VI

Regional brooch-types in Roman Britain: evidence from northern England

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SUMMARY

Brooch finds are plentiful and so provide a data set from Roman Britain which is both widespread and representative of the different settlement types. In this paper, data from urban and rural areas in the north and the south of England are compared. The data shows that brooch use varied, both between different settlement types and within different parts of the country. Regional brooch-types are identified and future studies suggested.

INTRODUCTION

In this paper the data on the Roman brooches from the north of England[1] is collated and the patterns of distribution of different types is considered. Data has been taken from the Portable Antiquities Scheme[2] (hereafter PAS) database as well as from the main sites in the area.[3] Comparisons are made to brooch data from the south of England and also from continental Europe. The PAS data is a relatively new resource, and using this data alongside excavated material gives a much more accurate picture of brooch loss (and usage) in the Roman period than has been possible before. The PAS data gives a picture of rural activity (as opposed to the urban or military nature of most excavated sites), so providing a useful comparison. It is hoped that by studying this data regional patterns may emerge.

Roman brooches were almost always made from a copper alloy (bronze, brass or gun-metal), but rare examples of iron and silver are known. They are one of the most ubiquitous types of object found on Roman sites and they have been the subject of study for over a century. Complex typologies have been used to set up a dating framework, which has then been utilised to help date occupation at sites. As well as being aids to dating, brooches can be used to tell us about fashion, identity, manufacturing techniques and trading links. Brooches originated as a functional dress accessory — to hold clothes together, or up. However, in the Late Iron Age a change occurred, both in their numbers (they increased dramatically) and also in their form: they became larger and more ornate, often being enamelled. This is known as the Fibula Event Horizon,[4] and it is now thought that this increase in numbers indicates a change in the role of brooches, moving from being purely functional to having a decorative aspect as well. The change in the number of different types of brooches means the people wearing the brooches had a greater choice; this paper investigate whether this choice led to variations in what was worn in different regions and settlement types.

Before we start to look at regional studies and what they can tell us, for the purpose of this paper it is necessary to define what is meant by a regional type of object, as the term can mean different things to different people. Some may see it as a type of object which is found in a specific geographical region (of varying size);[5] others that it demonstrates the presence of a

certain group of people, who could be spread over a wide area.[6] For this paper both of these definitions will be used, as they are both relevant when looking at brooch use. Brooches are portable items which can, and were, easily moved around: they may be moved from their place of origin either by changing hands, or by movement of the owner. We must also remember that items can be used in different ways or viewed differently by different people. For example, crossbow brooches are associated with the military as well as with high ranking civilian posts[7] and so their presence is taken to indicate military activity at a site. Certain brooches are particular to Roman Britain and a PhD student at Leiden University is studying finds of these types of brooches in the rest of the Roman Empire.[8]

Studies in regionality have a long history and span all periods of prehistory and history. They usually focus on specific items or styles of art and technology, and compare distribution patterns. In the field of Roman artefact research there have been various studies which indicate the potential of investigating the distribution of objects. Eckardt and Crummy's research into toilet instruments showed initially that there was a difference in the types used in Britain compared to those in Gaul and Germany. They then focussed on late Roman nail-cleaner strap-ends, which they showed were unique to Roman Britain and so were classed as a regional type,[9] albeit on a large geographical scale. Eckhardt also studied lighting equipment in Roman Britain and showed that London and the army had different profiles from other types of sites which used oil lamps in the first and second centuries,[10] showing regionality on a smaller scale.

Ellen Swift looked at regionality in dress accessories across the Western Roman Empire.[11] One of her case-studies was the crossbow brooch which had previously been thought to be centrally manufactured and distributed as they appear so uniform, even in the different style groupings.[12] She found that by looking closely at the brooches, and mapping the distributions of the different types, patterns could be seen: this indicated that although manufacture was probably controlled, the brooches were not all made in one location.[13] This level of detailed study, using small elements of decoration to define different manufacture, can be used for other artefact types as well as for suspected regional brooch-types. In the following sections the methodology, and the results achieved in looking at brooches in northern Britain will be discussed.

METHODOLOGY

There are problems inherent in collecting and combining data from different sources, which must be taken into account when using the data. This section will deal with how the data was collected, the biases in the data sets and the methods used for statistical analysis and comparison.

DATA COLLECTION AND THE BIASES IN THE DATA

Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS)

The data was downloaded from the PAS database by region — the three in this study being the North West, the North East and Yorkshire and the Humber. The two southern counties used for comparison are Suffolk and Somerset — one from the South East and one from the South West — to allow greater geographical comparison. The data for this project was

downloaded on 1 August 2009. The brooches were then sorted into the classification system as the brooch-type was not always given.

The PAS has been in existence since 1997 and has recorded over 400,000 items found in England and Wales. It works mainly with metal detectorists but other members of the public also report finds. The finds are recorded by Finds Liaison Officers, finds specialists who photograph, weigh, measure and describe each item. The records are entered into an online database, which is publicly accessible and free to use.[14] The nature of the PAS database is that it is being continually updated by the Finds Liaison Officers and so it is a living, growing database. It is an enormous database, impacting greatly on our knowledge of activity in the past, but there are some problems and potential biases in the data and the main one should be noted here. Although the scheme covers all of England and Wales and so gives a national picture, we must not take any blank areas as indicating a lack of past activity unless we have further evidence from other sources. Metal detecting can rarely take place in urban areas and is not permitted on Scheduled Monuments or in National Parks. This means there are large swathes of land that are not detected on, or, if detecting takes place, the finds are not reported, and so these areas will appear as blanks in maps that are compiled using solely PAS data.

Sites

All excavation reports from the north of England which were published and accessible, have been looked at, and the brooches found have been added to the database constructed for this study.[15] A full list of the sites which are included can be found in Table 1. In order to allow a

Table 1 Sites consulted for brooches, the numbers of brooches in brackets

Northern	Southern	Continental
Aldborough (62)	Richborough (445)	Roman Brooches from Switzerland (232)
Binchester (20)	Colchester (87)	Roman Brooches from Pannonia (432)
Birdoswald (20)	Hacheston[16] (193)	Roman Brooches from Augst, Germany (1592)
Brough-on-Humber (5)	Camulodunum (321)	
Brougham (5)	Charsfield (127)	
Carlisle (49)	Coddenham (180)	
Catterick (69)	Pakenham (112)	
Chester (96)	Sanham Toney (149)	
Chesters (78)	Wenhaston (144)	
Corbridge (172)		
Halton Chesters (16)		
Housesteads (22)		
Nether Denton (16)		
Piercebridge (48)		
Ribchester (22)		
South Shields (158)		
Vindolanda (18)		
Wallsend (33)		

more balanced comparison, some site reports from the south of England were also examined but as the main aim of the paper was to look at northern England, this represents a smaller sample (in the number of sites) than the northern data. As an added comparison, three publications of brooches from the Continent were also included. The wide range of dates of excavation and publication of the sites, as well as the varied classification systems used, made extracting the information difficult at times as the types of brooch were not always recorded.

DATA ANALYSIS

All of the data on the brooches from each site and from each PAS region were entered into Excel spreadsheets and were then divided into the same categories in order to allow comparison between the different data sets. The brooch-types used can be seen in Table 2. As well as breaking the data down into these groups, they were divided into bow, plate and penannular; a much simpler split between the three main forms of Roman brooch which provides a quick and easy comparison between brooch assemblages. Snape used this division in her 1993 work to compare the Stanegate sites with Hattatt's southern collection.[17]

Figs. 1–8 illustrate the key brooch-types discussed in detail in the following sections. All images have been taken from the PAS database and the reference numbers relate to the find record. They are displayed in date order, from earliest to latest, although there is overlap between many of them and the dates cited are all wide brackets.

A significant point to note, when comparing brooches across Britain, is the disparity in numbers between the different regions, both in the PAS data and that from excavated sites.

Table 2 The brooch-types used in the data sorting

Bow	Plate	Other
Aesica	Dragonesque	Annular
Bow (if the brooch could not be assigned to a specific type, although they are usually earlier styles)	Plate (including disc and umbonate types)	Penannular
Colchester	Skeumorphic	
Crossbow	Zoomorphic	
Dolphin		
Fantail and variants		
Headstud		
Hod Hill		
Knee		
Langton Down		
Other		
Polden Hill		
Thealby Mine		
Trumpet		
T-shaped		
Wirral		

Although for the north, eighteen sites were included and for the south only nine, there were more than twice the number of brooches from the southern sites than from the northern. This is also reflected in the PAS data as the two counties selected from the south provide 1842 brooches, compared to three whole regions from the north giving 1641 brooches. This difference is reflected in the levels of other forms of material culture within the Roman period and continues through to the medieval and post-medieval periods. The difference between the material culture from the north and from the south of Britain has been noted by many scholars,[18] and various reasons, from population density to differences in levels of wealth, have been put forward to explain this.

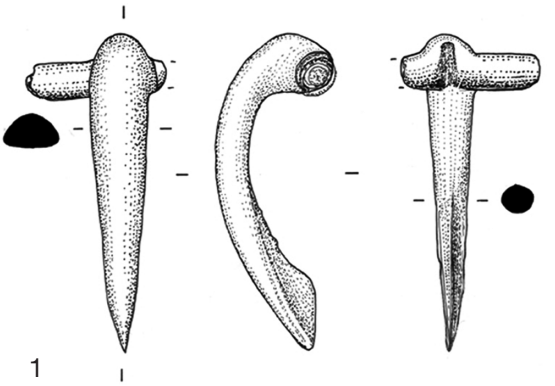
Something which has not been so widely discussed, however, is the difference between east and west, particularly in the north of Britain where the Pennines act as a dividing line. Again, this is a difference which is echoed throughout the history of Britain, not just in the Roman period. The main distinction is the large amount of small finds (and so the level of material culture) in the east as compared to the west, both recorded through the PAS and found during excavations. The North East (Teeside, Durham, Tyne and Wear, and Northumberland) is an exception to this rule with the PAS data, as it has the lowest number of finds from the three PAS regions.[19] The sites in this region, however, still have high numbers of objects, including brooches. The comparatively low number of stray-finds may be explained by the high number of Scheduled Monuments in the North East, on which metal-detecting is prohibited, so reducing the land available for this practice.

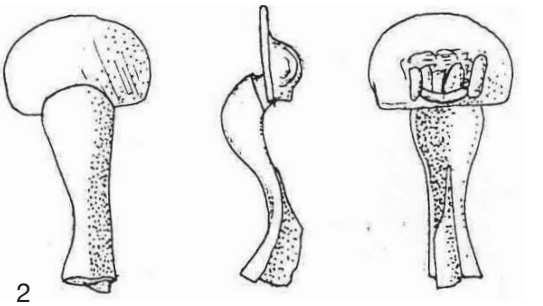
Due to the high frequency of brooches on Romano-British sites, Creighton hypothesised that it would be possible to create a 'brooch profile' for each site, which would enable this to be compared to those for other sites.[20] He suggested that by assigning each brooch-type to a date range, you could get a 'brooch curve' for a site, which represents the numbers of brooches lost through time.[21] This idea has been taken from the Roman coin divisions pioneered by Richard Reece, which involves splitting the Roman period in Britain into 21 periods. By assigning each coin to a Reece Period and creating percentage values for each period, different sites could be compared through their coin profiles.[22] However, brooches cannot be as closely dated as coins, and the chronology and typology is not as firmly established, so whilst this may well be a useful exercise it is perhaps too rigid a system for this object type. In this paper, profiles have been created from each data set but they are used mainly to indicate numbers of each brooch-type; dating will be a secondary element. This still allows comparison between the datasets, with general trends being the important feature, rather than specific numbers and dates.

GRAPHS AND GENERAL DISCUSSION

THE NORTH: INTER- AND INTRA-REGIONAL COMPARISONS

Looking at the differences between the three regions using the PAS data (Graphs 1–3) some significant points can be made. Each region has its own pattern of brooch loss which separates it from the other regions, although there are some similar features. All have high percentages of trumpet brooches while the Aesica, Aucissa, crossbow and skeumorphic brooches are very low in numbers. These features will be discussed further when comparing the PAS data to the site data. The North East has a higher percentage of knee, penannular and P-shaped brooches. Knee brooches have long been associated with the military.[23] It is also possible that penannular brooches were linked to the military[24] and the pattern of distribution supports this





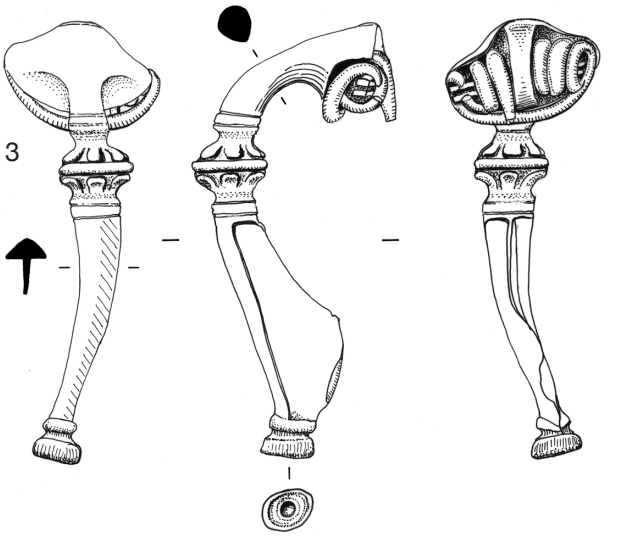


Fig. 1 Dolphin Type – IOW-8E8486, *c.* 50–150 AD.

Fig. 2 Knee Type – LEIC-013041, *c.* 150–300 AD.

Fig. 3 Trumpet Type – IOW-8CF662, *c.* 75–175 AD.

Fig. 4 Crossbow Type – IOW-3180A3, late 4th–5th century.

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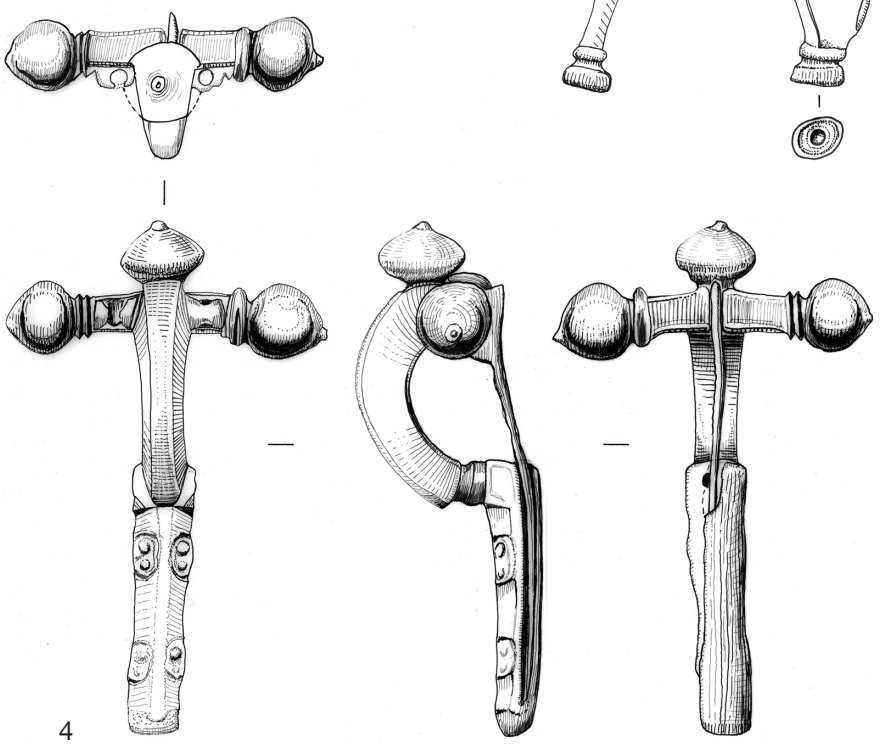

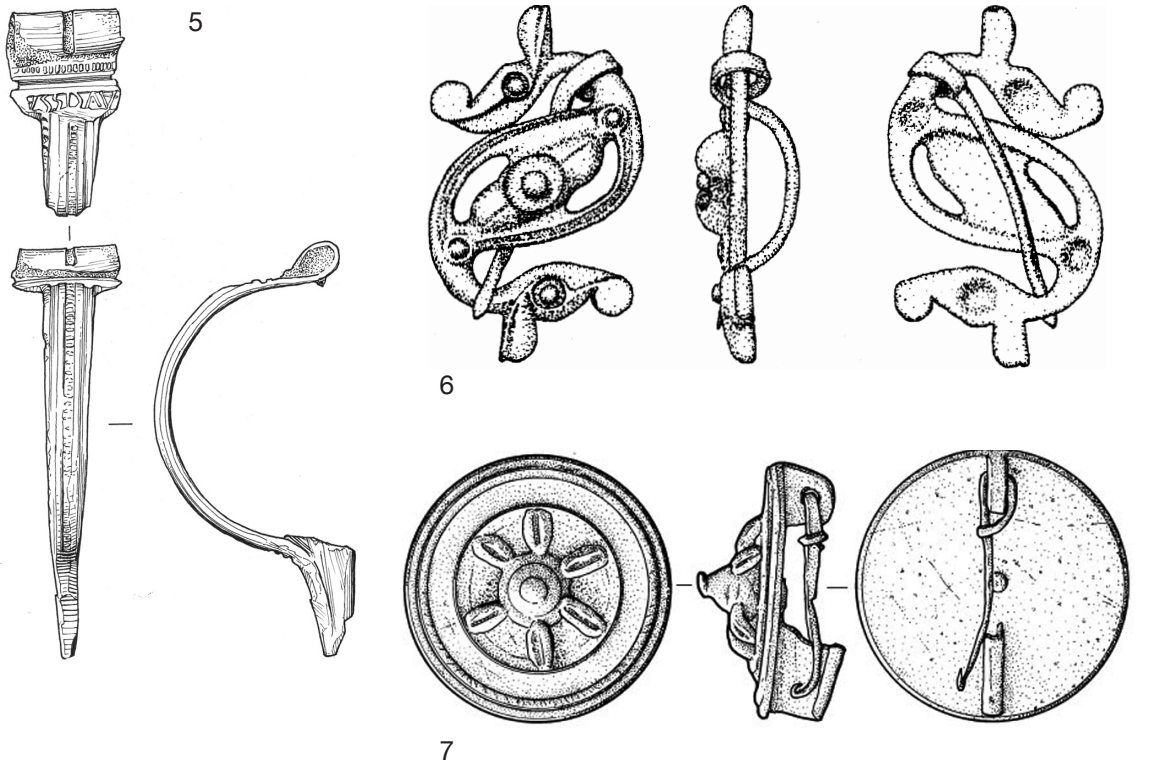

Fig. 5 Aucissa Type – YORYM-89CDA2, 2nd half of 1st century.

Fig. 6 Dragonesque Type – YORYM-A580A5, *c.* 75–175 AD.

Fig. 7 Plate/Disc Type – NCL-D05155, *c.* 75–250 AD.

Fig. 8 Polden Hill Type – HAMP-3808E2, *c.* 75–150 AD.

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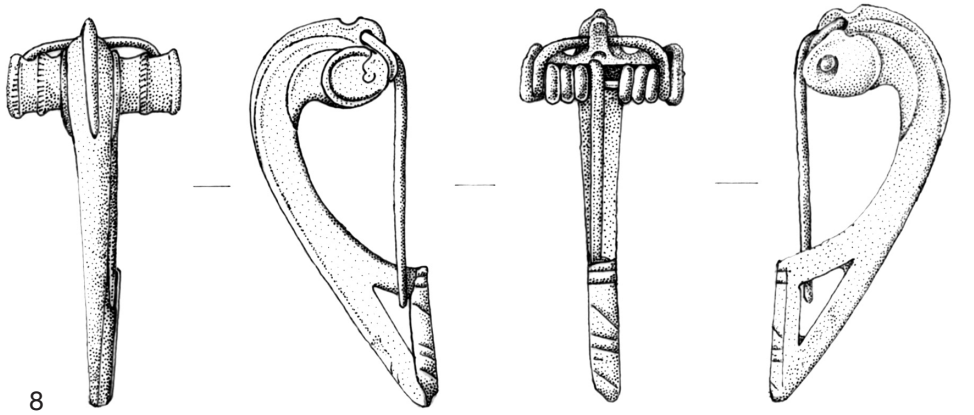
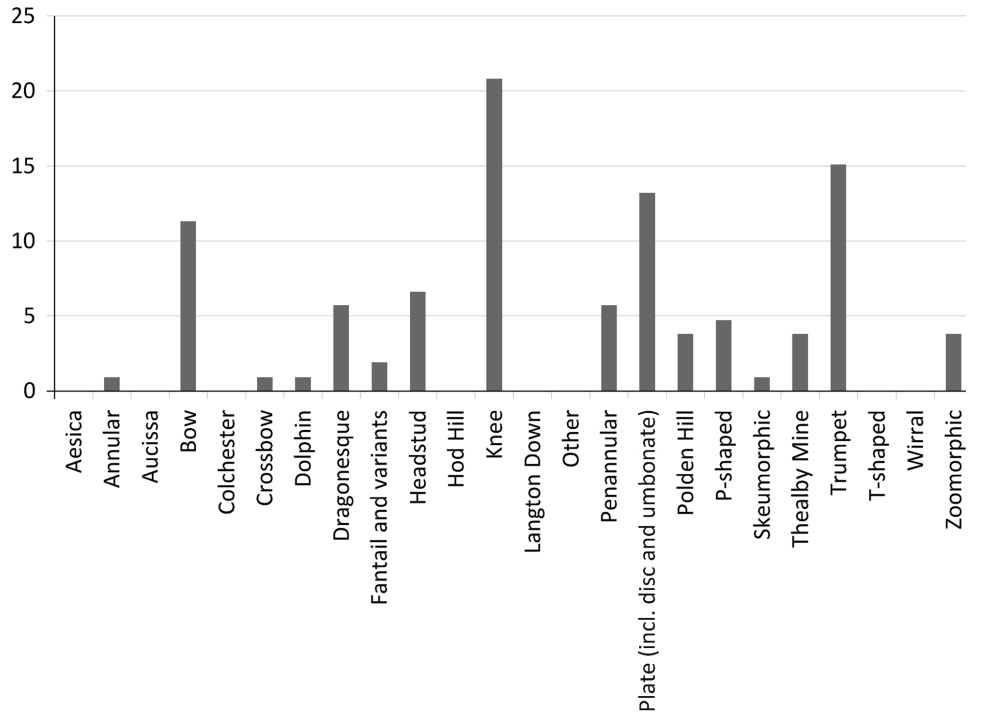


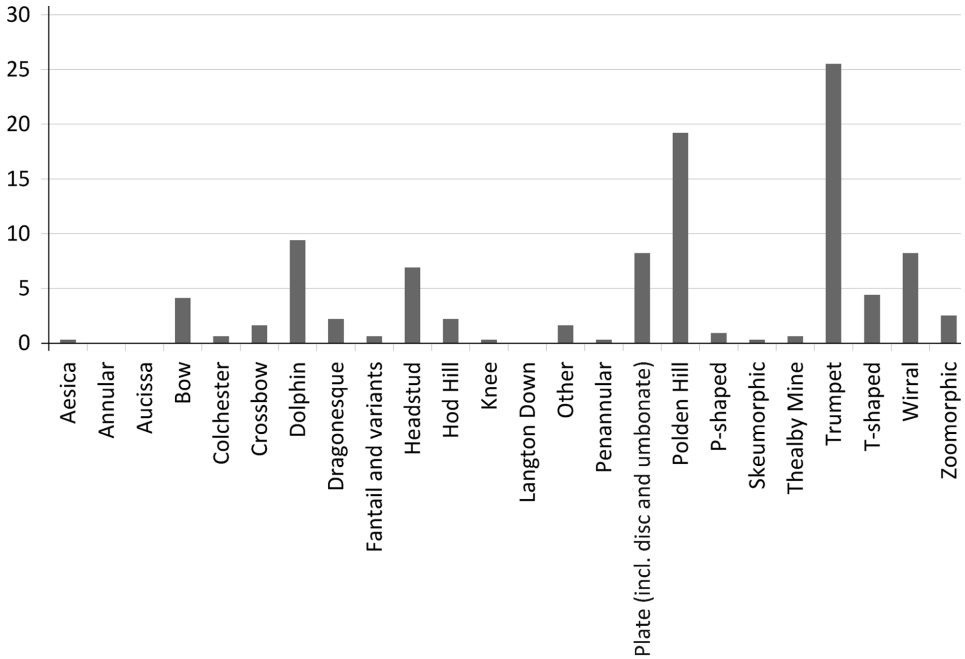


Graph 1 The North-East PAS region: brooches by percentage of types.

hypothesis, as the North East had a much denser settlement of military personnel than the other two regions. The fact that the P-shaped type is more numerous also suggests a link to the military, possibly as a precursor to the crossbow brooch, a type which we know was worn by military personnel.[25]

The North West has high percentages of Polden Hill brooches compared to the other two regions: nearly 20 per cent, compared to less than 5 per cent for the North East and 1 per cent for Yorkshire and Humber. This is a large difference and indicates a preference for this type in the area. The dolphin type, similar in style to the Polden Hill type, was also slightly higher in numbers than in the other two regions; possibly this was the style of brooch one wore to fit in with local fashions. Both types are quite simple and so would have been inexpensive, perhaps a reflection on the amount of money the rural population was spending on items such as this. One type, which is absent from the other two regions, is the Wirral type brooch. This is a very distinctive brooch group, and the author has investigated it in detail in a thesis written for a Masters degree. This brooch has a very restricted distribution and it is a significant type to study when looking at fashion, clothing and identity through dress accessories.[26]

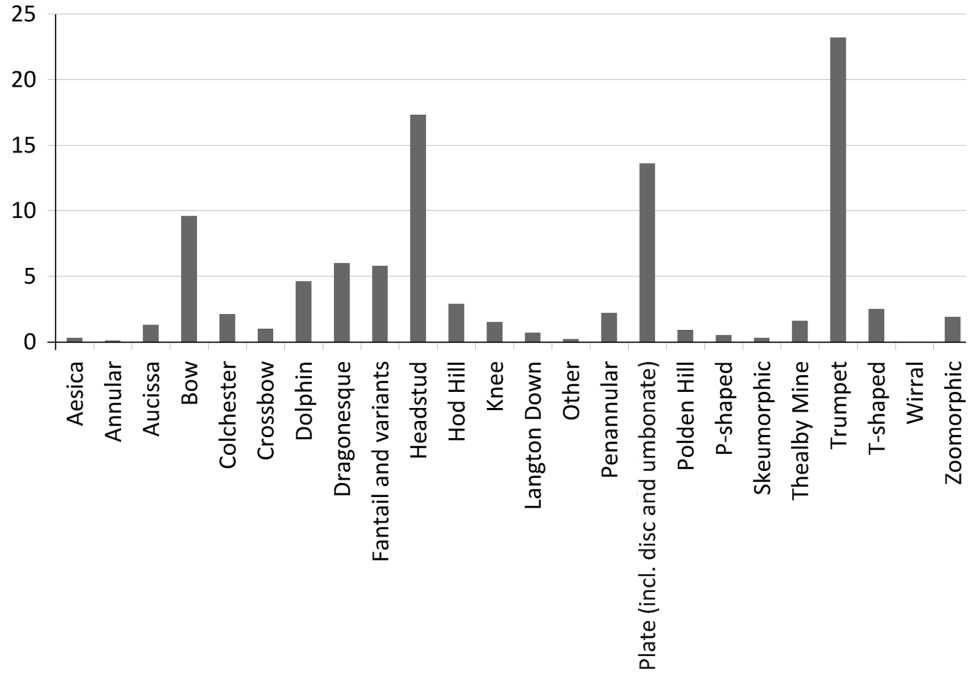
Yorkshire and Humber has the highest number of brooches by far of the three regions, as is shown in Table 3. In general, its pattern of brooch loss is more similar to the North East than the North West, with higher plate and dragonesque percentages. The two main types, which differ from both the other regions, are Yorkshire's high percentage of the headstud brooch and fantail variants. Headstud types in particular are well represented, with just over 17 per cent of the total. This is a type which was extremely prolific throughout Britain.[27] Its popularity in



Graph 2 The North-West PAS region: brooches by percentage of types.

Table 3 Number of brooches from each area

Area/Site	Number of brooches
PAS North West	318
PAS North East	106
PAS Yorkshire and Humberside	1217
Northern sites (combined)	909
Northern total	2550
PAS Somerset	275
PAS Suffolk	1567
Southern sites (combined)	1758
Southern total	3600
Continental total	2256

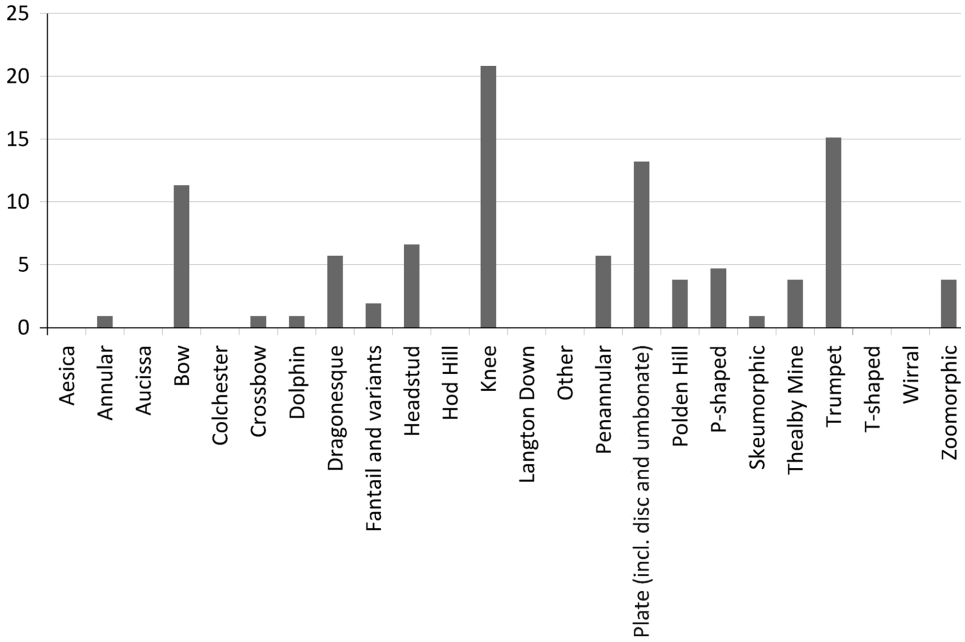


Graph 3 Yorkshire and the Humber PAS region: brooches by percentage of types.

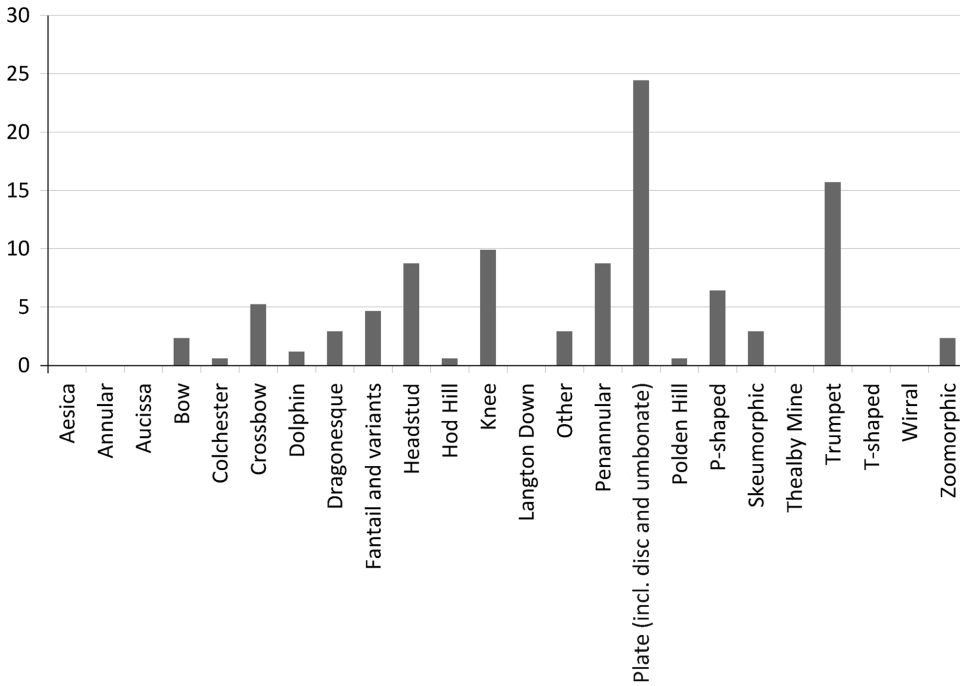
Yorkshire does not seem to be due to anything other than fashion choice; it is not a type that indicates a specific group of people. However, this is still an significant point to note, as it shows the role fashion can play in the use of certain brooches over others. Both the headstud and fantail variants are enamelled and this may have been the feature which made the types popular.

Looking at possible trade routes, the road systems can sometimes help to explain why some styles or fashions are found in certain areas and not others. This may, for example, explain some of the differences seen between the three regions, as it would have been easier to get from Cheshire to the Midlands than it would from Cheshire to Northumberland. The Pennines act as a barrier between the west and east, with the North East region and Yorkshire and Humber being more akin than the North West in the distribution of finds from the rural areas. The north of Britain is a huge area and although it is useful to look at the data from it as a whole we must remember that there is great variety within it which is represented in the material culture. As such it is a useful exercise to compare the PAS data from each region with some urban and military sites from within that region to see whether this highlights intra-regional differences or similarities. This will allow clarification as to whether the difference between regions is purely a rural phenomenon or if it carries over into the larger settlements. To this end the PAS data has been split into each region and is shown in graph form in comparison to two sites from within the region.

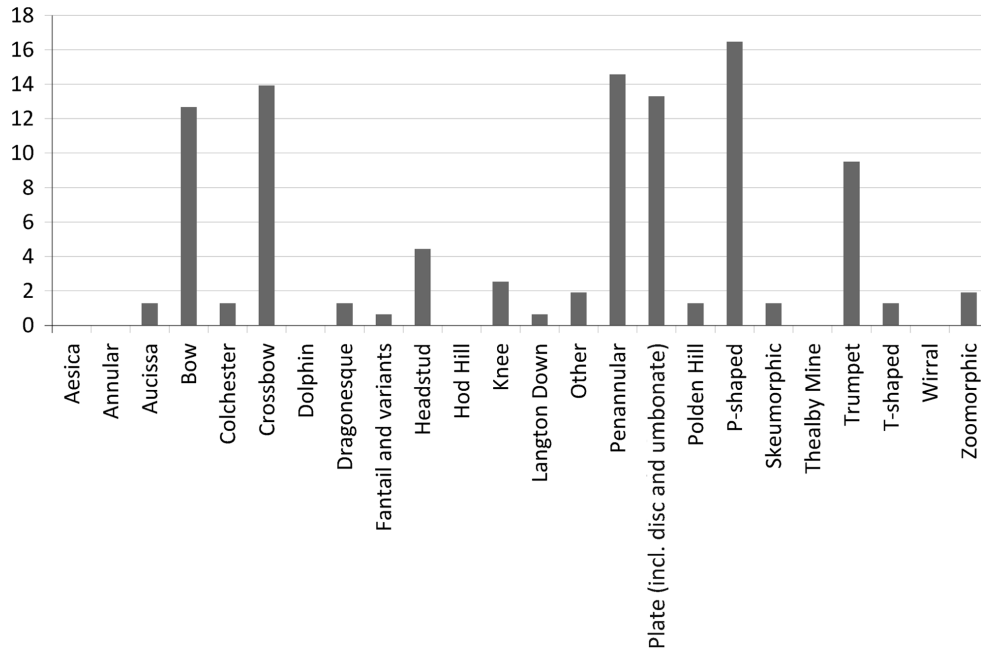
The North East (Graphs 4–6) has the lowest number of brooches of the three PAS regions (106), yet the sites in this region have the largest brooch assemblages from the northern sites studied. The two sites chosen for particular attention are both forts (although Corbridge later



Graph 4 The PAS North-East region: brooches by percentage of types.



Graph 5 Corbridge: brooches by percentage of types.



Graph 6 South Shields: brooches by percentage of types.

developed into a town), which reflects both the excavation preferences of archaeologists in the North East, but also the fact that the main large sites in the North East are military. This difference in numbers is notable as it appears that the rural population was not using brooches to such a degree as those people living in the forts. There is an immediate distinction between the military and the non-military communities.

Looking at the percentages of each brooch-type present, there are some brooches we would expect from this military zone. As mentioned previously, the crossbow, penannular, P-shaped and knee brooches are associated with the military. South Shields conforms to this pattern in general, with high percentages of the first three. However, it has less than 4 per cent knee brooches whilst the PAS North East data has over 20 per cent. From the combined data for the northern sites, compared to the PAS, it would seem this association with the military still stands, as the former has 9 per cent knee brooches compared to 3 per cent in the PAS data. However, the fact that one of the major fort sites in the North East has such a low percentage of these, should make us think again about their exact use. Lindsay Allason-Jones comments that it is difficult to envisage where on a soldier's uniform this brooch would have fitted as it would not hold sufficient cloth to be used on a cloak.[28] Perhaps it was not worn by soldiers but by other people related to, or included in, the military community. This may explain why the PAS North East and Corbridge (a town as well as a fort) have higher percentages than South Shields (a fort with the normal associated civilian settlement but no separate town).

The brooches from Corbridge also do not seem to fit what might be called a military profile, with fairly low numbers of all four of the main military types, yet a peak of plate brooches representing nearly 25 per cent of the total. This deviation from a military pattern must be

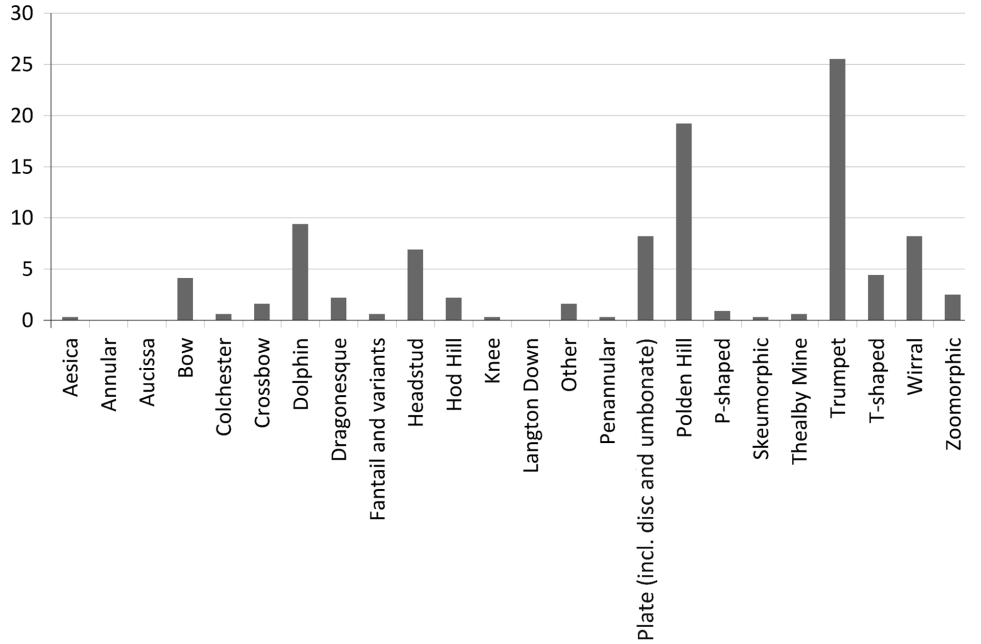
because of the development of the later civilian settlement, meaning the military trends were diluted by civilian fashions. Most plate brooches were made in the second–early third century AD and this would tie in with the dates of the development of the town. All three of the data sets have a high percentage of trumpet brooches, a type known to be popular in the north.[29] They also all have either no or very few of the earlier types, such as Langton Down, Aesica and Aucissa which were out of fashion by the time the Romans arrived in this region. The PAS data has a higher percentage of dragonesque brooches than the site data and this is not entirely unexpected as it is known that they are found more frequently in rural areas than on urban or military sites.[30] They are thought to have originated in the north of Britain and use elements of earlier Celtic art styles. This type will be discussed further in the concluding sections.

Carlisle and Chester were chosen as the case-study sites for the North West (Graphs 7–9). There are fewer excavated sites on this side of the Pennines than in the North East and the assemblages are not usually as big. This is in contrast to the PAS data, which has exactly three times the amount of brooches in the North West as in the North East, with 318 brooches. Chester is an unusual case in terms of its brooch profile as, although it was occupied on and off by the Roman military from the early AD 70s until the middle of the fourth century AD,[31] it does not have a typical military profile. For example, Chester has only two crossbow brooches even though it continued as a military and administrative centre well into the period that these brooches were being made.

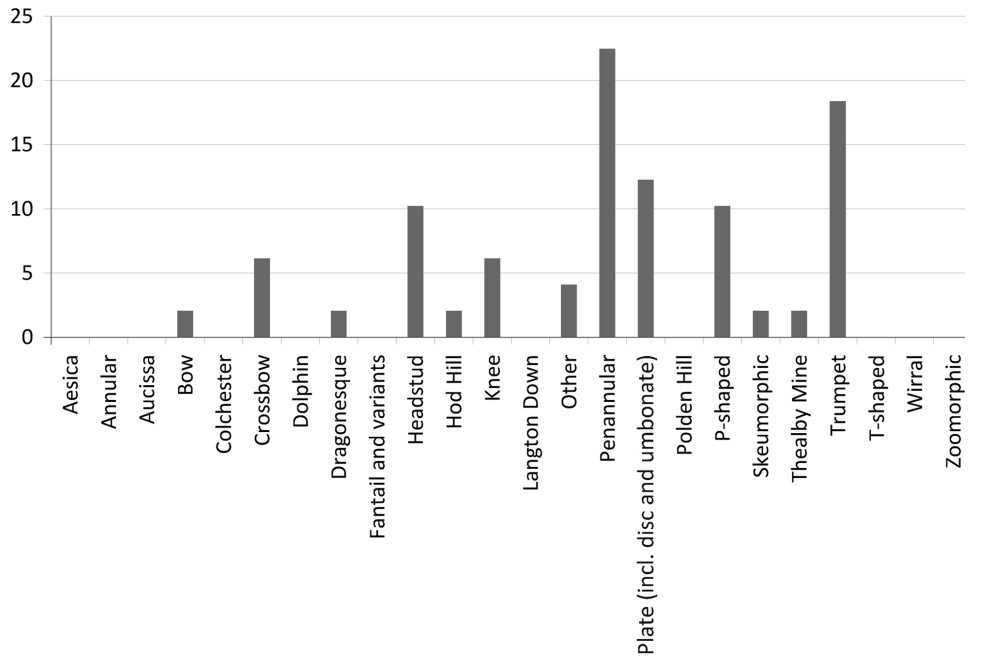
All three data sets again had a high percentage of trumpet brooches, as in the North East, and few or none of the three main early types of Aesica, Aucissa and Langton Down. However, one main difference was the high percentage of Polden Hill types in the PAS database (19 per cent) compared to none from Carlisle and 4 per cent from Chester. Dolphin brooches were also better represented in the PAS data than the two sites. It was noted previously that the North West has a higher percentage of these two types than the other two PAS regions. This is not reflected in the sites and therefore appears to be a rural or Romano-British trend rather than one taken up by the incoming people (whether soldiers or not).

Another point to note is the lack of the Wirral type brooch in either of the two North West sites, even though the type is thought to have an origin not far from Chester, and 26 have been recorded on the PAS database from the North West. Regional brooch-types often have stylistic similarities with brooches from neighbouring areas; the Wirral brooch is very similar to one group of the Wroxeter brooch-type. As mentioned above, the Pennines appear to have acted as a barrier to the movement of certain ideas and items of material culture. Looking at the landscape of the North West, access to North East Wales, Shropshire and the Midlands would have been easier than getting across to York. Wirral brooches have also been found in these areas, whilst none come from Yorkshire. This similarity in material culture between the North West and Shropshire etc. can also be seen in the study of the Roman coins from the various regions[32] as well as other objects types from this period.

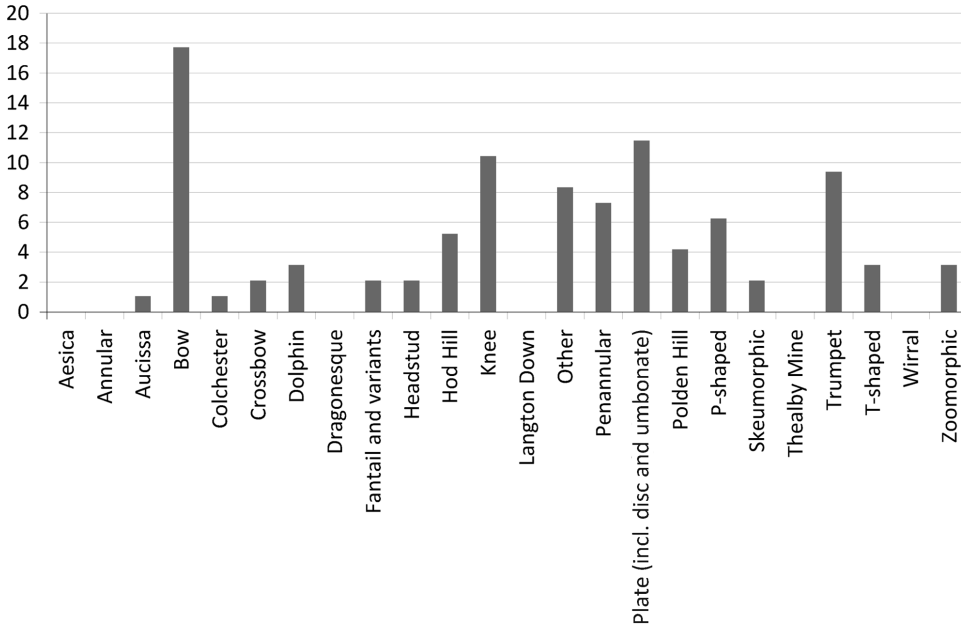
Yorkshire and Humber (Graphs 10–12), being the biggest PAS dataset by far (1217 brooches), surprisingly has few large sites which have been excavated and for which the reports are accessible. Aldborough and Catterick both have enough brooches to allow comparisons to be made but they are still much smaller assemblages. There is very little to unify these three datasets; they are similar only in some of the types which are absent or very low in numbers, namely, Aesica, Aucissa, Hod Hill and Langton Down. All of these are earlier types which, as with the North East and West, reflect the dates of occupation in those areas.



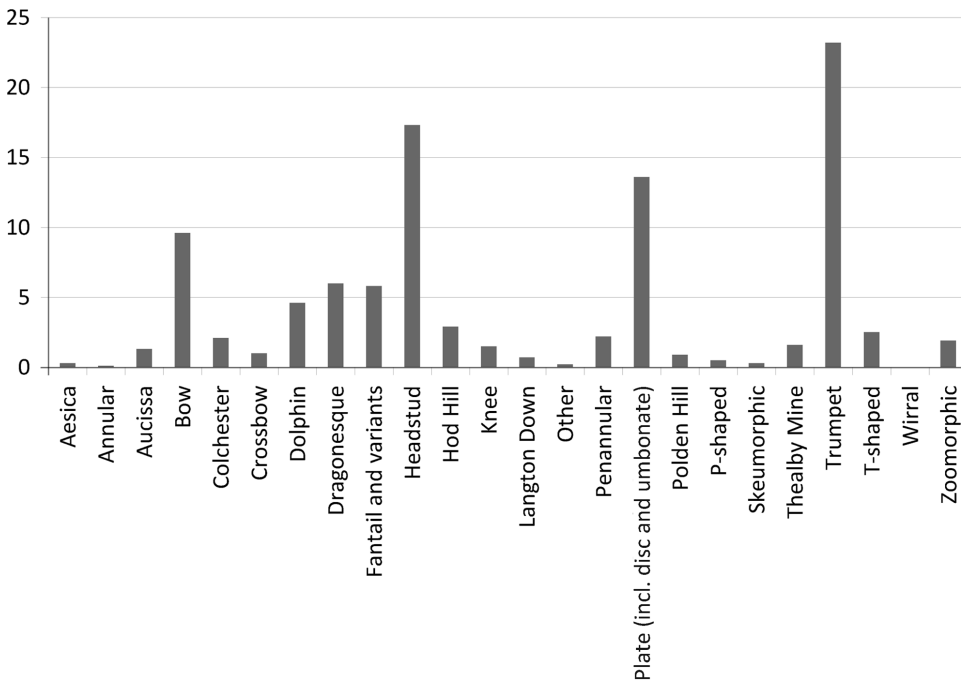
Graph 7 PAS North-West region: brooches by percentage of types.



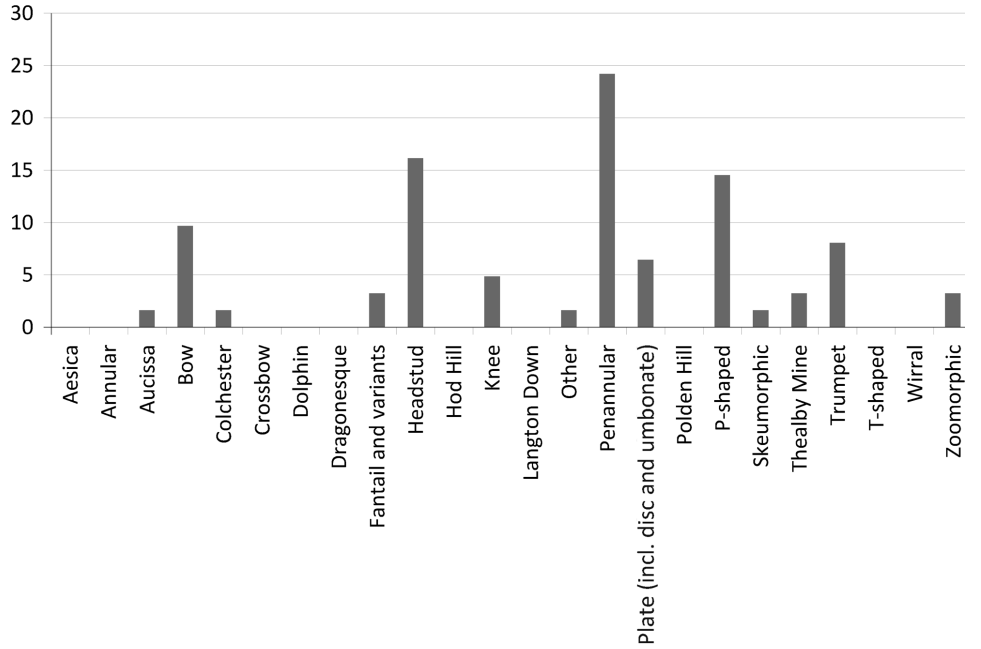
Graph 8 Carlisle: brooches by percentage of types.



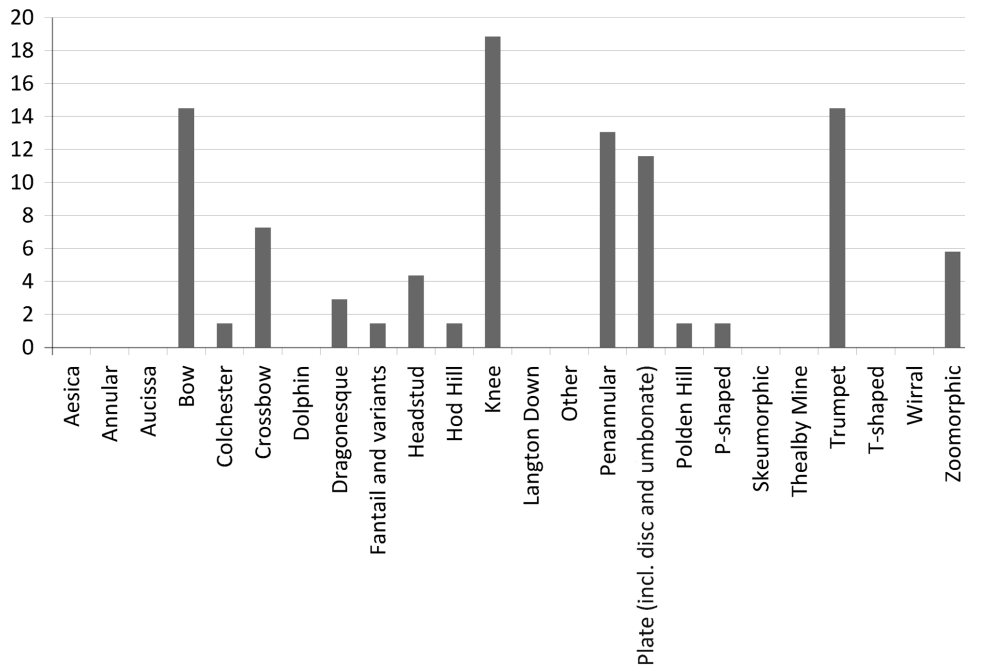
Graph 9 Chester: brooches by percentage of types.



Graph 10 PAS Yorkshire and Humber region: brooches by percentage of types.



Graph 11 Aldborough: brooches by percentage of types.

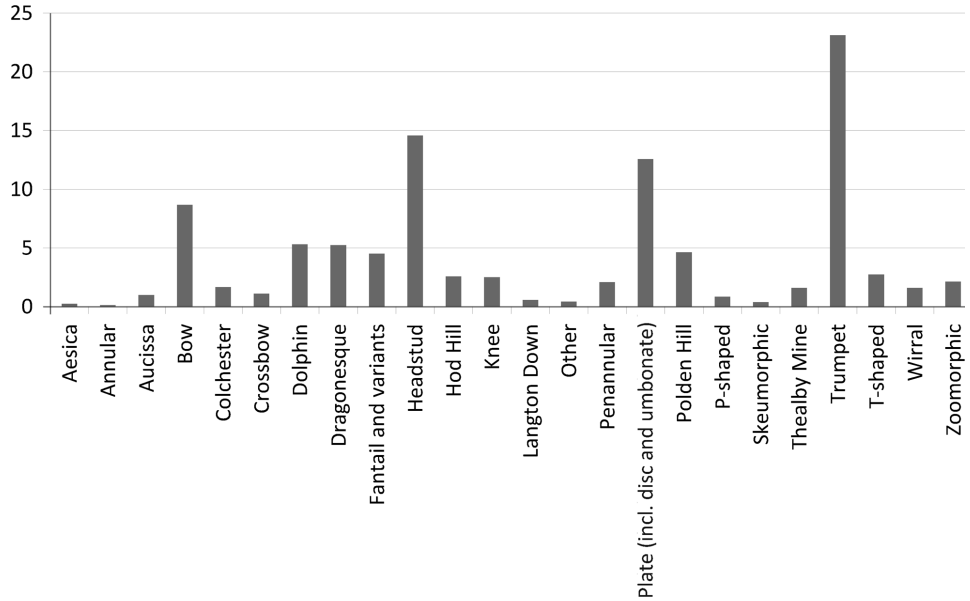


Graph 12 Catterick: brooches by percentage of types.

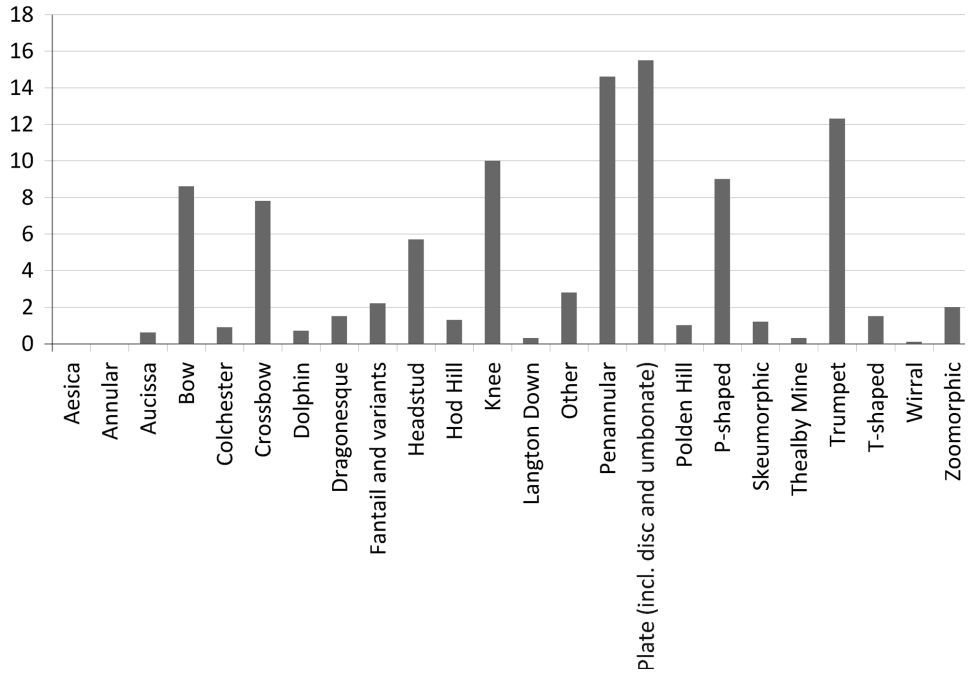
Most of the other types are present in varied percentages and it is here that we see the major differences between rural (PAS), military (Catterick) and urban (Aldborough — although it started as a fort, it had become an important administrative town by the second century). Catterick has a high percentage of knee brooches (19 per cent), whilst the PAS and Aldborough have very few. Catterick also has more crossbows (7 per cent) and penannular (13 per cent) brooches than the PAS, although Aldborough has nearly 25 per cent penannular brooches. Interestingly, Catterick has only one P-shaped brooch whilst Aldborough has 9 (representing almost 15 per cent); Catterick might have been expected to have a more military profile and the P-shaped brooches are all that it is missing from this. Aldborough has military roots, which may explain the presence of the P-shaped brooches, although they did not develop until the third century, after which time it had become an administrative centre. Penannular brooches were very low in the PAS data compared to the two sites. Penannular brooches are often difficult to date precisely, and may account for the lack of them in the PAS data. A doctoral student, who started at Leicester University in October 2010, will be looking more closely at the dating and typology of this type and this may help with future data collection and recording. Overall, Yorkshire and Humber seems more varied between the different site types and the rural areas than the other two northern regions discussed above.

With the two profiles for the north of England compiled, we can examine whether stray find data (generally representing rural activity) shows a similar pattern to the site data (large urban sites, mostly military in this area). Comparison of Graph 13 and Graph 14 shows that the earlier brooches, such as Aesica, Aucissa and Langton Down, are not found very often in the rural or urban areas, which is to be expected due to the date of the Romans' arrival in the north. Another similarity between the two data sets is the high percentage of trumpet brooches, the standard type of which is usually associated with the north.[33] The four types of brooch usually associated with the military (crossbow, knee, P-shaped and penannular) are higher in the site data than the PAS, which perhaps reflects the nature of the sites included in the study.[34] Crossbows in particular were thought to indicate a high ranking military or a civilian post[35] and so we would expect higher numbers of these in places such as forts and towns, where these posts would be based.

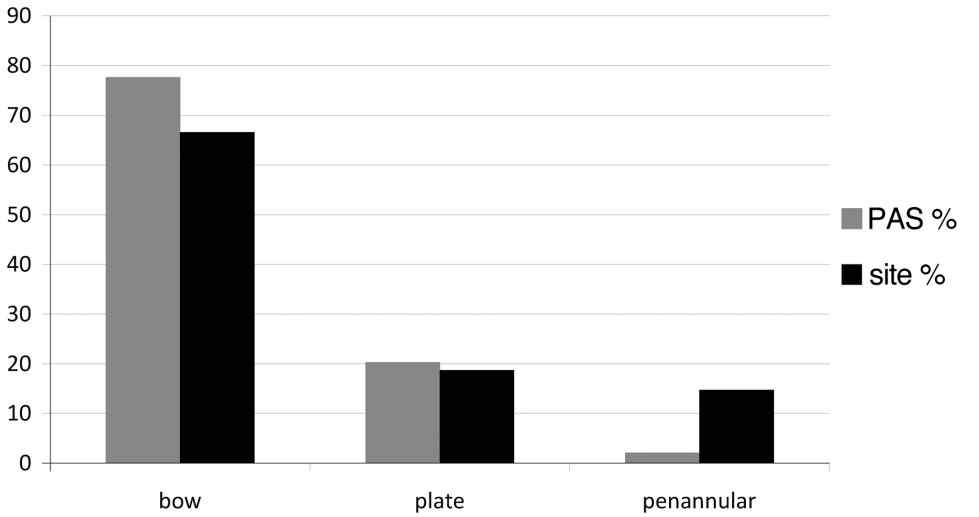
Although plate brooch percentages are similar in both data sets, there is a slightly higher percentage of them from the PAS data, as Graph 15 demonstrates. One type which is much more common in the PAS data is the dragonesque brooch. This type is thought to have been a symbolic item that was more than just a clothes fastener. Many scholars have picked up on its stylistic links to pre-Roman Iron Age (Celtic) art and have suggested it was a native type used to identify oneself as British. Jundi and Hill thought that it was a symbol of 'non-military, non-Roman identity'.[36] This type is concentrated mainly in the north of Britain, and is found in Scotland as well as England. Unfortunately, the PAS does not cover Scotland, but Hunter's work on this brooch-type, looking at the English and Scottish examples[37] has shown how our understanding of it has changed since 1998, with examples now being found on military sites as well as the rural sites. In fact, the enamelled types were more popular at the urban/military sites than in the rural/native sites.[38] These enamelled types are more ornate but still retain the elements of Celtic design which distinguishes this brooch-type. Finds of these brooches on urban and military sites means that the assumption that dragonesque brooches were a sign of 'Britishness' or a demonstration of anti-Roman feeling can no longer be accepted.



Graph 13 Combined data from the three PAS northern regions: brooches by percentage of types.



Graph 14 Combined data from all of the northern sites: brooches by percentage of types.

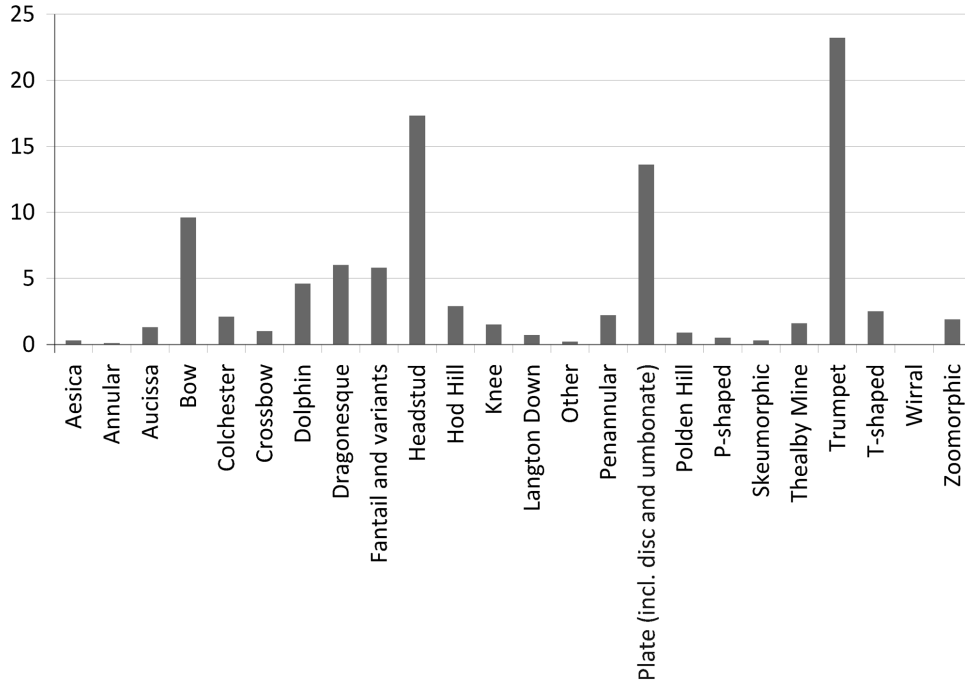


Graph 15 PAS compared with sites in the three basic types of brooch: by percentage.

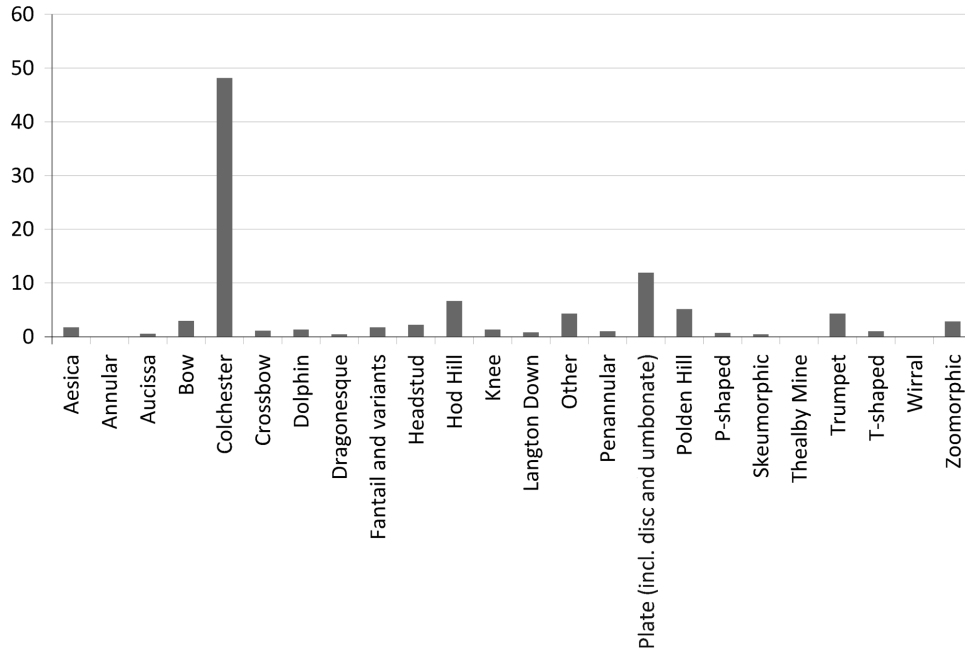
What we can see from this short discussion of the large data sets is that each region has its own brooch profile, which in the case of the North East reflects the presence of a certain group of people (namely the military) whilst in the other two regions may just demonstrate fashion choices or reflect trade routes to different areas. By combining the PAS data together we can get a profile of brooch loss for the whole of rural Roman northern England. Using the site data in the same way we have an urban/military profile with which to compare it. When comparing the PAS data to the site data we see that each region has some unifying features, even across the different assemblages. We can also see that, overall, rural brooch use was different to that on military or urban sites. Regional patterns can be seen when looking at the data but before more authoritative statements can be offered more detailed study must be made of the data, for example taking into account the new excavations within the regions and perhaps further mapping of the distribution of different brooch-types.

INTER-REGIONAL COMPARISON WITH THE SOUTH OF BRITAIN AND THE CONTINENT

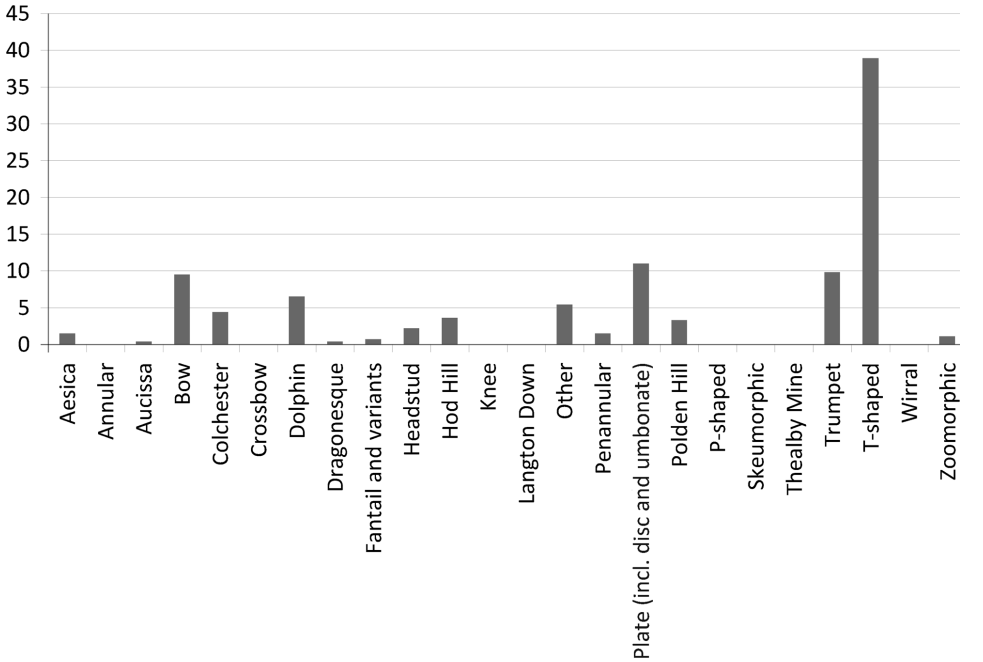
When comparing the combined northern PAS regions (Graph 16) with the two sample southern counties there is an immediate difference which is quite striking. Both of the southern data sets have a single group which represents around 40 per cent of their county total. For Suffolk (Graph 17) this is the Colchester type at 48 per cent and in Somerset (Graph 18) it is the T-shaped type at 39 per cent (see Graphs 17 and 18). These areas then have very few brooches of any of the other types, most representing less than 5 per cent of the total. In both, the plate group is the only one which is above 10 per cent, and this includes many types of plate brooch. Although in the north the trumpet brooch is by far the most common (at 23 per cent), there is a wider spread of the other types of brooch. We can see this clearly in Graph 19 where the peak of the Colchester type is significantly high, whilst most of the other southern bars are lower than the northern ones. The types which are present in greater quantities in the



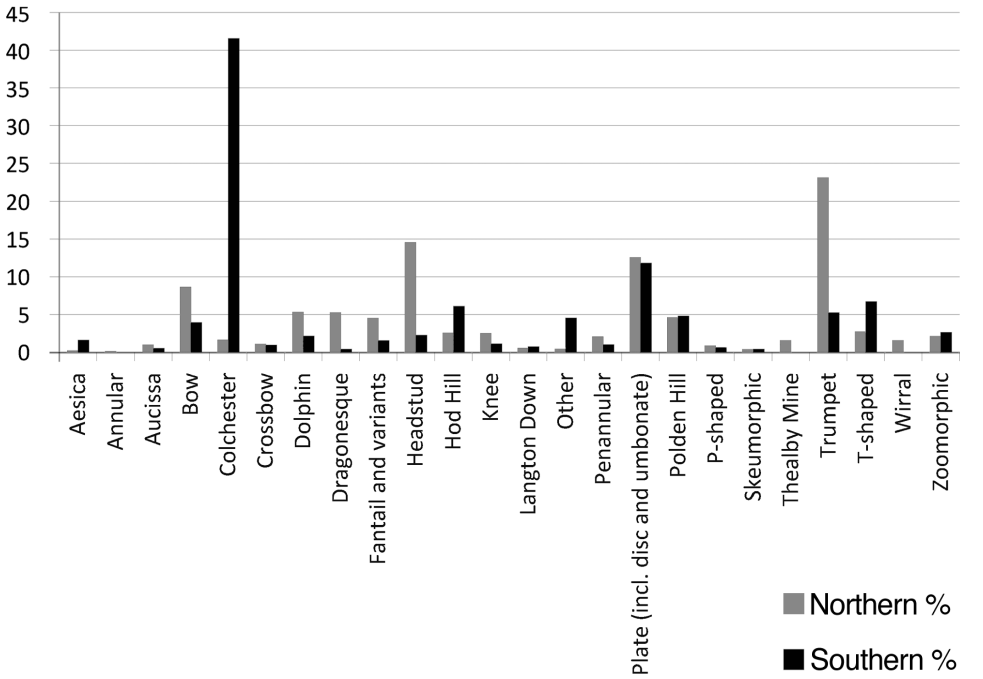
Graph 16 Combined data from the three northern PAS regions: brooches by percentage of types.



Graph 17 PAS Suffolk data: brooches by percentage of types.



Graph 18 PAS Somerset data: brooches by percentage of types.



Graph 19 PAS Northern data compared with the Southern data: brooches by percentage of types.

south are Hod Hill, 'other', T-shaped and zoomorphic. Hod Hill and most of the types within the 'other' category are earlier types and so higher numbers are to be expected in the south. In the north, the dragonesque brooch was much more popular than other zoomorphic plate brooches; this is opposite to the picture in the south where there is a range of other types which were used much more.

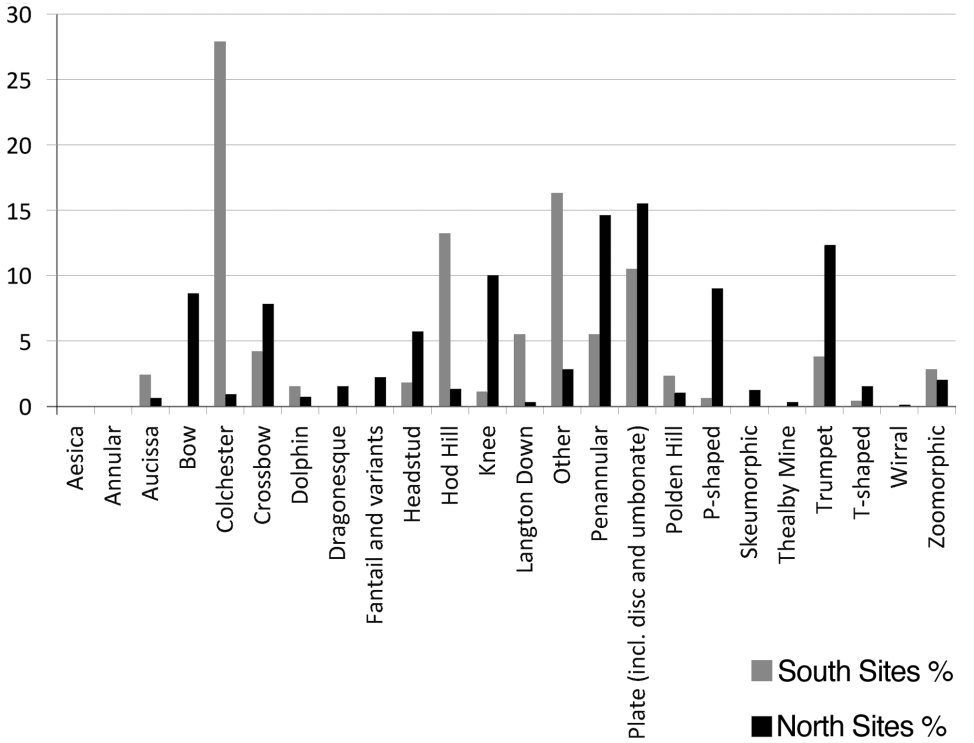
The two types that are most common in the southern counties are both types which were made locally. Colchester was a large urban centre from which originated the prolific type of brooch named after it. The T-shaped brooches were made in the South West of the country and are one of the many variants of the enamelled second century types, other examples being the headstud, the Wirral, and the Wroxeter. Suffolk and Somerset both produced their own local types which were the most popular brooch-types in those areas. There is a definite choice to wear and use this one type of brooch above the others, even though other brooch-types were accessible. Both of these brooch-types are found across the rest of Britain but are far more prevalent in their respective counties — providing yet more evidence that there are regional types.

Graph 20 shows that the site data from the north and the south are almost as different in their brooch profiles as the PAS data. Again, the percentages of the earlier types such as Hod Hill, Langton Down, and 'other' are higher in the south. The site data in the south are slightly different to the PAS data, however, as there is not such a concentration on one or two types, the brooches being spread across a greater number of types. Headstud and trumpet types are much higher in the north, trends discernible throughout this paper. Significantly, the north also has higher percentages of crossbow, knee, penannular and P-shaped brooches, again showing the effect of having the military stationed almost constantly in this region. There were no dragonesque brooches found on any of the sites in the south but the number of other zoomorphic plate brooches was higher (as in the PAS data). However, of the other types of plate brooch, the South lagged behind, having no skeumorphic brooches and 5 per cent less of the plate category than the North. In overall terms of plate brooches, the two areas are similar in percentages but the types used show marked differences.

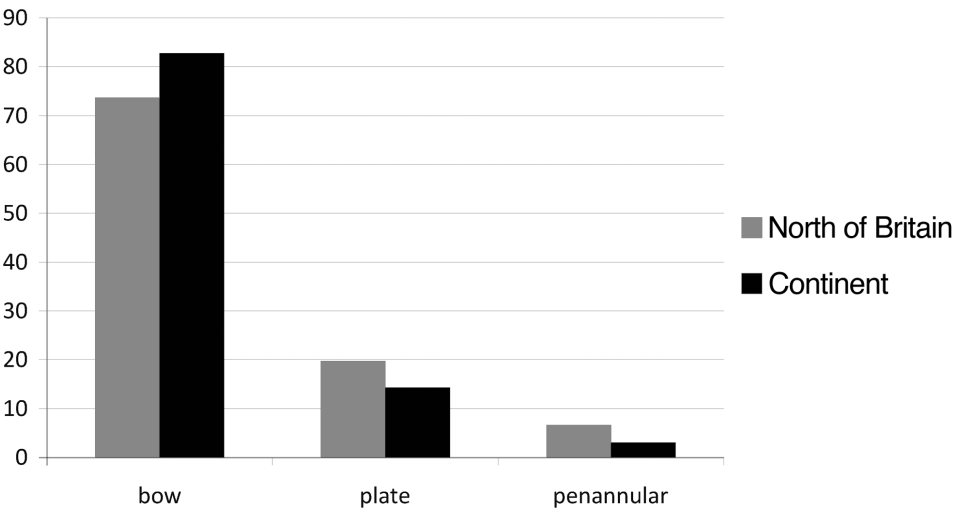
When extrapolating the continental data there were some issues as to how to categorise the data. These were partly caused by the fact that the continental brooches do not fit neatly into the classifications used by scholars of Roman Britain. Although this made the construction of comparable graphs a little more difficult (and the 'other' category rather large) it demonstrated the differences in Roman brooches across the Empire, which is extremely useful when looking at the question of regionality. The three countries looked at, Pannonia, Germany and Switzerland, made and used different brooches to Britain throughout the Roman period.

For the comparisons with the continental data, the PAS and site data from the north were combined in order to make a more complete data set. Graph 21 offers a quick visual comparison between the north of Britain and the Continent using the bow — plate — penannular division. The north of Britain has higher percentages of plate and penannular brooches. The difference in penannular brooches was noted when looking at the site data from the north and south of England, so it appears that the south of Britain may be more similar to the Continent in its brooch use in basic terms.

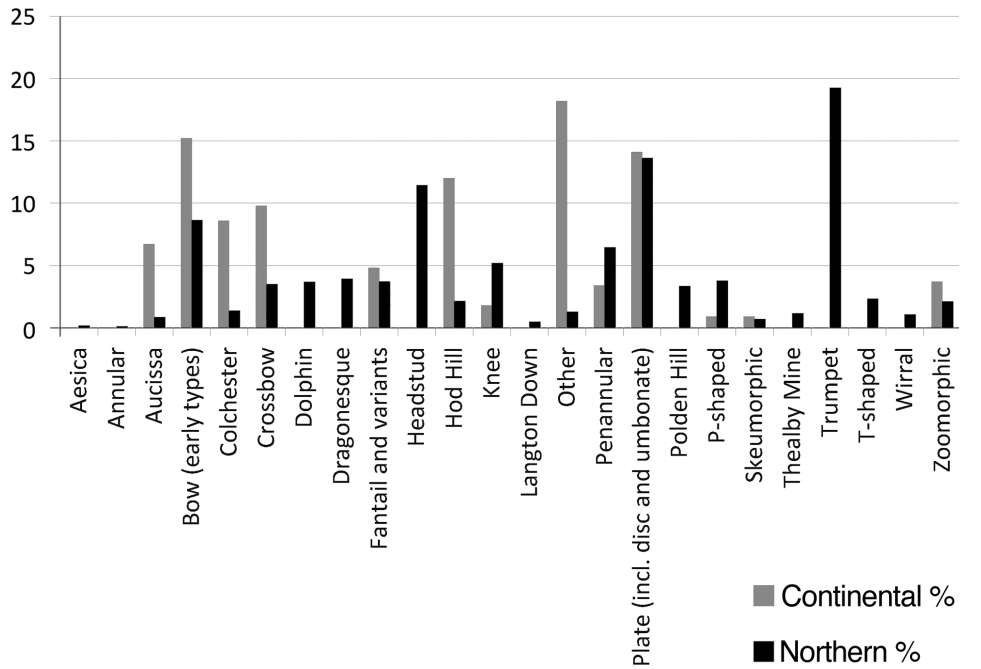
Graph 22 shows that the two data sets are very different, the only similarities being the percentage of plate brooches (not including dragonesque, skeumorphic and zoomorphic) and the low percentage of Aesica brooches. The continental data is more akin to the southern data in that it has higher percentages of the earlier types and also has fewer of the military types:



Graph 20 Site data from the north and the south, compared: brooches by percentage of types.



Graph 21 Continental brooches, compared with those from northern Britain, by percentage.



Graph 22 Continental brooches, compared with those from northern Britain: brooch-types by percentage.

knee, penannular and P-shaped. However, the crossbow brooch is well represented with almost 10 per cent. This could be because the assemblage from Augst included brooches from the fort but it reminds us that the crossbow brooch was thought to originate from the Continent. Also, these brooches are not just signs of military activity but were also worn by high-ranking civilian officials and so larger urban centres would be likely to have these brooches.

CONCLUSIONS

The discussion has dealt with the differences, and similarities, between the various data sets. Most of the conclusions have been ideas that have been pervasive in Roman studies for a long time: that the rural population used different brooches to those living within the forts and towns. However, using the PAS data has allowed this to be demonstrated unequivocally because of the widespread nature of the data.

Eckhardt and Crummy in 2006 said 'Small artefacts can make an important contribution to our understanding of how the body was perceived and presented in Roman Britain'.[39] When we examine the distribution of different brooch-types we are not just looking at clothes-fasteners in a functional sense but at what they can tell us about the wider issues of identity, fashion, trade or resistance to Roman ideas. Differences between the north and south of Britain, and northern Britain compared to the Continent, in terms of brooch use, have been shown. The dragonesque brooch is a particularly interesting brooch-type to study as it is thought to have greater meaning than just a trinket. It is one of the items of material culture

in Roman Britain which has Celtic style decoration or ornamentation and as such is an interesting hybrid of Roman and British art and technology.[40] Further study is needed to understand exactly what dragonesque brooches represent, as their individual style and restricted distribution suggests they have some significance beyond their ornamental value.

As the dragonesque brooch shows, this paper is not a finished project; there are many more avenues which could be explored further to increase our understanding of brooches, their use, distribution and meaning. One such example is the distribution of the different types of knee brooch, comparing those supposed to be imported against those thought to be made in Britain. This paper has shown that there are many regional brooch-types within Roman Britain. However, this does not mean those brooches are not visible elsewhere or that they will have been the only type used, but that in certain regions some brooches are more prevalent. Mattingly believes that pre-Roman 'local identities and rivalries contributed to pronounced regional diversity' within Roman Britain.[41] Whether or not this is true, the brooch evidence does suggest that there was regional diversity and the next step is to try and investigate some of the reasons for this.

NOTES

[1] The north of England is taken to mean all counties from Cheshire and North Lincolnshire inclusive, up to the Scottish border.
[2] A national scheme for the recording of archaeological artefacts found by members of the public, www.finds.org.uk (accessed 14th September, 2011).
[3] Those which have been published, or those for which records are available.
[4] Hill 1995, 121.
[5] For example, the Polden Hill brooch-type which was first discovered at Polden Hill and is known to cluster in the south-west of England (Bayley and Butcher 2004).
[6] Vivien Swan's work on the pottery of north African origin found on Hadrian's Wall suggests this indicates the presence of north African soldiers (Swan 1992).
[7] Swift 2000.
[8] 'Britain outside Britain: Diaspora of British population in the Roman Empire' T Ivleva, Leiden University.
[9] Eckhardt and Crummy 2006, 99.
[10] Eckhardt 2002.
[11] Swift 2000.
[12] Riha 1979, 171.
[13] Swift 2000, 88.
[14] See www.finds.org.uk/database to view the database (accessed 14th September, 2011).
[15] As well as three which were not published at the time of data collection; Binchester, Halton Chesters and Wallsend.
[16] The data from this site and the following six sites were taken from Plouviez's work in the Hacheston report (Blagg 2004).
[17] Snape 1993, 8.
[18] e.g Jones and Mattingly 2007; Walton 2011.
[19] The author gave a short paper at the 2009 International Medieval Congress on Medieval material culture in the North West which highlighted the differences between the North East and North West.
[20] Creighton 1990.
[21] Creighton, 1990, 189.
[22] Reece 1972, 271. In later work, the statistical analysis changed from percentages to per mills.
[23] Bayley and Butcher 2004, 179; Snape 1993, 20.

[24] Fowler 1960, 171; Collins 2010, 64.
[25] Swift 2000 and Johns 1996.
[26] McIntosh 2010.
[27] Bayley and Butcher 2004, 164.
[28] *pers comm.*
[29] Bayley and Butcher 2004, 163.
[30] Hunter 2008.
[31] Mason 2001.
[32] Sam Moorhead, *pers comm.*, and the author's work as a Finds Liaison Officer for the PAS.
[33] Bayley and Butcher 2004, 163.
[34] Excavation in the north, particularly around Hadrian's Wall has concentrated on the military settlements of the Roman period. This skews the data available for a study into the area; however sites are now being excavated and published, including Faverdale and Bollihope, which will add greatly to our understanding of rural occupation in the Roman north.
[35] Swift 2000.
[36] Jundi and Hill 1998, 34.
[37] Hunter 2008, 129–45.
[38] Hunter 2008, 141.
[39] 2006, 83.
[40] For a more detailed list of items of this type, see Hunter 2008, 137.
[41] Mattingly 2004, 10.

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