury and the state *gynaecii* at probably London and Winchester respectively.[662] Furthermore, while only one of the three military commands positioned by the *Notitia Dignitatum* is in the northern frontier,[663] the office of the *comes litoris Saxonici* is positioned in the south-east,[664] while the *comes Britanniarum* is given no fixed headquarters but is conjectured to have been billeted when not campaigning in the principal towns of Roman Britain; hence also within the south and east of the

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[653] Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain*, 403-404.
[654] de la Bedoyère, *Roman Britain: A New History*, 89; Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain*, 404.
[655] Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain*, 404.
[656] See Appendix 1 and 3.
[657] "Settrington," Historic England PastScape.
[658] Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain*, 404.
[659] Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain*, 401-402; Collins and Breeze, "Limitanei and Comitatenses: Military Failure at the End of Roman Britain?," 63-64.
[660] Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain*, 403-404; de la Bedoyère, *Roman Britain: A New History*, 89-90.
[661] Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain*, 404; de la Bedoyère, *Roman Britain: A New History*, 89.
[662] Birley, *The Roman Government of Britain*, 404.
[663] Collins and Breeze, "Limitanei and Comitatenses: Military Failure at the End of Roman Britain?," 63.
[664] Ibid., 63.

island.[665] Therefore, when interpreted in relation to the not unproblematic document that is the *Notitia Dignitatum* (as discussed in Chapter I), it can be suggested that these particular types were restricted to the highest offices in late Roman Britain and consequently predominantly to the major sites that they were posted to.

The chronology attributed to the Keller type 5 crossbow brooches suggests that this particular brooch could have been present within the diocese from as early as the mid-fourth century.[666] Indeed, the contextual dating from Winchester suggests a mid-late fourth century deposition of such brooches.[667] Thus, Keller type 5 crossbow brooches would have been active within the Romano-British landscape contemporarily with earlier forms to be produced[668] and therefore, as discussed above, represent the initial response to meet the demand amongst high ranking soldiers and bureaucrats for a particular brooch type which distinguished them further from the lower ranks of imperial service.[669] Therefore, during the mid-late fourth century it can be considered that there was elite but limited production of Keller type 5, as well as mass production of Keller type 3/4 brooches to supply the sub-elite ranks of imperial service, as previously discussed.

However, it is the date of the production of Keller type 6 (c.400+)[670] that converges primarily with the conclusion of Chapter II which suggested that by the end of the fourth/beginning of the fifth century a competing discourse to that of the mid-late fourth century diversity was established. Indeed, a number of the type 6 crossbow brooches to be discovered in Britain have a similar distinctive foot pattern to that discussed above in relation to those represented on the Diptych of Monza discussed in Chapter II. Such examples have been discovered in the south of the diocese at Richborough[671] and in the northern frontier at Ingleby Barwick, Stockton-on-Tees.[672] Consequently, given the chronology of this particular type and the elite signification, it can be considered that these particular brooches

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[665] Collins and Breeze, "Limitanei and Comitatenses: Military Failure at the End of Roman Britain?," 66.
[666] Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 14.
[667] See Fig.18.
[668] See Fig.18.
[669] Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 231.
[670] Ibid., 14.
[671] Bayley and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, 118-119.
[672] As discussed above, a not unproblematic find dated by the excavators to c.500 in Hunter, "Non-Ferrous metalwork," 101, 104; Petts, "Late Roman to early medieval settlement at Ingleby Barwick: discussion," 196, 198.

represent the material culture of the last generation of elite imperial servants to manage the Roman occupation of Britain. Moreover, it was discussed that the period around AD 400 was a time of interrelated crises within the logistical and patronage networks of the empire and it was these processes that made the elite only discourse visible within the art historical record.

To reiterate the argument discussed within Chapter II, the process that began with the production of Keller type 5 was not intended to restrict access to the crossbow brooch from sub-elite imperial servants. However, it was the consequent failure of the state to maintain the large scale networks required to manufacture and supply copper-alloy crossbow brooches to the majority of relevant imperial servants which influenced these discourses. Both the analysis of the art historical and of the archaeological evidence suggests a dramatic shift, with a contraction discernible in both the surviving art historical and archaeological records. Furthermore, none of the evidence discussed above suggested that there was an identifiable form of recovery in this material culture to the pre-crisis mid-late fourth-century status of wide appropriation. Thus, the probable collapse in large scale manufacturing of crossbow brooches due to geo-political instability at the end of the fourth/beginning of the fifth century was a decisive factor.[673] To reiterate Swift's conclusions once again, initially this represented the inability of the state to supply the wider ranks of the military and bureaucracy, rather than such individuals and groups rejection of an identity associated with the crossbow brooch.[674] Indeed, within the specific context of Roman Britain, Gerrard has argued that it was the termination of such links with the continent which caused the disintegration of Roman state influence within the diocese.[675]

However, as discussed in Chapter II, assessing in any detail the collapse of such production and supply networks is problematic due to the current lack of archaeological evidence to indicate manufacturing centres and consequently there is a requirement for further research to reach firmer conclusions. However, an analogy with the production and supply of official coinage to the diocese may help inform such considerations. While comparison with a further type of material culture associated with personal dress may perhaps be deemed more appropriate, such as buckles and belt

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[673] Swift, *The End of the Western Roman Empire*, 112.
[674] Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 232.
[675] Gerrard, *The Ruin of Roman Britain: An Archaeological Perspective*, 244.

fittings; such material culture is not without its own problems as evidence. For example, the diversity

of such dress accessories includes types considered to be of both British and continental origin,

potentially produced as part of localised as well as centralised production and distribution networks,

including institutional military supply.[676] Future research may wish to undertake an in-depth analysis

of both crossbow brooch and buckles and belt fittings together (see Chapter VII), however it is not

within the scope of this thesis to develop the work of scholars such as Leahy and Swift here.

Consequently, the much studied coinage of the late Roman Empire offers at least an example where

research into production and supply is more extensive and better understood than that for buckles and

belt fittings. Furthermore, the centralised structure of late imperial coinage can be suggested to share

similarities with the potential centralised control of the production of crossbow brooches very

cautiously advocated on very partial evidence within Chapter II.

The supply of imperial coinage to Britain during the latter period of the occupation was

primarily from the mints at Arles and Lyon in Gaul,[677] with London not functioning as the site of coin

production since c. AD 326.[678] Such production during the fourth century has been considered to

have remained relatively stable until the last quarter of the fourth century when a reduction in supply

has been identified within the archaeological record.[679] Indeed, it was during this period that immense

political upheaval was created by the usurpation of Magnus Maximus which began in Britain (AD.

383-388);[680] a political event intimately linked with the late fourth-century imperial crisis regarding

the inability of the imperial centre to efficiently dispense patronage,[681] as discussed above.

Furthermore, the mints supplying the bulk of coinage to Britain were closed in AD c.395 and with

them the supplies of bronze issue coins to Britain had all but ceased by AD c.402.[682] The subsequent

failure of the empire to supply new coinage to Britain led Cleary to declare that, 'If the state was no

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[676] Kevin Leahy, "Soldiers and Settlers in Britain, fourth to fifth century - revisited," in *Collectanea Antiqua: Essays in Memory of Sonia Chadwick Hawkes*, eds. M. Henig and T. Smith (Oxford, 2007), 136-137; Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 204-208.
[677] Moorhead, A History of Roman Coinage in Britain, 200.
[678] Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain*, 20.
[679] Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain*, 93; Walton, *Rethinking Roman Britain: Coinage and Archaeology*, 114.
[680] Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376-568*, 186.
[681] Ibid., 186-188.
[682] Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain*, 93; Moorhead, A History of Roman Coinage in Britain, 206.

longer providing coins to the diocese then that diocese no longer formed a part of the empire.'[683]

Moreover, it has been suggested that the responses to this situation in Britain were inconsistent with previous experiences. Unlike other periods of the fourth century when shortages in the supply of coinage were filled by forged substitutes,[684] the crises in the system at the beginning of the fifth century produced no such similarly identifiable processes.[685] In contrast, the evidence suggests that the coinage already within the diocese remained in circulation for a short time, with clipping and hoarding rather than new production being the apparent response of the Romano-British population.[686]

Therefore, the failure in the supply of bulk coinage to the diocese c.AD 400 may have been a contemporary crisis for those also affected by the failure/growing failure of the state to maintain the crossbow brooch in sufficient numbers to supply the majority of its imperial servants. Such failures would have had wide ranging implications and, similarly to the populations' reaction to the shortage of coinage, would have required responses. With such networks no longer functioning beyond supplying an elite minority the 'truth' of the discourses which associated the crossbow brooch and imperial service with a wider social group (as discussed in relation to the mid-fourth century) would have been undermined. Consequently, this would have caused a potential crisis for those individuals and groups who utilised the crossbow brooch for identity construction and which in turn structured people's social realities. Thus, this failure in the system would have been profound and required new discourses, 'truths' and power relationships to be constructed. Swift concluded that it was this failure c.AD 400 to maintain a homogenous material culture that contributed to the growth in regional male martial identities in the territories of what was and what had been the Western Roman Empire.[687] Therefore, and in comparison to Cleary's statement relating to coinage, we have to consider that if the empire was no longer able to provide its official material culture to the diocese was the diocese still perceived as part of the Empire and subsequently how did the relevant individuals and groups within the population respond to such developments?

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[683] Cleary, *The Ending of Roman Britain*, 139.
[684] Ibid., 95.
[685] Ibid., 140.
[686] Sam Moorhead and Philippa Walton, "Coinage at the End of Roman Britain," in *AD 410: The History and Archaeology of Late and Post-Roman Britain*, ed. F. K. Haarer (London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 2014), 112.
[687] Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 233.

The first point to consider is that similarly to the coinage those crossbow brooches already in use within the diocese would have continued to have been utilised while their particular political utilities remained relevant. Determining where and for how long such instances occurred is problematic due to the particular problems as evidence discussed. However late examples discussed in relation to the sites at Ingleby Barwick, Richborough and Wroxeter may be suggestive of this type of curation which was highlighted above as extensive in some cases. Moreover however, further potential responses of particular sections of the population within Roman Britain to these developments have been considered by scholars in relation to a range of alternative brooch types.

For instance, Collins has suggested that in contemporary use within the northern frontier of Britain with the crossbow brooch was the penannular brooch.[688] This classification of brooch refers to a basic general design of a metal ring-loop onto which a pin is attached and thus used to secure a garment.[689] Broadly dated as a style employed from the Iron Age into the early medieval period,[690] the penannular brooch has been discovered at sites throughout Britain, including present-day Scotland where they account for far more finds than the handful of crossbow brooches discovered.[691] Collins considered that the penannular brooch was associated with a male and military identity during the later empire, basing such an interpretation upon continental examples discovered within burial contexts.[692] Furthermore, Collins linked this interpretation to the archaeology of Hadrian's Wall and the wider northern frontier where these brooches have been discovered.[693] As such, Collins argued that as access to the crossbow brooch for the Wall garrisons became more restricted during the latter fourth century due to lessening contact with the imperial centre/s the penannular brooch became of greater importance to the military population.[694] Thus, the brooch potentially developed socially as a

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[688] Collins, "Brooch use in the 4th- to 5-century frontier," 73.

[689] Bayley and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, 185.

[690] Bayley and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, 185-186; Collins, "Brooch use in the 4th- to 5-century frontier," 68; Hattatt, *Iron Age and Roman Brooches*, 185.

[691] Collins, "Brooch use in the 4th- to 5-century frontier," 70; Hattatt, *Iron Age and Roman Brooches*, 185; Fraser Hunter, "Roman brooches around and across the British *limes*," (conference paper, International Conference on Fibulas in the Roman Empire, Innsbruker Klassich-Archäologische Universitäts-Schriften, Innsbruck, April 27-29, 2011), 277.

[692] Collins, "Brooch use in the 4th- to 5-century frontier," 68.

[693] Ibid., 71-73.

[694] Ibid., 73.

replacement/surrogate for the crossbow brooch and consequently the status which the penannular signified also increased.[695]

Such an interpretation is therefore constructed within the model proposed by scholars such as Collins and Willmott, where the late Roman *limitanei* garrisons of the northern frontier continued to occupy sites along Hadrian's Wall into the fifth century.[696] Collins considered that such developments suggest that the late military population appropriated the regional culture rather than utilising material culture associated with official imperial styles.[697] Additionally, support for such an interpretation can be identified in the work of Mackreth who argued that although penannular brooches in Roman Britain represented the non-official Romano-Briton (in contrast to those utilising the crossbow brooch),[698] it may have developed during the fourth century to signify a particular social status, perhaps associated with the military.[699]

Another example of a potential response to the developments in Britain during the early fifth-century is that of the cruciform brooch. These brooches have been discovered predominantly throughout the east and central regions of present-day England and are dated primarily to the fifth and sixth centuries.[700] The typological development of this particular brooch is diverse in relation to their varying size and complexity; however the basic components consist of a central and two side knobs situated on a head-plate, a central bow section, a catch-plate and a foot.[701] It is the particular similarities of these components and their associated decorative features with certain crossbow brooch types that have led some scholars to suggest a direct stylistic influence upon the cruciform's initial composition.[702] Indeed, de la Bedoyère and Laycock are two such supporters of this hypothesis.[703] However, this is not to suggest that this is the consensus opinion, with Swift for example labelling

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[695] Collins, "Brooch use in the 4th- to 5-century frontier," 73.
[696] Collins, *Hadrian's Wall and the End of Empire: The Roman Frontier in the 4th and 5th Centuries*, 161; Collins, "Decline, Collapse, or Transformation? The case for the northern frontier of Britannia," 217; Wilmott, "The history of the fort and conclusions," 409.
[697] Collins, "Brooch use in the 4th- to 5-century frontier," 73.
[698] Mackreth, *Brooches in late Iron Age and Roman Britain: Volume 1*, 240.
[699] Ibid., 241.
[700] Toby F. Martin, *The Cruciform Brooch and Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), 1-2.
[701] Ibid., 5, 13.
[702] Ibid., 19, 24, 149.
[703] de la Bedoyère, *Roman Britain: A New History*, 261; Laycock, *Britannia the Failed State: Tribal Conflicts and the End of Roman* Britain, 202.

such connections as 'unconvincing.'[704] In contrast, Swift argued that although Roman material culture may have initially influenced such design features as objects and ideas crossed the Rhine frontier during the fourth century the subsequent developments occurred in separation.[705] Thus, the cruciform brooch entered Britain as part of the material culture of migrant people and was not an insular British development of the crossbow brooch.[706]

Toby Martin, in a detailed study of the typological, chronological and sociological developments of the cruciform brooch in Britain also drew similar conclusions. Specifically, Martin considered the cruciform brooch to be part of a material culture developed in northern Europe[707] and which was introduced to eastern Britain in c. AD 420 by Germanic migrants.[708] Moreover, Martin considered that any similarities of the cruciform brooch to the crossbow brooch are 'superficial,' highlighting that the zoomorphic stylistic features of the cruciform in particular make them distinct from the majority of Roman brooch types.[709] Overall, Martin thus considered the cruciform brooch to be of Germanic and not Roman cultural origin, associated primarily and especially with individuals in society gendered female, and as a signifier of an Anglian identity from the late fifth century.[710]

Such evidence is, however, highly complex and associated with a number of problems as evidence which Martin acknowledged. Of particular interest to this thesis are the group 1 cruciform brooches which are considered to be one of the rare types of material culture that are datable from the first quarter of the fifth century.[711] These particular brooches are far less stylistically complex when compared to their later typological cousins[712] and superficially at least bare the closest resemblance to aspects of the crossbow brooch of all the cruciform types.[713] Indeed, if there was a direct stylistic influence this relationship would be expected. Furthermore, group 1 cruciform brooches have been discovered at find-spots predominantly in the east and north-east below the Humber Estuary[714] and in

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[704] Swift, *The End of the Western Roman Empire: An Archaeological Investigation*, 123.
[705] Ibid., 123.
[706] Ibid., 123.
[707] Martin, *The Cruciform Brooch and Anglo-Saxon England*, 24, 150
[708] Ibid., 174, 183, 233
[709] Ibid., 174.
[710] Ibid., 204, 215, 223, 234.
[711] Ibid., 5.
[712] Ibid., 89.
[713] Ibid., 23.
[714] Ibid., 23, 25.

association with earlier Roman sites rather than 'standard early Anglo-Saxon inhumation cemeteries.'[715] Moreover, Martin conceded that the association between group 1 cruciform brooches and Germanic migrants is not securely established.[716] Nor is the association between these early-mid fifth-century brooches and individuals gendered female.[717]

Additionally, Martin's specific point that the zoomorphic stylistic features of the cruciform brooch make them distinct from the majority of Roman brooch types[718] and thus 'an exotic addition to the British repertoire,'[719] can be argued against. Brooches discovered within Romano-British contexts show a diverse variety of zoomorphic styles[720] and while the crossbow brooch itself did not incorporate such features the material culture worn in association with it certainly did. For example, late Roman buckles and belt fittings display a range of zoomorphic features, such as dolphin, dragon, lion, and horse-head designs,[721] some integrated with representations of human heads.[722] Therefore, the brooch and belt would have been incorporated onto the body as a single uniform and it can be considered that it would not necessarily be too difficult a task for craftsmen to subsequently draw inspiration from these closely associated pieces to construct them into the design of a single object. Moreover, these examples highlight that the juxtaposition that Martin constructs to position 'Roman Mediterranean' culture in contrast to a 'northern culture of exuberant personal display' is far more complex than this binary opposition suggests.[723] Indeed, the Roman aristocracy's desire for personal display was discussed above in relation to the art historical evidence and indeed had to be legislated against within certain contexts during the fourth century.[724] Thus, 'exuberant personal display,' while debatable as a relative concept, was certainly not restricted to non-Roman and post-Roman cultures.

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[715] Martin, *The Cruciform Brooch and Anglo-Saxon England*, 177.
[716] Ibid., 175.
[717] Ibid., 178, 204, 214.
[718] Ibid., 174.
[719] Ibid., 233.
[720] Bayley and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, 173-176; Hattatt, *Iron Age and Roman Brooches*, 171-177; Mackreth, *Brooches in late Iron Age and Roman Britain: Volume 1*, 179-187; D. F. Mackreth, *Brooches in late Iron Age and Roman Britain: Volume 2* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011), 127-133.
[721] Andrew Appels and Stuart Laycock, *Roman Buckles and Military Fittings* (Witham: Greenlight, 2007), 167, 206, 215, 236.
[722] Ibid., 191.
[723] Martin, *The Cruciform Brooch and Anglo-Saxon England*, 6.
[724] Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376-568*, 110.

Therefore, these two examples may be considered as evidence for potential responses to the collapse of an official homogenous material culture which the crossbow brooch provided and the subsequent development of regional distinctions. This is not to say that regionalism was not an aspect of the Roman world for it was,[725] however aspects of Roman culture, such as the crossbow brooch, transcended the empire with the function of constructing homogeneity. In a Romano-British context such constructions were identified within the burial practices at Winchester in the south and Catterick in the north. However, the failure of this material culture was considered above to have consequences for those who had previously appropriated it and therefore required responses. However, exactly what the penannular and cruciform brooches signified within the multiple contexts they were utilised in has been discussed as difficult to interpret with the current state of knowledge. Perhaps the penannular, with its potential fourth-century military associations, also signified the general discourse associated above with the crossbow brooch for as long as it was political useful during the early fifth century; as well as signifying a regional identity associated with the localised recruitment into the *limitanei*[726] and multiple further identities relating to age, family, community etc.

In summary, the interpretation of this sample of evidence has proposed that the general distribution of the crossbow brooch in Britain shows a strong and continuous bias to the east of the island. Such a bias was discussed in relation to the particular problems as evidence, as well as with regards to three regional analyses which concluded that the crossbow brooch was utilised primarily in those areas which had the most intense evidence for state involvement during the occupation; primarily the northern frontier and the south-east. Such a conclusion is a logical one considering that this material culture is associated with the very men tasked with maintaining the occupation. In contrast, the relative paucity of finds from western regions was linked to the significant reduction in state activity in this area from the early fourth century as the crossbow brooch was becoming established within the wider diocese. As such, the difference in the distribution of this material culture between the east and west can be considered to be the consequence of a long process of different regional intensities of state involvement in Britain, rather than as evidence for a late fourth-

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[725] Halsall, *Barbarian Migrations and the Roman West 376-568*, 79-96.
[726] Collins, *Hadrian's Wall and the End of Empire: The Roman Frontier in the 4th and 5th* Centuries, 157.

century phenomenon per se. Thus, developments in the diocese from c. AD 300 and continuing throughout the fourth century need to be considered in relation to this type of material culture specifically.

Furthermore, it has been argued that the distribution of Keller type 3/4 suggests that during the mid-late fourth century the crossbow brooch reached its widest influence within the diocese, both geographically and in relation to the depth in which it penetrated the settlement hierarchy. Therefore, it was considered that the crossbow brooch was being utilised at these sites for localised identity constructions within various social practices and in these contexts was related to the general discourse of gender and service. By extension such work connected such practices with the state. Thus, it was argued that the crossbow brooch was an active element in structuring people's social realities and with it the 'truth' of the discourses connecting the state with such realities was established.

Subsequently, these findings and conclusions were contrasted with the evidence for Keller's type 5 and 6 crossbow brooches. The limited number and their restriction to primarily major sites were argued to suggest that these particular brooches were associated with the highest offices of late Roman Britain. Such a conclusion was also considered to account for their distribution primarily in the south; central and east of present-day England where the *Notitia Dignitatum* positions such major postings. Moreover, the identification of these Keller types, particularly type 6, was associated with the conclusions of Chapter II which considered that a discourse had become established by the late fourth-century which constructed an elite signification. This visible distinction within the art historical record converges with the archaeological evidence and contrasts to the diversity of the mid-late fourth century. Moreover, such a discourse was associated with the failure of the state to maintain large scale networks required to manufacture and supply copper-alloy crossbow brooches to the majority of relevant imperial servants' c. AD 400. Thus, it is argued that this failure would have caused a crisis for those who utilised the crossbow brooch for identity construction and by association also for the state to construct its dominant position within the occupied social landscape. Considering the associations suggested for the connections between the state and various social practices which thus constructed particular social realities this crisis would have been profound. Therefore, new discourses, 'truths' and subsequent power relationships would have been required.

VI. Conclusion

The structure of this thesis and the themes that it set out to investigate have been inspired by the particular literature discussed within Chapter I and which relates to the social significance of the crossbow brooch and its symbolic transformation; as well as the associated geo-political implications for considering late Roman Britain. The thesis advanced above argues that the general distribution of the crossbow brooch in Britain has a strong bias to the east of the island and this bias relates to the areas where the most intensive state involvement during the occupation is found; the northern frontier and the south/east. In contrast, the relative paucity of finds from western regions is explained in relation to the reduction of state activity in this area from the early fourth century. Thus, as the crossbow brooch became established within the wider diocese fewer imperial servants were posted to the west of Britain and by association fewer crossbow brooches entered this region. Therefore, rather than a late fourth-century phenomenon per se, the distinction between east and west is suggestive of developments which occurred from as early as c. AD 300.

Therefore, this interpretation differs in some respects to the general consensus highlighted within Chapter I, which suggested that a distinguishable north-west/south-east divide in the distribution of later fourth-century crossbow brooch depositions is suggestive of a Roman military withdrawal or isolation of the north/west from the provinces further south during the late fourth century. While it is argued that such a divide is identifiable within this sample, this divide has been explained in relation to the problems as evidence where these is a bias to eastern regions of Britain, as well as by considering the long term regional developments of the crossbow brooch. Western regions are considered to have diverged from areas further east much earlier than the late fourth century as state involvement was reduced to a smaller number of individual locations, while such a contraction of crossbow brooch use in the northern frontier has not been identified in relation to the types that remained available to sub-elite ranks. The comparable lack of latter 'elite' types discovered in the north when compared with the south of Roman Britain has been interpreted as relating to the elite signification of these brooch types and therefore potentially due to where the majority of elite postings were situated (as per the discussion of the *Notitia Dignitatum*).

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Moreover, these conclusions can be considered in relation to the particular works discussed in Chapter I. As discussed in the introduction, a major influence upon this thesis and the wider literature has been the work of Swift who advocated the argument that that the typological distribution of crossbow brooches suggested that Roman power in Britain decayed during the fourth century. This argument was based upon the observation of that particular sample that the crossbow brooch find-spots of later typologies are distributed evermore towards the east of the island and then only in the extreme south east by the end of the fourth/first half of the fifth century. However, as discussed Swift caveated this interpretation with the suggestion that a shift in the social function of the brooch and/or a change in the material culture of the frontier army may also account for the distributions observed. Therefore, the arguments proposed within this thesis can be considered to both converge and diverge with Swift's interpretations, in that, a decrease in state activity in the west is advocated but a contraction to the extreme south-east is not identifiable within this sample. Furthermore, a change in the discourse relating to the latter types is advanced within this thesis and the distribution of these Keller types 5 and 6 considered accordingly. It was discussed in Chapter IV that the differences in the samples can be accounted for by considering the selection bias of each sample, with Swift utilising museum finds and this thesis the PAS in particular. Thus, a larger catalogue of data which draws upon both of these sources of evidence, as well as those within excavations reports/finds catalogues, would be a further step to consider these data together within an homogenous method (see Chapter VII).

Another scholar to have had a particular influence upon this thesis is Halsall, who was discussed in Chapter I in relation to the proposed argument that the late fourth century imperial army was withdrawn from the north and west of Britain to new positions to the south and that this redeployment was part of Magnus Maximus' specific preparations for his bid for the imperial throne. However, as discussed in Chapter III, relating narrowly dated events attested in the documentary evidence to the archaeological evidence (and vice versa) is problematic. At this sample's current stage of analysis and interpretation no evidence is identifiable which suggests support for such an event. Indeed, the emphasis within this thesis has been that the distribution of this sample is the result

of long term developments during the fourth century and not related to a late fourth-century phenomenon per se.

A third significant analysis of the geo-political implications of crossbow brooch distributions that was discussed in Chapter I was that of Laycock, who argued that from the third century military garrisons were deployed within the defences of Britain's civitas capitals, suggesting that defence was organised locally and based upon the political unit of the civitas. Laycock based this interpretation, in part, upon the assertion that 'it has been suggested that senior civilian officials also wore crossbow brooches in addition to the military. This is based on a few late depictions … however, the distribution of crossbow brooches on the continent – thick along the imperial frontier and thin elsewhere – implies that only a few civilian officials can ever have worn crossbow brooches … It seems safe, therefore, to see the distribution of crossbow brooches in Britain as primarily a military issue.'[727] However, this thesis considers that such identities are far more complex and context dependent. Furthermore, that the presence of 'military' personnel (if they were) did not necessarily have to suggest a defensive function but potentially a range of activities that such individuals could undertake which would have thus impacted upon the fluidity of these complex identity categorisations. It is the acknowledgement of such complexities within this thesis that determined that without further evidence such activities should be associated more broadly with the category of imperial servants.

Finally in relation to this particular theme, the work of Collins has also been influential to the development of this thesis. Particularly, the hypothesis introduced in Chapters I that the incorporation of data from the PAS may modify Swift's previous findings. Such a suggestion thus subsequently determined that the PAS data would be utilised here; with the hypothesis subsequently confirmed. Furthermore, the interpretation of this sample converges with Collins' conclusion discussed in Chapter I that both in the northern frontier and the wider diocese a significant proportion of crossbow brooches are discovered at sites which were essential to imperial interests and are often found in groups at military sites. However, it was also highlighted within Chapters III-V that such biases may

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[727] Laycock, *Britannia the Failed State: Tribal Conflicts and the End of Roman* Britain, 102-103.

also be the result of the systematic excavations undertaken by professional archaeologists at such sites in comparison to the more amateur/less well-funded explorations of the wider landscape undertaken by contributors to the PAS. Lastly, the interpretation of this sample that a significant contraction of crossbow brooch use in the northern frontier is not identifiable in this sample contrasts with Collins conclusion that the frontier became evermore isolated from the imperial core/s as the fourth century progressed. As discussed already, it is proposed that the comparable lack of latter 'elite' types discovered in the north when compared to the south is potentially due to where the majority of elite postings were situated.

Thus, a strong bias to the east of Britain is a feature of the crossbow brooch within this sample and this bias has been associated with the intensity of state involvement within these regions during the occupation. The relative paucity of finds from western regions has been linked to the reduction of state activity in this area from the early fourth century, rather than being attributed to a late fourth-century phenomenon per se. However, throughout this thesis such interpretations have been emphasised as provisional and thus potentially subject to alteration as new knowledge is discovered/produced and different theoretical frameworks are constructed and applied to such evidence. Furthermore, such provisional interpretations have been heavily caveated in relation to the numerous and at times substantial problems as evidence.

Additionally, this thesis has attempted to add knowledge to the interrelated theme of signification and the discussions within Chapter I which considered that a general academic consensus suggests that the crossbow brooch underwent a symbolic transformation during the third to fifth centuries; from a primarily military piece of material culture to one that was also adopted by the state bureaucracy and then subsequently at the highest levels of the Roman state below the emperor. By undertaking a discursive analysis within Chapter II of the surviving art historical record, this thesis has asked further and different questions of the crossbow brooch in relation to localised performative identity construction, as well as the discourses at work within wider late Roman society. As a result of this analysis a particular discourse relating to the concepts of gender and service was identified and considered to have acquired the label of 'truth,' determining to a certain extent how the crossbow brooch could be constructed, considered and discussed within late Roman society and thus

appropriated for the performance of localised identity work. Furthermore, the importance of context was highlighted and a poststructuralist position advocated to consider the potential multiplicity of meanings which the crossbow brooch could signify within the constraints of the discourse relating to gender and service; emphasising that signification cannot be divorced from the situational activity.

Moreover, these particular discourses and power relations identified as associated with the crossbow brooch are suggested to have permeated society and reached their widest influence during the mid-late fourth century, being associated with a wide range of social practices and institutional ranks. However, by the very end of the fourth century into the first quarter of the fifth this discursive formation is argued to have changed to a more restricted and elite association. Such changes have been associated within this thesis with the interrelated crises within the logistical and patronage networks of the empire c. AD 400, which consequently failed to maintain large scale production and distribution of crossbow brooches to sub-elite ranks. Such failure to continue to offer a wide social range of individuals and groups the opportunities for social display and advancement through imperial service was thus concluded to have potentially undermined the 'truth' of the associated discourses which constructed positions of authority and status for both the wearer and the state. Thus, crises in the interconnected networks of supply and patronage would have had real effects for how the crossbow brooch was constructed, considered and discussed within society during late antiquity and the failure of the late Roman Empire to maintain a uniform material culture would have had regional implications and responses.

This analysis was then subsequently applied to Roman Britain specifically and interrelated with the interpretations of the archaeological finds to argue that when the networks supplying copper-alloy crossbow brooches to sub-elite imperial servants failed there was potentially a crisis for those who utilised the crossbow brooch for identity construction and which associated the state with various social practices. Therefore, the construction of new discourses, 'truths' and subsequent power relationships would have been required in Britain as the empire's occupation disintegrated.

VII. Some final thoughts and avenues for future research

The aim of this thesis has been to investigate what the crossbow brooch can tell us about the late Roman occupation of Britain and the soldiers and bureaucrats that maintained it in relation to particular key themes drawn out of the previous research discussed in Chapter I. This thesis does not assert that the relatively simplistic interpretations proposed mirror the complexity of the social landscapes constructed through the diverse social relationships that were lived by the population of Roman Britain. For such an assertion would surely be labelled as naïve realism. As considered early within this thesis the picture is constantly evolving and consequently any interpretation must be considered as provisional. Moreover however, the complexities of meaning-making, where significations are constructed and reconstructed within the multiplicity of potential contexts within which interactions are performed, suggests that such interpretations barely encapsulate the depth of such peoples' social realities. Indeed, these complexities, in association with the various problems as evidence considered and the vast historical and cultural expanses which separate this thesis from those that it wishes to understand both intrigues and humble such a study.

It is therefore hoped that the discussion constructed above has offered further knowledge to the ongoing debates and in particular that the method undertaken within this thesis to apply discursive approaches has offered innovative ways of considering the crossbow brooch. Upon reflection, the application of such theoretical frameworks has certainly moved this thesis beyond a simplistic and positivistic stance at its inception, to one that has developed a greater critical and deeper appreciation of the complexity of the social worlds that are constructed. However, such reflection has also highlighted the limitations of this analysis at its current stage of development, as well as therefore the future avenues of research that can be developed to expand and deepen such knowledge.

Throughout this thesis potential avenues for further research have been signposted. Of importance to future work will be the need to refine the typological interpretations of the crossbow brooch by analysing the diversity of the anatomy/decoration which distinguishes these brooches further within the typological classifications which they are positioned. Examples of such work can

be found within the research discussed, such as by Collins and Swift who utilised this refining method to draw out more nuanced interpretations of their samples.[728]

Additionally, future work to further explore the production and distribution networks of the crossbow brooch is required. As discussed within Chapter II, the current debate is limited and lacks consensus. Such research could further illuminate the breakdown/failure of the primary use of this type of material culture. While Swift's model has been followed within this thesis, which, as discussed above, considered that it was the failure of logistical networks due to geo-political instability which affected production and distribution rather than initially the rejection of the identities associated with the crossbow brooch; future work on production and distribution may suggest further or contrasting evidence for such an interpretation. Furthermore, Gerrard has criticised the lack of attention that such networks have received, particularly from a 'socio-economic' perspective, considering that spatial variations are all too often interpreted in terms of 'identity.'[729] It was conceded within Chapter II that it is not within the scope of this thesis to advance the arguments further relating to production and distribution, and thus a certain degree of centralised control was accepted on the basis of the previous research discussed. However, it is acknowledged that this thesis is primarily identity focused and consequently it would be beneficial for future work to incorporate economic perspectives that can offer further frameworks for interpreting the crossbow brooch.

Furthermore, it would also be potentially fruitful to enlarge the dataset, by not only combining datasets of singular types (e.g. museum finds and the PAS etc., as discussed in relation to the bias in Swift's and this sample) but also by combining different types of material culture into a composite study of Roman Britain (e.g. crossbow brooches, as well as buckles and belt fittings, disc brooches, penannular brooches etc.). Inspiration for such studies can be drawn from the work of Cleary and Swift discussed in Chapter I. Thus, such thoughts for future research highlight why this thesis has deemed it important to reiterate its provisional nature as a fluid piece of research that is open to reinterpretation.

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[728] Collins, "Brooch use in the 4th- to 5-century frontier," 66-67; Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 13-22.

[729] Gerrard, *The Ruin of Roman Britain: An Archaeological Perspective*, 90.

Finally, this thesis is indebted to every single author of the works cited within. For this thesis is a social construction, based not upon interactions with those that it claims to study, but developed and constructed out of the years of dedicated work produced prior to its inception. Yes, this thesis has aimed to compile a new body of evidence and to analyse it innovatively, however such an undertaking could not be attempted nor even conceived of without the theoretical innovations which preceded it. As such, if we were to analyse this thesis in its entirety from a social constructionist perspective it would be concluded to be a product of multiple authors and the contexts in which they produced their works; brought together, critiqued, developed and applied here. Moreover, it is a product of a particular culture at a particular time and it is hopefully faithful to this social tradition of collaborative thinking.

Appendix 1: crossbow brooches data listed alphabetically by site

Alcester, Warwickshire

Lloyd-Morgan, Glenys. "Copper alloy." In *Roman Alcester: Northern extramural area, 1969-1988 excavations*, edited by Paul Booth and Jeremy Evans, p. 233, 235, no. 2. York: Council for British Archaeology, 2001.

Type: Hull T191B/T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Alderford, Norfolk

"NMS-4A41B4." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/518984.

Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

Alderton, Suffolk

"SF-807ED7." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/580620.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Aldington, Kent

"KENT-AA1187." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/204326.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Amesbury, Wiltshire

"SUR-45B645." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/766296.

Type: Hull T190

Ash, Kent

"KENT-0597F7." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/755793.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 2

"KENT-3361E5." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/95407.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 2

Bagillt, Flintshire

"LVPL-9B9982." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/408766.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 2

Barmby Moor, East Riding of Yorkshire

"YORYM-21BA04." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/198371.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Barnack, Cambridgeshire

"LIN-FEA194." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/117020.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Barnby Dun with Kirk Sandall, South Yorkshire

"SWYOR-742103." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/284697.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Barnham Broom, Norfolk

"NMS-74E30D." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/706294.

Type: Hull T191B/T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Barnoldby le Beck, North East Lincolnshire

"NLM-67EF4E." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/626150.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Barton-le-Street, North Yorkshire

"YORYM-8B1E26." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/614675.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Binham, Norfolk

"NMS-28B392." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/487547.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type Uncertain

"NMS-3E9666." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/538773.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Birdoswald, Cumbria

Wilmott, Tony. "Appendix 2: other small finds from Birdoswald." In *Birdoswald: Excavations of a Roman fort on Hadrian's Wall and its successor settlements: 1987-92*, edited by Tony Wilmott, p. 412-413, no. *4/2c. London: English Heritage, 1997.

Type: Hull T190

Summerfield, Jan. "Small finds catalogue: Brooches." In *Birdoswald: Excavations of a Roman fort on Hadrian's Wall and its successor settlements: 1987-92*, edited by Tony Wilmott, p. 280, nos. 60, 61. London: English Heritage, 1997.

(60) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

(61) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Bitterne, Hampshire

Cotton, M. A. "The Small Finds: The Bronze Objects." In *Excavations at Clausentum, Southampton, 1951-1954*, edited by M. Aylwin Cotton and P. W. Gathercole, p. 45-46, no. 1. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1958.

Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

Bixley, Norfolk

"NMS-E4AB57." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/531392.

Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

Bourne, Lincolnshire

"LIN-D08A63." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/145764.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Bournheath, Worcestershire

"WMID-5135E8." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/793097.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Bowerchalke, Wiltshire

"WILT-54CDF2." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/715077.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Bramshill, Hampshire

"HAMP-272164." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/250453.

Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

Bretford, Warwickshire

"WMID-6CCDF2." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/568078.

Type: Hull T190

Bromley, Greater London

"SUR-DC4FC3." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/243515.

Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

Brougham, Cumbria

Cool, H.E.M. "Inventory of the deposits." In *The Roman cemetery at Brougham, Cumbria, Excavations 1966-67*, edited by H.E.M. Cool, p. 133-134, 219-221, nos. 122.1, 273. 2. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 2004.

(122.1) Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

(273.2) Type: Hull T190

Bullington, Lincolnshire

"LIN-6BE7D5." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/610916.

Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

Buttercrambe with Bossall, North Yorkshire

"LVPL-DC15D2." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/533452.

Type: Hull T191A

Caerleon, Gwent

Lloyd-Morgan, G. "Other jewellery and dress accessories in gold, silver and copper alloy." In *The Caerleon Canabae: Excavations in the civil settlement 1984-90*, edited by Edith Evans, p. 333-335, nos. 29-30. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 2000.

(29) Type: Hull T190

(30) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Caernarfon, Gwynedd

Allason-Jones, L. "Small finds." In *Excavations at Segontium (Caernarfon) Roman Fort, 1975-1979*, edited by P.J. Casey, J.L. Davies and J. Evans, p. 166-167, 169, nos. 8-12. London: Council for British Archaeology, 1993.

(8) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

(9) Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

(10) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

(11) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 2

(12) Type: Hull T191B/T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Caister-on-Sea, Norfolk

Butcher, Sarnia. "Objects of personal adornment or dress." In *Caister-on-Sea: Excavations by Charles Green, 1951-55*, edited by Margaret J. Darling and David Gurney, p. 73-75, nos. 5-11. Norfolk: Norfolk Museums Service, 1993.

(5) Type: Hull T190

(6) Type: Hull T190

(7) Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

(8) Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

(9) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

(10) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

(11) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 2

Calbourne, Isle of Wight

"IOW-B04DA2." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/131537.

Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

Calcethorpe with Kelstern, Lincolnshire

"NLM-E41A21." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/118099.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Canterbury, Kent

Mackreth, D.F. "The Pre-Roman and Roman Brooches." In *Excavations in the Marlowe car park and surrounding areas. Part II: The Finds*, edited by Jane Elder, p. 978, 980, nos. 118-119. Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Trust, 1995.

(118) Type: Hull T191A

(119) Type: Hull T191A

Canterbury continued

Stow, S. "The C.E.C. Brooches." In *Excavations in the Marlowe car park and surrounding areas. Part II: The Finds*, edited by Jane Elder, p. 982-983, no. F138. Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Trust, 1995.

Type: Hull T190

Carlisle, Cumbria

Howard-Davis, C. "Other Copper-alloy objects." In *The Carlisle Millennium Project: Excavations in Carlisle, 1998-2001. Volume 2: The Finds*, edited by Christine Howard-Davis, p. 726-727, nos. 7-10. Lancaster: Oxford Archaeology North, 2009.

(7) Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

(8) Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

(9) Type: Hull T191B/T192 – Keller type Uncertain

(10) Type: Hull T191B/T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Carmarthen, Carmarthenshire

Webster, Janet. "Bronze objects." In *Roman Carmarthen: Excavations 1978-1993*, edited by Heather James, p. 310-312, no. 36. London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 2003.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Carrawburgh, Northumberland

Allason-Jones, L. and Bruce McKay. *Coventina's Well: A shrine on Hadrian's Wall*. Oxford: Trustees of the Clayton Collection, 1985. p. 24-25, nos. 48-49.

(48) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

(49) Type: Hull T190

Castleford, West Yorkshire

Cool, H.E.M. "The brooches." In *Roman Castleford: Excavations 1974-85. Volume I: The Small Finds*, edited by H.E.M. Cool, C. Philo and Paula Butterworth, p. 49-50, no. 85. Wakefield: West Yorkshire Archaeological Service, 1998.

Type: Hull T190

Catterick, North Yorkshire

Mackreth, D.F. and J. Bayley. "Brooches from Catterick." In *Cataractonium: Roman Catterick and its hinterland. Excavations and research, 1958-1997, Part II*, edited by P.R. Wilson, p. 152, 154-155, 158, nos. 20, 22. York: Council for British Archaeology, 2002.

(20) Type: Hull T190

(22) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type Uncertain

*Scorton (Catterick), North Yorkshire

Eckardt, Hella, Gundula Müldner and Greg Speed. "The late Roman field army in Northern Britain? Mobility, material culture and multi-isotype analysis at Scorton (N. Yorks)." *Britannia* 46 (2015): p. 197-202, nos. 502 AA, 528 AAY, 541AB, 571AV. Accessed Oct 10, 2016. doi: 10.1017/S0068113X1500015X.

(502 AA) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

(528 AAY) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

(541 AB) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

(571 AV) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Cavenham, Suffolk

"SF-4836B2." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/496213.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Chesterholm, Northumberland

Allason-Jones, L., J. Bayley, M. Henig, and M. Snape. "The Objects of Copper Alloy and of Other Materials." In *The Roman Fort of Vindolanda at Chesterholm, Northumberland*, edited by Paul T Bidwell, p. 118-119, no. 9. London: Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission for England, 1985.

Type: Hull T190

Chesterton, Cambridgeshire

"LEIC-94ADF5." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/279764.

Type: Hull T191A

Chichester, West Sussex

Down, Alec and Margaret Rule. "Small Finds other than from Burials." In *Chichester Excavation I*, edited by Alec Down and Margaret Rule, p. 82-83, no. 2. Chichester: Chichester Civic Society Excavations Committee, 1971.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 6

Chilham, Kent

"KENT-178D71." Portable Antiquities Scheme. November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/52094.

Type: Hull T190

"KENT-180214." Portable Antiquities Scheme. November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/52096.

Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

Chisenbury Warren, Wiltshire

Allen, S.J., Rachel Every, David Richards and R.H. Seager Smith. "Metalwork." In *Iron Age and Romano-British Settlements and Landscapes of Salisbury Plain*, edited by M.G. Fulford, A.B. Powell, R. Entwistle and F. Raymond, p. 126-127, no. 2. Salisbury: Wessex Archaeology, 2006.

Type: Hull T190

Chorley, Lancashire

"LANCUM-F1B9A4." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/206405.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Cirencester, Gloucestershire

Mackreth, Don. "The Brooches." In *Cirencester Excavations II: Romano-British Cemeteries at Cirencester*, edited by Alan McWhirr, Linda Viner and Calvin Wells, microfilm 2/5 A13, B02-B05, nos. 10-12. Cirencester: Cirencester Excavation Committee, 1982.

(10) Type: Hull T190

(11) Type: Hull T190

(12) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 5

Claxby with Moorby, Lincolnshire

"NCL-65D125." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/260142.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

"NCL-A24666." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/394283.

Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

Colchester, Essex

Fowler, Elizabeth, Martin Henig and Mark Hassall. "Objects of personal adornment or dress." In *Colchester Archaeological Report 2: The Roman small finds from excavations in Colchester 1971-9*, edited by Nina Crummy, p. 15, no. 73. Colchester: Colchester Archaeological Trust, 1983.

Type: Hull T191A

Copmanthorpe, North Yorkshire

"SWYOR-B17BC8." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/649564 .

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Cossington, Leicestershire

"LEIC-055447." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/106510.

Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

"LEIC-9C94D1." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/148453.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Crawley, Hampshire

"SUR-F08D73." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/739663.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 2

Crayke, North Yorkshire

"LANCUM-C5E2C4." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/540106.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Creeling St. Mary, Suffolk

"SF-A65EF0." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/584665.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 2

Cublington, Buckinghamshire

"BUC-8F8561." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed October 29, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/542082.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Dembleby, Lincolnshire

"NLM4213." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/11588.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Denton with Wootton, Kent

"KENT-850C90." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/265251.

Type: Hull T191B/T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Dodford with Grafton, Worcestershire

"WAW-537B43." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/560584.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Dover, Kent

Philp, Brian. *The Excavations of the Roman Forts of the Classis Britannica at Dover, 1970-1977*. Kent: Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit, 1981. p. 151-153, nos. 81-82.

(81) Type: Hull T190

(82) Type: Hull T191B/T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Dunnington, North Yorkshire

"YORYM-B7DE01." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/186757.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

East Barkwith, Lincolnshire

"LIN-E9ACB0." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/193681.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Elmstead, Essex

"SF8674." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/36776.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Elsham, North Yorkshire

"NLM28." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/10121.

Type: Hull T191B/T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Elwick, County Durham

"YORYM-C5B602." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/799236.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 2

Everleigh, Wiltshire

"WILT-6DCD25." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/468558.

Type: Hull T190

Exeter, Devon

"LEIC-EEE688." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/161146.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Fifehead Magdalen, Dorset

"DOR-1109B7." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/390020.

Type: Hull T190

Grafton Regis, Northamptonshire

"NARC-57E995." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/176790.

Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

Great Bealings, Suffolk

"SF-A04765." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/132825.

Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

Great Bentley, Essex

"ESS-5EC071." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/783826.

Type: Hull T190

Grimston, Norfolk

"NMS-E362FA." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/716054.

Type: Hull T191B/T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Gunthorpe, Norfolk

"NMS-E7D6B7." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/247449.

Type: Hull T191B/T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Gurnard, Isle of Wight

"IOW-3180A3." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/227620.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Gussage St. Michael, Dorset

"DOR-CC00C1." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/650210.

Type: Hull T190

Happisburgh, Norfolk

"NMS-658E80." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/556901.

Type: Hull T191B/T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Hamstall Ridware, Staffordshire

"WMID-FC5D73." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/70918.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Harpham, East Riding of Yorkshire

"YORYM-C2B8D2." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/578922.

Type: Hull T190

Hempnall, Norfolk

"SF-74E6D1." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/148288.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Highnam, Gloucestershire

"GLO-4CE8A6." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/574064.

Type: Hull T190

Hindringham, Norfolk

"NMS-74B205." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/575160.

Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

Holme, North Lincolnshire

"NLM-9FD1D7." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/646950.

Type: Hull T191B/T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Hook Norton, Oxfordshire

"BERK-9A21B0." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed October 29, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/483040.

Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

Hooton Pagnell, South Yorkshire

"SWYOR-AB7D42." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/74981.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Horncastle, Lincolnshire

"NLM6210." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/13778.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

"NLM673." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/13838.

Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

Hougham Without, Kent

"KENT-82C1C9." Portable Antiquities Scheme. November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/723541.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Housesteads, Northumberland

Allason-Jones, L., M. Henig, W.B. Griffiths and Q. Mould. "The small finds." In *Housesteads Roman Fort – The Grandest Station. Volume 2: The Material Assemblages*, edited by Alan Rushworth, p. 435-437, nos. 27-32. Swindon: English Heritage, 2009.

(27) Type: Hull T190

(28) Type: Hull T190

(29) Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

(30) Type: Hull T191B/T192 – Keller type Uncertain

(31) Type: Hull T190

(32) Type: Hull T191B/T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Ickham, Kent

Mackreth, Don. "Brooches." In *The Roman Watermills and Settlement at Ickham, Kent*, edited by Paul Bennett, Ian Riddler and Christopher Sparey-Green, p. 173-175, nos. 188-192. Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Trust, 2010.

(188) Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

(189) Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

(190) Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

(191) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

(192) Type: Hull T191 – Keller type 3/4

Ingleby Barwick, Stockton-on-Tees

Hunter, Fraser. "Non-Ferrous metalwork." In *A Roman Villa at the Edge of Empire: Excavations at Ingleby Barwick, Stockton-on-Tees, 2003-04*, edited by Steven Willis and Peter Carne, p.101, 104, no. SF91. York: Council for British Archaeology, 2013.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 6

Isleham, Cambridgeshire

"LVPL-975CA4." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/414788.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 2

Kensworth, Bedfordshire

"BH-A0A3E0." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed October 29, 2016.
https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/405998.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Keston, Kent

Philp, Brian, Keith Parfitt, John Willson, Mike Dutton and Wendy Williams. "The small-finds." In *The Roman Villa Site at Keston, Kent. First Report (Excavations 1968-1978)*, edited by Brian Philp, Keith Parfitt, John Willson, Mike Dutton and Wendy Williams, p. 170, 173, no. 100. Kent: Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit, 1991.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Kimbolton, Cambridgeshire

"NARC-729144." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/425437.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Kingsclere, Hampshire

"NMGW-DB53A4." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/96325.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Kingscote, Gloucestershire

Mackreth, Donald." The small-finds from Kingscote site 2. Objects of personal adornment or dress: Copper-alloy brooches." In *Excavations at Kingscote and Wycomb, Gloucestershire: A Roman estate centre and small town in the Cotswolds with notes on related settlements*, edited by Jane R Timby, p. 142, no. 48. Cirencester: Cotswold Archaeological Trust, 1998.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 6

Kingston Deverill, Wiltshire

"WILT-9F5944." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/721760.

Type: Hull T190

"WILT-CA9F6A." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/736465.

Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

Kislingbury, Northamptonshire

"NARC-6FA2F8." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/399810.

Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

Knossington, Leicestershire

"LEIC-AC2D8A." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/769362.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Lackford, Suffolk

"SF-4BA8C1." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/761312.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 2

"SF-CD82C5." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/155468.

Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

Lancaster, Lancashire

Webster, Janet and G.C. Boon. "The small finds." In *Roman Lancaster: Rescue Archaeology in an historic city 1970-75*, edited by G.D.B. Jones, D.C.A. Shotter and J.G.F. Hind, p. 146-147, no. 5. Manchester: Department of Archaeology, University of Manchester, 1988.

Type: Hull T190

Laurel Farm, Norfolk

Gerrard, James. "Romano-British Small Finds." In *Settlement, Ceremony and Industry on Mousehold Heath: Excavations at Laurel Farm (Phase II), Broadland Business Park, Thorpe St Andrew, Norfolk*, edited by Barry Bishop and Jennifer Proctor, p. 78, no. 349. Dorset: Pre-Construct Archaeology, 2011.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Leicester, Leicestershire

Kenyon, Kathleen, M. "Small finds." In *Excavations at the Jewry Wall Site, Leicestershire*, edited by Kathleen M. Kenyon, p. 251, fig. 81, no. 2. Oxford: The Society of Antiquaries and The Corporation of the City of Leicester, 1948.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Lenham, Kent

"KENT-764D95." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/158808.

Type: Hull T191B/T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Lenton Keisby and Osgodby, Lincolnshire

"LIN-0B54E5." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/137531.

Type: Hull T191A

Levington. Suffolk

"SF-01BCE8." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/89756.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 2

Liddington, Wiltshire

"WILT-8CAC0C." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/749269.

Type: Hull T190

Little Wilbraham, Cambridgeshire

"SF-3B5E74." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/185093.

Type: Hull T191A

London, City and Greater London

Barber, Bruno and David Bowsher. "Catalogue." In *The Eastern Cemetery of Roman London, Excavations 1983-1990*, edited by Bruno Barber and David Bowsher, p. 206-207, no. B538.3. London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2000.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 6

Loppington, Shropshire

"WMID-DDA2BD." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/787171.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Lusby with Winceby, Lincolnshire

"LIN-874876." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/245878.

Type: Hull T191B/T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Lydney Park, Gloucestershire

Wheeler, R.E.M. and T.V. Wheeler. Report on the Excavation of the Prehistoric, Roman, and Post-Roman site in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire. Oxford: The Society of Antiquaries, 1932. p. 78, nos. 23-27.

(23) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

(24) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type Uncertain

(25) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type Uncertain

(26) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

(27) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Market Weighton, East Riding of Yorkshire

"YORYM-B2AFA7." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/749680.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Micheldever, Hampshire

"HAMP-39A5D2." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/186210.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 2

Much Hadham, Hertfordshire

"ESS-3A05C8." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/545853.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 2

"ESS-672ED8." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/539189.

Type: Hull T191B/T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Neatham, Hampshire

Redknap, Mark. "Chapter 5: The Small Finds." In *Excavations on the Romano-British Small Town at Neatham, Hampshire, 1969-1979*, edited by Martin Millett and David Graham, p. 106, 109, no. 81. Gloucester: Alan Sutton and Hampshire Field Club, 1986.

Type: Hull T190

Neigh Bridge, Gloucestershire

Smith, Alex. "Excavations at Neigh Bridge, Somerford Keynes." In *Iron Age and Roman Settlement in the Upper Thames Valley: Excavations at Claydon Pike and other sites within the Cotswold Water Park*, edited by David Miles, Simon Palmer, Alex Smith and Grace Perpetua Jones, p. 256-257, no. 36. Oxford: Oxford University School of Archaeology, 2007.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Nettlestead, Suffolk

"SF-669970." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/70543.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Newbald, East Riding of Yorkshire

"FAKL-D9D223." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/439392.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 2

"SWYOR-A455B1." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/441531.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Newchurch, Isle of Wight

"IOW-0D4108." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2916.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/405164.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Newton Flotman, Norfolk

"NMS-BC1567." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/128855.

Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

Niton and Whitwell, Isle of Wight

"IOW-16EA17." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/741819.

Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

North Rauceby, Lincolnshire

"WMID-B86313." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/615418.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

North Turton, Lancashire

"LANCUM-365381." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/705307.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Norton, Northamptonshire

"NARC-4AF017." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/66704.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Odiham, Hampshire

"SUR-AED2C6." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/786675.

Hull T190

Ogbourne St. Andrew, Wiltshire

"WILT-D39A70." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/555579.

Type: Hull T190

"WILT-E20915." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/71705.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Osbournby, Lincolnshire

"LIN-6249D0." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/120224.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type Uncertain

"LIN-95A403." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/128578.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Owslebury, Hampshire

"HAMP-5CDDB3." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/479677.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Paulerspury, Northamptonshire

"NARC-9DA9E1." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/103964.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 2

Pewsey, Wiltshire

"WILT-75A2A7." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/505611.

Type: Hull T190

Piercebridge, County Durham

Cool, H.E.M. "The small finds." In *Roman Piercebridge: Excavations by D.W. Harding and Peter Scott 1969-1981*, edited by H.E.M. Cool and David J.P. Mason, digital file, nos. 28-31. Durham: The Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland, 2008.

(28) Type: Hull T190

(29) Type: Hull T190

(30) Type: Hull T190

(31) Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

Portchester, Hampshire

Webster, Janet. "Objects of bronze and silver." In *Excavations at Portchester Castle. Volume I: Roman*, edited by Barry Cunliffe, p. 199-200, nos. 4-5. London: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 1975.

(4) Type: Hull T191B/T192 – Keller type Uncertain

(5) Type: Hull T190

Potterspury, Northamptonshire

"NARC-F2CC26." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/499007.

Type: Hull T191B/T192 – Keller type Uncertain

Priest Hutton, Lancashire

"LVPL761." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/7113.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Reculver, Kent

Chenery, Maurice. "The small finds." In *The Excavation of the Roman Fort at Reculver, Kent*, edited by Brian Philp, p. 164, 167, nos. 314-315. Dover: Kent Archaeological Rescue Unit, 2005.

(314) Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

(315) Type: Hull T190

Reydon, Suffolk

"SF-081424." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/521951.

Type: Hull T191A

Richborough, Kent

Bayley, Justine and Sarnia Butcher. *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*. London: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 2004. p. 106-120, nos. 269-336.

(269-278) Type: Hull T191A

(279-287) Type: Hull T190

(288-317) Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

(318-319) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 2

(320-323) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

(324) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 6

(325) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

326-338) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Rockbourne, Hampshire

"WILT-7459C4." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/225344.

Type: Hull T190

Roxby cum Risby, North Lincolnshire

"WILT-4EA855." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/505243.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Rushton, Northamptonshire

"NARC-B8DB28." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/176893.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Salthouse, Norfolk

"NMS-2952C1." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/127865.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Sandwich, Kent

"SUR-446B15." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/200681.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Sapcote, Leicestershire

"LEIC-4E2E53." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/101575.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Seagrave, Leicestershire

"LEIC-3E65B6." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/414216.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Seething, Norfolk

"NMS-1D08B1." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/149445.

Type: Hull T192 –Keller type 3/4

Settrington, North Yorkshire

"DUR-57B5D5." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/539095.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 5/6

Shalfleet, Isle of Wight

"IOW-B6EC00." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/384144.

Type: Hull T190

Shenstone, Staffordshire

"WMID-249444." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/262225.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Shotesham, Norfolk

"NMS-26EC2E." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/640369.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 2

Shotesham continued

"NMS-566012." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/97938.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Shotley, Suffolk

"SF-6CA982." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/221110.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Skeffington, Leicestershire

"LEIC-718202." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/754360.

Type: Hull T190

Somerford Booths, Cheshire

"WMID2331." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/24976.

Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

South Brent, Devon

"DEV-E1A6A8." Portable Antiques Scheme. Accessed October 29, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/216524.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

South Ferriby, North Lincolnshire

"NLM4367." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/11826.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type Uncertain

South Shields, Tyne and Wear

Allason-Jones, Lindsay and Roger Miket. "The Entries – Bronze." In *The Catalogue of small finds from South Shields Roman Fort*, edited by Lindsay Allason-Jones and Roger Miket, p. 97-98, 100, 102-106, 108, 11, nos. 3.20, 3.43-3.54, 3.56-3.58, 3.78, 3.82, 3.87. Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1984.

(3.46) Type: Hull T191A

(3.20, 3.47, 3.51-54, 3.56, 3.82, 3.87) Type: Hull T190

(3.48-48, 3.58) Type: Hull T191B – Keller type 1

(3.57) Type: Hull T191B/T192 – Keller type Uncertain

(3.45) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 2

(3.43-44, 3.50, 3.78) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Southfleet, Kent

"KENT-826033." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed November 04, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/182641.

Type: Hull T191A

"LON-D76ED6." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/498659.

Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

Southampton, Hampshire

Hinton, David A. "Brooches." In *Southampton finds volume two: The gold, silver and other non-ferrous alloy objects from Hamwic, and the non-ferrous metalworking evidence*, edited by David A. Hinton, p. 4, 6, no. 34/6. Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1996.

Type: Hull T190

St. Albans, Hertfordshire

Goodburn, Roger. "The non-ferrous metal objects." In *Verulamium Excavations, Volume III*, edited by Sheppard Frere, p. 28-29, 31, nos. 53-54. Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1984.

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St. John Ilketshall, Suffolk

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St. Mary Bourne, Hampshire

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Stanton, Suffolk

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Steeple Bumpstead, Essex

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Stratton Strawless, Norfolk

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Tostock, Suffolk

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Thamesfield, Greater London

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Thruxton, Hampshire

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Tickhill, South Yorkshire

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Wacton, Norfolk

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Welford, Berkshire

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West Clandon, Surrey

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West Firsby, Lincolnshire

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West Lavington, Wiltshire

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West Stow, Suffolk

"SF-DD8E85." Portable Antiquities Scheme. Accessed December 02, 2016.

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Willingdon and Jevington, East Sussex

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Wimbourne St. Giles, Dorset

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Type: Hull T190

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(24) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 2

(74) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

(121) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 2

(278) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 5

(447) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 5/6

(532) Type: Hull T192 – Keller type 3/4

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Appendix 2: referencing information for all figures

Fig.1. After Jona Lendering, "Small Arch, Galerius." Livius, 2015, accessed February 23, 2017, http://www.livius.org/pictures/greece/thessaloniki/palace-of-galerius/small-arch-galerius/; Janes, "The golden clasp of the late Roman state," *Early Medieval Europe 5*, no. 2 (1996).137-8.

Fig.2. After "The Projecta Casket," The British Museum, 2017, accessed February 24, 2017, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=59 394&partId=1.

Fig.3. After Olovsdotter, "Representing consulship: on the conception and meaning of the consular diptychs," *Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome* (2011) 4: 102, 116.

Fig.4. After Bayley and Butch, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, 107, 109-110.

Fig.5. Bayley and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, 183-185, 199, 204; Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 13-24.

Fig.6. After Swift. *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 17, 20, 23, 26.

Fig.7. See Appendix 1.

Fig.8. See Appendix 1.

Fig.9. See Appendix 1 in comparison with Collins, "Brooch use in the 4th- to 5-century frontier," 66; Swift, *Regionality in Dress Accessories in the late Roman West*, 31.

Fig.10. Appendix 1 combined with Google Earth, United Kingdom, 52°37'04.02" N, 1 °58'17.34" W, elev 103m, [accessed January 31, 2017], available from: https://developers.google.com/earth/?csw=1.

Fig.11. Appendix 1 combined with Google Earth, United Kingdom, 52°37'04.02" N, 1 °58'17.34" W, elev 103m, [accessed January 31, 2017], available from: https://developers.google.com/earth/?csw=1; Ordnance Survey, *Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain, Sixth Edition*.

Fig.12. Appendix 1 combined with Google Earth, United Kingdom, 52°37'04.02" N, 1 °58'17.34" W, elev 103m, [accessed January 31, 2017], available from: https://developers.google.com/earth/?csw=1.

Fig.13. Appendix 1 combined with Google Earth, United Kingdom, 52°37'04.02" N, 1 °58'17.34" W, elev 103m, [accessed January 31, 2017], available from: https://developers.google.com/earth/?csw=1.

Fig.14. Appendix 1 with particular sites highlighted; Allason-Jones, "Small finds," in *Excavations at Segontium (Caernarfon) Roman Fort, 1975-1979*, p. 166-167, 169, nos. 8-12; Allason-Jones and Miket, "The Entries – Bronze," in *The Catalogue of small finds from South Shields Roman Fort*, p. 97-98, 100, 102-106, 108, 11, nos. 3.20, 3.43-3.54, 3.56-3.58, 3.78, 3.82, 3.87; Allason-Jones et al., "The small finds," in *Housesteads Roman Fort – The Grandest Station. Volume 2: The Material Assemblages*, p. 435-437, nos. 27-32; Barker et al., "The finds," in *The baths basilica Wroxeter: Excavations 1966-90*, p. 207, 209, nos. 1-6; Bayley and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, p. 106-120, nos. 269-336; Butcher, "Objects of personal adornment or dress," in *Caister-on-Sea: Excavations by Charles Green, 1951-55*, p. 73-75, nos. 5-11; Clarke, "Cross-bow brooches." in *Pre-Roman and Roman Winchester, Part II: The Roman Cemetery at Lankhills*, p. 259-262, nos. 13, 24, 74, 121, 278, 447, 532, 587; Cool, "Objects of glass, shale, bone and metal (except nails)," in *The Late Roman Cemetery at Lankhills, Winchester: Excavations 2000-2005*, p.278-284, nos. 745.1, 895.1, 1075.1, 1846.1, 1925.1, 3030.1; Eckardt et al., "The late Roman field army in Northern Britain? Mobility, material culture and multi-isotype analysis at Scorton (N. Yorks)," Britannia 46 (2015): p. 197-202, nos. 502 AA, 528 AAY, 541AB, 571AV; Mackreth, "Brooches," in *The Roman Watermills and Settlement at Ickham, Kent*, p.

173-175, nos. 188-192; Mackreth and Bayley, "Brooches from Catterick," in *Cataractonium: Roman Catterick and its hinterland. Excavations and research, 1958-1997, Part II*, p. 152, 154-155, 158, nos. 20, 22.; Wheeler and Wheeler, *Report on the Excavation of the Prehistoric, Roman, and Post-Roman site in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire*, p. 78, nos. 23-27; combined with Google Earth, United Kingdom, 52°37'04.02" N, 1 °58'17.34" W, elev 103m, [accessed January 31, 2017], available from: https://developers.google.com/earth/?csw=1.

Fig.15. Appendix 1 combined with Google Earth, United Kingdom, 52°37'04.02" N, 1 °58'17.34" W, elev 103m, [accessed January 31, 2017], available from: https://developers.google.com/earth/?csw=1 .

Fig.16. Appendix 1 combined with Google Earth, United Kingdom, 52°37'04.02" N, 1 °58'17.34" W, elev 103m, [accessed January 31, 2017], available from: https://developers.google.com/earth/?csw=1.

Fig.17. Appendix 1 combined with Google Earth, United Kingdom, 52°37'04.02" N, 1 °58'17.34" W, elev 103m, [accessed January 31, 2017], available from: https://developers.google.com/earth/?csw=1.

Fig.18. Appendix 1 combined with Google Earth, United Kingdom, 52°37'04.02" N, 1 °58'17.34" W, elev 103m, [accessed January 31, 2017], available from: https://developers.google.com/earth/?csw=1.

Fig.19. Appendix 1 combined with Google Earth, United Kingdom, 52°37'04.02" N, 1 °58'17.34" W, elev 103m, [accessed January 31, 2017], available from: https://developers.google.com/earth/?csw=1.

Fig.20. Appendix 1 combined with Google Earth, United Kingdom, 52°37'04.02" N, 1 °58'17.34" W, elev 103m, [accessed January 31, 2017], available from: https://developers.google.com/earth/?csw=1.

Fig.21. Appendix 1 combined with Google Earth, United Kingdom, 52°37'04.02" N, 1 °58'17.34" W, elev 103m, [accessed January 31, 2017], available from: https://developers.google.com/earth/?csw=1.

Fig.22. Appendix 1 combined with Google Earth, United Kingdom, 52°37'04.02" N, 1 °58'17.34" W, elev 103m, [accessed January 31, 2017], available from: https://developers.google.com/earth/?csw=1.

Fig.23. Allason-Jones, "Small finds," in *Excavations at Segontium (Caernarfon) Roman Fort, 1975-1979*, p. 17, 166-167, 169, nos. 8-10; Allason-Jones et al., "The Objects of Copper Alloy and of Other Materials," in *The Roman Fort of Vindolanda at Chesterholm, Northumberland*, p. 3, 21-22, 118-119, no. 9; Barber et al., "Catalogue," in *The Eastern Cemetery of Roman London, Excavations 1983-1990*, p. 206-207, 411, no. B538.3; Bayley and Butcher, *Roman Brooches in Britain: A Technological and Typological Study based on the Richborough Collection*, p. 106-118, nos. 271-275, 277-279, 280, 282, 288-295, 297, 299, 301, 304, 313-318, 320-321, 323; Butcher, "Brooches of copper alloy," in *The Uley Shrines: Excavation of a ritual complex on West Hill, Uley, Gloucestershire: 1977-9*, p. 11, 154-155, fig. 125, no. 1; Clarke, "Cross-bow brooches," in *Pre-Roman and Roman Winchester, Part II: The Roman Cemetery at Lankhills*, p. 259-262, nos. 13, 24, 74, 121, 278, 447, 532, 587; Cool, "The brooches," in *Roman Castleford: Excavations 1974-85. Volume I: The Small Finds*, p. 4, 49-50, no. 85; Cool, "Inventory of the deposits," in *The Roman cemetery at Brougham, Cumbria, Excavations 1966-67*, p. 18, 133-134, 219-221, nos. 122.1. 273. 2; Cool, "Objects of glass, shale, bone and metal (except nails)," in *The Late Roman Cemetery at Lankhills, Winchester: Excavations 2000-2005*, p.278-284, nos. 745.1, 895.1, 1075.1, 1846.1, 1925.1, 3030.1; Eckardt et al., "The late Roman field army in Northern Britain? Mobility, material culture and multi-isotype analysis at Scorton (N. Yorks)." *Britannia* 46 (2015): p. 197, no. 541AB; Fowler et al., "Objects of personal adornment or dress," in *Colchester Archaeological Report 2: The Roman small finds from excavations in Colchester 1971-9*, p. 15, no. 73; Goodburn, "The non-ferrous metal objects," in *Verulamium Excavations, Volume III*, p. 28-29, 31, no. 54; Howard-Davis, "Other Copper-alloy objects," in *The Carlisle Millennium Project: Excavations in Carlisle, 1998-2001. Volume 2: The Finds*, p. 726-727, nos. 7-8; Hunter, "Non-Ferrous metalwork," in *A Roman Villa at the Edge of Empire: Excavations at Ingleby Barwick, Stockton-on-Tees, 2003-04*, p.101, 104, no. SF91; Mackreth and Bayley, "Brooches from Catterick," in *Cataractonium: Roman Catterick and its hinterland. Excavations and research, 1958-1997*, p. 83, 152, 154-155, no. 20; Redknap, "Chapter 5: The Small Finds," in *Excavations on the Romano-British Small Town at Neatham, Hampshire, 1969-1979*, p. 32-33, 38, 106, 109, no. 81; Stow, "The C.E.C. Brooches," in *Excavations in the Marlowe car park and surrounding areas. Part*

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