

THE ROMAN MILITARY ADVANCE UNDER OSTORIUS SCAPULA

By GRAHAM WEBSTER

The problems of the Roman military movements and dispositions of units in Britain during the first three decades of the occupation present, mainly through lack of evidence, many difficulties. A notable advance was made in 1938 by T. Davies Pryce¹, when he suggested that a distinction should be drawn between the campaigns of Plautius and Scapula. Earlier accounts had tended to regard the Roman advance across Britain to the Welsh marches as a single, coherent movement carried out according to a plan of campaign organised soon after the initial landing and conquest.

New evidence has come to light since the War through the aerial reconnaissance carried out by Dr. J. K. St. Joseph, who has been able to add a number of military sites, especially in the Midlands². While it may be some time before these and other sites can be adequately investigated, the time seems opportune for a review of the present position with some tentative suggestions of its implications.

The key to an understanding of these early campaigns is the Foss Way. This road is remarkable, even by Roman standards, for its directness and unlike the other major roads of Britain appears to lack economic purpose. By the second century only short lengths of it appear in the Antonine Itinerary and this may imply that, whatever may have been its original purpose, by this time a considerable part of the Foss Way had ceased to have any importance as an Imperial Highway. These unusual characteristics were first recognised by R. G. Collingwood³ who concluded that the road was planned as an integrated project and that the only possible explanation of its origin was military and that it marked the site of a *limes* or frontier. He further considered it to have been the work of Scapula and later maintained this view with a fuller survey of the evidence⁴.

While it must be admitted that the evidence of the Foss Way as a military frontier road has not yet been proved conclusively, there are indications that this is a strong probability. In the first place, as Collingwood observed, the road has the appearance of a planned unity and this becomes even more apparent if one takes it beyond Lincoln. It would have been bad defensive tactics to have ended the road here leaving the right flank open. The road known as Ermine Street is as remarkable in alignment as the Foss Way. It maintains a straight direction up to the Humber, avoiding centres of population which tended to become established along the pre-Roman trackway to the west, running below the escarpment⁵. Furthermore, there is evidence from Brough, on the north bank of the Humber, of a Flavian fort⁶ which clearly indicates the direction of one of the lines of the advance in A.D. 71, a northward continuation of Ermine Street.

¹ *Ant. J.*, xviii (1938), 29.

² *J.R.S.*, xliii (1953), 82.

³ *J.R.S.*, xiv (1924), 252.

⁴ *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (1937), 91.

⁵ *Arch. J.*, xciv (1937), 80.

⁶ *Excavations at the Roman Town at Brough, Petuaria* (1937), 15.

The very siting of a Foss Way and Ermine Street is of great significance following as it does, more or less, the line of the prehistoric Jurassic Way which ran across England along the oolitic escarpment, and the western edge of which was a natural division of country¹. Here, on this line, the heavily populated south-eastern lowlands² gave place, in prehistoric times, quite suddenly to the thickly wooded clay lands in the valleys of the Avon and Trent. Beyond lay the more sparsely populated Midlands and the highland areas of Wales, The Peak and Pennines. It would have been a natural halting place in the Roman advance, and the establishment of a frontier along it would suggest that the Romans may well have regarded it, for the time being at least, as the limit of their conquest. Further annexation would have involved them in heavy expenditure of manpower with hopes of little in return.

For the time being the Mendip silver mines, working within a few years of initial occupation, satisfied the desire for mineral exploitation. This area remained, throughout the occupation, the main source of silver; all other workings were sporadic and apparently superficial³. The Weald became a large scale iron producing area; forests everywhere provided charcoal, one of the basic necessities of the Roman world; while the south east remained the chief source of clay for pottery and tile making⁴. Only gold, never to be found in quantity even in Wales, copper, and tin lay beyond this frontier. More important than these were the rich corn lands, most of which already lay in the conquered territory. Nor must one forget the Fens, that area of great agricultural possibilities, the drainage of which was started in the reign of Nero⁵. Above all, the people of the south east were for the most part more likely to be turned into peaceful, law-abiding citizens than their rough barbarous counterparts of the highland zones. Whether the Roman authorities appreciated these facts as well as we appear to do to-day is an arguable point, but clearly they could see the difference between the potentialities in this annexed area and those beyond which, while largely *terra incognita*, would seem to offer few advantages, except perhaps manpower for the army and the creation of a large militarised zone to cushion the lowlands against sudden onslaught.

The Ordnance Survey Map of Roman Britain⁶ shows at a glance the heavy concentration of towns, settlements, villas and isolated finds to the south and east of the Foss Way, contrasting strongly with the much barer areas to the north and west. The events which appear to have forced the Romans to advance beyond the Jurassic escarpment will be considered in due course below. But before this, it is necessary to summarise the evidence for the military occupation during the early phase, beginning with the Foss Way itself.

THE FOSS WAY AS A MILITARY ROAD

The military origin of the Foss Way has been seriously challenged by Miss K. Kenyon, who dismisses the evidence as a few stray legionary bricks at scattered points approximately on its line⁷. Investigations recently carried out on these

¹ W. F. Grimes, *Aspects of Archaeology in Britain and Beyond* (1951), 144.

² Accepting Caesar's statement, *Gallic Wars*, v.2.

³ *Flints. Hist. Soc.*, xiii (1952-53), 12.

⁴ *Carnuntina* (1956). Map viii by Mr. J. P. Gillam brings this point out clearly.

⁵ *Ant. J.*, xxix (1949), 145.

⁶ 3rd. Ed., 1956.

⁷ *The Excavation on the site of the Jewry Wall, Leicester*, 38.

tiles make it highly probable that even this evidence is suspect¹. Miss Kenyon has, furthermore, deduced from the behaviour of the road as it approaches the Roman towns of Leicester and Cirencester, that it was civil in origin and probably Hadrianic in date. It is true that the alignment of the Foss Way, as we know it, near Cirencester, is distinctly odd; but as its most recent investigator, Mr. I. D. Margary, has indicated², at Cirencester the Foss Way from the north-east is aligned on the north gate of the town although there are no indications on the ground that it was ever constructed on this line as it approaches the town. The pronounced *agger* can be followed turning to the south to join Akeman Street and, further on, Ermine Street to by-pass Cirencester altogether. It seems a strange coincidence that Akeman Street also appears to be aimed at the same point but, when it meets the Foss Way, turns towards the east gate of the town. If Akeman Street is the earlier of these two roads, the deflection of the Foss Way may have been intended as a deliberate, later economy. Further evidence is the behaviour of the Foss Way as it leaves Cirencester from a point in the northern part of the town, and the three roads which appear to have been aligned to a point near the north gate. Excavation of the town defences³ has shown that, like many others, they date from the end of the second century although the street system is probably much earlier in origin. Nevertheless, it is clear that Akeman Street and the Foss Way as they now appear have been aligned on to the east gate which leads to the street running to one side of the Basilica, and presumably Forum⁴, the centre of the Roman Town. On this evidence it appears that there was probably an earlier nucleus in the northern part of the town and if this was the site of the fort, a logical explanation of the road system can be obtained. The fact remains, as Mr. Margary has so rightly emphasised, that there is no evidence for this arrangement on the ground. But with a military road system this is not surprising since the army would be content merely to clear a path through the area with possibly some light metalling⁵. The same arguments might equally well be used of the road system at Leicester, although here the evidence is by no means so clear, as the river has changed its course. The presence of other possible earlier nuclei may be inferred from the road systems at Alchester, Oxon. and Alcester, Warwicks.

Unfortunately very little direct archaeological evidence of the original date or the chronological development of the Foss Way is at present available. Sections have been cut through the road at several points with varying results:—

I. At STRETTON-ON-FOSSE⁶, without any positive results.

¹ This work, by X-ray fluorescent spectroscopy, is still in progress; already the Whittlebury tile, in Northampton Museum, has been found to be of Holt manufacture and, in fact, consists of fragments of two separate tiles; and the Hilly Wood specimen in Peterborough Museum is identical in shape, die stamp and material with one found in York.

² *Roman Roads in Britain*, I (1955) 134, fig. 6.

³ *Ant. J.*, xxxvii (1957), 206.

⁴ *Archaeologia*, lxiix (1917-18), 168.

⁵ Mr. D. Atkinson has drawn my attention to two references: Tacitus, *Annals*, i, 50, and Velleius Paterculus, 11, 121 where military ways of this nature are mentioned in connection with campaigns in Germany.

⁶ By the Downside Arch. Soc., and reported in their cyclostyled *Proceedings and Journal*, Vol. 1, No. 1, and No. 2 (1949), 9. I am greatly indebted to Peter Howell for drawing my attention to them.

2. At RADSTOCK in 1902¹, where an admirable photograph of the section shows at least four different surfaces in the build-up of the *agger*, which have been interpreted as parts of a single road.
3. At CAMERTON², where a worn coin of Tiberius and pottery dated to 50–A.D. 70 including decorated samian were found in the primary silt of the side ditches.
4. Between LITTLETON DREW and GRITTLETON where it was lightly metalled with small limestone slabs resting on a 1 ft. layer of clay and limestone on the natural clay³.
5. At CULKERTON WOODS, Glos.⁴, where several levels were observed in a contractor's trench.
6. At SLAUGHTER BRIDGE, north of Bourton-on-the-Water⁵, where water prevented examination of the lower levels.
7. At HUNNINGHAM, Warwicks⁶, where at least two different constructions were observed, the earlier road laid at original ground level, and the latter on an *agger*.
8. At HIGH CROSS where the road was sectioned during rescue excavations in 1955⁷. The lowest level consisted of an extensive area of pebbling on which was a worn coin of Vespasian, and above this were at least two roads with a build-up of clay and sand respectively.
9. Near *Ad Pontem*, at LANGFORD and Kneeton Lane⁸. In the first of these sections, the earliest road, 20 ft. wide, was found to rest on the natural sub-soil and the later road to be built on an *agger*. In the second section it is suggested by the excavators that an ironstone layer 18–20 ft. wide represents the original road, and that later a different alignment was chosen.
10. To the north of LINCOLN, Ermine Street has been examined at SCAMPTON⁹, where three surfaces were found, but with no dating evidence.

It is difficult to draw any satisfactory general conclusions from these sections, except that the road appears in places to have had a long history, as one would expect, and also that the development of the *agger* came at a later stage. This accords with evidence from Watling Street, at Acton Burnell in Shropshire¹⁰, where the construction, in this case of a considerable embankment to take the road over a narrow ravine, was secondary. It may be suggested that the regrading and embanking of the roads was designed for the heavy, civil transport, whereas the military roads were built for the rapid movement of troops on foot or horse¹¹. The matter

¹ *Bristol & Glos. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, xxvi (1903) 332, and Pl. facing 336.

² *Excavations at Camerton, Somerset* (1958), 46.

³ *Wills. Arch. Mag.*, liii, 489; *J.R.S.*, xliii (1953), 137.

⁴ *Bristol & Glos. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, lxi (1939), 132.

⁵ *ibid* 129.

⁶ By the Coventry & District Arch. Soc., report forthcoming. I am greatly indebted to Mr. B. Stanley for allowing me to study his drawn section.

⁷ By Mr. E. Greenfield and the writer, independently, for the Ministry of Works, report forthcoming.

⁸ *Ant. J.*, xxx, 64.

⁹ *J.R.S.*, xlvi (1956), 127.

¹⁰ *Shrops. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, lv (1954), 38.

¹¹ Prof. Richmond has, however, pointed out to me that military roads with *aggera* appear to have been built in Scotland at an early stage of the conquest.

cannot be decided on the basis of such meagre evidence, but the dating evidence from Camerton indicates that this length, at least, has early origins. Investigations are needed especially in areas of occupation where dating material may be found in associated levels.

EVIDENCE OF MILITARY OCCUPATION ALONG THE FOSS WAY

1. LINCOLN has long been known to have been the depot of the Ninth Legion from the tombstones found there¹, and the actual site and extent of its fortress is now known. Excavations have suggested a date of origin consistent with a Plautian foundation².
2. CROCOCALANA (Brough) has produced a decorated cheek-piece of an auxiliary parade helmet³. The defences of the town are known from crop-marks⁴, but the fort, if one existed, would probably be on the higher ground to the north-east.
3. AD PONTEM (Thorpe-by-Newark). Dr. J. K. St. Joseph has discovered and recorded crop-marks which suggest ditches of a military type⁵. These lie to the south of what is considered to be the site of the Roman town, the defences of which appear on the same record conforming to the polygonal plan usual for all but the smallest of such settlements⁶. (Pl. IXA).
4. MARGIDUNUM was for many years the scene of the devoted labours of Dr. Felix Oswald⁷. While structural evidence for the actual site of the early fort still remains to be found, there is little doubt from the quantity of early coins, pottery and bronzes (see Appendix) recovered that it cannot be very far away.
5. RATAE (Leicester) has produced early pottery⁸, a stamped tile of the Eighth Legion⁹ which is thought to have been part of the invading army, and a piece of a legionary belt plate with niello decoration. (See Appendix No. 134).

The stretch of road between Leicester and Cirencester has so far produced nothing of military origin. The reason for this may be that while the northern section of the frontier was presumably occupied until A.D. 71 the remainder, as will be shown below, must have been stripped of troops by Scapula after an occupation of short duration.

¹ *Corp. Insc. Lat.*, vii, 183, 184, 185, 186, 188 and 196; *Eph. Epigr.*, ix, 1111 and 1112.

² *J.R.S.*, xxxix (1949), 57; xlv (1956), 22.

³ *Archaeologia*, lviii, 573 and Pl. LV; now in Newark Museum.

⁴ Dr. St. Joseph, *J.R.S.*, xliii (1953), 91.

⁵ These ditches which appear to belong to two systems of different periods have been tested by a single trench by Mr. Charles Green who kindly informs me that while their profiles had military characteristics, no significant dating evidence was found.

⁶ *Arch. J.*, cxii (1956), 20.

⁷ Dr. Oswald published several monographs through the University of Nottingham and reports in *J.R.S.* The stone buildings are more likely to be civil and presumably later, but the evidence of extensive metal working below them may indicate the presence of the annexe of a fort, as these furnaces would hardly have been allowed inside a timber-built fort.

⁸ *Jewry Wall*, 3. This led Miss Kenyon to postulate a pre-Roman settlement here but it stands comparison with the pottery from *Margidunum* which is clearly a military foundation, in spite of its name.

⁹ *E.E.*, vii, 1124; *Arch. J.*, lxxv, 11.

6. CORINIUM (Cirencester). Here early coins¹, brooches² and pottery³ and military equipment (see Appendix) support the evidence of the two auxiliary tombstones⁴ of troopers of different *alae*. The problem of the Roman road system in the vicinity of the town has been considered above.
7. HAM HILL, which is very near the Foss Way has produced a number of objects of Roman military origin⁵ (see Appendix) and may possibly be a fort in a situation similar to that of Hod Hill⁶, unless the finds can be explained as votive offerings at a native shrine⁷. It seems unlikely that a soldier would have lost what must have been a complete *lorica* which remains the finest example of its kind from Britain and is now in Taunton Museum. (Pl. XIc).

This rather meagre catalogue does not make a very convincing Imperial Frontier, even on a temporary or short-lived basis. But in territory which offered no natural tactical advantages like a great river, it is not likely that the Romans would have relied entirely on a single line of defence. Apart from the four legions, there were some 40 to 50 auxiliary units to be deployed. In later periods when the army was established in the highland zones a somewhat smaller force was spread over large areas. In the time of Agricola, for example, the whole of Wales and North Britain up to the Antonine Wall, and for a period a distance beyond, was occupied. This is an area larger than the whole of south eastern England behind the Foss Way. On this analogy one must therefore consider not a single line, but a defensive zone with a network of forts. In such a system the Foss Way may have been merely a lateral line of communication, possibly occupying a medial position.

Such a suggestion would immediately make sense of the line of the Foss Way in the south west where it runs parallel to the Bristol Channel and at a distance of 15 to 20 miles from it. In such a position it could hardly be regarded as a frontier road. As indicated above, the Mendip mines were in operation at an early date showing that the whole of this area up the coast was in Roman hands. By accepting that, on this evidence, the Bristol Channel was the limit of Roman territory, an interesting result appears. The Foss Way is up to Lincoln a remarkably straight road and if a line is drawn in advance the same distance away as the Bristol Channel in both directions it joins places where there is evidence of military occupation. The picture is at present admittedly very indistinct, but there is enough to detect a pattern (fig. 1).

EVIDENCE OF MILITARY OCCUPATION IN ADVANCE OF THE FOSS WAY

The situation at the northern end of the system is not clear, but it would seem that the River Trent would probably have been the limit of penetration, since north,

¹ Mr. D. Atkinson kindly informs me that there are 71 Claudian imitation *asses* in the Corinium Museum.

² Including a number of Hod Hill type.

³ Davies Pryce, *Ant. J.*, xviii (1938), 42, lists 31 early Samian potters.

⁴ *C.I.L.*, vii, 66 and 68.

⁵ *V.C.H., Som.*, i, 295; *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.*, lxxi, 60; lxxii, Pl. xiv; lxxv, 100; lxix, Pl. xi; xcii, 93; xcvi, 143; *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, xxi, 130. Much of the material is legionary.

⁶ Originally suggested by Colt Hoare, *Arch.*, xxi (1827), 42 but there appear to be no surface indications of Roman work.

⁷ An idea suggested to me by Mr. A. L. Rivet.

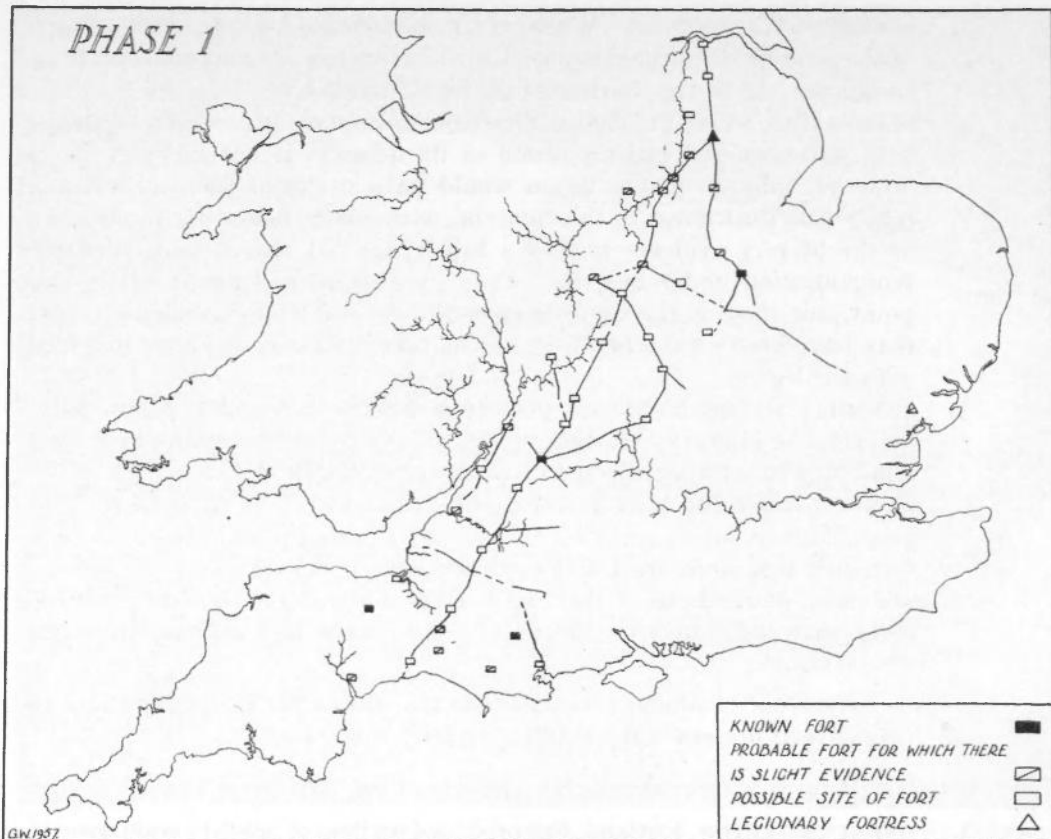


Fig. 1. A possible arrangement of the frontier under Aulus Plautius

say, of *Segelocum*¹ it would have presented quite a formidable barrier. There is however no archaeological evidence until one reaches Broxtowe².

1. BROXTOWE, Nottingham, has produced evidence of the presence of a fort in the discovery of military equipment, early coins, brooches and pottery³. Whether the earthworks described are wholly or in part of the same period is not clear.
2. MANCETTER, near Watling Street, has produced a V-ditch of Roman military type⁴ in the village about a mile from the site of the known Roman settlement (*Manduesseum*) and in a much better tactical position. There is a local tradition of a Roman site here⁵. Stukeley records earthworks⁶ and Burton a coin of Vespasian⁷.

¹ Stukeley noted a camp on the east side of the river. *Itinerarium Curiosum*, ii, (1776).

² A Hod Hill type brooch from Winteringham is however noteworthy; *Early days in North-west Lincolnshire* (1949) fig. 52, no. 3.

³ These important discoveries are briefly reported in *The Annual Report of the Thoroton Society, Excavation Section*, 1938, 5, which is not

included in the Transactions of this Society. Some of the material is in the Margidunum Collection at the University.

⁴ *Birmingham Arch. Soc. Trans.*, lxxiv (1956) 36.

⁵ *ibid.*, liii, 173.

⁶ *Itinerarium Curiosum*, ii (1776) 20.

⁷ Nicols, *History of Leicestershire*, iv, 1027.

3. ALCESTER, Warwickshire. While so far no evidence has been forthcoming of the position of the civil defences the road system appears to indicate an earlier nucleus to the south west of the Roman town¹.
4. GLOUCESTER, where the Kingsholm site has been recognised as a legionary base, although the exact position of its defences is not known². It is however unlikely that a legion would have occupied such an exposed position on the frontier at this time and, as indicated below, the implication of the literary evidence is that a legion was not moved here until the reorganisation under Scapula. Only excavation will finally settle this point, but there is the tombstone of Rufus Sita³ whose auxiliary cohort may have been established here at this time, unless it was later brigaded with the legion.
5. SEA MILLS, has produced early pottery, military equipment (see Appendix) and coins of military imitation types⁴, prompting one excavator to suggest a military base for a projected invasion across the Bristol Channel⁵.
6. NUNNINGTON PARK, near Wiveliscombe, Somerset, long thought to have been Roman⁶, was excavated by the writer in 1956 and shown to be a fort, although no secure dating evidence was recovered⁷.
7. TOPSHAM, at the head of the Exe estuary south of Exeter, has produced early material⁸ which has been judged to have had military or naval associations⁹.

Evidence of similar occupation to the rear of the Foss Way is not so extensive at present and is confined to only a few sites.

EVIDENCE OF MILITARY OCCUPATION TO THE REAR OF THE FOSS WAY

1. GREAT CASTERTON, Rutland, has produced an item of military equipment¹⁰, two Claudian *asses*, one a military imitation, and an *as* of Caligula, all worn¹¹, and much early pottery.
2. WATER NEWTON, (*Durobrivae*) is the site of a fort discovered from the air but not yet excavated¹².
3. ALCHESTER, Oxon. The road system suggests an earlier nucleus to the north of the Roman town (see above, p. 51). If Akeman Street is projected along what must have been its original line, it joins the road from Towcester at Chesterton Lodge, a significant name, where the latter

¹ Based on notes and plan by Mr. W. A. Seaby, now deposited in the Birmingham City Museum. Most of the finds of Roman date seems to come from the site of the modern town.

² *J.R.S.*, xxxii (1942), 39; xxxiii (1943) 15. Metalwork published by Lysons, *Reliquiae Britannico Romanae*, ii, Pls. xi-xv.

³ *C.I.L.*, vii, 67.

⁴ *J.R.S.*, xiv, (1924), 232; *Bristol & Glos. Trans.*, lxi (1939), 202; lxxv (1944), 195; lxxviii (1949), 184; lxxi (1954), 70.

⁵ *Bristol & Glos. Trans.*, lxvi (1945), 294.

⁶ *Som. Arch. Soc. Proc.*, xcii (1946), 65.

⁷ *ibid.*, ciii (1958-59), 81.

⁸ *Devon Expl. Soc. Proc.*, ii (1935), 200; iii

(1938), 67; iv (1949), 20. Mrs. Hartley has informed me that other products of the mortar maker G. Atisius Gratus who occurs here are found at *Novaesium* (Taf. xxxvi, No. 21) and Hofheim (S.310).

⁹ *Ibid.*, iii (1937), 10.

¹⁰ *The Roman Town and Villa at Great Casterton, Rutland* (1954), fig. 2, no. 19; and report forthcoming.

¹¹ Information kindly supplied by Dr. P. Corder. The actual fort was discovered by Dr. St. Joseph in 1959 immediately to the east of the Roman town.

¹² *Antiquity*, xiii (1939), 178, 455; *J.R.S.*, xxix (1939), 208; xliii (1953) Pl. ix, no. 1.



A. Crop mark at East Stoke, Notts. (*Ad Pontem*), showing polygonal-shaped town defences to the right of other, possibly military defences
(*Photograph by J. K. St. Joseph, Cambridge University Coll., Crown Copyright*)



B. Bronze saucepan from the Kingsholme site, Gloucester (No. 91), now in the British Museum
(*Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum*)



A. Crop mark of an auxiliary fort south of the Roman town at Wroxeter



B. Crop mark of a Roman marching camp at Upper Affcot, near Craven Arms, Shropshire

(Photographs : A. Baker)

changes its alignment towards the north gate of the town¹. The site of this junction has produced early pottery including a fragment of Arretine². Excavations in 1937 revealed the presence of a habitation site with ditches and pits which produced late Iron Age and Romano-British pottery of the 1st and 2nd centuries³. It is impossible on the evidence, so far produced, to determine the nature of the site; it possibly represents the *vicus* of a fort or there may be here the site of a pre-Roman settlement. Slight evidence of the presence of a military post may be found in a piece of cavalry harness from the 1928 excavation in the town⁴.

4. HOD HILL, Dorset, long known for the remarkable collection of military objects in the Durden Collection, now in the British Museum, has in recent years been the subject of extensive excavations by Professor I. A. Richmond, who has established the fact that it was occupied simultaneously by two different units, a legionary detachment and an auxiliary, cavalry unit, at a Claudian date⁵.
5. WADDON HILL, Stoke Abbott, Dorset, has produced a number of early Roman coins including 15 of Claudius, pottery, brooches, weapons and military bronzes⁶ (see Appendix) now in Bridport Museum. There are traces of an earthwork on the east end of the hill forming two sides of a defence system with a rampart and ditches, proved by excavation in 1959 to be a mid-1st century Roman fort.
6. HAMWORTHY, near Poole, has produced Claudian pottery and coins in a sporadic excavation by local schoolchildren. The collection, now in Poole Museum, has been inadequately published⁷. The site, an obvious choice for the protection of a naval or store base in Poole harbour, has now been obliterated by a gravel pit, a factory and modern housing development.

It is probable that this area of Dorset and West Somerset will provide more examples of forts spaced at close intervals in this rather difficult country where, if the evidence from Hod Hill is to be followed, the native population proved for a time to be intransigent. Another example may be expected in the Yeovil area, but the country here is so broken that many suitable sites offer themselves though without the supporting evidence⁸.

¹ The Roman road here was seen and recorded in 1937, *V.C.H. Oxon.*, I, 272-3, and plan, 282.

² *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, xxi (1907), 461.

³ *Oxford Arch. Soc. Report*, (1937), 23.

⁴ *Ant. J.*, xii (1932) Pl. xviii, no. 8.

⁵ *J.R.S.*, xlii (1952), 99; xliii (1953), 124; xlv (1954), 100; xlv (1955), 141; xlvi (1956), 141; xlvii (1957), 222.

⁶ Mr. A. L. Rivet has drawn my attention to these discoveries recorded by Boswell Stone in *Prehistoric and Roman Remains in West Dorset*, 1893 and *R.C.H.M.*, West Dorset, 226.

⁷ *Dorset Arch. & N. H. Soc. Proc.*, 52 (1930), 96; 56 (1934), 11. Two coins of Claudius were found, one a *dupondius* is in Poole Museum, the other originally in the possession of H. P. Smith was illustrated, obverse only, in that author's *History of the Borough and County of Poole*, vol. i, 1948, fig. 30. The pottery includes samian with at least seven fragments of Dr. 29 of Tiberio-Claudian date, the most interesting of which were not illustrated in the report, also some

Terra Nigra, *Terra Rubra*, early flagons, *amphorae* and colour-coated rough-cast jars of Claudian date. It is a compact group and makes an interesting comparison with the material from Hengistbury Head (*Ant. Research Report No. 3*) where there was ample native occupation continuing and where pottery of this particular phase is absent.

⁸ The early finds from West Coker including a *dupondius* of Tiberius (*Divus Augustus* type, *R.I.C.*, 7, 95); a piece of *Terra Nigra* stamped DVROTIX F and a tinned, pelta-shaped brooch with traces of enamel in the central sunk disc (cf. *Camulodunum*, Pl. xcvi, No. 172, associated with Claudian occupation) may have come from a native site from which there are also fragments of bronze (*Dorset Arch. and N. H. Soc. Proc.*, xcvi (1952), 108) and a Hallstatt-type brooch (*Somerset, County Archaeologies*, 1931, D. P. Dobson, Pl. iv). There is also a military type of buckle "found near Yeovil", see Appendix, No. 265.

One of the significant points which has emerged from this study is the relationship between the sites of forts and the later Romano-British towns and settlements. In every case quoted above, except Hod Hill, Ham Hill, Waddon Hill, Broxtowe and Wiveliscombe, there is evidence of a town or settlement in the vicinity. The possibility thus arises that, in this area of early military occupation, some of the civil settlements originated in the humble dwellings of the natives congregating near the troops in order to trade food, drinks and other kinds of refreshment and entertainment. Where there were fully established military areas in Britain and elsewhere these settlements or *vici* became quite sizeable and important, especially in the 3rd and 4th centuries¹. It is to be expected that where there was a native population, many of these early forts would have their adjacent civil settlements, kept no doubt at a reasonable distance from the defences, so as not to impair their effectiveness. Traders would also have been following in the wake of the army anxious for business with both soldiers and natives². If the unit moved on within a few years, the natives would probably move with them, but when the unit had been established for, say, a generation, there would have been deep roots sufficient to have held some at least of the older settlers, especially if they were situated on an important highway. The disposition of the towns and settlements in the Midlands is very reminiscent of a military system and, had they been originally established in this way, the sites would have been admirably adapted for the *mansiones* and *mutationes* along the main highways, spaced out at intervals corresponding closely to those between forts.

It might be argued that the idea of a *limes* in the sense of a road frontier was a conception which did not develop until Flavian times and in this earlier context is an anachronism³. The practice at this period would have been to have based a frontier in a river rather than road line, but in Britain there was no great barrier like the Rhine or Danube. The best that could be done would have been to have used the Bristol Channel and Humber at each end and the rivers Exe, Severn, Avon and Trent. In this sense the ultimate boundary would have been a river line and the Foss itself becomes a rearward means of lateral communication. Instead of their forces being grouped on the banks of a great river, the logical arrangements would have been for the units to have been distributed in a fortified zone as suggested in the plan (fig. 1) like a net of police posts. Nevertheless, it would be a mistake to suppose that the arrangements in Britain presented the uniform pattern one would expect in a later context. It is possible that as the situation varied from area to area, so might the disposition of forces. There is a faint hint of this in the use of splinter units in the south-west, while at other points, like Cirencester, there might be units brigaded together. The lack of evidence in the Midlands may well be due to the concentration of forces at selected points rather than their even spread, and this would accord with the military ideas of the period. On the plan, sites have been suggested for 39 auxiliary forts, which is a very modest total compared, for example, with the situation during the governorship of Agricola when at least 80 forts can be listed, 56 in Northern Britain⁴ and 24 in Wales⁵, although it is very doubtful whether all these

¹ *A.A.* 4th ser. xii (1935), 205.

² *Gallic Wars*, vi, 5.

³ This has been suggested to me by Mr. C. E. Stevens.

⁴ I. A. Richmond, *Carnuntina*, 1956, 163.

⁵ Nash-Williams, *The Roman Frontier in Wales* (1954), 140.

forts were occupied at the same time, in view of the fluid situation at this period. More secure ground for making an assessment is provided by the *diplomata*. Unfortunately the earliest example, listing units in Britain, is dated A.D. 98¹, while the maximum number of units recorded for the Province is contained in the one dated A.D. 122². This latter example gives 13 *alae* and 37 cohorts, a total of 50 auxiliary units, which would have been by no means the full total, as some regiments might have no veterans eligible for discharge in that particular year. While conditions would obviously vary from time to time, it would be reasonable to expect at least another 5 to 10 units, bearing in mind the presence here at this time of four legions, whereas under Hadrian there may have been three³. There must be more forts waiting discovery in the southern part of the system, where at present Hod Hill appears to stand almost in splendid, but unlikely, isolation.

A problem which should now be considered is the date of the Foss Way frontier. The Bradley emendation of a gloss in the Annals has now been accepted without any serious question for over sixty years⁴. The problem remains as to what precisely Tacitus meant. While no one will ever be able to establish this beyond doubt, it is clear that if it refers to the Foss frontier, it implies that the latter was the work of Scapula. The difficulty here is that whatever merits the Foss Way system had, it was clearly not designed to deal with hostile tribes attacking from south Wales, since it was out of contact with them in the centre. The building of the Foss Way frontier was clearly carried out before this threat developed. Tacitus makes it plain that the outbreak occurred at the outset of Scapula's governorship, and it was in fact carefully timed to take place at the moment when the province was without a governor, during the actual change-over and in the winter. On the other hand Tacitus links the two rivers Severn and Trent with the activities of Scapula, specifically aimed on the reduction of the Silures. The phrase used by Tacitus seems to mean that he was referring to an area bounded by these two rivers and it was the tribes to the south east of them which were disarmed. Could it not simply mean that area comprising a considerable wedge of the Midlands, bounded on the west by the Severn and on the north by the Trent in its upper reaches? This seems to make good sense and accords with what Scapula appears to have done.

Thus, Scapula had first to deal with an emergency, driving the Silures out of the Province, and soon afterwards to make plans for the next summer to bring his army into closer terms with them. It was hardly the moment to construct a frontier system so obviously unrelated with this new situation. It might be argued that Scapula completed what Plautius had begun and constructed the northern section, say from Leicester to Lincoln and beyond. Archaeologically it would be very difficult to date any site to within such close limits, but it seems unlikely that Scapula would have made another major advance on his right flank when he was so busily engaged on his centre.

Logically one is left with the conclusion that the Foss Way frontier was the work of Plautius. The system has a basic integration which makes it appear to be

¹ *C.I.L.*, xvi, 43.

² *J.R.S.*, xx (1930), 16; *C.I.L.*, xvi, 69.

³ The problem of the IXth *Hispana* and its disappearance has been fully discussed by Prof.

E. Birley, *Roman Britain and the Roman Army*, (1953), 20.

⁴ *Annals*, xii, 31; *Academy*, 28th April and 19th May, 1883.

the work of a particular time and for a definite purpose. If then this can be accepted, it remains to be seen how it was altered by Scapula. The account given by Tacitus is full enough for a logical sequence of events to be followed. First of all the new Governor had to deal with Caratacus who had struck hard into the territory of the allies. The only known tribe in this area is the Dobunni¹ and the Silures must have swarmed across the Severn, either at Gloucester or by a ford lower down the river. With all his troops in their winter quarters, Scapula must have had a difficult task in restoring order and driving the hostile tribesmen back across the Severn. The threat was too serious to be disregarded, and steps were necessary to safeguard the Province against any recurrence. The advance posts on the Bristol Channel and Severn were inadequate; stronger forward units were required to come at closer grips with this turbulent tribe. It would soon have become obvious that in order to pen them into their own territory it was necessary to move boldly forward and abandon at least the central section of the Foss Way system.

It is quite clear from Tacitus that it was in consequence of the activities of Caratacus that a new disposition of forces had to be planned. This involved a forward movement up to the rivers Severn and Trent and Scapula's first thought was for the situation in the rear. He judged that the time was not yet propitious for his complete withdrawal of troops without some show of authority which would overawe the British tribes. He decided on a policy of forced disarming. While Tacitus is not explicit as to which tribes were affected, an immediate reaction came from the Iceni who up to this time had not been in conflict with the Romans, and were under the mistaken idea that their status as a client kingdom would give them immunity from such action. The revolt of this and neighbouring tribes was put down with the help of dismounted cavalry, in spite of the careful selection of the stronghold and the construction of its defences of turf in the Roman manner².

Scapula was now able to move forward and conduct an armed reconnaissance along the Welsh Marches, penetrating as far as Flintshire. The reason for this operation was clearly to gain more knowledge of the terrain and in particular to seek a way into Wales in order to outflank the Silures. Deliberately or unwittingly he also was able to test the reaction of the northern tribes. This was sharp and immediate. Cartimandua, Queen of the Brigantes, must have viewed with some alarm the summary way with which Scapula had dealt with the client Kingdom, the Iceni. Now the Roman army was skirmishing on her south western doorstep. From an incident probably staged at another part of the frontier³ it was evident to Scapula that, unless he wished to have a war on two fronts, he must be content with a modest advance as far as Wroxeter. Here too he had found what he sought, the Severn Valley, cutting into the heart of Wales, giving him the route he needed to divide and

¹ Recent work by Mrs. E. M. Clifford on the site of their capital, Bagendon near Cirencester, has shown that the tribe was under Belgic leadership. As no signs of destruction were found, she has concluded that a peace treaty had been arranged with the Romans. It is possible, so Mrs. Clifford kindly informs me, that this tribe had originally been subject to Caratacus and this makes an additional reason why he

should have attacked in this direction.

² Mr. Rainbird Clarke kindly informs me that he may have identified one of these native forts at Wighton, Norfolk.

³ The word used by Tacitus *discordiae* might mean internal quarrels which threatened Cartimandua, whose position had been created by the Romans; an interpretation favoured by Prof. Richmond. (*J.R.S.*, xlv (1954), 43).

conquer. The main advance may have been planned in this direction or possibly a pincer movement was contemplated with another force advancing along the south coast of Wales. In either event, it was necessary, as the next step in planning, to place a strong force at the key position, the crossing of the Severn, at the point now occupied by Gloucester. The unit selected for this task was probably the Twentieth Legion, although the evidence is slight, consisting only of part of a tombstone, now unfortunately lost¹. The inscription consists of the bottom half of the stone only, the soldier's name and rank are missing, but he appears to have belonged to the century of Livius Saturninus. The Second Augusta may have been tied down in the south west and it may even be possible that the Durotriges were in league with Caratacus². One can be assured that Caratacus would have lost no opportunity of harassing the Romans, and keeping as much of their army pinned down as possible.

While Gloucester can hardly be said to have been in Silurian territory as Tacitus states, it is clear that a legion was moved forward and that this was directly associated with the founding of a *colonia* at Colchester. The implication here is that the veterans replaced a legion at *Camulodunum*, the enemy capital, an obvious place for a military base during the initial stage of the conquest. At present the only evidence consists of the two military tombstones of the auxiliary, Longinus, son of Sdapezematyus³ and Facilis, a centurion of the Twentieth⁴. The latter has been considered to have been a member of the new *colonia*, but he is not described as a veteran on his tombstone and Longinus must, as an auxiliary, have been a serving soldier. The stones were found at different times, but in close proximity and on a road which is not aligned on the *colonia*, and they had probably been defaced and overthrown in the Boudiccan revolt. The inference is that here was a small military cemetery on a road presumably leading towards a site yet to be discovered⁵. In support of this suggestion are the early finds at Fingringhoe on the Essex coast⁶ which are suggestive of a store-base of this period, presumably to receive supplies direct from the continent instead of having them transported by land *via* Richborough.

The stage was now set for the final deployment. Caratacus must have viewed with growing anxiety his steady and deliberate encirclement by the Roman army. He decided to move north and challenge the forcing of the Severn valley. It is not difficult to appreciate the reasons for this. In central Wales he could draw on the northern Welsh tribes and his forces no doubt also included defeated elements from the south east, determined to resist the Roman advance with the knowledge that their capture meant slavery or death. The terrain was more favourable for defensive tactics and the great Snowdon massif could, in the last resort, offer refuge. Somewhere Caratacus set up his standard and met the Roman army in that battle so graphically described by Tacitus. If one rejects his details as a stock description inserted for the purpose, there the matter must rest. On the other hand, the events so far fit into a logical pattern and there is no reason to doubt that Tacitus may have

¹ *Bristol & Glos. Trans.*, lv (1933), 89.

² In this connection it is interesting to note the apparent refortification of a small native site between A.D. 43 and c. 60 at Kingsdown Camp, Somerset, (*Arch.*, 80 (1930), 95).

³ *Essex Arch. Soc. Trans.*, xix, 117.

⁴ *C.I.L.*, vii, 90.

⁵ Probably in the Grammar School area, as the road system shown on *Camulodunum*, Pl. I implies; *Roman Colchester* (1958), 4.

⁶ *Camulodunum*, 19.

had a reliable eyewitness account, either recorded or passed on by Agricola, who could have heard it from a veteran. If one accepts the description at its face value it is possible to draw certain conclusions. While there are many claims of local antiquaries to the site of this famous last stand in their own areas, few survive the test of measuring their topographical details against the detailed account given by Tacitus. There must, for example, be a substantial river difficult enough to cause the Romans to hesitate before crossing. There are only three rivers flowing eastwards from Wales which appear to qualify, under summer conditions; Wye, Severn and Dee. Of these the Wye is too far south, and the Dee probably too far north. This leaves the Severn which also offers the best opportunity of penetrating into the heart of Wales. This is to some extent confirmed by the siting of Watling Street and the legionary fortress at Wroxeter¹ and the later, carefully planned line of forts, Forden Gaer and Caersws up the valley.

The other details in the Tacitean account make it impossible to eliminate several other contenders. While one cannot without evidence be certain, it is suggested that a suitable site is at the point where the valley narrows above Welshpool and the steep-sided hills fall straight into the river, with difficult tangled woodlands and ravines behind, like the terrain near Dolforwyn. There is a significant absence in the account of the battle of the use of cavalry and an emphasis on the natural strength of the place which dictated the course of the struggle. It was the discipline and superior equipment of the legions and auxiliaries which won the day.

After the battle, which Scapula would have regarded as the culmination of his campaign, it would be normal Imperial practice to spread the army over the newly conquered territory in a network of roads and forts. In this way the kingdoms of the tribes who had resisted the advance would have been incorporated in the province. Tacitus indeed makes it clear that Scapula was now operating in Silurian territory and in fact the Governor is said to have threatened to exterminate the whole tribe; but instead of accepting the inevitable and meekly bowing to Roman domination, these hardy warriors were now fighting with great determination and a considerable amount of skill. Pitched battles, they saw, were useless against so well equipped an army, so they resorted to guerilla tactics which were causing the Romans much trouble and heavy losses. Where this was taking place is difficult to determine. There is no archaeological evidence in Wales itself, for only a few sherds of pre-Flavian pottery have been found in the whole of the Principality². The policy of limited conquest initiated by Claudius was evidently still in force. If, as some thought, the Severn was the Silurian boundary, the apparent difficulty could be resolved by bringing the new Roman frontier west of that river and basing it, for example, on the road through the Church Stretton gap south west from Wroxeter, through Leintwardine (*Bravonium*)³ thence to Gloucester *via* Hereford. This runs through the difficult tangle of woods and hills of south Shropshire and Herefordshire

¹ Although this site has not been found, the presence of the XIVth Legion, or part of it is attested by two tombstones (*C.I.L.*, vii, 154 & 155) and possibly a third (*C.I.L.*, vii, 157). See also below.

² Nash-Williams, *The Roman Frontier in Wales*, (1954), 4.

³ Recent excavations here by Mr. S. C. Stanford have produced defences of a military character of several periods, but apparently of the 2nd century (*Woolhope Club Trans.* xxxvi (1958), 87). Another fort was discovered from the air in 1959 at the junction of the Clun and Teme.

which would have given excellent cover to the forces of raiders which the Romans were now finding so difficult to check. Had the Severn been the frontier surely it would have been more effective than this running sore which blighted the rule of both Scapula and Didius Gallus.

It is possible that this unsatisfactory position arose out of the battle against Caratacus. Had the Romans not been able to use their cavalry and round up and annihilate the Silurian tribesmen, the bulk of them may have escaped to carry on their vigorous guerilla warfare. Ostorius would then have been placed in a difficult position. A withdrawal to the Severn would have looked too much like a defeat, but in keeping his army in Silurian territory he might yet bring the British to battle on more advantageous terms and, in any event, the occupation of enemy territory would have provided a little compensation for his earlier failure. This would go a long way to explain the situation and Scapula's evident exasperation and subsequent illness and death.

So serious had in fact the frontier problem become, that one scholar has suggested that this was the time when Nero considered the complete evacuation of the province¹. Instead, a new forward policy appears to have been initiated with the governorship of Q. Veranius. The Governor died within the first year of his term of office and in his will claimed that he would have conquered the whole province had he had another two years. Professor Birley has argued that this implies that he was acting under instructions to complete his conquest of Wales. Whatever may be the truth of the matter it is certain that the Imperial policy had changed by the advent of the next Governor, Suetonius Paulinus, who is seen actively engaged in North Wales in the campaign brought to a halt by the Boudiccan revolt. It may not be without significance that he felt free to leave the Silures for the time being. Has Tacitus in his scorn of the sycophantic terms of the will of Veranius been inclined to dismiss as minor forays a successful tribal campaign?

EVIDENCE OF MILITARY OCCUPATION IN THE WEST MIDLANDS, EAST OF THE SEVERN. (fig. 2).

Consideration must next be given to the archaeological evidence for the military occupation of the west Midlands under Scapula, which during the last few decades has been steadily growing. Of the routes used by the army in the forward movement only Watling Street seems an obvious example, but a road springing from the Foss Way and connecting Alcester and Droitwich may have been another. There appear to be two lateral communicating roads which may reflect stages in the original advance. The first is the road known as Ryknild Street which, starting at the Foss Way near Bourton-on-the-Water runs through Alcester and Metchley towards Wall where it is deflected slightly towards Littlechester, a known Roman fort². The other route is that along the east bank of the Severn from Gloucester to Worcester,

¹ E. Birley, *Roman Britain and the Roman Army*, (1953), 5.

² *V.C.H., Derby*, i, 216, *Derbyshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc. J.* (1953), 67. There appears to have been an earlier site, to judge from the

coin evidence, on the other side of the river in the area near Strutts Park, where the terrain offers greater tactical advantage than the site at Littlechester.

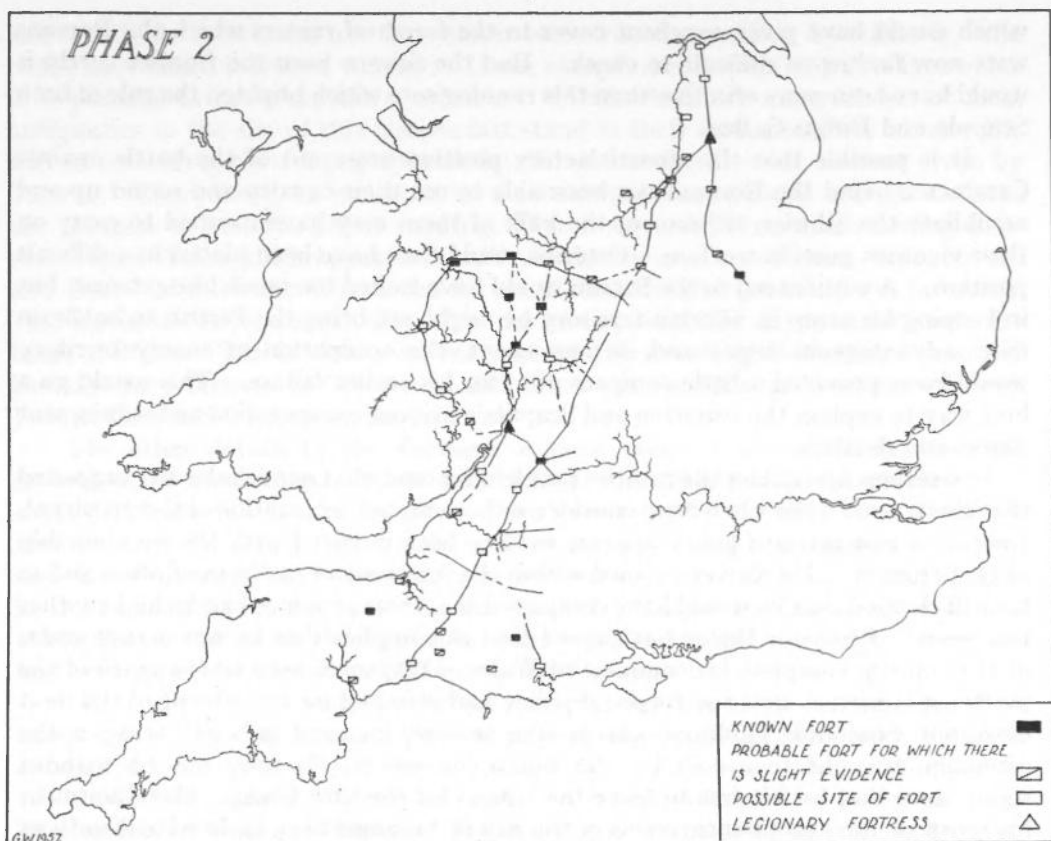


Fig. 2. A possible arrangement of the frontier under Ostorius Scapula

thence to Droitwich and Greensforge and probably on to Penkridge. In this area there are five certain forts and possibly three more for which evidence can be claimed.

- I. WALL, Staffs. has produced crop marks of three ditches with a rounded right-angled corner which suggested military possibilities to their finder¹. Excavation has however proved that they are of civil origin and not earlier than the mid-2nd century². Tactically one would expect any fort to be on the slightly higher ground near the church³. Evidence of the presence of the army exists in the form of equipment and two bronze tags with punched inscriptions, one of which appears to read σ PRO [...] MEN [...] ⁴ and the other σ VITALIS PRIME [...] ⁵ (see Appendix). A Claudian coin of imitation type has been found in a recent excavation⁶.

¹ J. K. St. Joseph, *J.R.S.*, xliii (1953), 83.

² *J.R.S.*, xlvi (1956), 131 and fig. 31; *Birmingham Arch. Soc. Trans.* lxxv (1957), 24.

³ Excavations in 1959 in Castle Croft have revealed military type defences apparently defending the hill-top area.

⁴ I am grateful to Miss D. Charlesworth for

drawing my attention to this and allowing me to study an X-ray plate of the object, since published by Mr. R. P. Wright (*J.R.S.*, xlvii (1957), 231).

⁵ *J.R.S.*, xv (1925), 248. Both these objects are now in the Wall Museum.

⁶ An *as* of *Antonia* type.

2. STRETTON HILL, Staffs. is the site of a small auxiliary fort found and excavated by Dr. St. Joseph¹.
3. RED HILL, near Oakengates has produced a few crop marks of possible military origin but none of these has yet been tested². The site would appear to be very suitable for the establishment of a signal station.
4. WROXETER. A large auxiliary fort, south of the Roman town, was discovered from the air in 1948 by Dr. St. Joseph³ who dug trial trenches a few years later, identifying the line of the ditches. This may have been occupied by the *Coh VI Thracum* of which the tombstone of a trooper has been found⁴, although as suggested by Teuber⁵ this unit may have been brigaded with the Fourteenth Legion. The relationship between this and the legionary fortress is not clear but there seems no reason why the two should not have existed independently of each other. Large numbers of Claudian coins and military equipment have been found in excavations on the site of the town (see Appendix). A crop mark recorded by Dr. St. Joseph shows some military-like ditches in the north-west part of the town⁶.
5. METCHLEY, Birmingham, has two forts, the larger one 16 acres in extent, with a smaller one of 6¼ acres within it. This appears to imply a composite force in the initial advance, followed by a permanent auxiliary unit. Excavations have established the period of occupation to the middle of the 1st century⁷.
6. GREENSFORGE, near Wolverhampton, was excavated in 1928 and produced evidence of military defences with Claudian-Flavian pottery⁸. More recently Dr. St. Joseph has recorded an annexe or earlier ditch system⁹.
7. DODDERHILL, Droitwich, has been trenched by Dr. St. Joseph in 1938 and 1939 and produced Claudian pottery and coins¹⁰.
8. WORCESTER has produced from the Norman Castle mound, which was demolished in 1833, seven coins of Claudius, a brooch of Hod Hill type and bronze bells from horse trappings¹¹. Recent excavations in Little Fish Street have found a Roman ditch but it appears to be of late civil origin¹².
9. WALL TOWN, Cleobury Mortimer, is a rectangular enclosure defenced by a rampart and ditch¹³. It has been suggested by Dr. St. Joseph as a military site¹⁴ and accepted as such by the Ordnance Survey on the recent edition

¹ *Birmingham Arch. Soc. Trans.*, lxix (1951), 50. The large, adjacent fort at Kinvaston (*Birmingham Arch. Soc. Trans.*, lxix (1951), 52) is now considered to fit into a later context (*Ibid.*, lxxiii (1955), 100).

² *J.R.S.*, xliii (1953), 84.

³ *Birmingham Arch. Soc. Trans.*, lxix (1951), 54.

⁴ *C.I.L.*, vii, 158.

⁵ *Beiträge zur Geschichte Eroberung Britannicus durch die Römer*, (1909), 50.

⁶ *J.R.S.*, xlv (1955), Pl. xix. A trial trench by the writer and Mr. B. R. Hartley in 1958

across the inner ditch showed that it was probably of 1st century date and had been recut in a manner difficult to interpret.

⁷ *Birmingham Arch. Soc. Trans.*, lviii (1937), 68; lxxii (1956), 1.

⁸ *William Salt Arch. Soc.*, for 1927 (1929), 185; *J.R.S.*, xix (1929), 194.

⁹ *J.R.S.*, xliii (1953), 84. Pl. ix, no. 2.

¹⁰ *Birmingham Arch. Soc. Trans.* lxii (1938), 27.

¹¹ *V.C.H., Worcs.*, i, 205 and fig. 3, no. 6.

¹² *Worcs. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, xxxv (1958), 67.

¹³ *V.C.H., Shrops.*, i, (1908), 379.

¹⁴ *J.R.S.*, xliii (1953), 85, Pl. ix, no. 3.

of the Map of Roman Britain. But it appears to the writer that its situation and the size of the rampart is rather too large and the name may imply masonry on the site¹. A few sherds of pottery found here and now in Shrewsbury Museum are probably 3rd or 4th century in date.

Once the Severn is crossed there are no certain forts until Wales is reached. Two sites only are known, both marching camps; at Bromfield, near Ludlow, and at Upper Affcot, near Craven Arms (Pl. XB). The former is about 26½ acres in extent and was discovered from the air by Dr. St. Joseph². Trenched by the writer in 1955, the ditch was found to be of a military pattern, 3 ft. wide by 2 ft. 6 ins. deep³, dimensions which correspond with those recorded by Vegetius⁴ as standard practice in the field. The dimensions of the latter are not yet known but its ditch is very similar to that at Bromfield⁵. Unfortunately no dating evidence has yet been found, but this camp may belong to one of the early campaigns in this area, in which on the Bromfield evidence nearly 15,000 men would seem to have been engaged.

This large stretch of territory, in which Scapula probably operated, presents the most serious hiatus in this summary. There are in it areas of very difficult country like the Wyre Forest, which even to-day preserves vestiges of its former character and which the Romans may have avoided by encirclement. There must, however, be forts somewhere at points of tactical importance, but so far aerial survey, fieldwork and chance finds have failed to reveal their presence. Along the Severn Valley there are a number of double-ditched enclosures which appear at first sight to be of military origin, but when excavated, as at Blackstone, near Bewdley⁶, the results clearly show their rural character and the pottery so far recovered belongs to the 3rd and 4th centuries. At Grimley, Worcestershire⁷, on the west bank of the Severn, the ditches appear to have a military profile, but further work is needed to prove the exact nature of the site beyond all doubt, and suspicion is aroused by the appearance of a fragment of 2nd century pottery in the ditch filling. An exactly similar site has been examined at Tedstone Wafer in north Herefordshire, and though at first claimed to be military, must remain a doubtful case until structural evidence of a gate or corner tower of military pattern is produced⁸. Alternatively those may belong to a 2nd century military phase as suggested by recent work at Leintwardine.

Whether, as appears elsewhere, some of the towns like Kenchester or *Ariconium* developed from military origins has yet to be demonstrated. But it should be noted, in passing, that *Ariconium* has produced pre-Flavian pottery, Claudian coins of imitation types and a brooch which has military rather than civil affinities and the

¹ It could also have been derived from *Weala* referring to surviving elements of the Celtic population living there.

² *J.R.S.*, xliii (1953), 85.

³ *J.R.S.*, xlvi (1956), 130 and fig. 27.

⁴ *de Re Militari*, iii, 5.

⁵ This site was first discovered from the air by Mr. A. Baker, who has noted two other similar crop marks in the Craven Arms area. Investigations are proceeding.

⁶ Crop mark first noticed by Mr. A. Baker, and trial trenching by Mr. Derek Smith.

⁷ Crop mark first noticed by Dr. St. Joseph;

J.R.S., xlvi (1956), 130, fig. 29.

⁸ Crop mark first noticed by Dr. St. Joseph; *Woolhope Club Trans.*, xxxiv, (1954), 284; *J.R.S.*, xlvi (1956), 130. Other double-ditched enclosures have been photographed by Mr. A. Baker at Danesford, Kempsey and Bredon (Worcs.) but these have not yet been trenched. Mr. D. N. Riley has drawn my attention to another at Latton, nr. Cirencester (air photograph now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) and a triple ditched site at Churlbury, Oxon. (*V. C. H. Oxon*, i, Pl. xxxii, c.).

excavator has suggested early military occupation on the site¹. From Kenchester have come three bronze pendants ; one a fine, leaf type of an early form of a military horse trapping², which may indicate the presence of a nearby cavalry squadron. But there are no pre-Flavian coins or pottery to support this.

In attempting to summarise the scattered and, in many places, inadequate evidence detailed above, we can but be aware that at present the archaeological foundation on which to build a reasonable account of the military frontiers under the first two Roman governors is not very substantial. There are, however, sufficient indications to detect an outline which is in agreement with the Tacitean account which is the proper starting point for this enquiry. From this it seems quite clear that :

1. Scapula moved forward to deal with Caratacus, forsaking any earlier line laid down by Plautius, and established forts in the West Midlands.
2. The Foss appears to have been part of an earlier frontier but can hardly have been contemporary with Scapula, it must therefore have been Plautian.

The details which will substantiate this beyond any doubt can only emerge from new discoveries and excavations.

Finally, there is the problem of the extent of native hostility and how it was overcome. Only rarely, as in the pages of Tacitus, does one become aware of the grim realities of the frontier wars. Archaeology plays but little part in illuminating this important aspect. Where the Romans met with implacable opposition, they mercilessly butchered those who resisted. Remarkable evidence of this was found by Miss Kenyon at Sutton Walls³, and the massacre at Bredon Hill, Worcs.⁴, may have been from the same cause. Others no doubt were sold into slavery or drafted into the army to serve on more distant frontiers, but the population was not entirely eliminated. A considerable residue apart from the women and children must have been left to suffer Roman domination. For most of them there was little promise of the urban splendours of the more civilised areas. In these wilder parts they were left to their own small scale farming and stock raising, almost untouched by their absorption into a great empire. The threat and worry of continual intertribal warfare was lifted, but replaced by the equally continual pressure of Roman taxation. Nevertheless the population grew and in its humble way prospered⁵. One aspect of Roman Britain which has not yet received sufficient notice is the recognition of the extent of the cultivation of suitable soils like those of the Severn gravel terraces during the later part of the occupation. This may seem remote from the campaigns of the 1st century, but the one followed the other, and of the peculiarities of the West Midlands there seems to be a superficial resemblance when seen as a crop mark between humble, native farmstead and military outpost of Imperial Rome.

¹ *J.R.S.*, xi (1921), 207 ; *Woolhope Club Trans.* (1923) Appendix, coins, 10 ; Samian, 10 and 17 and Pl. 4, figs. 7 and 8 ; brooch, Pl. 12, fig. 1 (cf. *Hofheim* type 1c and *Camulodunum*, type III).

² Jack, *Excavations* 1912-13, Pl. 50, no. 5 ; 1924-25, Pl. 33, no. 15 ; *Woolhope Club Trans.* xxxii (1949) fig. 7, no. 10.

³ *Arch. J.*, cx (1953), 7.

⁴ *Arch. J.*, xcvi (1938), 54. Another example may be the Spettisbury mass-grave, *Arch. J.*, xcvi, 114.

⁵ A. L. F. Rivet, *Town and Country in Roman Britain* (1958), 116.

This paper is a brief summary of the research carried out by the writer while Edward Cadbury Research Fellow of the University of Birmingham. I am most grateful to Professor D. R. Dudley for his considerable help not only with primary sources but with his detailed knowledge of the West Midlands and also to Professor I. A. Richmond, Mr. C. E. Stevens and Dr. J. K. St. Joseph for reading this paper and for making useful comments.

APPENDIX

SOME OBJECTS OF MILITARY ORIGIN FOUND IN THE MIDLANDS AND SOUTHERN ENGLAND AND WHICH MAY BE ASSOCIATED WITH THE MILITARY PHASES OF THE MID-FIRST CENTURY¹

ALCESTER, WARWICKS.

1. A bronze harness ring with masked loop of a type similar to *Margidunum* No. 175 and Wroxeter No. 252, etc. (*Birmingham Arch. Soc. Trans.*, lxvi, Pl. xii, Fig. 1, No. 53).

ALCHESTER, OXON.

2. A bronze harness clip (*Ant. J.*, xii (1932) Pl. xviii, no. 8), similar to those from Hofheim² (Taf. xiii, no. 34); Brecon (*YCymmrodor* xxxvii (1926), Fig. 57, No. 1) and *Camulodunum*³ (Pl. ciii, no. 7).

BARNWOOD, NEAR GLOUCESTER

3. Two pieces of bronze scale-armour, probably associated with the legionary fortress (*Bristol and Glos. Arch. Soc. Trans.*, lii (1930) Fig. 32 and p. 245).

BROUGH BY NEWARK

4. The decorated bronze cheek-piece of an auxiliary parade helmet now in Newark Museum (*Arch.*, lviii, p. 573 and Pl. lv).

BROXTOWE, NOTTINGHAM

*Objects in the Margidunum Collection, University of Nottingham*⁴

5. A fine bronze saucepan with a tinned interior (*Ant. J.*, xix (1939), Pl. lxxxvii). The handle has a circular hole and is stamped with the maker's name, ALBANVS. A study of the development of the shape of this type of vessel in a paper by R. C. Bosanquet, edited by Prof. I. A. Richmond (*A.A.*, 4th ser., xiii (1936) p. 139) demonstrated that this particular form was made in the 2nd century. There is, however, another very similar vessel from Gloucester (No. 91), and at Newstead⁵ two similar, rounded, perforated handles came from early pits (p. 275), another from the ditch of the early fort and yet another was a surface find (Pl. liii, fig. 7). A similar handle is also illustrated from Hofheim (Taf. xiv, no. 27). The early incidence of these vessels is placed beyond doubt by their appearance in the Doorwerth⁶ hoard (Abb. 12) associated with the revolt of Civilis (A.D. 69). More important perhaps is the general shape and both the Broxtowe and Gloucester examples belong to what has been described as bulging saucepans on a flaring foot⁷, a specimen of which has been found at Valkenburg in a context prior to A.D. 69. It seems clear from these examples that the difference in shape is not so much a chronological devolution as the product of different factories and may well mark the establishment of the Gallic workshops in early Flavian times, producing a cheaper and more utilitarian vessel than that emanating from Campania.

¹ This list cannot possibly claim to be complete as there are probably many similar objects in museums, private collections and archaeological and other literature which have escaped the author's notice. The objects are numbered serially, but only those are illustrated which have not been adequately published elsewhere. Examples here illustrated are shown by the Fig. number in heavy type.

² 'Das Fruhromische Lager bei Hofheim im Taunus', *Nassauische Annalen*, xl (1913).

³ Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, No. XIV.

⁴ The author acknowledges the kind help of the Hon. Curator, Mr. W. R. Chalmers.

⁵ J. Curle, *A Roman Frontier Post and its People*, 1911.

⁶ 'Een vondst uit den Rijn bij Doorwerth' by Holwerda, *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen*, Leiden, xii (1931).

⁷ Maria H. P. den Boesterd, *The Bronze Vessels in the Rijksmuseum G. M. Kam at Nijmegen*, Nos. 25-29 and p. xx.

6. An iron spear-head with a medial ridge, $8\frac{3}{4}$ ins. long and $1\frac{1}{8}$ ins. wide. (Illustrated by F. Hind in an account in the *Nottingham Guardian*, 25th Jan., 1940).
7. **Fig. 3.** A bronze decorated scabbard-mount probably from a *gladius* and very similar to those from Mainz (*M.Z.*¹, xii, xiii (1917-18) Abb. 6, p. 175) and *Novaesium*² (Taf. xxx, No. 36). There is also a separate ring (not illustrated) which may well belong.
8. **Fig. 3.** A bronze cuirass hinge with copper rivets from a legionary *lorica segmentata* (*R.L.O.*³, ii, Text fig. 33 and Taf. xix; see also London No. 159 and Wroxeter No. 257, etc.).
9. **Fig. 3.** An incomplete bronze stud, resembles one with a domed head from Kastell Buch (*O-R.L.*⁴, No. 67, Taf. iii, No. 16) and another from Kastell Feldberg (*O-R.L.*, No. 10, Taf. vi, No. 31; cf. also *Saalburg*⁵, Taf. lii, Nos. 12 and 13).
10. **Fig. 3.** A bronze lunate pendant with traces of decoration. This very common form can be matched from a number of sites, (cf. Wiesbaden, *O-R.L.*, No. 31, Taf. x, Nos. 31 and 32; *Richborough*, *iv*⁶, Pl. II, No. 182).
11. **Fig. 3.** A bronze handle from a bowl, very similar to one from an early military site at Kinvaston, Staffs. (*Birmingham Arch. Soc.*, lxxiii (1955) Fig. 2, p. 102; cf. also *Novaesium*, Taf. xxxiii, No. 15).
12. **Fig. 3.** An iron bolt-head, square in section, cf. *Saalburg*, Taf. xxxix, Nos. 20-28; *Maiden Castle*⁷, Fig. 93, Nos. 1 and 2).
13. A length of bronze, shield or scabbard edging, (cf. Newstead, Pl. xxxv, Nos. 1-7).
14. **Fig. 3.** A bronze harness ring with a stud attachment, similar examples occur at Colchester (No. 54) and Hod Hill (Durden coll. in B.M.).

Objects in the Castle Museum, Nottingham

These objects have been illustrated by Mr. G. F. Campion in the Annual Report of the Thoroton Society (Excavation Section) 1938, p. 5, which was published independently of the *Transactions*.

15. The lower part of the bronze sheath of an axe-guard (Pl. iv, Item E) of which there are some fine examples of these objects in Vindonissa Museum, Brugg (two are illustrated from Newstead, Fig. 39; See also Wroxeter No. 243).
16. A bronze stud with niello inlay (Pl. iv, Item S) of a common type (*Hofheim*, Taf. xii, No. 44 etc., and see London No. 151).
17. A bronze cuirass buckle (Pl. iv, Item d) the function of which is shown in the Carnuntum Report (*R.L.O.*, ii, Taf. xviii).
18. A bronze pin with one end rounded and the other flattened and split for attachment to leather (Pl. iv, Item L). This pin may be similar to an unidentified object from Mainz (*M.Z.*, viii-ix (1913-14) Abb. 3, No. 24).
19. A legionary cuirass hinge (Pl. iv, Item f) similar to one from *Novaesium* (Taf. xxx, No. 81; see also No. 8 above).
20. Part of a bronze disc with attached ring from a horse trapping (Pl. iv, Item Z), can be compared with one from *Saalburg* (Fig. 79, No. 20) and *Novaesium* (Taf. xxx, No. 9, which shows its function). Item A is probably a similar disc.
21. A bronze shell-like terminal (Pl. iv, Item R) which may be part of a pendant like one from Colchester (*Camulodunum*, Pl. ciii, No. 13) or it may be a seal-box lid like the one from Brecon (Fig. 59, No. 4).

¹ *Mainzer Zeitschrift*.

² *Bonner Jahrbuch*, III-2.

³ *Der Romische Limes in Oesterreich*.

⁴ *Der Obergermanisch-Raetische Limes*. The numbers given in these references are those of the forts and not the volumes.

⁵ Jacobi, *Das Romerkastell Saalburg*, 1897.

⁶ Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, No. XVI.

⁷ Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, No. XII.

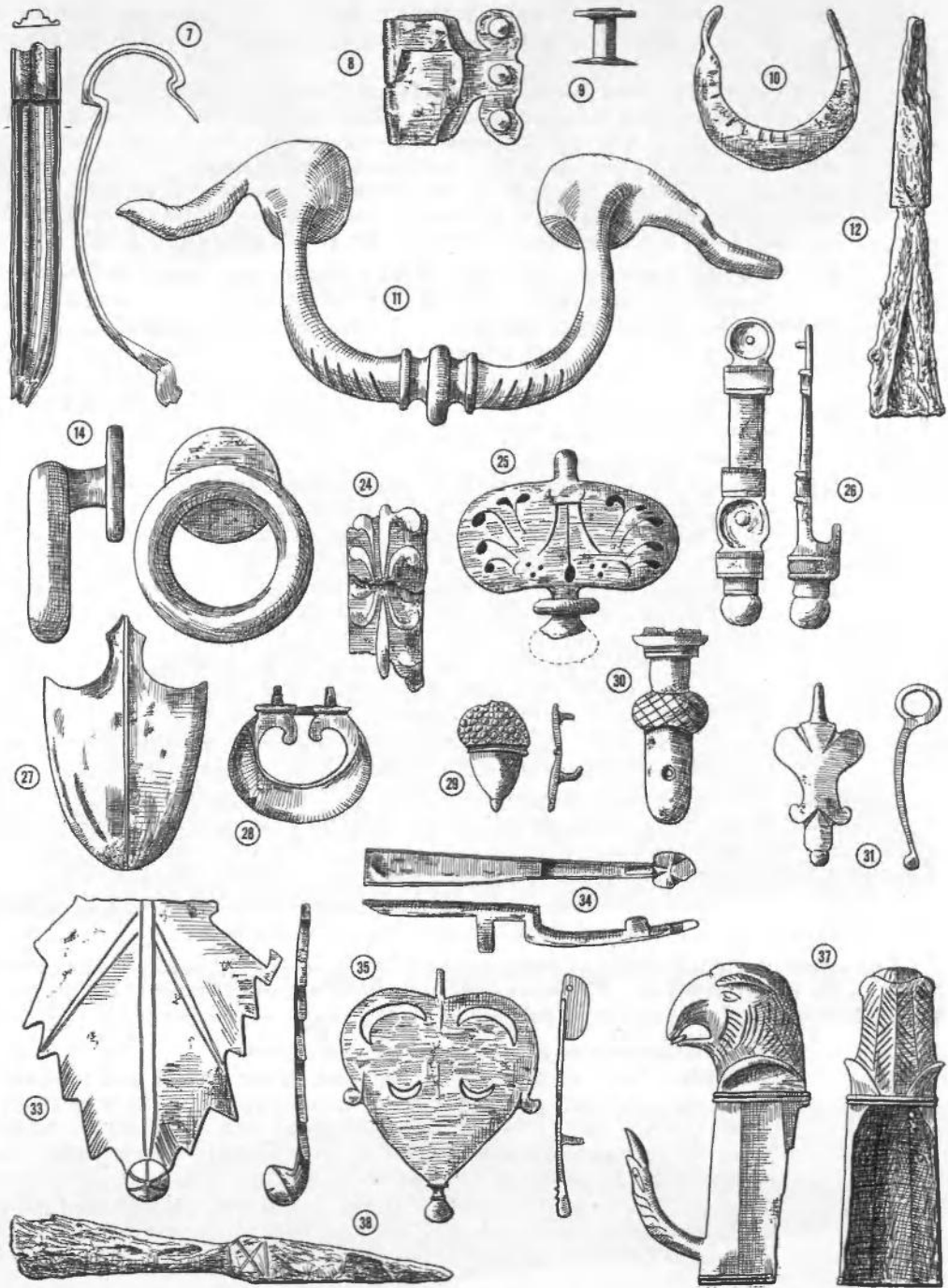


Fig. 3. Objects from Broxtowe and Cirencester (3)

The coins listed by Mr. Campion include 2 Antony, 'Gally' type, *denarii*; 1 Agrippa; 26 Claudius, including two said to be barbarous; 11 Nero; 2 Vespasian (*Cos III*).

To these may be added two in the Margidunum Collection, one of Nero, not in the above list, and one of Vespasian found in 1938. All the three Vespasianic coins were minted in 71 A.D. and this seems to give a terminal date for the occupation of the site and with this the pottery evidence agrees. Although Mr. Hinds stated in his account that 'The amount of the pottery discovered was amazing . . .', comparatively little of it found its way into any permanent collection. On the samian ware in the Margidunum Collection Mr. B. R. Hartley kindly reports:—

- (1) **Fig. 8.** Form 29. The poppy-headed palisade and similar leaf-tips are found in the work of the BASSUS-COELUS partnership (*Knorr* 1919¹, Taf. 13, 20; *Knorr* 1952², Taf. 9b). c. A.D. 50-65.
- (2) **Fig. 8.** Form 30 with freestyle decoration. Not assignable, but this type of decoration on form 30 is almost invariably pre-Flavian.
- (3) **Fig. 8.** Form 29. The scroll, which is rather unusual, occurs on a certainly pre-Flavian form 29 from La Graufesenque (*Hermet*³, Pl. 37, 3). Probably c. A.D. 45-60.
- (4) **Fig. 8.** Form 37 with the early zonal type of decoration, influenced by form 29. The large rosette is found only in the work of BASSUS-COELUS and MEDDILLUS, but as only the latter used form 37, it may be assigned to him in all probability. c. A.D. 70-80 (and probably 70-75).
- (5) Form 29. (Rubbing only seen). The *motifs* on this vessel were all used by many potters, but the general style strongly suggests a pre-Flavian date, c. A.D. 50-70.
- (6) Form 37. South Gaulish c. A.D. 85-100. [MERCATOR?] But Mr. Chalmers cast doubt on the provenance. Certainly it arrived at the Museum much later (1956).
- (7) **Fig. 8.** Form 29. The surviving part of the scroll suggests pre-Flavian manufacture. In South Gaulish fabric
- (8) Form 27, c. A.D. 45-65.
- (9) Form 15/17, c. A.D. 60-75.
- (10) Form 16, c. A.D. 45-65.
- (11) Form 27, Stamp CA]LVI ϕ , c. A.D. 60-80.
i.e. Much pre-Flavian. Apart from No. 6, nothing necessarily made later than A.D. 70, though one or two could have been.

The coarse pottery consists of some vigorous rustic ware in cream and light grey fabrics, some flagon handles and two mortars stamped by the same maker (**Fig. 8, 12**). Mrs. K. Hartley has kindly examined rubbings of these stamps and comments:—

Two mortarium stamps from Broxtowe, Nottingham

40.68b. Soft, slightly sandy, yellowish fabric; small and medium-sized, grey and white grit, and traces of internal scoring. The worn stamp reads Q.VA.S[, for Q.VA.SE, and is identical with an undrawn stamp from Richborough (*Richborough IV*, p. 252, 15 (B)); closely similar to *Richborough III*, p. 163, 15 (A), but from a different die).

40.68a. Soft, sandy, yellowish fabric; small and medium-sized, grey and white inside and on the rim. The very faint stamp can with difficulty be read as Q.VA.S[, and appears to be identical with a clear stamp found

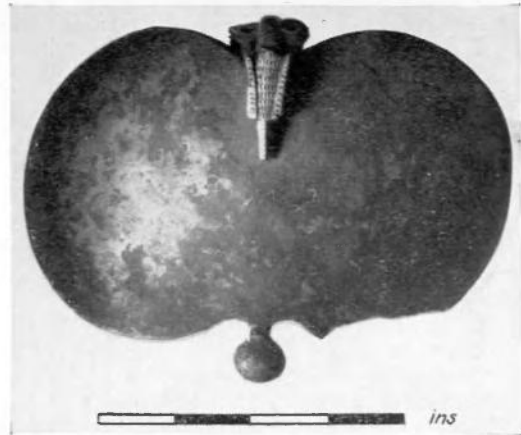
¹ *Töpfer und Fabriken verzierter Terra-Sigillata des ersten Jahrhunderts*, 1919.

² *Terra-Sigillata Gefässe des ersten Jahrhunderts mit Töpfernamen*, 1952.

³ *La Graufesenque*, 1934.



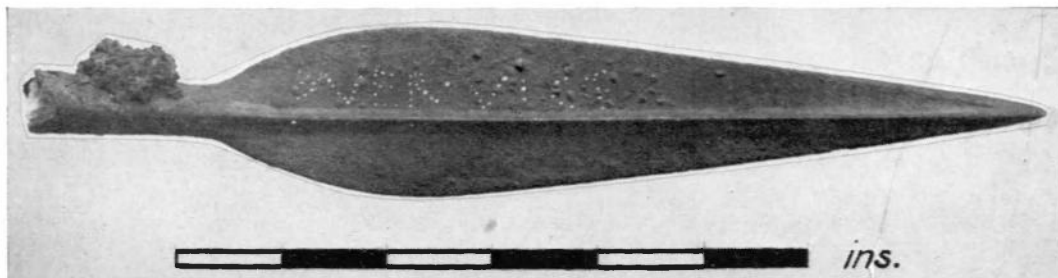
A. Legionary helmet (No. 23)
(*Photograph: Miss A. Grosvenor Ellis*)



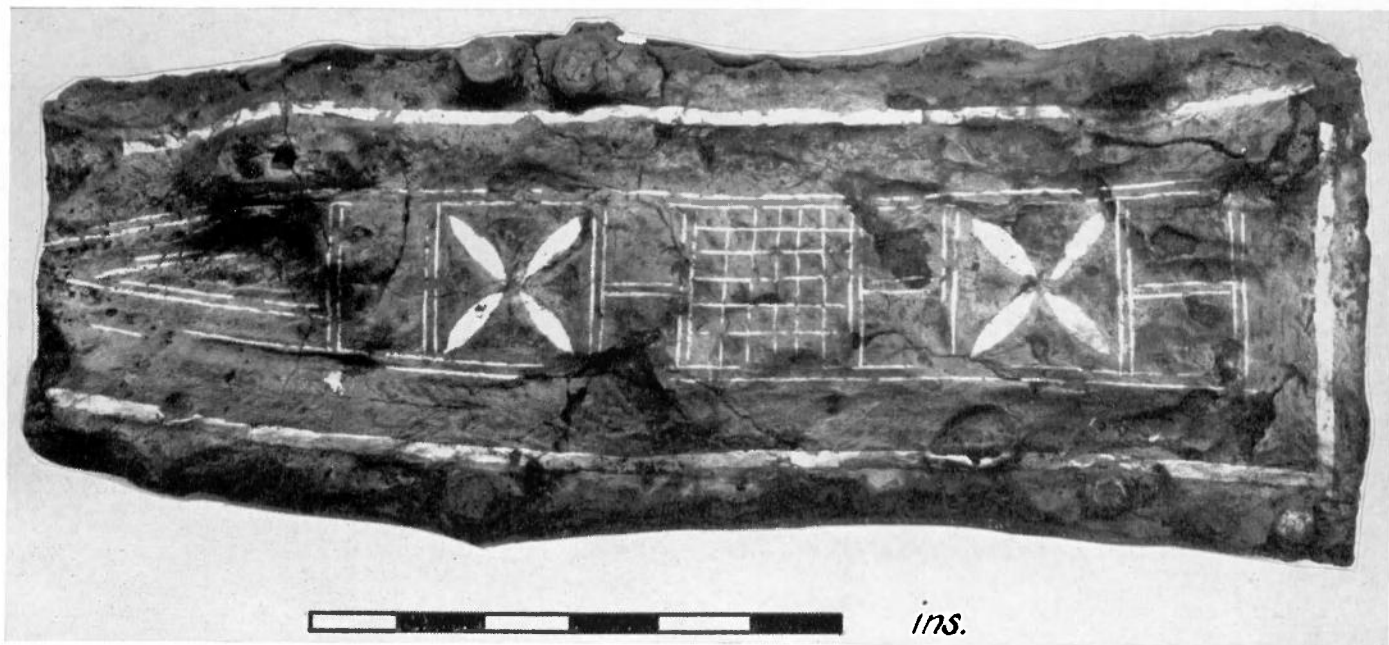
B. Horse pendant with bird mount (No. 32)
from Cirencester



C. Part of a scale cuirass from Ham Hill (No. 105)
(*Photograph: The Somerset County Museum*)



D. Lance-head with punched inscription (No. 157) from the Walbrook, London
(*Photograph: The Guildhall Museum*)



Decorated dagger—scabbard from Waddon Hill (No. 217), now in Bridport Museum
(*Photograph : K. Barton*)

in London (now at the Guildhall Museum, No. 1937.64). The form and fabric of this piece are well in keeping with this potter's work. He used at least 5 different dies, all with the name drastically abbreviated to Q.VA.SE or QVI.VAL.SE. The praenomen and nomen are clearly QUINTUS VALERIUS but the cognomen remains in doubt, though SECUNDUS or SEVERUS are the most likely alternatives. The distribution of his stamps is Broxtowe, Notts. (2); Cirencester; Colchester; Huntingdonshire (probably Godmanchester); London (at least 6); Richborough (5); Silchester; *Verulamium* (2); York. At Richborough two of his stamps were found in pits dated A.D. 50-70 and A.D. 70-90. This, together with the forms and fabric used, strongly suggests a date of c. A.D. 60-80 for his work. He worked in Gaul, and his fabric is reminiscent of that of Quintus Valerius Veranius of *Gallia Belgica*, to whom he may conceivably have been related.

BULLBURY, DORSET

22. A bronze, sword hilt-guard similar to types from Fendoch (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, lxxiii, Pl. lxxiii, No. 1, p. 146) and Newstead (Pl. xxxv, No. 11). It was found with a remarkable collection of objects including an anchor and chain and a pair of bronze bulls (*Arch.*, 48, Pl. vi) now in the Dorchester Museum.

CHAVENAGE

See footnote under Gloucester Museum.

CHICHESTER¹

23. **Pl. XIA.** A legionary helmet said to have been dredged up near Chichester. The presence, on the crest terminal, of an oyster shell implies its loss in estuarine waters. It is now in Lewes Museum and was formerly in the Lane-Fox and Bateman Collections (Cat. No. 159 of the latter). It was exhibited at Colchester in 1950 (Item No. 38) and illustrated in the Catalogue (*Catalogue of an Exhibition of Romano-British Antiquities*, 1950, Pl. vi and also in I. D. Margary, *Roman Sussex* (1951) Pl. 10.

CIRENCESTER²

24. **Fig. 3.** A bronze strip with silver (?) inlay, probably part of belt or harness decoration, very similar to a fragment from Hofheim (Taf. xi, No. 72).
25. **Fig. 3.** An oval-shaped harness pendant in tinned bronze with niello decoration cf. Hofheim, Taf. xiv, No. 2; Doorwerth, Afb. 6).
26. **Fig. 3.** A bronze apron terminal which originally had decorated studs, since detached. The legionary aprons appear to have been formed of flat plates decorated with niello (cf. Hofheim, Taf. xii, No. 19; *Camulodunum*, Pl. cii, Nos. 24-27; *Richborough III*, Pl. 14, No. 48). It seems clear from the Doorwerth examples (Afb. 7) that the identification of the Newstead studs and plates (Pl. xxv) as belonging to a *cingulum* is incorrect. The possibility remains, however, that this terminal, so different in design to known legionary types, may be auxiliary and there is evidence from tombstones that some units wore the *cingulum* with an apron (*Germania Romana*, 1922, Taf. 29, No. 7, a soldier of the 1st Cohort of Pannonians whose apron appears to be decorated with round studs; Taf. 29, No. 6 a soldier of the 1st Cohort *Sagittariorum*; Taf. 30, No. 5, an *imaginifer* of the 7th Cohort *Raetorum*).

¹ Since this list was prepared a number of bronzes of legionary origin has been noted in the Sadler Collection in Chichester Museum, and will be the subject of a further report.

² I am grateful to the Hon. Curator of Corinium Museum, Mr. D. Atkinson, for giving me every facility in handling these objects.

27. **Fig. 3.** A bronze dagger chape (Acc. No. C.145) identical to ones from Caerleon (Prysg Field¹, Part ii, Fig. 36, Nos. 17-22); Kirkby Thore (*Arch. of Roman Britain*, Fig. 66 K); Kastell Buch (*O-R.L.*, No. 67, Taf. iii, No. 5); Zugmantel (*O-R.L.*, No. 8, Taf. xi, No. 5); and Colchester (Museum Acc. No. 209.29, not listed below).
28. **Fig. 3.** A bronze buckle with traces of tinning (Acc. No. B.202) is of typical, military pattern.
29. **Fig. 3.** A bronze acorn terminal with traces of leather attached to the back (Acc. No. B.327). The same decorative feature can be seen at *Camulodunum* (Pl. cii, No. 26); Kastell Pfunz (*O-R.L.*, No. 73, Taf. xiii, Nos. 63 and 64, and Water Newton, No. 231).
30. **Fig. 3.** A similar bronze with a flat back (Acc. No. B.379).
31. **Fig. 3.** A small bronze pendant with a ring for attachment at the top can be compared with identical examples from Carnuntum (*R.L.O.*, ix, Fig. 18, No. 10); Zugmantel (Taf. xii, Nos. 52 and 61); Mainz (*M.Z.*, xii-xiii, Abb. 8, No. 18); Wiesbaden (*O-R.L.*, No. 31, Taf. x, No. 35) and *Saalburg* (Taf. liii, No. 10).
32. **Pl. XI B.** A large bronze pendant with traces of gilding was found in the Nursery Garden on the site of the Basilica. The original illustration of this remarkable object (*Proc. Soc. Ant.*, vi, p. 539) gives little indication of its size (7 ins. wide) or splendour. In general shape it conforms to examples from Ham Hill (No. 122) and *Novaesium* (Taf. xxxiv, No. 10) and in size also, to another from the Claudian fort at Oberstimm (*Germania*, 35 (1957) Abb. 2, No. 6). Another feature of some interest is the bird-like mount which provides the hook attachment at the top. Parallels for this particular decorative item, but without the rest of the pendant, can be seen from two other forts, the Kingsholme site at Gloucester (Lysons, *Reliq.*, ii, Pl. xv, No. 10) and Wroxeter (No. 256). Others came from London (No. 141) and Colchester (No. 69)².
33. **Fig. 3.** A bronze pendant, with traces of gilding, in the form of a leaf. Pendants of this type have been found at Hofheim (Taf. xiv, No. 3); *Novaesium* (Taf. xxxiv No. 5) and Mainz (*M.Z.*, viii-ix (1913-14) Abb. 2, p. 68, No. 15).
34. **Fig. 3.** A bronze scabbard-mount (Acc. No. C.84) very similar to one illustrated by Collingwood from Caerleon (*Arch. of Roman Britain*, Fig. 66e) but without the terminal ring which has become detached. Other Caerleon examples have been illustrated (Prysg Field. Part ii, Fig. 36, Nos. 2-11; Eastern Corner³, Fig. 32, No. 9); Newstead (Pl. lxxvii, No. 4); Corbridge (*A.A.*, 3rd ser., vii, Pl. iv, No. 10); Silchester (No. 188); *Novaesium* (Taf. xxxiii A, No. 36) and Kastell Feldberg (*O-R.L.*, No. 10, Taf. vi, No. 19). The method of attachment to the scabbard can be seen from an example of a totally different type illustrated from the Thames (*Collectanea Antiqua*, iii, Pl. xvi).
35. **Fig. 3.** A bronze pendant with lunate perforations and knobbed terminal, similar to the one from Carnuntum (*R.L.O.*, iv, Fig. 61, No. 2) and *Novaesium* (Taf. xxxiv, No. 15). See also an example from London, No. 149.
36. Fragment of a skillet handle with rounded end and circular hole of the type discussed above (see Broxtowe No. 5).
37. **Fig. 3.** One of a pair of bronze heads of an eagle with a hexagonal socket from which a bird's head projects. This type of object has been identified by Károly as a cart fitting to which the reins were tied when the vehicle was stationary (*Archaeologiai Ertésítő* (1890), 115). These fittings have been the subject of further

¹ *Arch. Camb.* lxxxvii (1932).

² Comparison might also be made with the escutcheons on bronze bowls, Boesterd, *op. cit.*, Nos. 189 and 191, and the birds of similar type

from Ashby-de-la Launde (Lincs.) and Barton (Cambs.), *Lincs. Archit. & Arch. Soc. Reports*, 7 (1957-58) p. 101 and Fig. 2, No. 1.

³ *Arch. Camb.*, lxxxv (1930).

study and listing by von Mercklin and Alfoldi (*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, xlviii (1933), 84 and *Archeologiai Ertesito*, xlviii, 190). The distribution of these objects on the continent corresponds closely with the frontiers as the Rhine and Danube. This fact and their striking uniformity strongly suggests a military origin and probably a first century date. Other British examples are noted from Colchester (Nos. 51 and 68); Wroxeter (No. 237); Leicester (No. 136); High Rochester (*Hist. of Northumberland*, xv, 154, No. 10). It is possible that the horse's head from Wroxeter (1915, Pl. xx, No. 1) similar to the pair illustrated by von Mercklin (Abb. 33) is the same type of object but it lacks the hooked attachment; there is a possible example for Ixworth, Suffolk (*Coll. Ant.*, iv, Pl. xxv, No. 1) and Water Newton (No. 232). But others occur, at Silchester (*Arch.*, lvi, Fig. 5, p. 124, similar in every detail to the Cirencester example) and Kettering (*Proc. Soc. Ant.*, xxiii, p. 496; a site which also produced two of the Hod Hill type of brooch, *ibid.*, Plate facing p. 500, Nos. 11 and 13).

There are in the Corinium Museum at least ten iron spear-heads. Unless the exact provenance is known or there are rather unusual features, it is impossible to claim these weapons as Roman. The army used an astonishing range of spear and lance, as can be seen from Carnuntum (*R.L.O.*, ii), but it is probable that the same is true of other periods. For these reasons, only a few examples have been selected where exact parallels can be quoted.

38. **Fig. 3.** An iron bolt-head, square in section, with socket. It has decorative or recognition marks similar in shape to the Broxtowe example (No. 12).
39. **Fig. 4.** An iron lance-head with medial ridge (Acc. No. B.66), corresponding in shape and size to examples from Caerleon (Prysg Field, Part ii, Fig. 17).
40. **Fig. 4.** An iron spear-head, probably for throwing, comparable to examples from Newstead (Pl. xxxvii, Nos. 1 and 2).
41. **Fig. 4.** A barbed spear-head with long shank, similar to ones from Newstead (Pl. xxxvii, No. 4) and *Lauriacum* (*R.L.O.*, xiii, Fig. 60, No. 2).

COLCHESTER

The military objects from the Sheepen site have been published in the *Camulodunum* Report (p. 335) and have been associated with the Boudiccan revolt. Similar objects might also be expected from the early colonists, so that military trappings on this site are not necessarily evidence of an early fort. Apart from the Sheepen items there are :—

42. A fine bronze decorated plate found during drain laying in 1848 (*Brit. Arch. Ass. J.*, iv (1848) p. 84) which can be matched at *Novaesium* (Taf. xxx, No. 58) and Newstead (Pl. lxxii) and at Ham Hill, No. 121 from which it may be identified as a piece of horse trapping.

Described and illustrated in the *Museum Report* 1937-44 (p. 28, Pl. iv) are a number of items which include :—

43. The mouthpiece of a military trumpet¹ (914.37, Pl. iv, No. 1), comparable to one from *Saalburg* (Fig. 79, No. 1; see also *M.Z.*, vii (1912) p. 32, and Waldmossingen, *O-R.L.*, vi, Taf. iii, No. 4).
44. A bronze plate with niello decoration from the buckle of a belt (227.39, p. 29, not illustrated) similar to *Camulodunum* (Pl. c, No. 39).
45. A small, bronze plate from scale armour (636.41, Pl. iv, No. 6).

¹ I am grateful to Miss J. Jeffery who has examined this item and reports that it may be part of the instrument rather than a mouthpiece and that the external decoration suggests that

the rest of the instrument was inserted into it. When played it produces a range of high clear notes very suitable for military use.

46. Part of a bronze binding of a scabbard with tinning (852.37, not illustrated).
47. Two fragments of ornamental strip-bronze, the larger from the frontal edge of a helmet (853.37, not illustrated).
48. A bronze terminal with key-hole shaped eye for taking a hook or toggle, with niello decoration (854.37, Pl. iv, No. 5). The function of this type of fastener is clearly shown from the Doorwerth examples (Afb. 5) and others occur at Hofheim (Taf. xii, No. 18, Taf. xi, Nos. 45 and 46); Newstead (Pl. lxxiii, No. 5); Ham Hill (No. 109) and Waddon Hill (No. 210).
49. A similar object from Sheepen Road (490.38, Pl. iv, No. 10).
50. A tinned bronze strap-end with T-shaped stud at the end (940.37, not illustrated).
51. The head of an eagle in thin, hollow bronze, finely moulded and tooled (62.43, Pl. iv, No. 7). See Cirencester No. 37, etc.
52. A bronze cross stud with pelta-shaped arms (437.88, Pl. iv, No. 21) for use possibly at the junction of traces. Very similar examples occur at Kastell Feldberg (*O-R.L.*, No. 10, Taf. vi, No. 44) and *Novaesium* (Taf. xxx, No. 23).
53. An iron bolt-head with socket (489.38, Pl. iv, No. 9) similar to that from Broxtowe (No. 12).

In the British Museum in the Pollexfen Collection are a number of items including:-

54. A bronze harness ring with attached, projecting, round stud (Acc. No. 70, 4-2, 75, not illustrated), similar to the one from Broxtowe (No. 14) and there is another with a small stud in the Colchester Museum (Acc. No. 176).
55. **Fig. 4.** A small bronze key (Acc. No. 70, 4-2, 159), included as the end is identical to the military type buckle and an example occurred at Sheepen (*Camulodunum*, Pl. ciii, No. 29).
56. **Fig. 4.** A bronze fastener with solid bar and studs for attaching to leather (Acc. No. 70, 4-2, 114). This appears to be very similar to a piece from Kastell Zugmantel (*O-R.L.*, No. 8, Taf. xii, No. 41) and identical to one from Wiesbaden (*O-R.L.*, No. 31, Taf. x, No. 47).
57. **Fig. 4.** A bronze pendant (Acc. No. 70, 4-2, 73) has a resemblance to one from Wiesbaden (*O-R.L.*, No. 31, Taf. x, No. 38) and two from Richborough (*IV*, Pl. xxxvi, Nos. 112 and 113).

*Objects in the Colchester Museum*¹.

58. **Fig. 4.** A bronze harness pendant with small triangular and diamond shaped, niello or silver inlays, similar in shape to one from Wiesbaden (*O-R.L.*, No. 31, Taf. x, No. 20) on which the niello is not shown.
59. **Fig. 4.** A leaf-shaped harness pendant with traces of tinning. (Joslin Collection), cut out of sheet bronze, similar to one from Hofheim (Taf. xiv, No. 3).
60. A similar, but incomplete example also tinned (Acc. No. 153.33).
61. **Fig. 4.** Part of a scabbard-mount with terminal ring (Acc. No. 2646.12; cf. Kastell Feldberg, *O-R.L.*, No. 10, Taf. vi, No. 19 and Zugmantel, *O-R.L.*, No. 8, Taf. xi, No. 26).
62. **Fig. 4.** A heart-shaped pendant with lunate perforations (Acc. No. 40.4; cf. *Novaesium*, Taf. xxxiv, No. 15).
63. **Fig. 4.** Part of a bronze mount, similar to one from Mainz (*M.Z.*, vii (1912) Abb. 5, No. 27).

¹ I am greatly indebted to the Curator, Mr. M. R. Hull for allowing me every facility for studying these objects.

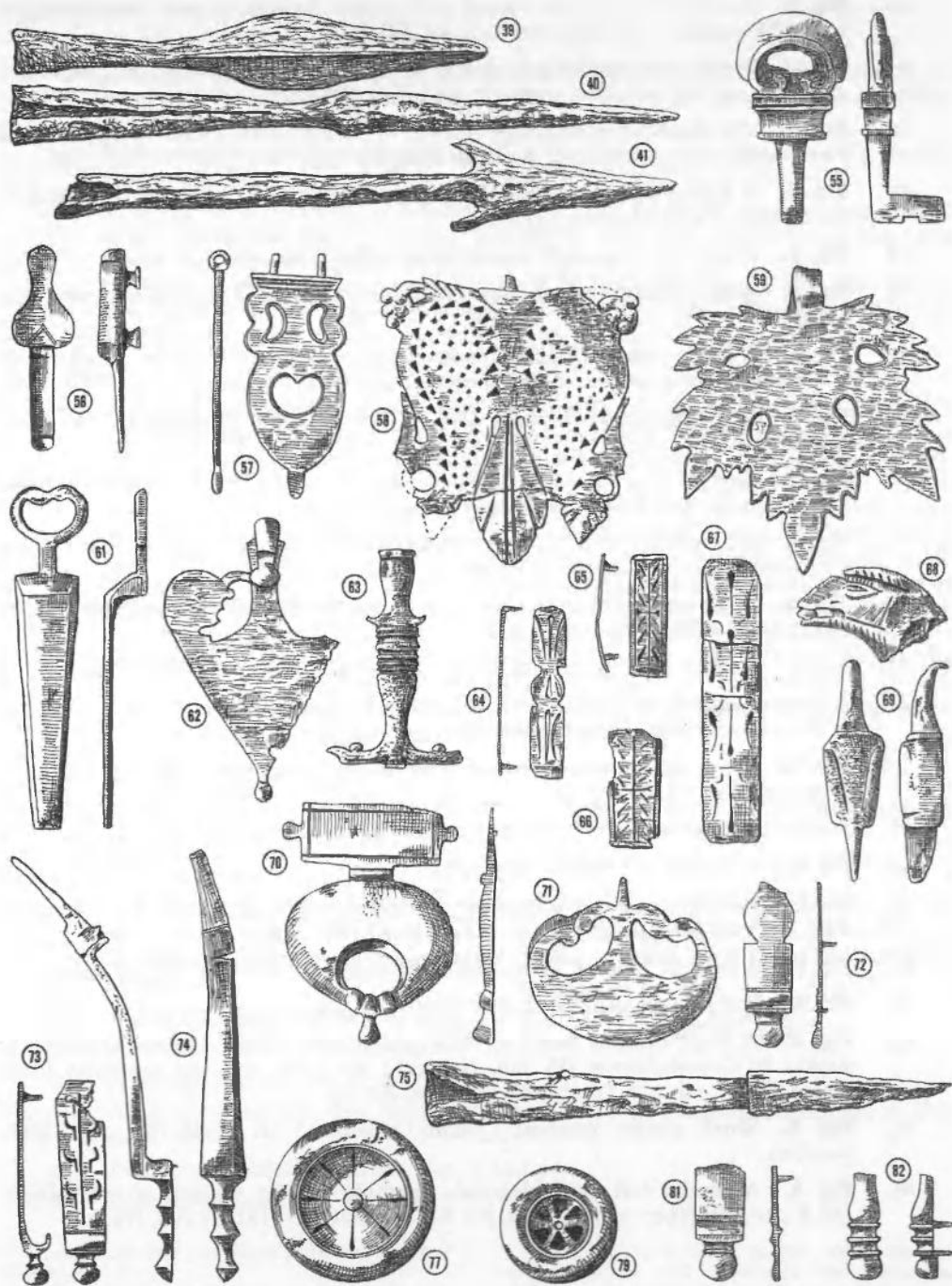


Fig. 4. Objects from Cirencester and Colchester ($\frac{2}{3}$, except Nos. 39, 40 and 41, $\frac{1}{3}$)

64. **Fig. 4.** A small bronze belt mount with niello decoration and traces of gilt (Acc. No. 990.05 ; cf. Hofheim, Taf. xv, No. 88).
65. **Fig. 4.** Small rectangular belt mount with niello decoration (Acc. No. 115 ; cf. Hofheim, Taf. xii, Nos. 9 and 12 and Ham Hill No. 119).
66. **Fig. 4.** An identical mount, but in poor condition, was found in the Forum Excavation 1957 (Layer No. 9, Small Find No. 94).
67. **Fig. 4.** A similar but larger mount in tinned bronze, with niello inlay (found in the Potters Field, Sheepen, 1939).
68. **Fig. 4.** Fragment of an eagle's head very similar to No. 51.
69. **Fig. 4.** A bird mount from a harness pendant, very similar to Cirencester No. 32, etc.
70. **Fig. 4.** A bronze lunate pendant surmounted by an ansate-shape panel (from the Sheepen Excavations, cf. *Novaesium*, Taf. xxxiv, No. 27).
71. **Fig. 4.** A bronze scabbard-chape (Acc. No. 271.35 ; cf. *Novaesium*, Taf. xxx, No. 29).
72. **Fig. 4.** Part of a plain, apron mount (Acc. No. 213.35 ; cf. *Camulodunum*, Pl. cii, No. 25 and Holdeurn, Pl. xxv, No. 219)¹.
73. **Fig. 4.** A bronze apron mount with tinned surface and niello decoration (Joslin Collection ; cf. *Camulodunum*, Pl. cii, No. 24).
74. **Fig. 4.** A bronze scabbard-mount (found in the Forum Excavations, 1957, Layer No. 22, Small Find No. 114).
75. **Fig. 4.** An iron ballista-bolt head (Acc. No. 39.43), cf. Broxtowe No. 12.
76. A bronze pelta-shaped mount in a fragmentary condition (Acc. No. 215, identical to the example from Margidunum, No. 173).
77. **Fig. 4.** A circular harness mount with niello inlay (Acc. No. 418.52 ; cf. Hofheim, Taf. xii, No. 33).
78. An identical example (from the Sheepen Excavations).
79. **Fig. 4.** A similar but smaller example.
80. Another gilded example, but too badly corroded for the decoration to be discernable. (From the Sheepen Excavations, C. 32, SO 159).
81. **Fig. 4.** A piece of a belt or apron mount (cf. *Camulodunum*, Pl. cii, No. 25).
82. **Fig. 4.** Part of a small stud, cf. Gloucester No. 102.
83. **Fig. 5.** A large harness pendant with phallic decoration (Joslin Collection), similar to *Camulodunum* (Pl. ciii, No. 17) ; Wall No. 224 and examples from Mainz (*M.Z.*, xii, xiii, (1917-18), Abb. 10, No. 3).
84. **Fig. 5.** Small phallic pendant (Joslin Collection,) cf. Wall No. 223, with parallels.
85. **Fig. 5.** A similar but more elaborate example (Joslin Collection), cf. Mainz (*M.Z.*, xii, xiii (1917-18) Abb. 10, No. 6) and Haltern² (Taf. xxxvii, No. 7).

¹ *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen*, N.R., xxvi, Suppl.

² *Mitteilungen der Altertumskommission für Westfalen*, v, (1909).

DORCHESTER

Objects in the Dorchester Museum

86. The bone sword grip from the handle of a *gladius* found at No. 48 South St., in 1905. (Acc. No. 1886.9.33; *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, 2nd ser. xxi, p. 153). It is similar to one from Newstead (Pl. xxxiv, No. 13).
87. The bronze handle of a key found at the Gas Works (Acc. No. 1902.2.3) is of a common military type (cf. *Zugmantel, O-R.L.*, No. 8, Taf. xiii, No. 51 etc.).
88. A highly decorated belt-plate found 'in the N.E. corner of the new fairground' (*Dorset N.H. and Arch. Soc. Proc.*, ii (1878) p. 109). See discussion on this type under Wroxeter No. 258.

On the coins from Dorchester, Mr. C. V. H. Sutherland notes that the 'copies (i.e. military imitation issues) account for some 20%-30% of the fair number of Claudian coins'¹.

ELY, WITCHAM GRAVEL

89. A bronze helmet with hinged cheek-pieces and decorated front and neck-guard (*B. M. Guide* (1922) Pl. iv; (1951) Pl. xxv, No. 6). This is in its general style similar to the legionary helmet, but from its flimsy construction it almost certainly belongs to the parade type. It is very different from the simple, sturdy type of legionary helmet of the invasion period so well exemplified from London and Chichester and may well be a later development. Prof. J. M. C. Toynbee kindly draws my attention to the close correspondence to the auxiliary, sport or parade helmets at Leiden (W. C. Braat, 'Romeinsche Helmen in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheiden', *Oudheidkundige Mededeelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheiden*, xx (1939) pp. 29-46, Figs. 23-31). These helmets bear little relationship to other auxiliary parade types (as at Newstead and Straubing, *Der Romische Schatzfund von Straubing*, 1951), but are more akin to a legionary type which may have belonged to centurions (see Waddon Hill No. 216) and there is the possibility that this decorative type is the centurions' parade helmet.

FINGRINGHOE WICK, ESSEX

90. Fragments of a bronze saucepan, with a round hole in the handle, in Colchester Museum.

GLOUCESTER

Surprisingly little material has survived from the legionary fortress on the Kingsholm site². A number of objects are recorded by Lysons³ (*Reliquae Britannico Romanae*, ii) and some of these are now in the British Museum⁴, including:—

91. A fine, complete bronze saucepan (Pl. xvii, and here Pl. IXB).
92. A pilum-head (?) (Pl. xi, No. 7).
93. A dagger (Pl. xii, No. 2).
94. An arrow-head with long barbs (Pl. xii, No. 9; cf. Carnuntum, *R.L.O.*, ii, Taf. xxiii, No. 4).
95. Pioneer axe-sheaths (Pl. xv, Nos. 4 and 5).
96. Four spear-heads (Pl. xii, Nos. 5-8).

¹ *Romano-British Imitations of Bronze Coins of Claudius I* (1935) p. 7.

² The evidence has been summarised and discussed by Mr. C. Green (*J.R.S.*, xxxii (1942) p. 40).

³ See also *Arch.*, xviii, p. 121, where he also comments on and illustrates two imitation, military coin issues (Pl. viii, Nos. 2 and 3).

⁴ I am grateful to Mr. J. Brailsford for drawing my attention to these and allowing me to examine them together with the material from Hod Hill.

97. A *patera* handle with rounded end and central hole (Pl. xv, No. 7).
 98. A bird-mount from a pendant (Pl. xv, No. 10—see discussion under Cirencester No. 32).

*Objects in the Gloucester Museum*¹

99. A lunate pendant with knobbed terminal and lightly punched decoration (*J.R.S.*, xxxiii (1943) Pl. i, No. 17). This is a common military type (cf. Hofheim, Taf. xiv, No. 5; *M.Z.*, xii, xiii (1917-18) Abb. 8, No. 23; viii-ix (1913-14) Abb. 2, No. 18; Wiesbaden, *O-R.L.*, No. 31, Taf. x, No. 36, etc.).
 100. **Fig. 5.** A plain harness eyelet of common type (cf. Hofheim, Taf. xiii, No. 8 etc.)
 101. **Fig. 5.** A harness eyelet with pairs of rivet-holes for attachment to leather (cf. *Novaesium*, Taf. xxx, No. 6 and Wroxeter No. 247).
 102. **Fig. 5.** A small decorated stud for attachment to a leather belt (cf. Hofheim, Taf. xiii, Nos. 20 and 21, and there are several from Hod Hill in the Durden Collection and from the recent excavations).

GREAT CASTERTON, RUTLAND

103. A small bronze decorative stud for attachment to a belt or apron (*The Roman Town and Villa at Great Casterton, Rutland*, 1951-53 (1954) Fig. 2, No. 19), cf. No. 102.

GREAT CHESTERFORD, ESSEX

104. **Fig. 5.** The bronze mouth-piece (6½ ins. long) of a trumpet (*B.M. Guide* (1922) p. 22). This instrument is rather crudely made and has a wide, shallow mouthpiece (15/16 ins.) which would tend to limit the range of notes and not permit a clear pure tone. It may have been inserted into the instrument which might account for the two faint lines encircling the external surface and the smoothness of the lower two inches. Whether this can be claimed as military must be left in doubt until another very similar example can be found in a suitable provenance².

HAM HILL, SOMERSET

This site has produced a large quantity of Roman military equipment mainly from the Salter and Norris Collections and the excavations of Mr. H. St. G. Gray. Those items already illustrated in published reports include :—

105. **Pl. XIc.** Part of a cuirass made of tinned bronze scales. More than 300 scales have been found, some of them in 1885. The scales are each 25 mm. long by 14.5 mm. wide, square at the top and with a well rounded base (*Proc. Soc. Ant.*, xxi, p. 135; *V. C. H., Somerset*, i, Fig. 63). A description of the *lorica squamata* appears in the Carnuntum report (*R.L.O.*, ii, p. 84).

From the Proc. Somerset Arch. and N. H. Soc. :—

Vol. lxix (1923) Pl. xi

106. A bronze buckle (No. 6) of common military type (cf. *Novaesium*, Taf. xxx, No. 73; Hofheim, Taf. xi, No. 31; Wiesbaden, *O-R.L.*, No. 31, Taf. x, No. 33; Mainz, *M.Z.*, vii (1912) Abb. 3, No. 15; *Camulodunum*, Pl. cii, Nos. 20 and 21, and Waddon Hill, No. 213, etc.).

¹ I am grateful to the Curator, Mr. J. N. Taylor, for giving me every facility in handling these objects. It should be noted that the so-called cuirass scales found in a tumulus at Chavenage (*Bristol & Glos. Arch. Soc. Trans.*,

52, Pl. facing p. 164) are actually from the chin-strap of an infantry shako of c. 1822.

² I am most grateful to Miss J. Jeffery for examining this mouthpiece and reporting thereon.



Fig. 5. Objects from Colchester, Gloucester, Great Chesterford, Ham Hill and Leicester ($\frac{2}{3}$, except Nos. 129 and 130, $\frac{1}{3}$)

107. A bronze object (No. 7) thought to have been attached to a bronze bowl by means of a rivet at the centre of the disc, but it is more likely to be a decorative terminal for an eyelet to take a ring (cf. complete examples of a different type from Wiesbaden, *O-R.L.*, No. 31, Taf. x, No. 51 and Hofheim, Taf. xiii, No. 7). The shell-like decoration at the end is a fairly common motif (cf. Kastell Pfanz, *O-R.L.*, No. 73, Taf. xiii, No. 76 and possibly Broxtowe No. 21). There is another identical object also in the Museum.
108. A rectangular plate decorated with niello said to be 'not the only example from Ham Hill' (with refs. *Proc. Som. Arch. Soc.*, lviii, i, p. 122 and lxvi, lxxv). This is a common form of decorated belt-plate best illustrated from Hofheim (Taf. xii, Nos. 9 and 12) and probably legionary.
109. A decorative fastener in tinned bronze (No. 12) described as 'an escutcheon for a fairly large key-hole' but it is more likely to be a harness or baldric mount with an eyelet to take a stud, toggle or hook, but the curved shape indicates a special function to connect two straps or traces meeting at right angles.
110. A bronze eyelet of more normal type (cf. Hofheim, Taf. xi, No. 45; Colchester No. 48 etc.).

Vol. lxx (1924) Pl. xiii

111. A bronze eyelet (E. 15) very similar to No. 107.
112. A bronze harness-clip or eyelet (E. 16) (cf. *M.Z.*, vii (1912) Abb. 3, No. 4).
113. There are also three spear-heads illustrated, which may be Roman.

Vol. lxxii (1926) Pl. xiv

114. A tinned, bronze apron-mount with knobbed, terminal, decorated with niello (E. 21) (cf. *Camulodunum*, Pl. cii, No. 24 etc.).
- There are also three objects published in an earlier volume (xxxii, Pl. i, Nos. 10-12) which may be Roman and military.

In Taunton Museum there are the following objects from the site which appear to have escaped publication¹ :—

115. **Fig. 5.** A tinned bronze apron-mount with pear-shaped [terminal and niello decoration at the base (Acc. No. A. 1292), similar in shape to two from Newstead (Pl. lxxii, Nos. 8 and 10).
116. **Fig. 5.** A similar plain form with knobbed terminal (Acc. No. A. 1290).
117. **Fig. 5.** Part of a bronze hook, finely decorated with silver inlay (Acc. No. A. 1323), similar in character to a Hofheim example (Taf. xii, No. 14).
118. **Fig. 5.** A small bronze tinned plate with niello decoration (Acc. No. A. 1256), similar to, but not so fine as No. 108 above.
119. **Fig. 5.** A similar but smaller example with silver inlay in the form of small leaves (Acc. No. A. 1288).
120. **Fig. 5.** A similar plate with part of a belt-hinge at one end (Acc. No. A. 1291).
121. **Fig. 5.** A thin bronze circular boss with faintly punched decoration (Acc. No. A. 1314). This is part of a harness mount like the one from Colchester, No. 42.
122. **Fig. 5.** Part of a bronze pendant, roughly heart-shaped with traces of finely punched decoration (Acc. No. No. 1313), very similar to one from Oberstimm (*Germania*, 35 (1957) Abb. 2, p. 321, No. 6) and see also Cirencester No. 32, with which it appears already to have been compared (*Proc. Soc. Ant.*, vi, p. 539; xxi, p. 128, No. 26).

¹ I am greatly indebted to the curator, Mr. R. Sansome, and his assistant Mr. Hallam for their kind help.

123. Fragment of bronze scabbard-edging like that from Broxtowe, No. 13.
124. **Fig. 5.** A plain bronze belt-mount with moulded decoration (Acc. No. A. 1322), similar in character, though not strictly in form, to *Saalburg*, Taf. lii, No. 23).
125. **Fig. 5.** Part of the end of a dagger or sword guard (Acc. No. A. 1333).
126. **Fig. 5.** Two hinged strips with rivets (Acc. No. A. 1320), probably from a cuirass.
127. **Fig. 5.** An iron bridle-bit with a pair of bronze fittings. There is a similar bit of twisted iron also in the Museum. This bit bears a striking resemblance to those from Newstead (Pl. lxxi, Nos. 1 and 2). There is in the B.M., from Hod Hill, a pair of bronze plates rather larger than these but with three similar holes and which might have had the same function.
128. **Fig. 5.** One of several iron arrow-heads of typical Roman pattern (see Wall No. 228, Maiden Castle No. 172, etc.).
129. **Fig. 5.** Among the iron objects from the site are several examples of what seem to be butt-ends of lances, two of which are here shown; they are similar to the Newstead examples (Pl. xxxviii, Nos. 12, 13, 15-17).
130. **Fig. 5.** An iron bolt-head of usual pattern is typical of half-a-dozen examples see Broxtowe No. 12 and London No. 158.

The Roman coin list from the site published by Mr. W. A. Seaby (*Somerset Arch. Soc. Proc.*, xcv (1950) p. 143) is very instructive:—

Augustus 1; Tiberius 4; Caligula 4; Claudius 21 *sestertii* (including 2 imitation issues), 6 *dupondii* (including 3 imitation issues), 7 asses (including 6 imitation issues); Vespasian 3. Of one of the Claudian *sestertii*, Mr. Seaby remarks that it 'can only have been a little while in circulation before being dropped or hidden'.

There are also in Taunton Museum a number of early types of brooch which appeared to have found favour with the Roman Army, including six Hod Hill and three *Aucissa* types (uninscribed).

HOD HILL, DORSET

The large quantity of military objects in the Durden Collection at the British Museum is the most important group of first century material of this type in Britain. It is, however, omitted from this Appendix since it is at present being prepared for publication in association with the recent excavations on the site by Prof. I. A. Richmond. A small number of objects have already been illustrated in the *B. M. Guides* (1922 ed., Fig. 105; 1951 ed., Fig. 36); by Roach Smith (*Collectanea Antiqua*, vi, Pls. i-iii, p. 1) and in *Wessex from the Air*, 1928, p. 36, which also contains a bibliography.

KENCHESTER

131. A fine leaf-shaped bronze pendant (Jack, *Excavations*, 1912-13, Pl. 50, No. 5), similar to ones from Hofheim (Taf. xiv, No. 3) and Richborough (*IV*, Pl. lvi, No. 275).
132. A typical early type of pendant (*Excavations* 1924-25, Pl. 33, No. 15; cf. Hofheim Taf. xii, No. 37; xiv, No. 8; Newstead, Pl. lxxiii; Doorwerth, Afb. 1; *M.Z.*, vii (1912) Abb. 4, No. 18; Wiesbaden, *O-R.L.*, No. 31, Nos. 20-24; *Novaesium*, Taf. xxxiv, No. 19; Wroxeter No. 240, etc.).
133. A very similar example from the Whiting Collection (*Woolhope Club Trans.*, xxxii (1949) Fig. 7, No. 10).

LEICESTER¹

134. **Fig. 5.** A rectangular tinned bronze plate with niello decoration from a legionary belt in Leicester Museum. This is a common type although the decorative pattern varies somewhat (see examples below from *Verulamium* No. 197, Weymouth No. 233 and Wroxeter No. 254, also from Hod Hill (*B. M. Guide* (1922) Fig. 105a and f); Richborough (*IV*, Pl. xxxiii, No. 72); Hofheim (Taf. xii, Nos. 1-7), and Mainz (*M. Z.*, vii (1912) Abb. 4, Nos. 23 and 24) etc.
135. A bronze cruciform piece of decoration for attachment at cross braces (*Jewry Wall*, Fig. 84, No. 6) might be included for its general resemblance to examples from *Novaesium* (Taf. xxx, No. 23); Kastell Feldberg (*O-R.L.*, No. 10, Taf. vi, Nos. 20 and 44); Carnuntum (*R.L.O.*, ix, Fig. 54, No. 4) and Richborough (*II*, Pl. xix, No. 33).
136. The head of a small bronze eagle, similar to No. 37. (Acc. No. 3355, 1887, found in the Royal Arcade).

LINCOLN

All the known military objects found up to 1949 have already been described by the writer elsewhere (*J.R.S.*, xxxix (1949) p. 57).

137. Since then, a bronze mount with a rectangular slot has been found in an early deposit at Cottesford Place on the site of the *colonia* baths². There are near, but not precise parallels from Hofheim (Taf. xiii, Nos. 18 and 19).

LONDON

Objects in the British Museum

138. A legionary helmet of 1st century type complete except for the cheek pieces, probably from the Thames or Walbrook (*British Museum Quarterly*, xvi, p. 17 and *B. M. Guide* (1951) Pl. xxv, No. 5).
139. A bronze cheek-piece from a legionary helmet from the Thames at Kew (Acc. No. 1910, 10.7, 1).
140. A legionary sword with very finely decorated scabbard from the Thames at Fulham (Acc. No. 83.4-7-1; *B. M. Guide* (1922) Fig. 101; (1951) Fig. 36, No. 5).
141. **Fig. 6.** A bronze bird mount from a pendant, similar to that from Cirencester (No. 32), from the Roach Smith Collection (Acc. No. 56, 7-1, 1477).
142. An iron lance-head with long slender point and hexagonal socket from Cloak Lane (Acc. No. 55, 8-4, 67; *B. M. Guide* (1951) Fig. 36, No. 3). In general proportions it approximates to the Newstead examples (Pl. xxxvi).
143. **Fig. 6.** A bronze pendant with a conical boss in the centre (Acc. No. 83, 5-2, 4, found at Barge Yard).
144. **Fig. 6.** A bronze pendant similar in shape to Nos. 122 and 263 (Acc. No. 83, 5-2, 5, found at Barge Yard).
145. **Fig. 6.** A bone sword handle grip (Acc. No. 71, 7-14, 24 from St. Clements Lane). There is a very similar, but damaged, example also in the British Museum from Colchester (Acc. No. 70, 4-2, 418, not listed above); cf. *Richborough IV*, Pl. lvi, No. 269.

Objects in the London Museum

146. A bronze shield-boss from Copthall Court (*London in Roman Times* (1930) Fig. 3). Another was found at London Wall (*Ibid.*, p. 31).

¹ I am grateful to Mr. David Clarke for facilities in searching the Museum collections.

² I am greatly indebted to Mr. D. F. Petch of the Lincoln Museum for drawing my attention to this object and sending me all details.

Objects from the Walbrook

147. A dagger with part of its wooden handle (*Roman Antiquities from the Site of the National Safe Deposit Company's Premises* (1873) Pl. vi, No. 6). This is a typical military type, probably legionary (cf. *M.Z.*, xii, xiii (1917-18) Abb. 6, Nos. 4 and 6; *B. M. Guide* (1951) Fig. 36, No. 2 from Hod Hill; *Saalburg*, Fig. 77, No. 5, etc.).

Objects in the Guildhall Museum, published in Small Finds from Walbrook 1954-55¹.

148. A bronze buckle (Acc. No. 20, 769, Pl. ii, No. 8) of a common military type (cf. *Novaesium*, Taf. xxx, No. 86; *Zugmantel, O-R.L.*, No. 8, Taf. x, Nos. 55 and 63; *Kastell Pfünz, O-R.L.*, No. 73, Taf. xiii, No. 33; *M.Z.*, vii (1912) Abb. 3, No. 14; *Kastell Weissenburg, O-R.L.*, No. 72, Taf. vi, No. 27; *Newstead*, Pl. lxxvi, Nos. 1 and 3; *Saalburg*, Taf. liv, No. 2, etc.).
149. A bronze pendant with a terminal knob, decorated with punch marks (Acc. No. 19, 223, Pl. iii, No. 6; cf. No. 35 from Cirencester).
150. A bronze toggle with two pairs of rivet holes (Acc. No. 20, 718, Pl. iii, No. 7). This type of fastener is comparatively rare but the method is shown in the Doorwerth example (Afb. 5) and what may be a similar example is from *Zugmantel (O-R.L.*, No. 8, Taf. xxi, No. 45). The arrangement of rivet holes for attachment to leather is common from military sites (cf. *Newstead*, Pl. lxxii and *Wroxeter* No. 247).
151. **Fig. 6.** Bronze studs with traces of tinning, decorated with niello (Acc. Nos. 19, 225 and 20,082, Pl. iii, Nos. 9 and 10). There are ten of these studs of four different patterns two of *a*, three of *b*, four of *c* and one of *d*. They represent a common decorative feature of legionary belts or aprons (cf. *Hofheim*, Taf. xii, Nos. 29-45 where one of the patterns, on Nos. 35, 36, 41 and 42 is identical to Type *c*, while others are similar to Type *a*; *M.Z.*, viii-ix (1913-14) Abb. 4, No. 28; *Camulodunum*, Pl. cii, Nos. 30 and 31; see also *Broxtowe* No. 16 and *Wroxeter* No. 236; there is also a similar set of six identical studs in *Stoke Museum* from *Trentham*, the site of a 1st century pottery kiln²).

This Report also illustrates an imitation issue of a *dupondius* of *Claudius I, Ceres* type (Pl. ix, No. 1).

Unpublished objects from the Walbrook³

152. **Fig. 6.** A bronze eyelet for attachment to leather with a rather degenerate, niello decoration (Acc. No. 20,626). This type of fastener is very common although this particular form is rare (cf. *Novaesium*, Taf. xxx, No. 9, where one of its functions in horse harness is shown), it appears to be a variation on a more usual type (cf. *Hofheim*, Taf. xiii, No. 34, etc.; *Newstead*, Pl. lxxii; *M.Z.*, vii (1912) Abb. 3, Nos. 5 and 6, etc.).
153. **Fig. 6.** A bronze fastener (Acc. No. 19,606) of the same function and of a common type (cf. *Newstead*, Pl. lxxiv and *Lincoln, J.R.S.*, xxxix (1949) Pl. x a, where its purpose is fully shown).
154. **Fig. 6.** A bronze cuirass-hook (Acc. No. 19,326 with holes for two copper rivets, one of which survives). The function of this type of hook has been shown in the *Carnuntum* report (*R.L.O.*, ii, p. 96, Text fig. 24, with examples on Taf. xvii, Fig. 25) and it is of common occurrence on legionary sites (cf. *Novaesium*, Taf. xxx, Nos. 4 and 5; *Hofheim*, Taf. xi, Nos. 1-5; *Wiesbaden, O-R.L.*, No. 31, Taf. x, No. 43; *Wroxeter* No. 259, *Richborough, III*, Pl. 12, Fig. 2, etc.).

¹ This must represent a very small fraction of the objects found in building operations.

² I am indebted to the curator Mr. G. Bemrose for drawing my attention to this discovery, as

yet unpublished.

³ I am greatly indebted to Mr. N. Cook and his staff at the Guildhall Museum for their kind help.

155. **Fig. 6.** A bronze pendant with lunate perforations and a biconical knob (Acc. No. 19,436; cf. *R.L.O.*, iv, Fig. 61, No. 2), see No. 149. There is another, similar example in poorer condition.
156. A piece of bone 9½ ins. long (Acc. No. 20,077,) which may be part of a composite bow (cf. Caerleon, Prysge Field, Part ii, Fig. 42). These objects have been fully discussed by Sir. G. Macdonald (*The Roman Wall in Scotland* (1934) p. 283).
157. **Pl. XI D.** A fine iron lance-head with medial ridge and a punched inscription $\text{C} \text{VER} \cdot \text{VICT}$ Acc. No. 19,233).
158. **Fig. 6.** An iron bolt-head of octagonal section (Acc. No. 20,816; cf. Newstead, Pl. xxxvii, No. 11). There are two other bolt-heads (Acc. Nos. 20,815 and 6).
There are also five other spear or lance-heads (Acc. Nos. 19,846, 20, 106, 19,795, 19,996 and 19,901), an arrow-head (Acc. No. 19,069) and a butt-end (Acc. No. 20, 815) all of which are probably Roman, in addition to a quantity of leather, here and in the British Museum, some of which may well be found to be military when carefully studied¹.

Objects from other sites

159. **Fig. 6.** Part of a *lorica segmentata* (Acc. No. 14,283) found on the site of the Bank of England, 1936. This interesting fragment consists of an iron strip the upper edge of which is turned over, and to which is attached a bronze hinge on the left and a buckle on the right, with another bronze fragment at rightangles to this for attaching the end of a leather strap. From the size, shape and position of fasteners, it appears that this piece is one of a pair, worn on the back.²
160. A bronze pendant with knobbed terminal, similar in shape to examples from Cirencester (No. 32) and Ham Hill (No. 122) (Acc. No. 1911A).
161. **Fig. 6.** Another similar example with a faint line round the edge and a small rivet hole near the bottom (Acc. No. 1911 B).
162. **Fig. 6.** Two bronze strips hinged together with copper rivets, very similar to those used for attaching leather straps to the *lorica segmentata*, as in No. 19 above (Acc. No. 1891, found at Barge Yard (?)).
163. **Fig. 6.** A bronze scabbard-mount with damaged terminals (Acc. No. 16,777, found at the Bank of England in 1935), resembling the example from Kastell Feldberg (*O-R.L.*, No. 10, Taf. vi, No. 19).
164. **Fig. 6.** A thin bronze belt plate decorated with niello with a rivet hole in the centre for attaching a decorated stud (Acc. No. 4444, from London Wall). This is identical to one from Wroxeter (No. 264).
165. **Fig. 6.** A bronze axe-sheath with the hook bent over (Acc. No. 1907, found at Three Kings' Court, Lombard Street), of normal type, see Wroxeter No. 243.
166. **Fig. 6.** Part of a bronze harness ring with the ring broken away and a rectangular slot with decorative masking (Acc. No. 1927), very similar to an example from Wroxeter (No. 252).
167. **Fig. 6.** In the possession of Mr. Francis Greenway³, a fine bronze silvered buckle with fine punched decoration (cf. *Richborough IV*, Pl. xxxiii, No. 71).

¹ Some of the fragments bear a superficial resemblance to pieces from Vindonissa, Burckhardt, *Das Leder und seine Verarbeitung im Römische Legionslager Vindonissa*, 1942.

² This piece is the subject of a note in a forth-

coming Journal of the Arms and Armour Society.

³ This object has now been placed on permanent loan at the B.M. I am grateful to Mr. Greenway for allowing me to publish it.

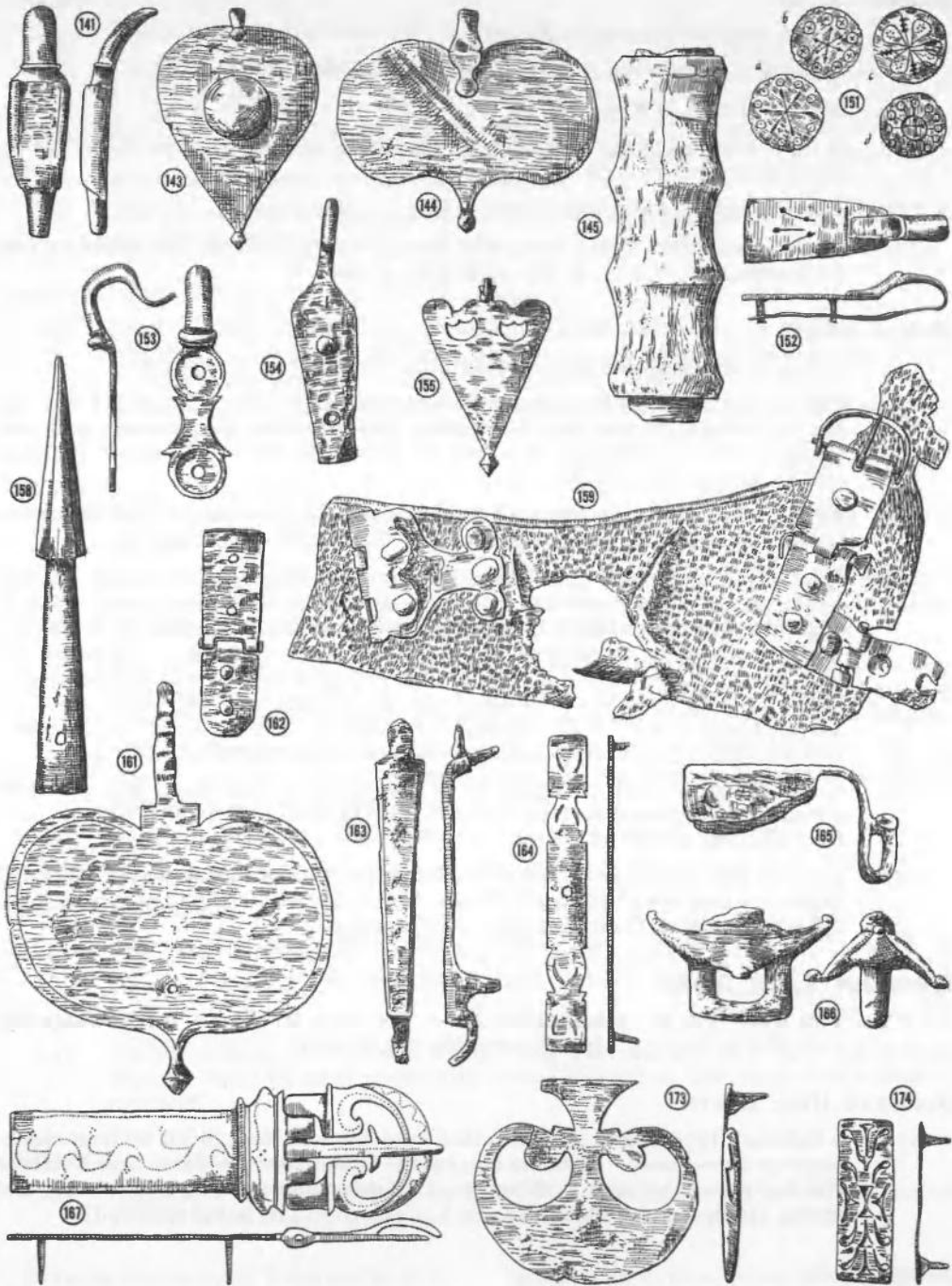


Fig. 6. Objects from London and Margidunum (8)

MAIDEN CASTLE

Objects from the Excavation Report

168. Two scales of tinned bronze each with a single hole (Fig. 95, No. 4).
 169. A piece of mail (Fig. 95, No. 6).
 170. A small bronze leaf pendant (Fig. 96, No. 11) similar to one from Mainz (*M.Z.*, viii-ix (1913-14) No. 20).
 171. Two iron bolt-heads of square section (Fig. 93, Nos. 1 and 2).
 172. Twelve iron arrows or bolt-heads with flat and triangular heads and folded sockets (cf. Carnuntum, *R.L.O.*, ii, Taf. xxiii, Figs. 9 and 10).

MARGIDUNUM

Objects in the Margidunum Collection at the University, Nottingham

173. **Fig. 6.** A tinned bronze pendant of pelta-shape (*J.R.S.*, xxxi (1941) Fig. 14, No. 16), similar to one from *Novaesium* (Taf. xxx, No. 50); a more elaborate variant is seen from Mainz (*M.Z.*, xii, xiii (1917-18) No. 25; cf. also Faimingen, *O-R.L.*, No. 35, Taf. viii, No. 17).
 174. **Fig. 6.** A small bronze plate with chases for niello inlay typical of the decorative features for attaching to belts (cf. Hofheim, Taf. xii, Nos. 9, 11 and 12).
 175. **Fig. 7.** A bearing rein attachment for harness. This type of object is fairly common from Roman military sites. It consists of two rings, one of which is meant to project and take a free running trace, the other is hidden by decorative masking and is for attachment to two leather straps meeting at this point and both looped through the ring. The effect is that of having a projecting ring to take a trace at right-angles to the straps (cf. Kastell Feldberg, *O-R.L.*, No. 10, Taf. vi, Nos. 4 and 6; *M.Z.*, xii, xiii (1917-18) Abb. 8, Nos. 14 and 15; *Saalburg*, Taf. lix, Nos. 1-3; Newstead, Pl. lxxv, No. 12; Wroxeter No. 252 etc.).
 176. A barbed arrow-head, triangular in section (*J.R.S.*, xxxi (1941) Fig. 3, No. 6) compares with those from Newstead (Pl. xxxviii, Nos. 1-7) see also Wall No. 228, Ham Hill No. 128, etc.
 177. An iron grid-iron, said to be of Flavian date (*Margidunum* (1927) Pl. iii) is similar to one from Newstead (Pl. liii, No. 2) but there is probably very little difference between the military and civilian types.

MAUMBURY RINGS, DORSET

178. Two military type arrow-heads (*Dorset Nat. Hist. & Antiq. F. C. Proc.* (1913) xxiv, Fig. 2, No. 335; (1914) xxxv, No. 375, p. 105).

NORTHCOT HILL, HERTS.

179. A legionary type helmet similar to that from London, No. 138 but without cheek-pieces or nose-guard. Found in digging the Grand Junction Canal near Northcot Hill between Tring and Berkhamstead (*Vetusta Monumenta*, v, Pis. xxvi and xxvii; *Horae Ferales*, Pl. xii, No. 5; *V. C. H. Herts.*, iv, p. 158 and Pl. 1).

RICHBOROUGH

A considerable number of military objects have been found on this site and fully published in the Excavation Reports Nos. I, II, III and IV.

SEA MILLS

*Objects in the Bristol Museum*¹

180. **Fig. 7.** A bronze eyelet of a common form, see London No. 153, probably, from its size, for harness.
181. **Fig. 7.** Part of a large pendant in silvered bronze with niello decoration (Acc. No. F. 2274). The nearest parallel is from *Novaesium* (Taf. xxxiv, No. 17), on which the suggested reconstruction is based.
182. There is another, circular pendant with traces of tinning (Acc. No. F. 908) which might be military.

SHROTON PARK, DORSET

183. **Fig. 7.** A hollow cast bronze plume-holder from a helmet in the British Museum, is probably a stray from Hod Hill, very similar to one from *Camulodunum* (Pl. cii, No. 2) and one on the legionary helmet at Mainz (*M.Z.*, xii, xiii (1917-18) p. 174). It was found with other objects including a small bronze bell identical in shape to one from Zugmantel (*O-R.L.*, No. 8, Taf. xii, No. 48).

SILCHESTER

Objects of military origin have been illustrated by Mr. G. Boon (*Roman Silchester* (1957) Fig. 11). These include :—

184. A circular, bronze pierced disc (No. 1) which Jacobi has suggested is part of a standard (*Saalburg Jahrbuch* (1910) p. 48) but from the associations of similar pieces found in Northern England, it is probably of mid-2nd century date.
185. A large, bronze, open-work buckle plate (No. 2) very similar to a fragment from Zugmantel (*O-R.L.*, No. 8, Taf. x, No. 53) but is also probably 2nd century when this type of decoration replaced the early solid metal with niello decoration.
186. A bone scabbard-chape like those from Caerleon (Prysg Field, Part ii, Fig. 43, where they are fully discussed); from the associations of similar finds, this appears to be 2nd century.
187. An enamelled object, the function of which is in doubt.
188. A bronze scabbard-mount like that from Cirencester No. 34.
189. An iron butt.
190. An iron lance-head with a long slender blade.
191. An iron bolt- or arrow-head, triangular in section.
192. Part of a bone bow, see London No. 156.
193. An iron caltrop (cf. Caerleon, Prysg Field, Part ii, Fig. 22). Only one of these objects, No. 188, need necessarily have belonged to the army of the mid-1st century².

SPETTISBURY, DORSET

194. A piece of shield binding³ was found in a mass grave of presumably native victims of the Roman Army and may have been from an object of loot.

¹ I am indebted to Dr. F. Wallis and Mr. L. V. Grinsell for giving me facilities for studying this material.

² In fairness to Mr. Boon I should point out

that he regards these objects as deriving from the Town garrison at a later date.

³ *Arch. J.*, xcvi, p. 114; *Dorset N. H. and Arch. Soc.*, lxxix (1957) p. 119.

TOLLESHUNT D'ARCY, ESSEX

195. An iron pilum-head with part of its wooden shaft still in the socket, in Colchester Museum (Acc. No. 135.52; *Museum Report*, 1950-54, p. 32).

VERULAMIUM

196. A bronze helmet of legionary type now in Colchester Museum, found in the neighbourhood of St. Albans (*Proc. Soc. Ant.*, v, p. 362; *V. C. H. Herts.*, iv, Pl. 1). Mr. M. R. Hull kindly sends me the following description: 'The helmet is hammered from one piece of bronze and the edges are not bound anywhere but the front edge is thickened almost to a bead. The central knob on the top has a slot and rivet hole for the plume. Of the two holes in the nape-guard, one is deliberate and is placed at the end of a crack which presumably it was intended to arrest. The second, much smaller, is irregular and presumably accidental. Over each ear at $1\frac{3}{4}$ ins. above the rim two holes occupy the place where the iron frontal bar should hinge. Immediately above these and inclined to the rear is the mark of a plume holder (?) now missing¹. On the nape-guard on the left side there is a punched inscription P. P. [. . .] PAPIRI² with traces of an older inscription under it and a third on the right side'.

The military objects found in the excavations of 1930-33³, appear to be all associated with 3rd or 4th century deposits. These include a bronze dagger-chape (Fig. 46, No. 59) not unlike one from Zugmantel (*O-R.L.*, No. 8, Taf. xi, No. 1); a pilum-head, three spear-heads of uncertain date and type and part of an iron shield boss (Pl. lxiv, Nos. 1, 2, 4, 6 and 5 respectively). It is noteworthy that the chape and pilum both came from the same deposit, the filling of a cellar which appears to have been mainly late 4th century rubbish, 'although containing some earlier material' (p. 121).

From the Excavation in *Insula* xvii, 1938 (*Arch.*, 90 (1944)).

197. A rectangular, bronze plate with niello decoration from a legionary belt (Fig. 4, No. 11) found in a pre-Flavian deposit (see Leicester No. 134 and Weymouth No. 233, and Wroxeter No. 254).
198. An iron caltrop (Pl. xviii b, No. 5).
From the Excavations in 1956, 57 and 58⁴.
199. **Fig. 7.** A plain, bronze apron-mount with round terminal knob (Field Ref. VER 56, K vii, M 5) of a common type (see Cirencester No. 26 and Ham Hill Nos. 115 and 116). The identical shape as a harness fastener is seen from Doorwerth (Afb. 5).
200. **Fig. 7.** The bronze knobbed terminal and edging of a dagger chape (Field Ref. VER 57, K vii, H 10, from a pre-Boudiccan level). Very similar to ones from Chester (*Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, xxii, Fig. 5); Mainz *M.Z.*, xii, xiii (1917-18) Abb. 6, p. 175); *Novaesium* (Taf. xxx, No. 46) and Zugmantel (*O-R.L.*, No. 8, Taf. xi, No. 12).

¹ This is my suggestion based on the appearance of side plume holders on examples from London (No. 138) and Mainz (*M.Z.*, xii, xiii (1917-18) Abb. 5, p. 174). Mr. Hull has considered it as a possible ornament.

² *E.E.*, vii, 1166; ix, p. 665. Mr. R. P. Wright kindly tells me that the second punched graffito reads > VICTORSI M. VS.R and that

the third begins with a centurial sign.

³ R.E.M. and T.V. Wheeler. Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, No. XI.

⁴ I am greatly indebted to Mr. Sheppard Frere for showing me these objects and allowing me to publish them.

201. Part of a bronze buckle with traces of tinning; Field Ref. VER 56, K vii, E 14, from a level dated c. A.D. 60-70), a common military type as at Cirencester No. 28, Ham Hill No. 106 and Waddon Hill No. 213, etc.
202. **Fig. 7.** A bronze harness-clip with decorated top and two rivet holes for attaching decorative studs (Field Ref. VER 57, T vii, 26), similar to examples from Wroxeter No. 247, Sea Mills No. 180 and London No. 153.

Objects in the Verulamium Museum¹

203. **Fig. 7.** A bronze dagger-chape in two fragments (Acc. No. T 33 and 36, from the Theatre excavation Trench xxxiii, unstratified), very similar to one from Cirencester (No. 27).
204. **Fig. 7.** Part of a bronze buckle with traces of silvering of typical military pattern (Acc. No. 33602).
205. **Fig. 7.** A bronze pendant; although this is badly corroded it is of unmistakable type (cf. Hofheim, Taf. xiv, No. 8, etc.).
206. **Fig. 7.** A bronze hook from a legionary cuirass (Acc. No. T. 34, 459, from the Theatre excavation).
207. **Fig. 7.** A bronze buckle from a legionary cuirass (Acc. No. V. 31, 431).
208. **Fig. 7.** Bronze toggle decorated with two domed studs (Acc. No. 412). The bar at end is unusual but can be matched from the Walbrook, London (No. 150); the decorative arrangement can be paralleled from Hofheim (Taf. xiii, Nos. 16-19, etc.) and Newstead (Pl. lxxiv).
209. **Fig. 7.** Part of a bronze belt-plate with fretted design. This type of decoration may be later than the mid-1st century and probably replaced the solid, nielloed plate. An example has been found at *Novaesium* (Taf. xxx, No. 37) and a complete plate with knob fastener at Kastell Osterburken (*O-R.L.*, Taf. vi, No. 33).

WADDON HILL, DORSET

The collection of bronze and iron objects from this site in the Bridport Museum² is at present undergoing treatment. When the objects are properly cleaned it is intended to publish them fully in connection with an investigation of the site itself. As an interim step some selected objects are here illustrated and described:—

210. **Fig. 7.** A bronze, key-hole shaped slot for harness or baldric (cf. Doorwerth, Afb. 5 and Newstead, Pl. lxxii).
211. **Fig. 7.** A bronze, scabbard-mount with I-shaped decoration (cf. Broxtowe, No. 7).
212. **Fig. 7.** A bronze scabbard-guard with incised decoration of leaf motifs, similar to one from Hod Hill (*Coll. Ant.*, vi, Pl. 1; *Proc. Prehist. Soc.*, xvi, Pl. 11).
213. **Fig. 7.** A bronze, tinned buckle of common form (cf. Ham Hill No. 106, etc.). There is another identical example.
214. **Fig. 7.** A larger and more decorative buckle.

¹ I am grateful to Dr. I. Antony for allowing me to examine and publish these items.

² I am grateful to the Town Clerk Mr. F. C. M. Forward for allowing me to examine this collec-

tion and to Mr. K. Barton of Bristol Museum for his very skilful cleaning of these objects which has now been completed.

215. **Fig. 7.** Three cuirass hooks, two of which appear to be attached to the strip forming eyelets, an arrangement which would have made the reconstruction suggested by von Groller impracticable (*R.L.O.*, ii, Text fig. 24).
216. **Fig. 7.** A damaged, plume mount which comes from a type of legionary helmet with a swept-back neck-guard, ear-protectors—and often elaborate decoration, a reconstruction of which is illustrated in *Camulodunum* (Fig. 62), based on the German examples from the Rhine (Lindenschmit, *Die Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, iv, Taf. 39; v, p. 114 f; *Germania Romana* (1922) Taf. 95, No. 5; *Mittheilungen über Romische Funde in Heddernheim*, i, p. 21, Fig. 27). The simple, sturdy type of legionary helmet as exemplified from examples from London, No. 138 and Chichester, No. 23, all have the knobbed plume-holder on the top with occasional small holders at the sides. This type of holder was clearly designed to hold the 'tufts' shown on Trajan's Column when the legion was on parade. The slotted type of plume holder must have been used in conjunction with other types of fasteners at the front, back or sides and implies the use of a larger plume. The question arises as to the possibility of this having belonged to the centurions¹. Contemporary illustrations of their helmets are rare, but where they occur, as in the example of T. Calidius Severus (*Arch. Epig. Mittheilungen*, v, p. 206), the transverse plume is shown on a helmet with cheek-pieces. This suggestion seems well in accord with the high decorative quality of these helmets.
217. **Pl. XII.** An iron dagger-scabbard with gold alloy and possibly silver or niello inlay. These elaborately decorated scabbards are probably legionary. Although much of the detail of the decoration on this example has been lost, it bears in its general design and treatment a resemblance to the German examples which have now been listed and partly illustrated ('Romische Dolchscheiden mit Tauschierung und Einailverzierung', *Germania*, xxiv, p. 22). The other British examples are so far confined to one from Richborough (*IV*, Pl. xxxiii, No. 74) and two from Hod Hill in the British Museum which still await treatment².
218. **Fig. 7.** A strip of bronze edging, half-round in section, probably from a scabbard or shield.
219. **Fig. 7.** Two iron pilum-heads in Dorchester Museum³.

The coin list as given by Boswell Stone (*Prehistoric and Roman Remains in West Dorset*, 1893) is:—

Republican 3, Augustus 1, Agrippa 1, Tiberius 1, Germanicus 1, Nero Drusus 1, Caligula 2, Claudius 15, Unidentifiable 1, also Durotrigian staters⁴.

Of the 20 brooches at Bridport, there are three Hod Hill and two *Aucissa* types.

The pottery includes some fragments of samian of the Claudian-early Flavian period on three of which Mr. B. R. Hartley reports as follows:—

- a. Dr. 27 with a stamp certainly LICINVS of La Graufesenque (for facsimile of the stamp see *Camulodunum*, Pl. xlii, No. 108) c. A.D. 45-60.
- b. Base of a Dr. 24/25 or Ritterling 8, with a stamp, AVC [. . . is presumably AVCIVS of South Gaul (Oswald, *Stamps*, pp. 31, 354), almost certainly pre-Flavian.

¹ As Lindenschmit has suggested (*Die Alterthümer* . . . , v, p. 117). Vegetius says that not only were the crests worn by centurions different, but their helmets also (II, 13).

² The details have been recorded on X-Ray plates which Mr. Brailsford kindly allowed me to

inspect.

³ I am greatly indebted to Mr. R. A. H. Farrar for drawing my attention to these objects.

⁴ The present whereabouts of these coins is unfortunately not known.



Fig. 7. Objects from Margidunum, Sea Mills, Shroton Park, Verulamium, Waddon Hill and Wall (§)

c. **Fig. 8, 13.** Dr. 29, this vessel is certainly to be put c. A.D. 45-60. There are also some fragments of coarse wares, including an early, peaked, amphora handle (*Camulodunum*, form 184).

WALL, STAFFS.

*Objects in Wall Museum*¹ (attached to the Ministry of Works Guardianship Site).

220. **Fig. 7.** A small bronze identification plate with traces of tinning and a punched inscription: ☉ VITALIS PRIME. R. G. Collingwood thought the last letter may be an 'S' (*J.R.S.*, xv, p. 248; see also *N. Staffs., F. C. Trans.*, lx (1925-6) p. 181) but Mr. R. P. Wright kindly informs me that he thinks it more likely to be an 'E' and part of the centurion's name.
221. **Fig. 7.** A similar plate inscribed: ☉ PRO[. . .] MEN . . . (*J.R.S.*, xlvii (1957) p. 231).
222. A bronze pendant with a projecting, conical knob (*Birmingham Arch. Soc. Trans.*, lxxiv (1956) Fig. 5, No. 1), probably from horse harness where the use of such knobs is shown on the Doorwerth examples (Afb. No. 1). Parallels are seen at Cappuck (*Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot.*, xlvi (1912) Fig. 11, No. 3) and Caerhun (*Arch. Camb.*, xci (1936) Fig. 61, No. 4, p. 236).
223. **Fig. 8.** A bronze pendant in the form of a phallic amulet, a common type found on military sites (*Novaesium*, Taf. Nos. 49 and 50; *M.Z.*, xii, xiii (1917-18) Abb. 10, No. 1; *Zugmantel, O-R.L.*, No. 8, Taf. x, Nos. 43-47; *Weissenburg, O-R.L.*, No. 72, Taf. vi, No. 15; *Colchester* Nos. 84 and 85, etc.).
224. **Fig. 8.** A large bronze decoration for attachment to a leather strap with probably a ring at the end now broken away. Similar to examples from Hofheim (Taf. xiv, No. 1) and Mainz (*M.Z.*, viii-ix (1913-14) Abb. 7, No. 10; xii, xiii (1917-18) Abb. 10, No. 3).
225. **Fig. 8.** A fine, bronze knife-handle in the form of a lion. While not specifically military, a close parallel is noted from Mainz (*M.Z.*, xi (1916) Abb. 14).
226. **Fig. 8.** Part of a tinned bronze, finely-made decoration. Although appearing to be in the form of a buckle it is more probably part of a pierced roundel (cf. *Carnuntum, R.L.O.*, ix, Fig. 54, Nos. 4-6) or pendant (such as that from Wiesbaden, *O-R.L.*, No. 31, Taf. x, No. 25). The date of this object remains uncertain.
227. **Fig. 8.** A group of four bronze terminals with rough shanks. These objects are probably decorations for a vehicle or piece of furniture, although the suggestion has been made that they are the ends of keys or latch-lifters (Jacobi, *Saalburg*, p. 472) (cf. *Novaesium*, Taf. xxx, Nos. 39 and 41; *Zugmantel, O-R.L.*, No. 8, Taf. xiii, Nos. 67, 68 and 71, etc.).
228. **Fig. 8.** Two triangular, barbed arrow-heads of Roman shape similar to the Newstead examples (Pl. xxxviii).
229. Two iron pilum-heads (cf. *Caerleon, Prysge Field, Part ii, Figs. 20 and 21*).

WATER NEWTON

230. The mouth-piece of a bronze trumpet now in Peterborough Museum (*Artis, The Durobrivae of Antoninus* (1828) Pl. xxxvi, No. 1). Although these are found on military sites (see *Colchester* No. 43), these instruments probably also had civil use as temple ritual (a plain type was found at Lydney Park², Fig. 16, No. 47).

¹ I am greatly indebted to Miss D. Charlesworth for kindly arranging for me to examine, draw and publish these objects.

² R.E.M. and T.V. Wheeler, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, No. IX.

231. An acorn decoration in the British Museum (Acc. No. 82, 6-21, 144, 'from Chesterton Camp') almost identical to that from Cirencester No. 29.
232. **Fig. 8.** A bronze head of an eagle surmounting a round socket from the side of which springs a bird's head. This fitting from a military cart is similar to, although larger than, Nos. 37, 51, 68, 136 and 237. It was found at Ford Green, Castor, in 1937 and is in the possession of Mr. Wyman Abbott who kindly allowed me to examine and publish it.

WEYMOUTH

233. **Fig. 8.** A bronze, rectangular plate decorated with niello, from a legionary belt now in the British Museum (Durden Collection, Acc. No. 92, 9-1, 1705), found at Greenhill. This is similar to examples from Leicester No. 134, *Verulamium* No. 197 and Wroxeter No. 254, etc.

WORTHING, NORFOLK

234. A decorated cavalry parade helmet found in dredging operations in the River Wensun. This has been fully described and discussed by Prof. J. M. C. Toynbee (*J.R.S.*, xxxviii (1948) p. 20) who is inclined on stylistic grounds to assign a late date to it and it seems unlikely to be associated with the early invasion period.
235. A face-mask of a similar, but not of the same helmet, found near the same place in 1950. Both pieces are now in Norwich Museum.

WROXETER

236. A round stud with niello decoration similar to those from London No. 151 (T. Wright, *Uriconium* (1872) p. 163).
From the Excavations 1912-14¹.
237. A socketed terminal with an eagle's head holding a small object in the beak (1912, Fig. 10, No. 15). This appears to be very similar to those found at Cirencester No. 37 and Colchester Nos. 51 and 68, etc.
238. A bronze key handle (1912, Pl. x, No. 1) very similar to examples from military sites (see Jacobi, 'Die Schlosser und ihr Zubehor', *Saalburg*, p. 462 and Text fig. 76, Nos. 43-45; Zugmantel, *O-R.L.*, No. 8, Taf. xiii, No. 51; Feldberg, *O-R.L.*, No. 10, Taf. vi, No. 58, etc.).
239. Part of a swan loop skillet-handle (1912, Pl. x, No. 8) of 1st century form (*A.A.*, 4th ser. (1936) p. 144; Boesterd No. 2).
240. A bronze pendant with tinned surface and niello decoration (1913, Fig. 7, No. 22; cf. Hofheim, Taf. xii, No. 37 and Wiesbaden, *O-R.L.*, No. 31, Taf. x, No. 24).
241. An iron caltrop (1913, Fig. 8, No. 30) of which several were found.
242. A bronze pendant attached by a hinge to a roundel with loops at the back, both with niello decoration (1914, Pl. xviii, No. 30), similar to the Doorwerth examples.
243. **Fig. 8.** Pioneers' axe sheaths (1914, Pl. xx, No. 3). Several others have been found at Wroxeter (*Excavations* 1923-27, Pl. 49, A, 302 and 303, two examples; in 1957, one example (illustrated)). These are fairly common objects on legionary sites (cf. Chester, Liverpool, *Annals of Arch. and Anthropology*, xi, Fig. 6; Newstead, p. 279, with examples figured from the Rhine; Wiesbaden, *O-R.L.*, No. 31, Taf. x, No. 61; Mainz, *Allert. uns. heid. Vorz.*, v, Pl. x, No. 166 and *M.Z.*, vii (1912) Abb. 5, No. 43; *Novaesium*, Taf. xxx, No. 40; *Camulodunum*, Pl. ciii, No. 30 and Broxtowe, No. 15, etc.).

¹ J. Bushe-Fox, Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Nos. 1, 2 and 4.

244. A bronze head-stall (1914, Pl. xx, No. 2) considered by Bushe-Fox to be military on the strength of parallels from Hofheim (Taf. xix, No. 39); Haltern (Heft. 2, Taf. xxvii, No. 2) and Zugmantel (*O-R.L.*, No. 8, Taf. xii, No. 106 and Taf. xxi, No. 56).
245. A bronze, decorative plate with open-work design probably for a belt (1914, Pl. xxi, No. 1) there are close parallels from Osterburken (*O-R.L.*, No. 40, Taf. vi, No. 32) and Saalburg (Text fig. 79, No. 6).
246. A bronze buckle (1914, Pl. xxi, Fig. 1, No. 2) very similar to examples from Kastell Pfünz (*O-R.L.*, No. 73, Taf. xiii, No. 33); Saalburg (Taf. liv, Nos. 2 and 7); Osterburken (*O-R.L.*, No. 40, Taf. vi, No. 28) where it is attached to a belt-plate, and *Novaesium* (Taf. xxx, No. 7). The other example given by Bushe-Fox (Pl. xxi, Fig. 2, No. 4), may belong to a more common type with a straight bar forming a D-shaped pattern, from the legionary cuirass.
247. **Fig. 8.** A bronze harness loop or clip (1914, Pl. xxi, Fig. 2, No. 1). Close parallels are seen from *Novaesium* (Taf. xxx, No. 6), and Newstead (Pl. lxxii).
*From the Excavations 1923-27*¹.
248. A camp kettle (Pl. 53A) made of sheet bronze, 8 ins. dia. and 6½ ins. high, similar to one from Newstead (Pl. liii, No. 8).
249. A pioneer's axe or *dolabra* (Pl. 53B). It is identical to one from Newstead (Pl. lvii, Nos. 2-5) from a Flavian pit. This tool is known from its appearance on Trajan's column (Cichorius², Taf. lxvii, 242; lxx, 254 and lxxxvii, 314).
250. A bronze dagger-chape (Pl. 48A, No. 1), a parallel is quoted from Zugmantel (*O-R.L.*, No. 8, Taf. xi, No. 4) but there is a closer one from *Novaesium* (Taf. xxx, No. 24.)
251. A bronze skillet handle with a circular hole (Pl. 49, A. 263), see discussion on this form under Broxtowe No. 5.
252. **Fig. 8.** A harness ring with a masked, rectangular slot (Pl. 48A, No. 6). The shaped slot is to enable it to be fixed flat on to a strap so that the ring stands out at right angles to it, cf. Margidunum No. 175.
253. A bronze handle in the form of two dolphins (Pl. 49, A. 260). Very similar to examples from Zugmantel (*O-R.L.*, No. 8, Taf. xiii, No. 17); Saalburg (Taf. lvii, Nos. 2 and 3) and Wiesbaden (*O-R.L.*, No. 31, Taf. x, No. 3). This type of drop-handle was used attached to the neck guard of a certain type of helmet as shown by Hans Klumbach (*Fundberichte aus Schwaben*, Neue Folge 14 (1957), 107).
*From the Excavations south of the Baths 1952-53*³.
254. **Fig. 8.** A bronze rectangular plate with niello decoration from a legionary belt (cf. Leicester No. 134 and Weymouth No. 233, etc.).
255. **Fig. 8.** A bronze cloak-fastener with round disc, decorated with a human face for which there is a close parallel from Hofheim (Taf. xii, No. 39). Although it has been recently argued that the round cloak-fastener is a 2nd century type⁴, there are examples with 1st century associations, such as that from Mainz in a grave with an early Flavian, samian Dr. 29 and two other vessels of the same period (*M.Z.*, viii-ix (1913-14) Abb. 8, p. 56, No. 5, one of the coarse vessels is a Hofheim type 113 or *Camulodunum* form 120, and the other Hofheim 26 C or *Camulodunum* 95, both of Claudio-Neronian date).

¹ D. Atkinson, *Report on the Excavations at Wroxeter, 1923-27* (1942).

² *Die Reliefs der Traianssaule*, Berlin (1896-1900).

³ I am greatly indebted to the Director, Miss K.

Kenyon, for allowing me to anticipate our joint report which is forthcoming.

⁴ J. Gillam, *Roman and Native in Northern Britain*, p. 81.



Fig. 8. Objects from Wall, Water Newton, Weymouth, Wroxeter and Yeovil and pottery from Broxtowe and Waddon Hill ($\frac{2}{3}$, except the pottery $\frac{1}{3}$)

256. **Fig. 8.** A bronze bird-mount identical to that on a pendant at Cirencester (No. 32).
257. **Fig. 8.** A cuirass-hinge with copper rivets the function of which has been shown at Carnuntum (*R.L.O.*, ii, Text fig. 33 and Taf. xix ; cf. Broxtowe, Nos. 8 and 19, etc.). Another example was found in the same excavation.

From the Baths Excavations 1956-57

258. **Fig. 8.** A bronze strip decorated with three ovals inlaid with blue and red enamel with traces of gilding on the edge. Site Ref. WB (16.25). This object which can be paralleled from Caerleon (Prysg Field, Part ii, Fig. 33, No. 24, and there is another example in the British Museum, found in the cliff at Felixstowe, Suffolk, Acc. No. 56, 6-27, 79) is the central part of an elaborate belt-plate ; a complete example, from Carnuntum, has been discussed (*R.L.O.*, viii, Fig. 5). The surrounding panels are inlaid with *millesfiori*. Other examples have been found at Osterburken (*O-R.L.*, No. 40, Taf. vi, No. 34) ; Newstead (Pl. lxxvii, No. 8, although here not associated with a panel illustrated on Pl. lxxxix, No. 25, with a parallel quoted from South Shields, Fig. 48 taken from *A.A.*, x, p. 223, also illustrated in *Dark Age Britain* (1956), Pl. IXd) ; Stockstadt (*O-R.L.*, No. 33, Taf. viii, No. 23) ; *Saalburg* (Text fig. 83, No. 10) and *Dorchester* (No. 88). The type in a degenerate form survived into the second century, and examples of which comes from Lydney¹ (Fig. 20, No. 97) and St. Stephens Cemetery, St. Albans (in the Verulamium Museum).
259. **Fig. 8.** A bronze, cuirass-hook (Site Ref. WB (3) 20), see London No. 154, and Waddon Hill No. 215.
260. **Fig. 8.** A bronze pendant with traces of tinning of a common type (cf. Doorwerth, Afb. 4 ; Newstead, Pl. lxxiii, Nos. 2-4 ; *M.Z.*, vii (1912) Abb. 4, No. 18 ; *Novaesium*, Taf. xxxiv, No. 16 ; Wiesbaden. *O-R.L.*, No. 31, Taf. x, No. 20 ; Hofheim, Taf. xii, No. 37, etc.). There is a similar example in the Site Museum at Wroxeter.

*Objects in Rowley House Museum, Shrewsbury*²

261. **Fig. 8.** A bronze pendant with terminal knob and key-hole opening, decorated with punch marks round the edges (No. A. 335 from the 1923-27 Excavations), a similar example occurs at *Novaesium* (Taf. xxxiv, No. 12).
262. **Fig. 8.** A bronze harness clip or loop (A. 137 from the 1923-27 Excavations) see similar examples from Sea Mills, No. 180 and London No. 153.
263. **Fig. 8.** A bronze, double disc, pendant ; see Cirencester No. 32.

In the Site Museum at Wroxeter

264. A flat, bronze strip of niello, identical to one from London (No. 164) and comparable, but not identical with one from Hofheim (Taf. xii, No. 21).

YEOVIL

265. **Fig. 8.** A bronze tinned buckle of military type in the British Museum (Acc. No. 63, 3-6, 2), said to have been found near Yeovil.

¹ Report of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries No. IX.

² I am grateful to the curator, Mr. J. L. Hobbs, for allowing me to examine these objects.