

Reassessing the long chronology of the penannular brooch in Britain: exploring changing styles, use and meaning across a millennium

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Abstract

Title: Reassessing the long chronology of the penannular brooch in Britain: exploring changing styles, use and meaning across a millennium

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Penannular brooches are a simple form of dress fastener used in Britain from the late Iron Age, through to the Roman and Early Medieval periods. This thesis represents the first full study of their British development for fifty years. The catalogue of penannulars originally compiled by Elizabeth Fowler in the late 1950s has been more than doubled, allowing a thorough re-analysis of chronological variation and continuity in stylistic development, distribution, use and deposition. This has been carried out via broad analysis of the penannular database and two regional case studies looking at South-West England and Yorkshire and North Lincolnshire, the two areas where penannulars were concentrated throughout their chronology.

Many previous studies have focused only on the later penannular types, leading to an unbalanced approach dominated by the preoccupations of early medieval archaeology. This has created the perception that penannulars had a simple evolutionary development that contributed to the straightforward survival of a 'Celtic' culture in some regions during the Roman period and beyond. To counterbalance this, analysis here has particularly focused on the earlier end of the penannular chronology. As a result an alternative picture is presented, of a highly complex development influenced by Continental parallels, which stands in deep contrast to the simplistic sequences proposed in most previous studies. The ever increasing corpus of theoretical work on bodily adornment has also been drawn on, enabling a more nuanced approach that moves us away from the idea that appearance is just an external manifestation of a single, static form of identity and instead recognises that it plays a vital role in an active and continual process of forming and maintaining multiple, complex, overlapping and sometimes opposing identities.

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Abbreviations used

BM – British Museum

H&H – Hawkes and Hull

Mac – Donald Mackreth's brooch corpus

PAS – Portable Antiquities Scheme

SCM – Somerset County Museum

Introduction

1. Why penannulars?

The penannular was manufactured and used for an exceptionally long period of time in Britain - from the later Iron Age until the early medieval period. Its simple design is perhaps one of the keys to its long-term success. Constructed of a hoop of metal, usually copper alloy, but sometimes iron or precious metal, with a small gap to one side and a basic pin, they were both functional and easy to construct. Unlike many other forms of brooch, they have received relatively little attention though and are often neglected in excavation reports. This could be because they were seldom used in the same numbers as bow brooches, or because the long chronologies of each type make them poor tools for dating other finds. Despite these factors, to overlook penannulars is also to overlook a significant source of information about long-term change and continuity in dress fashions, identities, regionality, inter-regional interaction and movement, craft production, networks of exchange and ritual behaviour across an exceptionally long period of time.

The most comprehensive study of the penannular in Britain, carried out in the early 1960s by Elizabeth Fowler (1963, 1961, 1960), is now over half a century old, but the typology that she devised has not yet been fully superseded. Fowler's study was the first to look at the development of all the types in relation to one another, but her approach was dominated, as previous studies had been, by the idea that they enabled the survival of prehistoric Celtic culture into the Early Medieval period. Since Fowler's study many new penannulars have been discovered and recorded, largely thanks to the spate of development led excavations that took place post-PPG16 and to the rise in popularity of metal detecting as a hobby. A complex picture of temporal and spatial variation in the distribution and deposition of penannulars is now beginning to emerge, together with evidence that their development in Britain was not as straightforward and direct as Fowler believed. New understanding of the link between objects associated with adornment of the human body and identity is also challenging the idea that they symbolised a single form of cultural identity.

The primary aim of this research project was to gather together new and existing evidence in order to re-examine the penannular's development from the Iron Age to the seventh century AD. This latter date marks the final point in the chronology of most types, apart from the highly decorated later forms. It is also the point at which many of the other 'migration period' styles go out of use (Walton Rogers 2007, 113). Most previous studies have focused on the late and post-Roman types, particularly the zoomorphic styles, but here the emphasis lies on the earlier end of the penannulars development in an attempt to redress the balance. The origins of the penannular and its *floruit* during the first century AD are examined in the most detail, but its later chronology is looked at briefly.

The following questions sum up the primary aims of the project:

- 1. When did the penannular first appear in Britain and was it an insular development?*
- 2. When and where were the different types of penannular adopted in Britain, for how long did they remain in use and are there any developmental relationships between them?*
- 3. Why was there an explosion in both numbers and types of penannular during the first century AD?*
- 4. What does the occurrence and associations of penannulars in different contexts tell us about the identity and status of their wearers in Iron Age to early medieval Britain?*
- 5. What can penannular deposition and distribution tell us about craft production, exchange and inter-regional knowledge transfer in Iron Age to Early Medieval Britain?*

2. Study structure

Chapter One examines previous research on penannulars specifically, looking at which types have received the most attention and which have been neglected, before

highlighting the biases that have arisen as a result of this. Chapter Two draws on recent theoretical work to offer an alternative way of understanding the significance of brooches as objects with both practical and decorative functions. Chapters Three and Four respectively present an overview of the data collected during the course of this study and the methodology used to analyse these, followed by an in-depth review of penannular typology and chronology. This data is then examined in more detail through two regional case studies presented in Chapters Five and Six. These focus on South-West England and Yorkshire and North Lincolnshire respectively, the two regions which contain the highest concentrations of penannulars. These data are drawn together in Chapter Seven with particular reference to the five research questions. This chapter necessarily focuses on the earlier end of the penannular chronology, but does provide a brief overview of the penannular's late and post-Roman development.

Chapter 1:

The penannular in Britain –research traditions

1.1 Introduction

This chapter examines what we know about when, how and why penannulars first developed in Britain, relationships between the different forms and how they were used. It explores how understanding has developed from the early twentieth century onwards and why certain approaches have gradually become dominant, which areas have been neglected, which questions remain to be answered and which approaches have proved to be problematic and ineffective. This sets the context for the new set of research aims detailed above and demonstrates why it is time to confront these from a different perspective.

1.2 The earliest work

While the conclusions of many early studies have since been challenged, their overall focus and approaches have continued to subtly shape those of later decades. A significant amount was already known about British penannulars in the early twentieth century, but their great longevity created an obstacle to understanding their long-term development. Attention was focused on their origins or occasionally on the development of a specific type, a trend that has continued. It has long been recognised that the penannular originated in the Iron Age (e.g. Bulleid and Gray 1911; Coffey 1910; Wilson 1851) and that early examples also occur in Scandinavia and Iberia as well as Britain, but in which of these regions they had first developed seemed less clear and has remained a source of much debate.

This did not prevent some studies from attempting to explain the development of specific styles with little or no reference to those that came before or after. In his discussion of the later richly decorated Irish types, for example, Romilly Allen focused on the observation that penannulars were still in use in contemporary Algeria:

The most probable suggestion is that the Algerians and the ancient Irish got it from a common source, namely, the East, and that its introduction into our own islands dates from the time when the traffic in silver bullion from the East commenced.

(1912, 226)

But this unusual perspective was not typical and it was soon accepted that the British penannulars had pre-Roman origins. Where, how and when they had first emerged and how the later forms had developed from these first brooches continued to be fiercely debated.

In the middle of the twentieth century an enduring focus on the later zoomorphic forms emerged, initiating a long-running debate about their stylistic development and chronology. Howard Kilbride-Jones (1935) carried out the earliest and most extensive of these studies, offering a typology produced from an art-historical perspective, based largely upon analysis of stylistic detailing, craftsmanship and (occasionally dubious) contextual information where it was available. Kilbride-Jones believed that early progenitors of the zoomorphic penannulars had appeared during the first century AD. These, his *initial form*, had terminals formed from the reflexed ends of the hoop decorated with a few engraved lines and notches providing the hint of an animal's head. He believed these had developed in southern Britain before spreading northwards to Scotland (*ibid.* 383).

While its development then began to slow in the south it continued in Scotland during the early second century, where the fully zoomorphic brooches, his *Northern Developed Form* (NDF) was to emerge by the end of the same century (*ibid.*). These were usually much larger in size than the initial form and were characterized by wide, grooved, cylindrical pin heads, frequently ribbed or partially ribbed hoops, and expanded terminals with zoomorphic decoration producing the effect of a head facing backwards, mouth open, consuming the hoop. According to Kilbride-Jones this form spread simultaneously to northern Wales and Ireland, dying out in the former, but in the latter developing further between the late second and eighth centuries AD (*ibid.* 384). In its original home of Scotland development slowed, petering out by the fourth century AD, which he interpreted as a mass migration of smiths to Ireland (*ibid.*). As their development continued, the Irish brooches spread back into England and Wales,

perhaps via Anglesey, and from these a *Southern Developed Form* (SDF) was derived in the late second or early third century AD (*ibid.* 392). This according to Kilbride-Jones was a form produced by Roman craftsmen in Wales attempting to copy the Irish brooches, but producing only poor imitations referencing styles that they were more familiar with. Apparently ‘native’ craftsmen fared better in their own attempts at imitation, producing more stylized zoomorphic penannulars with attempts at barrel-like pin heads, but these were still not of the size and complexity of the NDF.

Kilbride-Jones was not overly concerned with the implications of context and chronology. Variation in his SDF he explained away as the result of differing technical abilities and metalworking traditions amongst their producers. His preoccupation with the artistic merits of the zoomorphic penannulars was typical of studies of early medieval metalwork at this time and his study was very much situated within, as Savory would later term it, the contemporary ‘...battleground of Celtic archaeology in the Dark Ages: that in which the English, Irish and Scottish archaeologists strive to secure for one part or other of the British Isles the chief role in the revival of Celtic art’ (Savory 1956, 43). Kilbride-Jones was intent on proving that the zoomorphic penannulars were a ‘native’ design which, whilst drawing inspiration from the ‘foreign’ Roman ones, had nonetheless developed separately (Kilbride-Jones 1935, 381).

Raftery (1941) was the first to tackle these problems, offering an alternative view based more firmly upon archaeological evidence. Although he agreed that the origins may be traced back to a first century AD initial form, he was less convinced by Kilbride-Jones’ division of the developed forms into a Northern and Southern group; ‘the similarities between the two classes as defined by Kilbride-Jones are too great, the differences too unimportant, to warrant anything more than the calling into account of personal artistic or technical tastes’ (*ibid.* 58). Instead he suggested that the earliest developed form (his Type A) had emerged in Ireland rather than Scotland, before being exported to both Scotland and England via Wales and Cornwall, where concentrations occur (*ibid.* 59).

Savory (1956) was more concerned about the chronological issues created by Kilbride-Jones’ approach, however, which he felt had artificially pushed the date of the zoomorphic penannulars back as far as possible in an effort to demonstrate a direct link to earlier ‘Celtic’ types. He established a new chronology based upon the archaeological data, proposing a much later date range for the zoomorphic brooches. He divided these

into an early group that emerged in the third and fourth century AD at both Traprain Law and in the Welsh border region and a fully developed form dating to the mid-fourth to mid-fifth century AD, including a group of smaller examples that emerged independently during the later fifth century AD (*ibid.* 50-51).

1.3 Elizabeth Fowler's work

In the 1960s Elizabeth Fowler (1960; 1961; 1963) produced the first comprehensive study of British penannulars (barring, as this study does, the later highly decorated forms). Fowler was highly critical of the perceived biases and subjectivity of many older approaches, commenting that 'for too long, the post-Roman world... has been seen mainly through aesthetic spectacles' (1960, 149). Despite this, her hypothesis rested, as Kilbride-Jones' had done, on the idea that the British penannulars offered evidence of a 'Celtic revival' in the post-Roman period. Following on from Raftery and Savory she focused on analysis of the archaeological evidence, but instead suggested that, as the British penannulars probably had an entirely insular origin and development, there was no need to separate the later zoomorphic forms from the earlier types in an effort to demonstrate this. This allowed her to position each of the British types in direct developmental relationships with one another (fig.1.1). Her resulting typology divided the brooches, according largely to terminal design, into seven groups, with a total of 33 further sub-divisions, all developing, like the branches of a tree, from the same common Iron Age types (*ibid.* 155). This typology remains in widespread use today and Fowler's study a starting point for all later work on the British penannulars. For this reason, the following sections will outline and discuss these groupings and their relationship to one another in more detail, before exploring their wider implications.

1.3.1 Fowler's typology

1.3.1.1 Types A, Aa and B

According to Fowler, Type A, Aa and B are the earliest forms found in Britain, appearing during the third century BC. She recorded only three Type A brooches, a pair

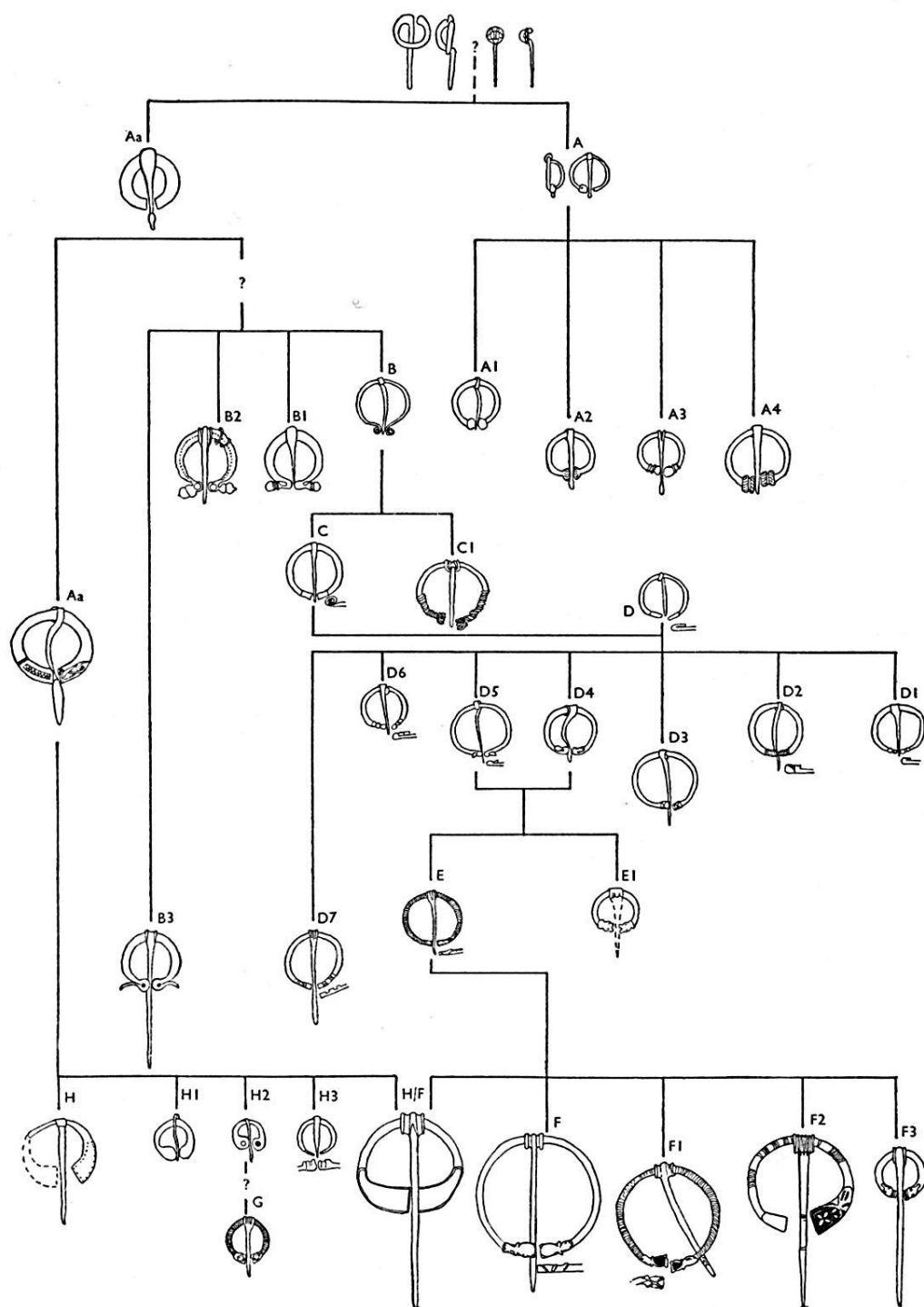


Figure 1.1. Fowler's (1960, 151, fig.1) typology of the penannular in Britain

from Newnham Croft, Cambridgeshire from a third century BC grave and one from Sawdon, East Yorkshire (Fowler 1960, 171), which was not well-dated, but said to have been found with a La Tène bow brooch. Her criteria for classifying these are a ‘markedly thickened heavy hoop, distinctively humped pins with piriform or tongue-like points, and rounded bulbous terminals’ (*ibid.* 150), but whether the Newnham pair match this description is debateable. Instead these have the thin hoops, small terminals (one appears to be missing) and plain pins more typical of her later Type A1 (fig.1.2). The Sawdon brooch is even more divergent and with a spherical moulding in the middle of the hoop opposite the gap and a cylindrical pin head; it is so far unparalleled (fig.1.2). Together these lack the coherence needed to form a distinct group of their own and it may be argued that they are probably better classified as unique forms given their potentially early date.

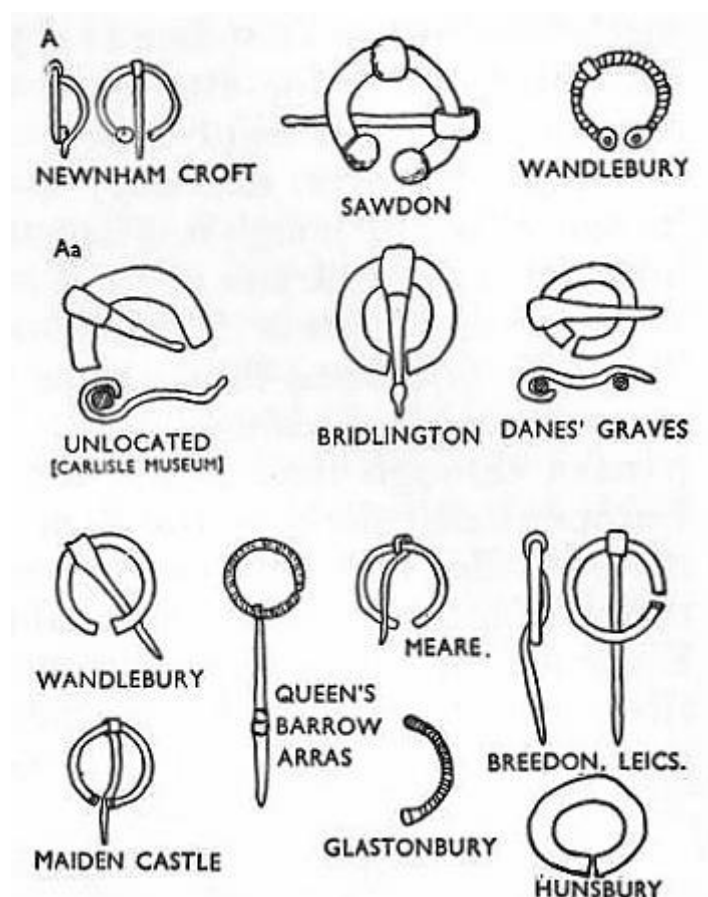


Figure 1.2. The ‘Type A’ and Aa penannulars that Fowler (1960, 155, fig.3) used as the basis for her classifications

Type Aa forms a much larger and stylistically consistent group. Fowler's (1960 154, fig.2) map shows concentrations in the South-West and East Yorkshire with a few in the Midlands and along the east and west coasts of Scotland. These are characterized by blunt or slightly expanded terminals, but she failed to note that a number also have single or multiple grooves behind the terminals. Occasionally these are quite deep and in combination with expanded terminals they can produce the effect of a small, flattened disk with ribbing behind.

Fowler (1960 157-8) hypothesized that Type B, with spiral terminals coiled in the same plane as the hoop evolved from Type Aa, as both types were found together at Glastonbury and Meare. There is a striking resemblance, however, between these early Type Bs and a common Iberian type, raising the question of whether the British versions may have been derived in some way from these much earlier Iberian ones (see below).

1.3.1.2 Type A variants

According to Fowler (1961, 30), in the first century BC a new variety with simple knob terminals appeared, Type A1, and shortly afterwards, in the first century AD, a further range of variants began to emerge. These she divided into three groups, the first (A2) with grooved knobs, the second (A3) with one or more collars behind plain knobs, and the final with varied grooved knobs and collars (A4). Some of these classifications are fairly arbitrary and indeed Fowler herself admitted that they may 'have little significance beyond that of the whim of the craftsman and the desires of his customers' (1960, 169). Despite this, she did note a small amount of chronological variation, suggesting that some were in use longer than others.

1.3.1.3 Type C

Type C has terminals coiled at a right-angle to the hoop, which led Fowler (1960, 165) to suggest that it was a development of Type B. Her distribution map showed that these were a southern British form, particularly concentrated in East Anglia. She argued that the type emerged during the start of the first century AD and was particularly associated with 'Belgic' sites leading her to describe it as the 'Belgic type par excellence' (*ibid.* 165). She suggested that the Belgae (settlers from north-eastern Gaul) did not bring the style, but adopted it in Britain; 'it is likely that the Belgic incomers adopted the custom

of wearing penannulars, (unknown in their homeland) from the natives' (Fowler 1961, 46). She noted, however, that it was not found on all sites typically regarded as Belgic such as Bagendon (*ibid.* 48). The large number found in East Anglia and especially at Colchester also raised questions about how and where the development from Type B had taken place (*ibid.* 165-6). Later Fowler (1983) in her note on the Colchester penannulars, revised her dating of Type C, arguing that a variety, with a flattened, decorated hoop developed in the late Roman period.

1.3.1.4 The zoomorphic penannulars and their antecedents – Types D, E and F

According to Fowler (1963, 167) Type D developed from Type C during the late first century BC or early first century AD. Like the variants of Type A, she suggested that Type D were also worn by auxiliaries in the Roman army (*ibid.* 171). As with Type C there also appears to be a group of Type Ds with flattened, decorated hoops, but Fowler did not discuss these. Instead she focused on the terminals only, which were typically bent back or occasionally cast to look as if they had been bent, with transverse grooving and tooled detailing on the upper surface. Fowler believed this decoration could be divided into six groups, which become gradually more zoomorphic in style:

Type D: each end of the ring is simply bent back on itself at right angles to the plane of the ring. Little or no decoration. The pins of all D brooches are straight.

Type D1: as D, but the terminals are decoratively notched or nicked with transverse lines, deeper grooves, or even inclined lines made to resemble an animal's head. Some brooches of this type are cast, but retain the original fold back lines along the outer side of the terminal profile.

Type D2: as D, but the upper side of the ends is characterised by being pinched into an 'hour-glass' shaped. The terminals may also be notched transversely or longitudinally and the ring itself is sometimes ribbed or otherwise ornamented

Type D3: terminals either bent back or cast and the squared thickened ends are ornamented with an incised or impressed saltire.

Type D4: bent back, rarely cast, ends clenched in the centre and thus assuming a rounded figure-of-eight shape on top, and in profile showing two smooth rounded ridges with a hollow between. The free end of the fold-back is often tilted upwards, and the likeness of this to a bird's beak has led to this type being claimed as the origin of the 'zoomorphic' brooch.

Type D5: an elaboration on D4 and is usually cast, though the fold-back line still shows as a groove on the profile. The ends remain rounded, but the figure-of-eight effect is replaced by careful central transverse grooving, and more deliberate attempts at modelling are evident. The impression of a bird's beak or bill, given by the tilted free end, is strengthened by the line of this 'snout' being continued downwards in a slope.

Type D6: a miscellaneous collection of brooches covering all those which are not strictly 'proto-zoomorphic' like D5. The terminals tend to show an increase in the number of ridges or mouldings, some of which are crudely arranged to resemble an animal's head as seen in profile but without the delicacy and deliberation of D5. Other D6 brooches merely have three roughly equal rounded ribs, separated by deep grooves. This type is perhaps best described as quasi-zoomorphic'

Type D7: a 'Dark Age' derivative of D6, having three squared ribs separated by deep squared grooves for terminals

(Fowler 1960, 152-3).

Kilbride-Jones' Initial Form had incorporated the most zoomorphic examples of Type D, Fowler's Type D4 and D5, together with the small zoomorphic brooches. Fowler, however, chose to separate the latter into a group of their own, Type E, which she described as 'the small zoomorphic brooch in which all the features of an animal's head, ears, eyes and snout are recognizable' (1960, 153). The dividing line between these and D4 and D5 is finer than this description might suggest, however. Other features of Type E are usually an expanded grooved pin head and sometimes a ribbed or partially ribbed hoop, but occasionally these are found on brooches with Type D terminals. Likewise, the reflexed terminals of Type D are often found in a residual form on Type E brooches. Fowler's (1963, 101) conclusion that that Type E must have developed from Type D

seems plausible as it would explain the blurred dividing line between the two. She felt that this development may have taken place in the area of Hadrian's Wall and was perhaps connected in some way with a group of pins with zoomorphic heads (which she also termed Type E) (*ibid.* 103). She did, however, observe that Type D seems to have been in production during the first and second century AD, leaving a gap before the first Type E brooches appeared in the fourth (or possibly the third) century, which she could not explain (*ibid.* 102). She suggested that an alternative precursor of Type E may have been the serpentiform bracelets of a similar date that are also found in northern Britain, despite the fact their distribution was complementary rather than comparable (*ibid.* 103).

Fowler's Type F was 'basically an enlarged version of E (hoop diameters of 3 in. or so as compared to 1 in.)' (1963, 101). These were Kilbride-Jones' NDF with its barrel pin head and expanded fully zoomorphic terminals. Unlike Type D5, D6 and E, this zoomorphic detailing was more standardized, always featuring some form of 'head' with small 'ears' at the outer corners and 'eyes' at the inner corners, and a 'snout' facing backwards along the hoop. Fowler (*ibid.*, 104-5) pointed out that the later date proposed by Savory (1956) for Type F was problematic, as his two examples were already old and worn when they were deposited, and on the basis of newer evidence suggested an earlier fourth century AD date. She suggested that the Irish zoomorphic forms had probably developed in parallel but independently, inspired by British examples brought home by Irish raiders (Fowler 1963, 105). She believed that forms such as the elaborately enamelled and millefiori embellished Type F2, Type F3 with its characteristic 'staring eyes', the exclusively Irish hybrid H/F and some of the more elaborate H subtypes, had all emerged in Ireland at different times before spreading back to certain areas of mainland Britain, even if the routes through which this occurred were not always clear (*ibid.* 106-107). Type F1, with its simple blob of enamel on the animal's 'head', may have had northern British origins, perhaps in the early fifth century AD (*ibid.* 105). Some of these forms, including Type F3 and H3¹, probably lie

¹ Fowler changed her sub-categorisation of Type H between her 1960 and 1963 papers. The categories discussed here therefore belong to the latter. In the original typology H3 had upstanding notched terminals, which suggest that it might be related to D7. In the 1963 paper this type disappeared and was replaced by flattened enamelled terminals.

outside the range of this study and so while their connection to earlier forms is worth noting, they are not dealt with further.

1.3.1.5 Types G, H and the other late/post-Roman forms

Fowler (1963, 107) suggested that Type G had developed alongside Type E from Type D². Indeed the dividing line between Type E and G can occasionally be vague, but the main difference is that Type G terminals are always cast solid, whereas Type E show more signs of development from Type D (*ibid.*). The fact that some Type G brooches were made of silver, or had a silver-like tin coating, was interpreted as evidence that they are a ‘post-Roman rather than truly Celtic type’ (*ibid.* 109). She believed that Type H, with flat, expanded terminals, developed from Type F or maybe Type Aa via an intermediary stage and this development may have taken place in Scotland in the late Roman period (*ibid.* 110). She identified two variants of Type H – H2 with circular flattened terminals and H4, expanded and flattened, sometimes with a curved spur below – which she felt were Romano-British in origin (*ibid.* 111). Later, in a note on the two penannulars from Bantham, Devon, Fowler changed her mind about H2, suggesting that it was probably post-Roman (Silvester 1981, 103). According to her typology two further types, A5 and D7, also developed in the post-Roman period. The first had acorn-like knobs and the second raised, castellated terminals that possibly suggested a link with the earlier Type D6 (Fowler 1963, 113).

1.3.2 Fowler’s approach

Fowler’s system of classification focused on the terminal and made little mention of the hoop and pin (apart from Types E and F that are defined by the size of the hoop). This decision suited Fowler’s aims of conducting a preliminary survey with limited access to contextual data. Such an approach is only the first step towards understanding the development of the different types, however. Some forms show considerable variation of the hoop and pin that could potentially hold the key to understanding complex chronologies and distributions. In his recent study of late Iron Age and Roman brooches Mackreth (2011) has demonstrated that other features such as the form of the pin head and decoration of the hoop warrant consideration, even though his own attempts to do

² She originally argued that it developed from H2 (Fowler 1960).

so have proved inconclusive. Elements such as metallic composition are undoubtedly important too. Even though metallurgical analysis was not part of this study, penannulars are manufactured in both iron and bronze (and combinations of the two), so broad choices of metal can be taken into consideration.

In using penannulars as an example of Celtic cultural continuity, Fowler was also determined to show evolutionary links between the different types even when this involved a leap of the imagination. While progressive development from one type to another often seems logical on an intuitive level, there is actually very little evidence of when, where, how and why this took place. As Johns puts it ‘...objects hardly ever evolve in a smooth and unbroken sequence from simple and primitive to complex and sophisticated; human beings are not that rational’ (1996, 148). Instead the development of each type appears to have been complex and sometimes counter-intuitive, often drawing influence from other forms of metalwork. For example, Fowler (1963, 103) herself suggested that Type E might have developed from Type D4, D5 or the Scottish serpentiform bracelets. Development also seems to have been linked to that of Type E pins with similar heads and on the continent a small number of Type F brooches have been found which are often linked to the fourth and fifth century animal-head cruciform fibulae found here (*ibid.*).

Finally, Fowler’s object of demonstrating that the British penannulars remained an essentially ‘Celtic’ form of metalwork firmly established their links with this specific form of cultural identity. Admittedly she did suggest that Celtic motifs and techniques had not literally survived unchanged over the intervening centuries, but rather a sense of them had remained to be interpreted in new ways (Fowler 1963, 133-4). Her theory of the continuous Darwinian development of the British penannular did, however, provide a real, tangible link to the metalwork styles of the late Iron Age, through which such concepts had apparently been transmitted. Accordingly then, the appearance of new styles of penannular during the late Roman period suggested a wider revival and reworking of pre-Roman traditions in a time of great political change:

The archaeological evidence provided by the development of new brooch and pin types in the Highland Zone supports the historical evidence of a Celtic political resurgence in the fourth and fifth centuries. This shift in

power from Roman to native barbarian authorities is paralleled by a return to strong native cultural traditions.

(*ibid.*, 134).

Such a theory did not allow for the variety of influences on their development during the intervening centuries. It also relied on the idea that the application of supposed Celtic art styles to brooches similar only in basic form to their ancestors necessarily indicated the transference of values and meaning from these ancient to new brooches.

1.4 The development of the British penannulars in a continental context

Early studies of the continental origins of the penannular can be roughly divided into two groups (plus those, such as Coffey (1910), who declined to comment either way): those favouring a Western European origin and those that preferred an Iberian one. Savory (1956) was a rare proponent of Iberian origins, but the former view proved to be more popular. Mestorf (1885) suggested that the type may have developed in the Schleswig-Holstein urnfields, from the '*Krofpnadeln*', which were pins with loose penannular rings joined by chains. Later, Watson (1947) suggested a La Tène origin for the concept of the penannular, but not for the brooches themselves, which were thought to be largely absent from La Tène sites. Few proposed that they had developed in Britain although it was generally accepted that the ones found here were of British manufacture (Bulleid and Gray 1911; Munro 1905).

Fowler was the first to argue for an insular British origin, suggesting that the British, Iberian and Scandinavian examples all developed separately and 'look in fact like three responses to a single idea' (1961, 42). According to her, development had occurred in these outlying regions because of their distance from the centres of La Tène culture, where La Tène metalwork was harder to obtain and the local population had to make do with their own approximations and innovations (Fowler 1960, 161). Her argument for insular development in Britain rested on the apparent absence of early continental penannulars or even their antecedents here. She agreed with Mestorf (1885) that the Scandinavian penannulars may well have developed from the *Krofpnadeln* and wondered whether these might have separately inspired the development of the

penannular in both Britain and Scandinavia (*ibid.*, 158). Other metalwork appears to have reached Britain from the regions where *Krofpnadeln* are found and so this theory is plausible, but Fowler was unable to find any examples of these ring pins in Britain leading her to rule out the possibility of a Scandinavian origin (*ibid.*).

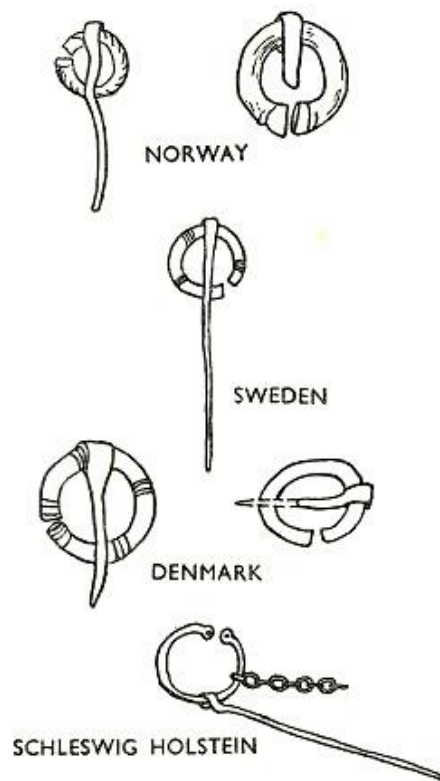


Figure 1.3. Scandinavian penannulars (Fowler 1960, 160, fig6)

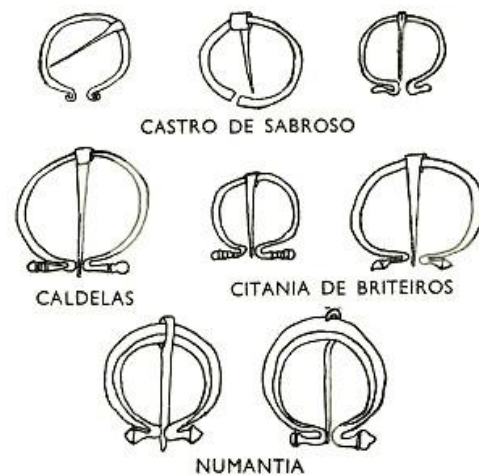


Figure 1.4. Iberian penannulars (Fowler 1960, 158, fig.5)

Initially an Iberian origin seems more likely as at least two of the forms found there also appear in Britain – Fowler’s Type B with its hoops coiled in the same plane as the hoop and the so-called ‘omega’ brooch, which appears to have arrived in Britain much later. It is possible that Iberian Type Bs did reach Britain early enough to spark the development of the British penannulars as it is clear that there was contact between the two regions in the third and fourth centuries BC, when this form of brooch appears to have been in use in Iberia. Fowler (1960, 159) could find no evidence of Type B penannulars on sites that had produced Iberian material though and no British Type B

penannulars had been conclusively dated to earlier than the second century BC anyway, which would have left a long gap between their development in Iberia and appearance in Britain. A further form, akin to Type Aa, is also found in Iberia. Unlike the British examples, however, these typically have blunt rather than expanded terminals and straight pins. Fowler largely ignored these Iberian brooches, perhaps because she felt they are not found in Britain at all, or maybe because if they did reach British shores they influenced the development of later Aa penannulars only (*ibid.*).

If the penannular did emerge in each region of Europe separately then this raises the question of what stimulated their development in Britain. Was it purely innovation or perhaps the modification of another, earlier form of artefact? Fowler (1960, 157) suggested that it may have occurred by accident or experiment when a metalworker folded the stem of an involuted pin back against its head and it was largely on the basis of the third century date of these pins that her mid-third century BC date for the earliest penannulars was proposed. The distribution of Type A and Aa penannulars and involuted pins does indeed appear to coincide (*ibid.* 157), yet this is perhaps to be expected when they both show so many stylistic similarities. Beyond this evidence the link was entirely hypothetical though. A penannular had been found in the so-called 'Queen's Barrow', at Arras, East Yorkshire, which had an unusually long, thin pin, perhaps hinting at development of this kind (Fowler 1961, 26-7), but what had not been found was an explicit example of an intermediary stage.

Challenges to Fowler's theory came from Rowlett (1966) and Simpson (1979) who both pointed out that penannulars had occasionally been found in the 'Marnian' regions of France. In 1880 Moreau published a penannular from Trugny, Aisne, but this had been largely ignored due to doubts about its provenance (*ibid.*). Examining the original excavation manuscript, which listed the penannular as one of a group of La Tène grave goods, Rowlett became more convinced about the reliability of Moreau's claims. In addition a similar penannular had subsequently been discovered alongside a La Tène torc at Pernant, a cemetery in the same region, and had been dated to the early fourth century BC (Lobjois 1969). These brooches were both of a simple Type Aa form, but with straight pins rather than the humped ones of the British form (Stewart 1972, 217). The suggestion of 'Marnian' influence on the 'Arras culture' of East Yorkshire was well established at this point, leading Rowlett (1966) to question whether early penannulars could have reached Britain via the links between these two regions, an idea that had

been suggested by both Hawkes (Simpson 1979, 319) and Childe (1940, 203). Early penannulars are indeed found in East Yorkshire. At Danes Graves an example broadly dated to the late Iron Age was found (Greenwell 1906, fig.16). Interestingly both this and the Pernant penannular were manufactured in iron, though the former had a long curved pin and thick hoop, unlike the continental ones. Despite this limited evidence, Rowlett felt that penannulars had most likely spread to Britain via this route. Later, this conclusion was also reached by Stead (1979, 73) who pointed out that it would only have taken the arrival of a one brooch to inspire the British metalworkers.

Early penannulars are also found elsewhere on the continent. Alexander (1964) recorded a few from Eastern Europe, which he suggested may have evolved from *Brillenhangen* ornaments during the Hallstatt period. Potentially early, but not precisely dated, penannulars had also been found in Sanski Most and Jeserine, Bosnia and from various locations in eastern Italy (*ibid.*). Dated examples had been discovered in Slovenia, an omega style from Vače in a late fourth to third century BC context and three similar to Fowler's Type C from Idria di Bača, two of which were thought to be pre-second century BC in date (*ibid.* 429). Following this Rowlett (1966, 135) drew attention to the increasing number of early examples from Southern Scandinavia including a group from Jutland that appeared to be of Hallstatt date. Subsequently Tuitjer (1986) suggested that four forms of penannular were found further south in the region between the Weser and Oder rivers in Northern Germany. These included two types familiar in Britain - one with blunt terminals like Fowler's Type Aa and one with coiled terminals like her Type C (*ibid.*). As a result of this discussion it became increasingly clear that penannulars were found across Europe from at least the fifth century BC, though in which area they first appeared remains unclear.

As yet no more convincing arguments about the origins of the penannular have yet been put forward. What does emerge from these debates, however, is the plausibility of many developmental routes, something also noted by Tuitjer (1986, 124). As both Fowler and Stead pointed out it would only have taken a moment of inspiration or perhaps the sight of a single penannular to inspire someone to create their own version. Most of the regions discussed above have styles of metalwork that could easily have been adapted to create a penannular, pins with ring heads that could be bent over or were already loosely attached, or styles of brooch already approaching the penannular form. In some regions the penannular could well have emerged independently. Alternatively the arrival of only

one or two could have encouraged the development of new, local forms that drew on existing metalwork styles. The complex distribution patterns, with the popularity of some forms across wide areas and the apparently restricted distribution of others, makes a combination of both factors likely and raises the prospect that no single point of origin is likely to be found.

Do debates about origins matter though? Probably not if our only aim is to confirm whether the penannular was introduced to Britain from the continent. What these debates do serve to illustrate is that (perhaps barring its initial stages) the development of the British penannular was complex and not free from continental influence. It is clear that European penannulars did reach Britain, it is merely dating that is in question. Relatives of the omega brooch with opposing rather than curved terminals are likely to have reached Britain from Gaul, where they were produced during the late first and second century AD (Galliou 1981). The ones found on the east coast of Britain coincide with the distribution of East Gaulish terra sigillata so may be seen as further evidence of trade links between these regions. According to White (1988, 22) penannulars continued to reach Britain from Gaul later in the post-Roman period. The fact that Type Aa penannulars with straight pins like the continental variety are found in Britain raises the possibility that some of these also arrived here from Europe, as does the fact that Type C were clearly in use on the continent prior to its appearance in Britain.

1.5 Recent work on the British penannulars

1.5.1 The zoomorphic penannulars

After Fowler, the study of the British penannulars reverted to a focus on individual types and particularly the later forms (e.g. Collins 2010; Laing 2007; 2005; 1991; Newman 1989). The developed zoomorphic penannulars, Fowler's Type F, its subtypes and later highly decorated forms, have received the most attention. In 1980 Kilbride-Jones published an updated version of his study, challenging criticisms levelled in the interim. He abandoned his Initial Form (Fowler's Types D4, D5 and E), which, he had decided, was not the predecessor of Type F (*ibid.*). Instead he suggested it might have developed as early as the second century AD, inspired both by the zoomorphic pins and 'Brigantian bangles' like an example discovered at Alborough (*ibid.*, 9). This

conclusion led him to reclassify most Type F and some F1 brooches as the new Initial Form and to devise five new categories with further sub-divisions for the rest, which he believed were later in date. As Graham-Campbell would later point out, however, the results of this are ‘complex and not always comprehensible’ (1991, 226), with precedence still given to minor details of form and decoration (particularly that of the terminals) over archaeological context. An insight into Kilbride-Jones’ typical line of reasoning is given by his dismissal of Savory’s suggestion that a brooch from Minchin Hole, Glamorgan was likely to have manufactured in this region and could be dated on the basis of associated finds to the fourth century AD. Instead Kilbride-Jones pointed out that this brooch looked so much like one from Traprain Law³ that had been found in a Romano-British level dated (very dubiously) to pre AD 196 that there it may have been manufactured there instead (*ibid.*, 33).

In the following decades Kilbride-Jones’ dating and typology have been widely criticised. The discovery of a number of F1 brooches has prompted re-evaluation of their development and consequently Kilbride-Jones’ work more generally. In 1991 James Graham-Campbell published a reassessment of metalwork from Dinas Powys, including a detailed discussion of what appeared to be a lead template for an enamelled penannular mould that had been found there during earlier excavations (Alcock 1963, fig.23, no.2). As an alternative to Kilbride-Jones’ categories, Graham-Campbell proposed just two main groupings for the enamelled brooches:

Type 1: Brooches with sub-rectangular, but convoluted terminals, in which the main enamelled field is ovoid in shape.

Type 2: Brooches with sub-triangular terminals containing a sub-triangular, ovoid or circular enamelled field

(1991, 226).

³ The similarity amounts only to a medial line on the terminal’s ‘head’ and a similar ‘snout’. There many more differences between the two, however. For example, the hoop of the Traprain Law brooch is much larger and plain, while the hoop of the Minchin Hole brooch is coarsely ribbed.

The most well-known Type 1 brooch came from the sacred spring in the temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath (fig.1.5). Uniquely this has different enamelled designs on each terminal – on one a bird shown in profile looking over its shoulder towards a plant and on the other a bird above a fish. Cunliffe (1988, 360) suggested that activity at the shrine greatly decreased after the end of the fourth century AD and Martin Henig confirmed that '...the likelihood is that the brooch was thrown into the spring during the same period as other offerings and in any case no later than the fourth century AD' and was probably 'the work of a smith from the east of Ireland' (*ibid.*, 23). Graham-Campbell (1991, 228) disagreed with Henig's conclusions about its origins, however, suggesting that it was '...unlikely to be the work of an Irish-trained smith grappling with the art of *Britannia*, but the product of a Romano-British craftsman able to apply enamelled designs to the hitherto plain terminals of the so-called 'initial' type of zoomorphic penannular, known from both Britain and Ireland' (*ibid.*).

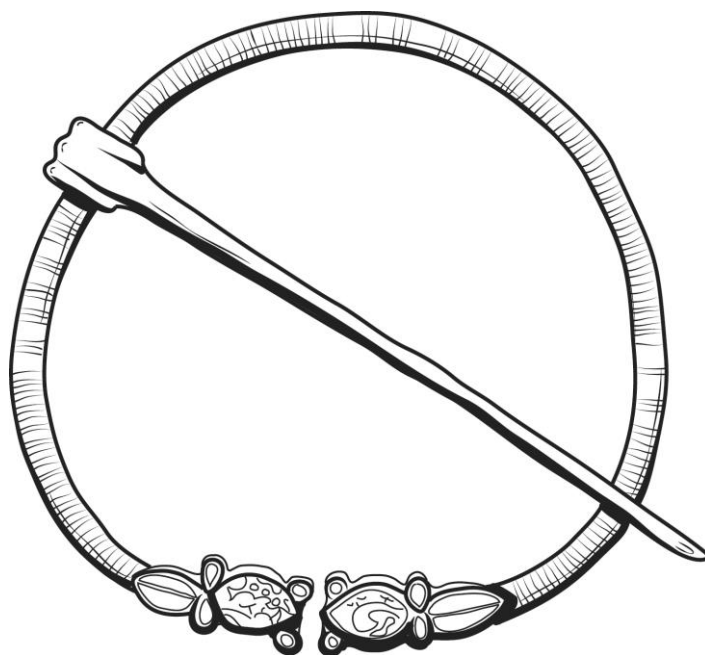


Figure 1.5. The penannular from the sacred spring at Bath.

The use of similar enamelled decoration had also been noted on other objects of British manufacture, most notably the proto-handpin from Gloucestershire found with a coin hoard dated pre-AD 347 (Johns 1974). As a result Graham-Campbell (1991, 226-8) concluded that enamel began to be applied to zoomorphic penannulars during the fourth

century AD in the South-West of Britain, before being developed in Ireland only from the fifth century onwards, culminating in the production of Type 2 brooches there from the sixth to seventh centuries AD. This went against Kilbride-Jones' (1980, 67) suggestion that production of all but one of the enamelled types had largely ceased by the end of the fifth century AD. According to Graham-Campbell (1991, 228) the brooch from Dinas Powys - a Type 1 discovered in a probable sixth century context - was likely, therefore, to have been produced by an 'itinerant Irish smith' (*ibid.*), because by this point all the enamelled brooches were of Irish manufacture. The date of the brooch from Bath, which is key to these debates, is far from secure, however. After further evaluation of the other objects from the spring, Cunliffe (1993, 288) suggested that it may in fact have belonged to a post-Roman phase, throwing some doubt on Graham-Campbell's fourth century date for the early British Type 1 brooches.

In 1995 Youngs published a reassessment of Graham-Campbell's theories stimulated by a metal detectorist's discovery of a Type 1 from near Calne in Wiltshire. In the few years since the publication of Graham-Campbell's paper a number of new examples, along with another lead model from an unknown location had been discovered, adding further evidence to his theories, although frustratingly these were all poorly dated (*ibid.* 129). The new dating of the Bath brooch did lead Youngs (*ibid.* 130) to suggest that Type 1 were probably produced from c.AD 450-550, but more evidence is still required.

1.5.2 Type G

The most notable study of the other early medieval types is Dickinson's (1982) re-evaluation of a sub-group of Type G published in the early 1980s. These had received little prior attention, even from Fowler, who had classified them only in vague terms - 'the terminals are square or faceted and ornamented with a central dot, or a diamond with four internal dots' (1960, 153). In fact such a description encompassed a disparate array of brooches, whose variety often proved a deterrent to further study.

Savory suggested that they date from the fourth to sixth century AD and are concentrated in the Severn region, where they became 'the normal dress-fastener in post-Roman communities established on the western flank of the zone of early Anglo-Saxon settlement' (1956, 54). Later both Laing (1975) and Longley (1975) provided surveys of their dating and distribution, but these were each conducted from the perspective that the brooches formed a single contemporaneous group. This went

against Fowler's (1963, 109) suggestion of two phases of production, each taking place in a different region - one in Scotland during the eighth to ninth centuries AD and one in the West Midlands/Welsh Marches region during the third to fourth centuries AD. While Fowler had struggled to identify any significant typological differences between the brooches of each group to support such a theory, this was later achieved by James Graham-Campbell who proposed the following four distinct categories:

Type G1: Squared terminals, faceted on the upper face only containing a 'sunken hole' or impressed with one to four small circles; the hoop is generally ribbed, and the pin short (not more than $\times 1\frac{1}{2}$ the hoop diameter).

Type G2: Lozenge-shaped terminals (unfaceted), containing four raised pellets; the hoop is plain.

Type G3: Squared terminals, faceted on upper face only with a central sunken lozenge containing four raised pellets; the hoop is plain, and the pin may be $\times 2$, or more, of the hoop diameter.

Type G4: Squared terminals, faceted to leave a plain lozenge on each face; the hoop is plain

(Graham-Campbell and Rahtz 1975, 279)

Type G1, he suggested, were found in late- and post-Roman contexts, whilst the others were of a later distinct Scottish and Irish group dating from around the seventh to the ninth century AD (*ibid.*). Unfortunately, these groups were based upon the study of a limited number of brooches - indeed group G4 includes only a single brooch (from the Scottish crannog site at Dowalton Loch). As such, the discovery of an increasing variety of Type G penannulars has cast doubt on the validity of his later Scottish and Irish groups (Campbell and Lane 1993, 33). Campbell and Lane (*ibid.*) in their discussion of a penannular from Longbury Bank, Dyfed, have suggested that a variety of distinctive regional groups may have evolved from the early G1 brooches, perhaps including a Welsh one centred in Pembrokeshire. The discovery during excavations at Dunadd during the 1980s of a large assemblage of G3-related penannular moulds suggest that a further production centre was located here (Campbell and Lane 2000). These brooches lay outside the date range of this study, however.

The validity of Graham-Campbell's earlier group G1, the focus of Dickinson's study, appears more assured. Dickinson (1982) further sub-divided the group eight times, based on various combinations of two primary features – the amount of ribbing on the hoop and the number of dots on the terminals - which she felt, despite the small size of her sample (31 brooches in total), represented genuine relationships. As a result she observed firstly that they were often found in coastal locations or near rivers that were linked to the sea (*ibid.*, 50), something originally suggested by Longley (1975); and secondly a difference between the types found in western regions and those found in Anglo-Saxon graves in eastern regions (Dickinson 1982, 51). This conclusion related to a long-running debate about the early medieval penannulars - namely why examples of what was perceived to be an essentially 'native' form of metalwork often occur in Anglo-Saxon contexts.

1.5.3 Penannulars from Anglo-Saxon contexts

The occurrence of earlier forms of penannular in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries had long been noted and puzzled over. Early commentators, including Leeds (1945), Savory (1956) and to some extent Fowler (1963), had all assumed that these originated in 'Celtic' regions of Britain, suggesting that those found in Anglo-Saxon graves had either been taken by force or the individual was of native British ancestry. Penannulars were seen as a typically 'Celtic' form of brooch leaving their appearance in Anglo-Saxon graves hard to explain through any other means and the possibility that some may have been produced by Anglo-Saxon craftspeople difficult to accommodate. Yet this appeared to be what Dickinson's evidence was suggesting. If the typological variation she observed was correct then this would indicate that this particular type did not spread outwards from a single point of origin, raising questions about whether some were being produced in Anglo-Saxon regions (Dickinson 1982, 52).

Fowler (1963, 116-7) had suggested that Germanic peoples were already familiar with penannulars in their homelands, but that most were imports from Scandinavia or Britain, creating a tradition of using but not manufacturing penannulars there. When Germanic migrants reached Britain, she felt that they were happy to continue this custom, but there is at least one form that they may have begun to produce themselves – Type C (*ibid.* 114). Her theory was complicated by the fact that some of these appeared

to be of a late Roman date, but she suggested this could be due to the growing influence of Germanic culture prior to the later migrations.

This late group of Type C penannulars has also received more recent attention for similar reasons. White (1990, 127) has argued that they in fact developed in Gaul before spreading into Lower Germany, consequently Germanic migrants were already familiar with the form and were in fact responsible for introducing it to Britain. Their use of this style, often made from iron and worn according to their own fashions could be seen simply as the continuation of a tradition well-established in the Germanic homelands, rather than the development of Romano-British metalworking styles. Later Laing (2007) also picked up on the fact that a higher proportion appear to have been made of iron than those found in Roman contexts concluding that they were being produced by Anglo-Saxon craftspeople in a reinterpretation of native styles (*ibid.* 53).

1.5.4 Anglo-Saxon reuse

Further questions are also raised by the appearance of older Romano-British forms of penannular in Anglo-Saxon contexts. Were some older styles reappearing during this period? Were older brooches still in circulation perhaps, heirlooms of the native population somehow obtained by Anglo-Saxons? Or were older brooches being rediscovered at ancient sites even? Leeds was one of the first to comment, pointing out that Type A 'is quite familiar even from early Romano-British sites, so much so that it may be questioned whether many of those found in Anglo-Saxon graves are not loot from Roman sites, e.g. at Horton Kirby, Kent, where in another grave a Roman vase formed part of the furniture' (1945, 44). White (1990) also took this perspective, but suggested that as most were reused according to contemporary Anglo-Saxon fashions they can be explained as a practical solution employed by Anglo-Saxons who were unable to access or afford their 'modern' equivalents (*ibid.* 146). Their age was thus incidental to their practical value and they were unlikely to indicate anything about the ethnicity of their wearer in what was by that point 'a thoroughly mixed population' (*ibid.*) anyway.

1.6 Conclusions

This chapter has provided an overview of key studies of British penannulars from the early twentieth century to the present day in order to explore why certain approaches have become dominant and what aspects have been overlooked. It is clear that dominant approaches have restricted interpretations of the penannular's development. Kilbride-Jones' art-historical approaches introduced them into debates about a possible 'Celtic revival' in the post-Roman period and while attention has shifted from artistic styles to archaeological context, the search for cultural continuity has nonetheless continued. It was through debates about the wider European origins of the penannular that the complexity of their development has been most clearly demonstrated, but the implications of this are still waiting to be fully explored. Recently the focus may have shifted towards the late Roman and early Medieval brooches found in Anglo-Saxon contexts, but this means that the study of the British penannular has been consistently dominated by that of the later types. This has in turn led many studies to work backwards, starting with a theory rooted in the dominant agendas of early medieval archaeology and then interpreting the earlier development of the penannular to confirm this. This has led both to the perception that penannulars had a straightforward evolutionary development and to the dominance of culture-historic approaches which focus only on broad cultural identities.

The evidence itself does not support these approaches and in fact presents quite a different picture in which different styles are exchanged and intermingle, are adopted in some and rejected in other regions, die out here and reappear there, across wide areas of Europe in a complex pattern of development that stands in deep contrast to the simplistic Darwinian courses proposed in most previous studies. Arguably the entrenched way in which penannulars are usually approached has prevented this complexity from being fully explored. Where, for example, we see hugely complex spatial and temporal patterns during the early medieval period, these are discussed simply in broad terms, ignoring clear regional and sub-regional variation. The earlier brooches are studied from an even broader perspective, to find out where their origins lie or to chart wide cultural change in the Roman period, ignoring the fact that the equally complex distributions of these types may offer more nuanced insights into such changes.

A different approach is taken in this study, which looks, as Elizabeth Fowler did nearly fifty years ago, at the development of the British penannular as a whole. Unlike Fowler, however, analysis has not rested on the assumption that this development was an evolutionary one, direct and entirely insular, which can somehow be charted and explained only in terms of the interaction of different cultures, but instead allows space for this complexity and its implications to be explored. New understanding of the complex relationship between objects used to decorate the human body and the processes of identity formation, which are explored in the next chapter, offer ways of achieving this. As such the main aim of this study is not to ask whether this is simply a ‘Celtic’, Roman, Anglo-Saxon type of penannular, or whether it developed from another type and where this took place, but instead to take a context-dependent approach, questioning the relationships between penannulars and identity construction on a contextual basis.

Chapter 2:

Brooch use in Britain from the Iron Age to early medieval period

2.1 Introduction

This chapter examines brooch use in Britain from the Iron Age to the seventh century AD, providing a vital background within which to understand the development of the penannular. The picture presented here is unfortunately far from complete. Some types of brooch have received more attention than others and gaps in our knowledge persist. Factors such as the scarcity of burial evidence from the Iron Age and Roman period also limit the amount that is known about how brooches were worn and their social role is a relatively new area of research that is still developing. On a more positive note, developments in radiocarbon dating and studies of metallic composition (e.g. Bayley and Butcher 2004; Mortimer 1990) have led to the refinement of brooch chronologies in the past few decades and the publication of Mackreth's (2011) corpus has made at least one large brooch catalogue more readily accessible.

Figures compiled by Mackreth (2011), show that the penannular never became as popular as the bow brooch. As the comparative data discussed here in Chapters 3, 5 and 6, indicate, penannulars typically form a significant part of site assemblages when they are present, but are rarely the most common type of brooch. When bow brooches are considered as individual types, rather than a single group, however, patterns become more complicated, with the penannular demonstrating comparative popularity in some periods and places. Such comparisons are likely to be meaningful and useful and although only touched upon in this thesis, may be a fruitful area for future research. Unfortunately the long chronologies of most penannular types make chronological comparisons with typically much shorter-lived bow brooches difficult. A crude attempt to do so (fig.2.1) using Mackreth's (2011) data, shows that although at no point did numbers of penannulars ever approach those of bow brooches, rises and falls in the quantities of penannulars deposited broadly follow those of bow brooches.

		100	← BC →			1	1	← AD →						400
Bow Brooches	Group 1	1553												
	Group 2		928											
	Group 3				2671									
	Group 4													
	Group 5					731								
	Group 6				5804									
	Group 7								1225					
	Group 8									573				
Penannulars	Aa, A & B	829												
	C & D				1111									
	I & J					49								
	L				8									
	O					38								
	O4										8			
	E & G					160								
	M												21	




<100 
 101-500 
 501-1000 
 1001-3000 
 3001+ 

Figure.2.1 Chronological variation in quantities of bow brooches deposited compared to penannulars in Iron Age and Roman Britain, using data taken from Mackreth's (2011) corpus. The bow brooch groupings are my own. Higher quantities of brooches are represented using darker shades

2.2 Brooch use in Britain from the Iron Age to the seventh century AD

2.2.1 The Iron Age

Hawkes and Hull (1987) offered the first comprehensive review of pre-Roman brooches in Britain. This was later updated by Haselgrove (1997) and most recently by Adams (2013), who has retained the Hawkes and Hull typology subject to modification. Hawkes and Hull (1987, 9) suggested that the first Hallstatt forms to appear in Britain spread here from the continent from the late eighth to sixth century BC. Unfortunately none have been found in stratified deposits and only a handful come from known sites, most of which appear to be Roman (Adams 2013, 101-2). Some may have reached Britain during this period as prized ancient objects, but others seem likely to be nineteenth century collector's pieces assigned to Roman sites to give them credibility. Haselgrove (1997, 53) has suggested that insular variations of continental late Hallstatt forms were being produced in the early Iron Age, but this theory remains to be firmly backed up by contextual evidence (Adams 2013, 49-50).

Hawkes and Hull (1987, 72) proposed that the early La Tène types began to be used in Britain from the mid-fifth to the early fourth century, while Adams (2013, 105-6) suggests the mid-fifth to mid-fourth century BC. The first style to arrive appears to have been H&H 1A with its high arched bow, large coiled spring and reverted foot, but this was soon replaced by the smaller 1B (*ibid.* 121). Initially the chronology of the British brooches follows that of their continental counterparts, but from the third to second century BC it deviated somewhat as they began to take on insular characteristics such as the straight, low-arched bow and new forms of decoration, culminating in the arrival of the entirely insular styles such as the involute (Haselgrove 1997, 53-4; Adams 2013, 122). Britain shows links again with the continent in the late Iron Age as variants of the Nauheim and filiform brooches were introduced (Haselgrove 1997, 56) and brooch use appears to have become increasingly regionalised (Adams 2013, 122). In Scotland the pin seems to have been preferred over the brooch, with the projecting ring-headed pin in use from at least the third century BC (Hunter 2009, 151).

2.2.2 The 'fibula event horizon' and the early Roman period

In the later first century BC brooch deposition in southern Britain increased rapidly and a number of new styles were introduced, a phenomenon termed by Hill (1995; 1997; 1998) the ‘fibula event horizon’ (and also discussed by Haselgrove 1997; Jackson 1985; Jundi and Hill 1998). The first of these was the ‘simple one-piece’ brooch (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 147-8). Several variants characterised by ‘mouldings on the bow, sometimes an external chord to the spring, a slight trumpet-shaped swelling on the head and usually an open catchplate’ (*ibid.*, 148) are found in contexts of the mid-first centuries BC-AD. The Nauheim derivatives appear to have emerged in the early first century AD, a substantial time after the Nauheim brooch itself from which they are supposed to have derived (*ibid.*, 147). Continental one-piece brooches also reached Britain in the first century AD, often probably with soldiers (*ibid.*, 148). The Colchester brooch, which has a crossbar protecting the spring and an external chord held by a hook, has also been found in pre-Conquest contexts (*ibid.*, 148-9).

This rapid increase in brooches is also likely to have been linked to changes in styles of dress, rather than simply an increase in their popularity. Around the same period toilet objects such as tweezers, ear scoops and nail cleaners and cosmetic items like pestles also appear for the first time, hinting that this may have been part of a broad array of changes in bodily presentation, hygiene and modification (Hill 1997, 100). Indeed, as Hill has pointed out, these changes are so extensive that they may also have affected aspects of the body that are not easily visible in the archaeological record such as ‘...posture, demeanour and manner of speech’ (*ibid.* 101). These developments Hill suggests marked a new focus on individual appearance and an increase in the importance of ‘the individual’ more generally, an idea that is reinforced by wider trends such as the rise in individual burial rites, a change in tableware from communal serving dishes to separate pieces, and the sub-division of domestic space (*ibid.*, 103). In turn this seems to have marked a wider shift away from communal to elite-centred social structures, the centralisation of political power and the forging of new long-distance ties between other parts of Britain and the continent (Haselgrove 2007, 321; Sharples 1990).

It is suggested that these changes were stimulated by the gradual spread of Romano-Belgic culture and lifestyles to Britain (e.g. Haselgrove 1997, 62), but although they cannot be divorced from the influence of the contemporary continental political, economic and cultural context, new styles of brooch also featured many uniquely insular elements. Continental styles appear to have been influencing British fashions

once again, but they often seem to have been adopted only after some modification, such as the addition of a boss to the bow, which was a feature more popular in Britain than the continent (*ibid.* 56). The concept of Romanisation in its simplest form is not, therefore, sufficient to explain the complex processes of cultural and social renegotiation that were taking place in Britain at this time.

Brooch deposition continued to increase during the late first century BC and early first century AD with a fresh explosion of continental inspired and insular forms (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 150). These included types with cylindrical spring covers; the Langton Down, the Thistle and the Rosette brooches, and some British variants of the Rosette like the Aesica (*ibid.*). These appear to have been in use only for a short period and were probably going out of fashion by the Conquest (*ibid.*, 150). Also arriving in small numbers in the early first century AD, but gaining popularity post-Conquest, are the early hinged continental brooches; the Aucissa and its derivative the Bagendon, which appear to have had particular military associations (*ibid.*, 151). Found only in post-Conquest contexts are the continental Hod Hill brooches and a small group of plate brooches and the insular two-piece Colchester-derivative (*ibid.*, 153-9).

Bayley and Butcher (2004, 155) have pointed out that the latter are often manufactured in leaded bronze rather than the brass of the earlier one-piece Colchesters, perhaps marking a return to earlier native metalworking traditions. Numerous other British styles subsequently appeared during the Flavian period, broadly following continental trends. These include the T-shaped, the Polden Hill, the trumpet, the headstud, and the dragonesque (*ibid.*, 207). Some of these featured distinctive Celtic-style motifs, a practice that has been interpreted in different ways (Hunter 2013). At a basic level it may have represented a resurgence of traditional artistic styles as a form of defiance in the face of the encroaching Roman world, but these styles were not wholly traditional, rather a new development that merely drew on that which had gone before (*ibid.*, 271). Nor can they be seen merely as evidence of native resistance when they were applied to new styles of artefact and worn by a wide cross-section of the population (*ibid.*).

2.2.3 The late Roman period

Many types continued to be used well into the second century AD, but during the second half of this century continental styles like the knee and sheath-footed brooches again rose in popularity (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 179). Brooch use declined overall in Britain from the third century onwards, perhaps linked to changing dress fashions (Croom 2004, 294). Bayley and Butcher (2004, 207) have pointed out that ‘there is a tendency to regard all types of the late Roman period as ‘soldier’s brooches’’ as their distribution tends to become restricted to towns and military sites.

The characteristic late Roman brooch is the crossbow, although the penannular also saw another surge in popularity. The crossbow was found across much of the Empire and is so standardised in form that it is often assumed to have been produced in state run factories, perhaps situated in *Pannonia* (although this has been debated by Swift 2000, 3), but the varying quality and evidence of hybridity seen in British examples suggests that at least some production was taking place here (Clarke 1979, Collins 2010, 67).

2.2.4 The post-Roman period

New styles of bow brooch developed from the crossbow started to arrive in Britain in the first decades of the fifth century AD, the most common being the cruciform, square-headed and small-long brooches. The cruciform brooch was in use from the early fifth to the first half of the sixth century AD (Mortimer 1990, 2), when it then may have been replaced by the square-headed brooch (Palm and Pind 1992), although Hines (1992) has suggested the two were concurrent for a time. The small-long brooch appeared at some point in the fifth century (Walton Rogers 2007, 118-9) and is more modest in size and form than the cruciform, but displays greater variety. Some less common brooches were in use of a shorter time, like the equal-armed in the fifth century (Owen-Crocker 2004) and the radiate-headed in the sixth century (MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 147).

The post-Roman period also saw an increase in circular brooch forms, the most common of which were the disk, the jewelled disk, the saucer, the applied disk, the button, the annular and the penannular. Simple disk brooches seem to be an insular innovation used in southern England during the fifth and sixth centuries (MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 57). The saucer and applied disk brooches were continental forms that

developed in Lower Saxony and spread to Britain in the fifth century (*ibid.*, 32&42; Evison 1978). The former are cast in a single piece with gilded decoration on the outer face and the latter have gilded copper alloy foil applied to a backplate. Button brooches have a similar construction to that of the saucer brooch, but are much smaller in size and appear to have developed in Kent in the late fifth century AD (Avent and Evison 1982; Suzuki 2008). They are often decorated with anthropomorphic faces that provide a rare source of information about contemporary hairstyles and facial hair. The highly decorative jewelled disc brooch, typically with gilding and garnet settings, is restricted to the late sixth century (MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 70).

Of circular shape and all potentially of some relation to one another are the annular, the quoit and the penannular. The annular brooch had northern Germanic and southern Scandinavian origins and appeared in Britain in the fifth century (MacGregor and Bolick 1993, 82). The quoit brooch, which developed in the early fifth century (Suzuki 2000, 2) is found only in southern England and concentrated in east Kent like the button brooch (Suzuki 2000). White (1990, 134) lists three penannulars which he describes as ‘quoit brooch style’, two from Kent and one from East Anglia. These have wide, flat, decorated hoops and a thin pin secured by hooking it under the terminal instead of rotating the hoop in the normal manner. Suzuki (2000, 86) suggests that such a style was perhaps stimulated by the need for a flat surface for decoration, but it was impractical and clearly never became popular and so the quoit brooch arose as an alternative, retaining the penannular form in its centre. This runs contrary to Ager’s (1985, 5-8) suggestion that it was the continental annulars that gave rise to the quoit brooch, but as Suzuki (2000, 89) points out, why then did the development occur in Britain? Probably the most that we can say is that the three penannulars and the quoit brooches themselves were related products of a typically British regional tradition that was happy to both borrow and innovate.

2.3 Dressing the part; how brooches were worn

The primary role of the brooch was as a dress fastener and as such they shed broader light on changing fashions. The brooch’s form is strongly connected to its function, but information from burials and occasionally other contexts provides the most direct

insight into how they were worn. Most evidence comes from Anglo-Saxon burials when brooches became a standard part of the grave goods assemblage, but there is limited evidence from earlier periods. What follows is a brief overview of what is currently known about clothing fashions from the Iron Age to the post-Roman period. Fashions moved at a much slower pace than today, but it remains difficult to generalize across such a long period of time. There would undoubtedly have been much additional variation between regions, communities and individuals.

2.3.1 The Iron Age

Complete inhumations with grave goods are limited in the Iron Age. Some of the cist graves of Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly contained dress accessories, as did the ‘mirror burials’ of southern England and isolated burials are found in other regions, but the main source of evidence comes from the ‘Arras burials’ of East Yorkshire (Stead 1979). Here brooches were usually restricted to female graves, although there were exceptions to this. Early and Mid-Iron Age brooches usually appear singly in graves – pairs are exceptionally rare (Adams 2013, 227) – and so they may have served to fasten an outer cloak as Stead (1991, 179) has suggested.

It would seem that brooches from Iron Age burials tell us more about their social role and the burial rite itself than how they were worn during life, however. Adams (2013, 230) notes that brooches from Iron Age burials tend to be more decorative than those from other contexts and so they may have been ‘special occasion wear’ or prized heirlooms rather than part of day-to-day attire. They are also positioned in a variety of places on the body, which may have been because they fastened a burial shroud rather than clothing, but may also relate to the burial ritual in other ways.

In an unpublished analysis of the East Yorkshire burials Jundi [no date] noted that the body of the deceased appeared to have been divided into numerous zones during the burial ritual allowing grave goods to assume additional meaning according to their placement. Most brooches were located on the upper part of the body. This led her to conclude that when brooches featured in graves they were intended to express ‘... gender, ethnicity, age, group membership or even an individual's choice depending on where, how and what type was worn’ (*ibid.* 8). She also observed regional variation in the range and placement of grave goods between different ‘cemeteries’ and ‘districts’

(*ibid.* 9). Even cemeteries fairly close to one another displayed differences perhaps hinting at a sense of individual community identity (*ibid.* 10).

2.3.2 The Roman period

This paucity of burial evidence continues into the Roman period. Brooches do feature in cremation graves in the earlier Roman period, but are surprisingly rare considering their abundance as site finds (Cool 2011, 307-9). Other items were seemingly chosen in preference to brooches at all stages of the funerary process, suggesting that the corpse was not attired as they would have been during life (*ibid.*). Even when brooches occur in cremation burials it is difficult to assess the extent to which they reflect living dress. That brooches were worn by both men and women is supported by burial evidence from elsewhere in the Empire (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 214), but the majority of other evidence comes from literary, art-historical and epigraphic analysis. There are no clear gender divisions between the types of brooches chosen, however (Johns 1996, 149).

Carvings on tombstones in the Rhineland, Northern Gaul and to a lesser extent Britain suggests that women in the first to mid-second century used a matching pair and a third non matching brooch to fasten a *peplos* or tube dress (Wild 1985, 393-97). Sometimes a third brooch may also have pinned a cloak (*ibid.*, 394, 404-5). Brooches found joined by a chain, such as the gold examples in the Winchester hoard (Hill et al. 2004) may have also pinned the overtunic in place, although the chain sometimes seems too short for this purpose (Wild 1985, 397). Cords or ribbons may also have fulfilled a similar purpose (Johns 1996, 149). Tacitus reported that Britons had enthusiastically adopted the *toga* following the Conquest, but Wild (*ibid.*, 409-10) questions this, suggesting that it was only used ceremonially and instead versions of the widespread tunic were used until they were replaced by the 'Gallic coat'. Men probably wore trousers, a tunic and a short cloak secured with a single brooch (Croom 2000, 136). Finally, fragile plate brooches do not seem robust enough to hold clothing together and so may have had a purely decorative function. The same may have been true in earlier and later periods.

Epigraphic and literary evidence suggests that the decline in brooch deposition from the mid-second century was linked to the rise of new styles of clothing that did not require brooches. The 'Gallic coat', a sleeved garment, became the standard attire for men and women across Western Europe (Wild 1985). Men wore it knee-length together with the

circular, woollen ‘Gallic cape’ and a scarf, whereas women wore it ankle-length with a cloak, bonnet and scarf (*ibid.*, 369-393). During the third century the clothing of civilian officials and the military became much more closely linked and uniforms were adopted to display status and rank (*ibid.* 385). The new crossbow brooches and the heavy cloaks that they fastened became an essential badge of status across the empire for males of a certain standing (Heurgon 1958, 23, Jobst 1975, 93, Swift 2000, 3). Keller (1987/8, 27) has suggested that the material from which the crossbow brooch was made and any additional surface treatments may have further distinguished rank. Croom (2000, 72) suggests that civilian men primarily wore mantles and capes that did not require brooches for fastening. That crossbow brooches had a similar function in Britain is evidenced by material from late Roman cemeteries like the one at Lankhills, near Winchester, where they only appeared in the graves of males and were almost invariably associated with official belt equipment (Booth et al. 2010). Despite these associations crossbows are occasionally found in the graves of women and children on the continent, although such associations are uncommon (Jobst 1975, 94).

2.3.3 The post-Roman period

Far more is known about post-Roman dress from Anglo-Saxon burials. No doubt the late Roman function of brooches continued for a time, but this began to change as new styles of dress were introduced. Post-Roman brooches are usually found in female graves, but occasionally occur in male ones too. They were typically worn by women, their position dependent on the style of dress (Walton Rogers 2007). The most common arrangement is a pair, one at each shoulder, which appear to have secured a *peplos* (*ibid.*, 144). The styles of brooch that were chosen for this were subject to some regional variation (*ibid.*, 144-5). The brooches worn on the shoulders tended to be matching pairs, but occasionally non-matching examples are found and these are thought to have fastened a *peplos* on one shoulder only or a mantle-dress, both with a sleeved blouse worn underneath (*ibid.*, 153; Martin 2011, 272). In some regions a cloak was worn over the top necessitating a third brooch worn higher up across the chest (Walton Rogers 2007, 167). Less commonly the cloak appears to have been pinned by a pair of downward pointing cruciform brooches found above the shoulder pair (*ibid.*, 170-1). Recent research by Martin (2011, 268-9) looking at cruciform brooches has demonstrated that although certain styles of brooches tended to have specific functions there was often temporal and some regional variation within this too. The cruciform

brooch itself evolved from being worn singly, to being worn in pairs to fasten a *peplos*, and then to be worn singly or in pairs as a cloak fastener (*ibid.*, 282).

In some regions particular accessories seem to be associated with specific age groups. Generally speaking, pairs of brooches tend only to be found in the graves of individuals in their early teens and older (Stoodley 2000, 463; Gowland 2006, 148; Walton Rogers 2007, 178), but they seem to have been given up by older women. Those over the age of 45 were less likely to have shoulder brooches and those over the age of 50 had none at all (Walton Rogers 2007, 178). On the other hand pins on the chest, thought to have secured a veil, were acquired at around the age of 17 and continued to be worn throughout adulthood (*ibid.*). Different styles of dress and consequently dress accessories may therefore have been adopted to mark the achievement of specific stages in an individual's life (Martin 2011, 283). Walton Rogers (2007, 178) suggests that the *peplos* may have been worn by women between menarche and menopause to facilitate breastfeeding whereas the veil may have been taken up at marriage. Of course because we are dealing with burial evidence it also remains possible that these differences had more to do with the burial rite itself and what were deemed suitable grave goods for different age groups.

2.4 The social agency of brooches

Our understanding of the complex relationship between objects and people has been transformed in recent decades. From the nineteenth century onwards material culture came to be seen not just as a tool for defining chronologies but as a means of identifying and understanding the distribution, movement and interaction of different ethnic and social groups, each of which was seen as in some way cohesive - a 'culture' (Thomas 1996, 20-1). The relationship between society and its material manifestations was seen as relatively straightforward and focused on the macro scale. The range of social identities that such an approach allowed for were necessarily limited to broad ones, the existence of which was often taken as an objective, indisputable aspect of the past. Within this framework objects like brooches became disconnected from the human bodies with which they were once so intimately associated and were instead understood

solely in terms of broad scale processes like migration, invasion and the resulting inter-cultural contact.

A more nuanced understanding of this relationship has begun to emerge (Hodder 1979; Hodges 1989; Shanks and Tilley 1987; Thomas 1996), strongly influenced by interdisciplinary work on contemporary material culture. Material culture in general is no longer simply seen as the physical expression of static forms of broad ethnic and cultural identities, but is now understood both as the product of and fundamental to the formation of complex multiple identities that are themselves more fluid and overlapping than has been previously imagined (Thomas 1996, 41). Key to the development of these ideas has been a changing understanding of what identity actually is and how it is formed and maintained. Now increasingly it is understood as a fluid, flexible and changeable process, rather than a set of fixed signifiers. An individual will continually construct a range of identities throughout their lifetime through their social interactions with other people. These identities are always plural, never singular, and they exist in relation to (and sometimes in conflict with) one another (Hall and Gay 1996, 4). Therefore as these identities emerge, interact, alter and fade away, the role played by objects in their construction, maintenance and alteration also passes through a series of continual transformations.

2.4.1 Objects of bodily adornment and alteration

Studies of artefacts associated with adornment, alteration and care of the body in particular have offered some striking insights into the complex social role of material culture (e.g. Eckardt 2005; Eckardt and Crummy 2006; Hill 1997; Jundi and Hill 1998; Swift 2003; 2000). These include not only practical and decorative items such as brooches, jewellery and hair ornaments, but also clothing (although this is usually limited in the archaeological record) and items associated with alteration and care of the human body, such as tools for personal grooming, styling the hair, the preparation and application of cosmetics and even permanent alteration of the body such as tattooing. Such objects fall into several different groups, each offering differing opportunities for decoration and alteration, some permanent and some less so.

Brooches form part of a group of durable metal dress accessories that can be used in a variety of ways according to established custom or individual taste and are small and portable enough to allow them to be easily deposited, disposed of, recycled or passed

between individuals. Classifying them can be difficult because, like buckles, they were typically functional objects, but equally they could be highly decorative and so there are overlaps with jewellery. Any object associated with adorning and altering appearance enables the display and modification of that most personal and portable feature of an individual's identity - the body. Detachable objects like brooches, however, allow this to be transformed and redefined through their removal or alteration. Like the body itself, such objects are also subject to wear and aging, changing naturally over time and perhaps in significance as such processes occur. They can also be passed from individual to individual perhaps sometimes bringing with them associations with previous owners, or at other times developing new meanings in new contexts (Kopytoff 1986, 277; Thomas 1991).

2.4.2 Brooches as visual messages

The study of objects associated with personal adornment has been influenced by developing understanding of the significance of appearance in other disciplines, particularly sociology. A later facet of some structuralist theory was the study of semiotics, or the idea that humans do not communicate simply through language, but also through a series of non-verbal signs such as gesture, facial expression, the position of the body, clothing and other forms of bodily adornment (Eco 1972, 8-9). According to this view, the way that an individual presents their body can communicate complex social messages, rather like a form of non-verbal language (Lurie 1992, 262; Barnes and Eicher 1992). Some social theorists adapted and extended this idea to suggest that objects used in the adornment or alteration of the body form the words or vocabulary of a language and that a grammar of meaning allows them to send out more complex messages when these are worn in conjunction with one another (Lurie 1992, 262).

Such rules are often unarticulated and hidden, unconsciously interpreted by those that are familiar with them, but perhaps partially or completely misunderstood by those who are not (Lurie 1992, 262). The latter is most often the position of the archaeologist, who, to extend the linguistic analogy, is faced with reconstructing a lost language from only a few, often disconnected, words and little access to this essential grammar of meaning. We often have evidence only of the moment of the object's production or its final deposition, with generally far less about the stages in between. At the point of deposition items found in non-burial contexts are divorced from the bodies they once

ornamented or altered, at the manufacture stage from the lives they would later connect with. Items found in burials on the other hand, provide a snapshot of the body in death only, which, as discussed above, can often shed little light on how the individual presented their body during life. This incomplete knowledge of the full context within which the meaning of such objects evolved leads to difficulty 'translating' it in the present. Attempts to do so have also been hampered by unconscious assumptions about the meaning of dress based on contemporary understandings - the gender suitability of different items for example.

This has not prevented many recent archaeological studies from embracing the idea that individual appearance is encoded with complex meaning and from attempting to uncover and interpret the messages, albeit incomplete, that various personal objects were sending out, both individually and in conjunction with one another. These concepts have also been further extended in some studies to include the idea that various levels of symbolic meaning may be contained within a single item, something that is apparent in some studies of brooches across all periods (e.g. Hines 1984; Jundi and Hill 1998). Jundi and Hill, for example, have analysed Roman dragonesque brooches to discover the '...message conveyed by [their] shape and decorative vocabulary' (1998, 132), concluding that a brooch does not simply send out messages based on its basic form, but also through its finer decorative details.

Arnold (1997, 179) has also emphasised this idea with regard to early Anglo-Saxon brooches, suggesting that tiers of messages may have been intended to be seen by different audiences. The basic shape and size of a brooch is easy to see from a distance and as such is a useful way of communicating fairly straightforward messages about aspects of identity such as age, gender or allegiance to a broad group when meeting others with whom you may not be interacting on a one to one basis; at a large communal gathering of different groups for example (*ibid.*). More subtle decorative elements may require the viewer to come very close to the wearer before they can be fully seen and on very intricately decorated examples could communicate a whole host of subtle messages that only certain people would have been able to fully interpret, indicating a much more intimate social connection between viewer and wearer (*ibid.*). Of course further details need to be taken into consideration, such as the position in which the brooch was worn, the style of dress that it was fastening, the objects that it may have been worn in conjunction with it and other aspects of the individual's

appearance such as their hairstyle. In fact the list is endless and each component may have had radical bearing on the overall messages being displayed.

2.4.3 An active role for brooches

While these studies have played an important role in drawing attention to the highly complex nature of personal appearance and the depth of symbolism that might be contained within even a single object, arguably they are still rooted in the fundamental binary opposition between outer appearance and the inner self, which has long been challenged elsewhere in the social sciences. The idea that appearance can be read like a text with arbitrary signifiers has been increasingly criticised (Woodward 2005, 21), (although it may be said that in practice the textual analogy has not always been interpreted in such a straightforward way). Instead it may be argued that appearance does not simply provide a tool for conducting social relations, but rather is in itself socially constituted (Miller 2010; Shilling 1993; Woodward 2005).

The structuralist separation of the social and natural worlds, the material and the ideal, has had a profound effect on conceptions of the human body, often leading it to be viewed simply as a biological vehicle for consciousness (Shilling 1993, 22-3) and as a result of bodily adornment simply an external reflection of an internally constructed identity (Woodward 2005, 21). Woodward (*ibid.*, 22) has argued, drawing on Alfred Gell's (1998) work, that clothing and other forms of bodily adornment are in fact extensions of the inner self. Therefore individuals use appearance to expose their inner self to the outside world, but at the same time this is a two-way relationship and the intentions of others and of wider society are able to permeate back to the wearer through the performance of constructing appearance (Woodward 2005, 22). The implications of this are that objects used to decorate or alter the body are not simply messages painted onto a blank canvas, passively reflecting social categories such as age, gender, class, status and so on, to external observers, but that they also play an active and dynamic role in constructing and maintaining such aspects of the self and one's position in relation to others.

This role will be heavily dependent on the social context within which it is taking place of course. As Giddens (1984) argued human action cannot be separated from the social structures that provide its background. It is through the performance of everyday actions such as dressing the body that this structure is constantly reproduced. So individual

agency is both constrained and facilitated at the same time. In some societies individuals may be given greater opportunity to explore and construct the self through a wide range of possibilities for presenting the body, whilst in others appropriate dress may be prescribed to a much higher degree. There may have been complex rules governing who could wear certain styles, at what age this was appropriate and between which individuals the transfer of brooches could take place. Therefore brooches may have had a life course that was to a large degree determined by context-specific social expectations.

These rules would never have been static, however. Rather they would have been in a continuous state of change as they were constantly reproduced and both temporally and spatially varied according to context. There may too have been many times when there was conflict with an individual's agency and rules were broken or challenged, perhaps by a different facet of the wearer's identity. It is therefore impossible within an archaeological context it is possible to establish the full range of identities that brooches helped to construct. The relationship between objects of bodily adornment and identity formation can never be straightforward, and even in past contexts, where aspects of appearance often appear to have been more standardised, the range of identities that objects of bodily adornment featured in may have been hugely varied and complex.

As a brooch may undergo several context-dependent transformations throughout its (often long) lifetime, we can attempt to uncover and understand how their relationships with the people that wore them might have operated; how they were involved in identity formation and what impact this would have had upon the objects themselves, but evidence of these processes remains limited to snapshots in the archaeological record. Elements of the analogy that we are left piecing together sentences with only a few words remain true. It is impossible to chart and understand the full series of relationships that each brooch might have entered into and the transformations they may have passed through prior to the point of deposition. This does not mean, however, that such concepts cannot be brought into accounts of the lives of objects, but simply that this must be done with an awareness of the fact that these can never be complete. In fact such attempts are vital if we are to avoid the assumption that the meaning of objects remained static and immobile from the point of their production to deposition.

Despite these limitations and the impossibility of ever fully understanding the complexity of penannular production, use and deposition, such as perspective can at least allow us understand its development as more than simply the product of broader social, economic and political processes, but rather an integral element within them. Hill's fibula event horizon offers a good example. Rather than the product of broad cultural identity asserted under the threat of Romanisation, acts of hybridisation, whereby new styles of brooch were adapted to suit British tastes, are better understood as a mechanism through which change was negotiated and new identities could be developed (Woodward 2005). This dynamic aspect of the process is key. The decision to adopt new ways of presenting the body was as much a part of the process of identity re-negotiation as a product of new identities that had already been assumed. Brooches did not simply function as static badges of allegiance to one group or another or as symbols of 'Romanised' or 'native' identities, but rather were active agents in the process of adopting a new status, feeling part of a particular social group or maybe even breaking existing social ties. These new objects and practices drew on continental fashions, but did not necessarily come with a fixed set of cultural values attached. Thus what might initially look simply like attempts to appear more 'Roman' in appearance and lifestyle, may in fact be part of a more complex process of identity renegotiation motivated by numerous factors from shifting social hierarchies and new social groupings, to more practical reasons like increasing connectivity and trade links and wider political and economic changes. This process was not necessarily a straightforward one. 'Mistakes' may even have been made along the way as an individual's carefully constructed appearance took on unintended meaning within unfamiliar social contexts, a likely possibility when change was occurring at such an accelerated rate. And of course individual choice would have still been constrained by what was available locally, personal resources and social limits on what was appropriate for who to wear.

2.5 Conclusions

Study of material culture and specifically objects of bodily adornment has been limited by a series of implicit analytical frameworks that have cumulatively led to brooches being interpreted as passive, static symbols of monolithic collective identities. A more

context dependent approach that rejects the cultural group as the primary unit of analysis is adopted here. Objects like brooches are better understood as active participants within contextually varied social relations and the construction of multiple, overlapping, continually shifting collective and individual identities. A context-dependent approach requires acceptance of the fact that such variation is in fact the outcome of multiple intersecting processes – some of which will remain forever hidden. Such a conclusion cautions against creating the kinds of typologies that are simply intended to group, classify and date brooches on the basis of perceived similarities or differences, but instead requires the analysis of variation at a deeper level.

Chapter 3:

Methodology and data overview

3.1 Introduction

This chapter and the following will reassess the development of the penannular brooch in Britain beginning with a general survey of the data and culminating in a revised typology in chapter 4. This typology builds upon Fowler's foundation and many of her original types are retained as new analysis of distribution and chronology carried out here confirm that they have genuine significance. The revised typology, illustrated in figure 4.1., is therefore referred to from this point onwards. In Chapters 5 and 6 this analysis is drawn together and used to reassess general and specific site data from two case study regions, investigating in-depth regional and chronological variation in the social and cultural contexts within which penannulars were used.

3.2 Data sources and quality

A total of 2621 complete and fragmentary penannulars were recorded in my study, a very substantial increase from the 456 in Fowler's. These have been found in the mainland and islands of Britain, but as already noted, the Irish material has been excluded. The latter has much to contribute to the study of the penannular's British development, but there was simply neither the time nor the space to devote to it the attention it deserves.

Over half of the British database (58%) derives from catalogues compiled by Fowler (1961), M. R. Hull, with revisions by C. F. C. Hawkes following his death (unpublished), and Donald Mackreth (2011). Hull's database was the culmination of years of research and museum visits. Following his death it was passed to Grace Simpson and later Nina Crummy who is currently working to finally bring it to publication (Crummy forthcoming). She kindly allowed me to use the data on penannulars in its unpublished form in this study. Mackreth (2011) has recently published the results of analysis of the 15,000 brooches of his own corpus. Due to the limitations of the accompanying electronic database I consulted his original card index in the British Museum. A further 31% of penannulars were added via a detailed

literature search and visits to museums within the two case study regions and 175 (7% of the overall total) from the PAS database.

Fowler, Hull and Mackreth's databases will have been influenced by their individual collection strategies, but a bias towards the south and particularly the east of Britain is particularly clear in Mackreth's. Mackreth (2011) admits to favouring bow brooches over penannulars early on in his data collection, but later began to record penannulars too and suggests that over time this bias is likely to have become less significant as his database grew. Combining all sources and finds helps counteract these issues. Pre-existing concentrations of penannulars in South-West Britain and the Yorkshire/North Lincolnshire region have also been further emphasised by case studies carried out in these two regions. Museum visits were only carried out in these areas and both were the focus of a more intensive literature search. There is no way of overcoming this bias, but it is taken into consideration throughout this chapter.

3.2.1 PAS data

A total of 175 penannulars have been recorded by the PAS at the time of writing⁴. While most have grid references accurate to six figures or greater, because most finders use maps rather than GPS devices to produce these, accuracy remains variable. Despite this, the methods by which the PAS data are recovered can also be advantageous; while excavation is often subject to research agendas and patterns of development, PAS data can offer a useful tool of comparison despite its own set of biases.

PAS data vary considerably from the other sources in terms of overall quantities recorded, proportions of types and distribution (figs.3.1 & 3.3). A quick search of the PAS database for comparative 'Iron Age bow brooch' and 'Roman bow brooch' data was all that was practical without undertaking extensive data cleansing (table 3.1). It is accepted that this data will include incorrect identifications and brooches which overlap in date, but nonetheless it is sufficient to demonstrate how few metal detected penannulars have been recorded compared to contemporary bow brooches. This is further highlighted by the excavation data recorded in Mackreth's corpus, which comprises a much greater proportion of penannulars.

⁴ No brooches recorded by the PAS were included after August 2013.

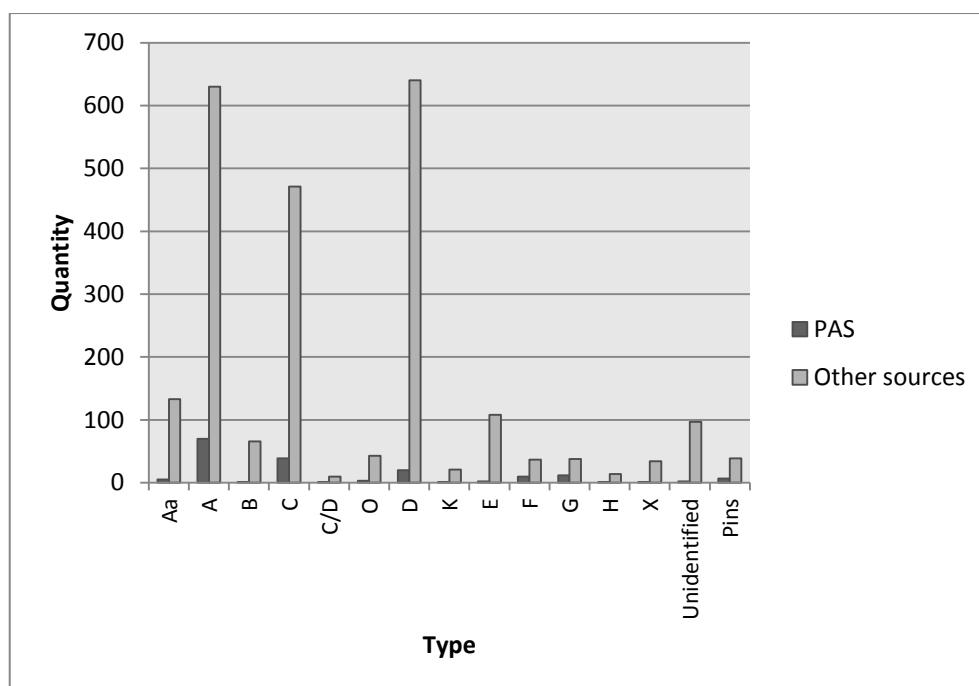


Figure 3.1. Quantity of each penannular type recorded by the PAS compared with overall totals.

	Penannular (all types)	Iron Age bow brooch	Roman bow brooch
PAS	175	2,278	16,520
Mackreth	1095	1573	12,478

Table 3.1. Comparative quantities of penannulars and bow brooches on the PAS database and in Mackreth's (2011) corpus. Incorporating the results of a basic search of the PAS database for 'Iron Age bow brooch' and 'Roman bow brooch' on 8th February 2015.

Clearly penannulars are either not being found as frequently by metal detectorists or not recorded and differences can also be seen in the types of penannular recorded by the PAS. In contrast to the broader dataset Type A is the most common, followed by Type C and then Type D. Interestingly PAS finds account for 21.3% and 24% of the total numbers of Type F and Type G respectively. Both of these appear to be primarily post-

Roman types and it is possible that this high percentage reflects the lower number of non-cemetery sites excavated for this period in comparison to others. If this were the case, however, it would suggest that this type was more common than the numbers recorded during this study suggest. It is also possible, however, that these types are simply more easily identified by metal detectorists because they are larger and more decorative. Anecdotal evidence suggests that many metal detectorists are selective in the material that they give to their local Finds Liaison Officer and metal rings of all dates, which are easily confused with a penannular, are common finds that are generally discarded. This may suggest that the low numbers of penannulars recorded with the PAS are due to such bias rather than because they are not being found.

PAS data are concentrated in southern and eastern England. This may reflect many factors including variation in land type and accessibility, numbers of metal detector users and FLOs, relations between the two, and the location and scale of metal detecting rallies. The concentration of penannulars in Yorkshire/North Lincolnshire in figure 3.2 is also present in the PAS data (fig.3.3), whereas the one in the South-West is absent. This matches broader PAS findspot distributions for brooches of all periods (fig.3.4) and probably explains the proportionally high number of Type A and low number of Type D, as the latter are particularly concentrated in the South-West.

3.3 Methods of data analysis

Together, detailed analysis of distribution and chronology provide the basic foundation for the new typology presented in Chapter 4 and the discussion of the penannular's cultural and social meaning in Chapters 5, 6 and 7. Simple distribution maps were chosen as the most straightforward and effective method of analysing multiple features of a large dataset. In addition, to enhance the clarity of spatial patterning, 'directional distribution' analysis was also typically performed. This produced elliptical polygons, which allow broader patterns to be visualised much more easily – very useful when analysing data across a large geographical area - and also allow distributions to be compared more accurately. Whereas standard distribution maps can quickly become crowded and confused, making patterns difficult to discern, directional distribution polygons allow much more data to be displayed and compared on a single map. The study of penannular brooches in Britain may benefit from further, more detailed analysis of distribution using advanced techniques in the future, but at present this

simple methodology offered a useful starting point and has the additional benefit of being easily comparable with data from older studies, which is typically presented in a similar format.

3.3.1 Techniques of analysis: Distribution

Directional distribution analysis of distribution patterns was performed using ArcGIS, creating elliptical polygons to one standard deviation, centred on the mean centre for all penannulars in the group and showing the broad orientation of their distribution. Wherever this method of analysis appears on a map the polygon is listed in the legend with the suffix ‘_DD’ (an abbreviation of ‘directional distribution’). There are both pros and cons to this method, but on balance the former were thought to outweigh the latter. Due to the use of one standard deviation the polygons always encompass approximately 68% of the brooches in the relevant group and so are focused on core areas of distribution and less affected by outliers. The method may potentially obscure distributions that include two foci, however, although findspots are typically also mapped individually with points to highlight any such problems.

3.3.2 Techniques of analysis: Chronology

An alternative way of visualising chronology has also been employed in preference to more typical alternatives like the Gantt chart. These are shown together in Appendix 3, making comparison easier. A triangular graph with a single axis is used, following the method developed by Van de Weghe et al. (2007) for visualising and analysing residuality in pottery assemblages. The span 700 BC to AD 700 is shown on the base axis and a dot is then positioned on the grid at the midpoint in the chronological range of the brooch (so by following the gridlines back to the axis one can see its range). This method improves upon many traditional ways of visualising chronology, because reliability is also easy to assess. The distance at which the dot lies from the axis corresponds with the length of its chronological range. Therefore clustering around the base axis offers a clear and reliable indication of chronological patterning, from which less accurate data are easy to separate. While this cannot be used to analyse residuality as it was originally intended (because this study is not dealing with discrete site assemblages), it does offer a useful way of visualising clustering and the reliability of the data simultaneously.

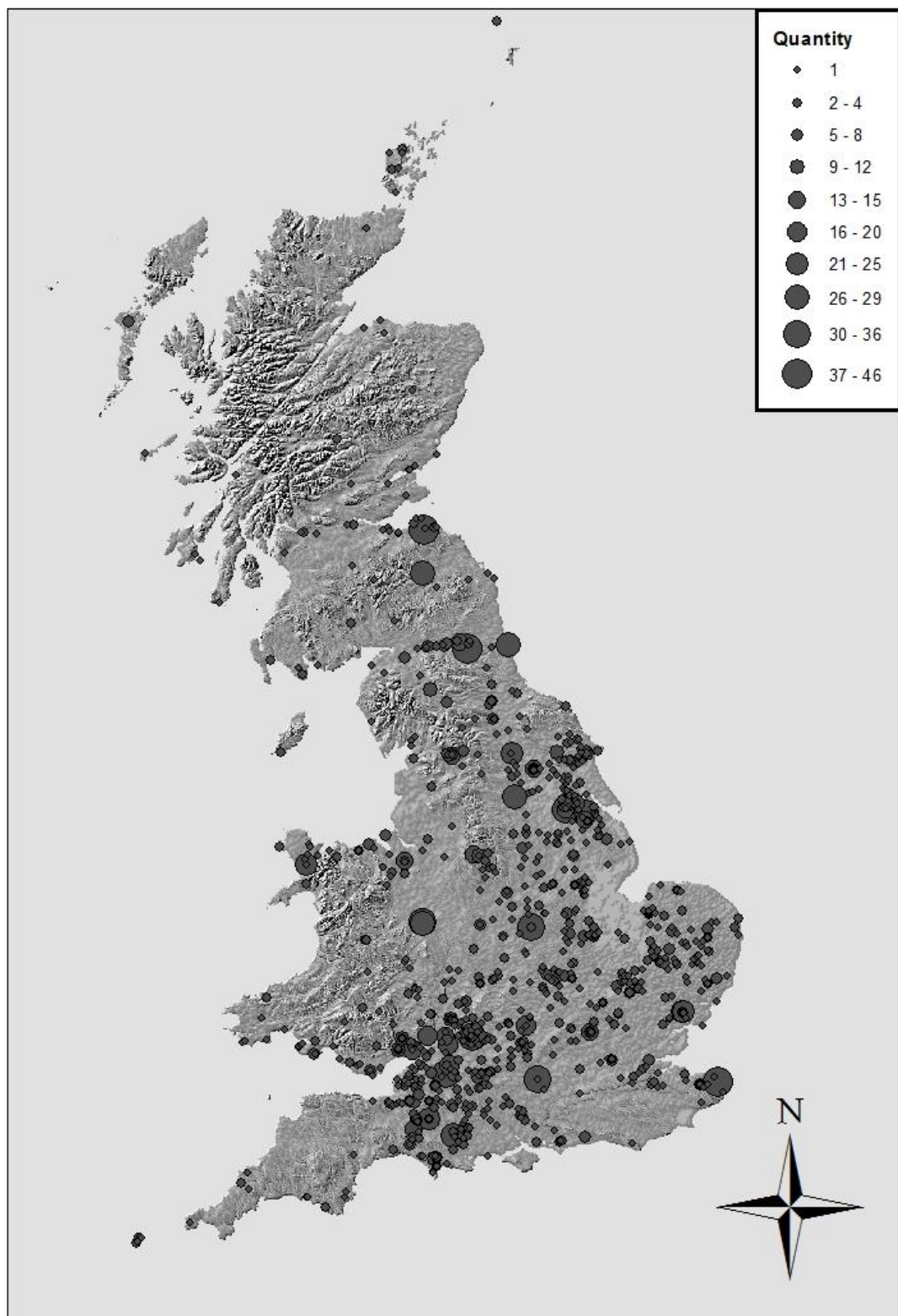


Figure 3.2. Total quantity of penannulars per site

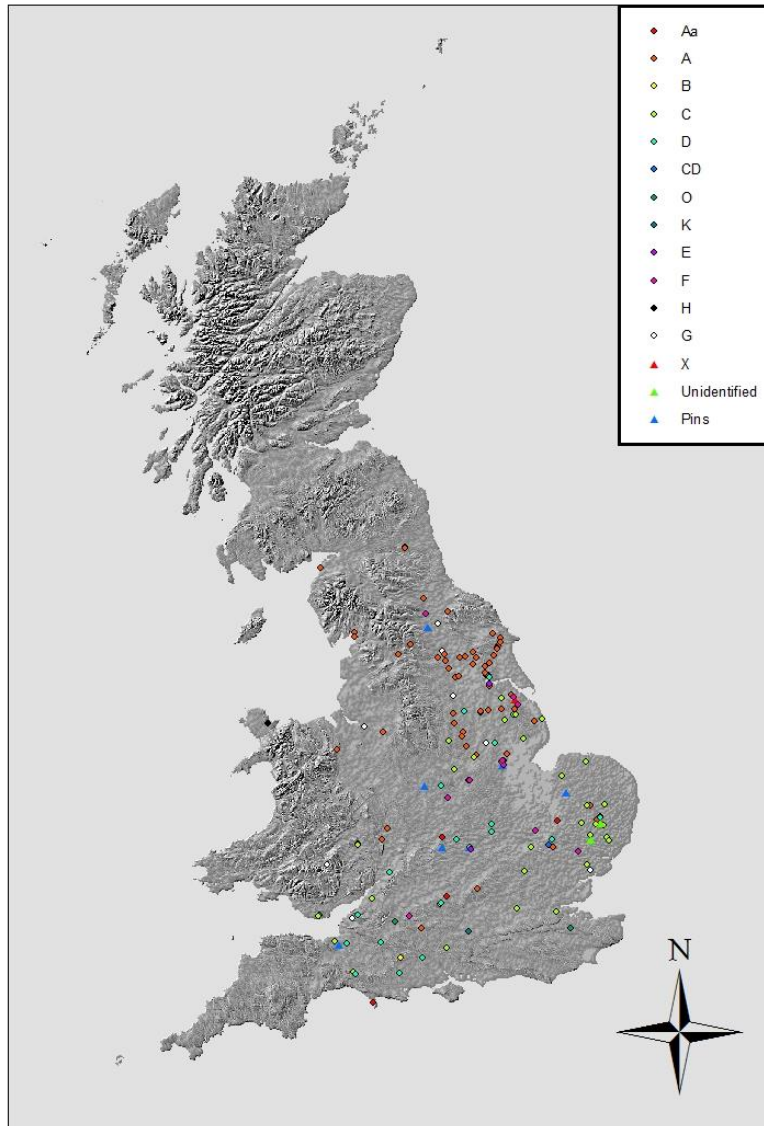


Figure 3.3. Penannulars recorded by the PAS (all periods)

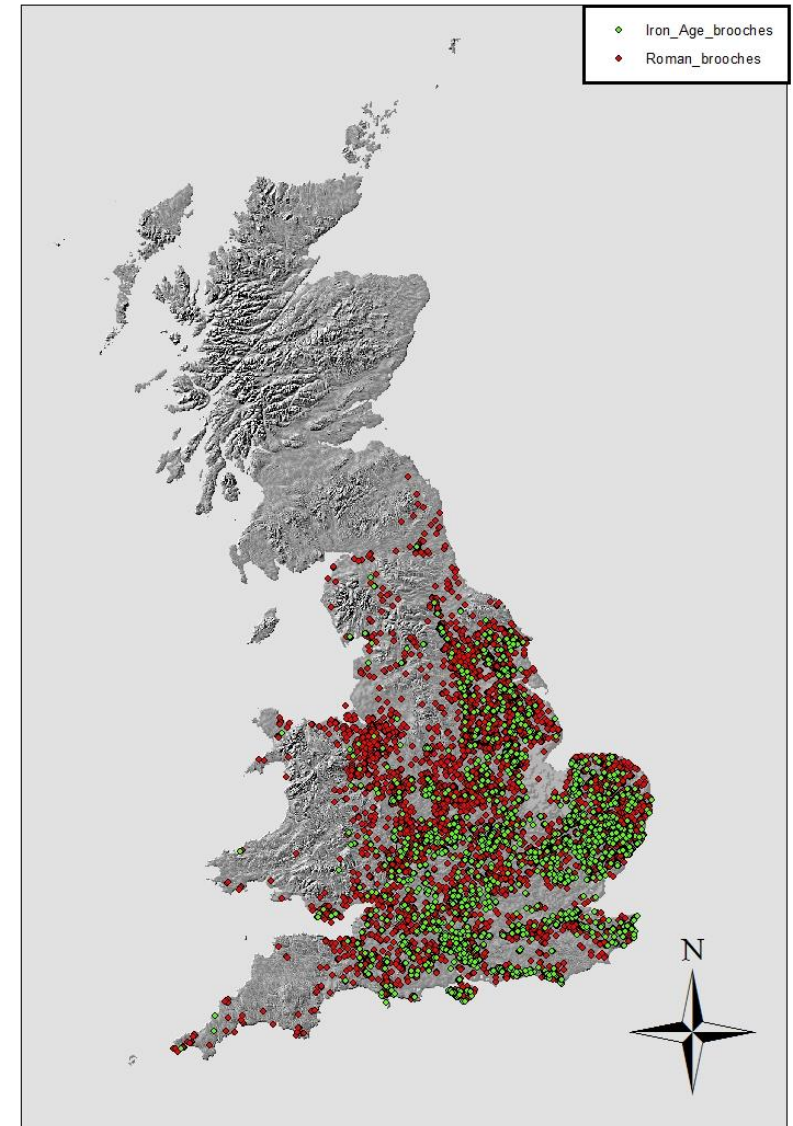


Figure 3.4. All Iron Age and Roman brooches recorded by the P

3.4 Overview of patterns of distribution and deposition

3.4.1 Quantities

The most common types, in descending order, are A, D and C (fig.3.5). All others are found in much smaller numbers. 46 pins were also recorded, this small number reflecting the fact that these are often fragmentary and difficult to identify and so are seldom included in excavation reports, reported to the PAS, or traced among museum collections. Type X has been added as a miscellaneous category for the many ‘one offs’ and oddities that did not fit within any particular group, but these are discussed in much less detail.

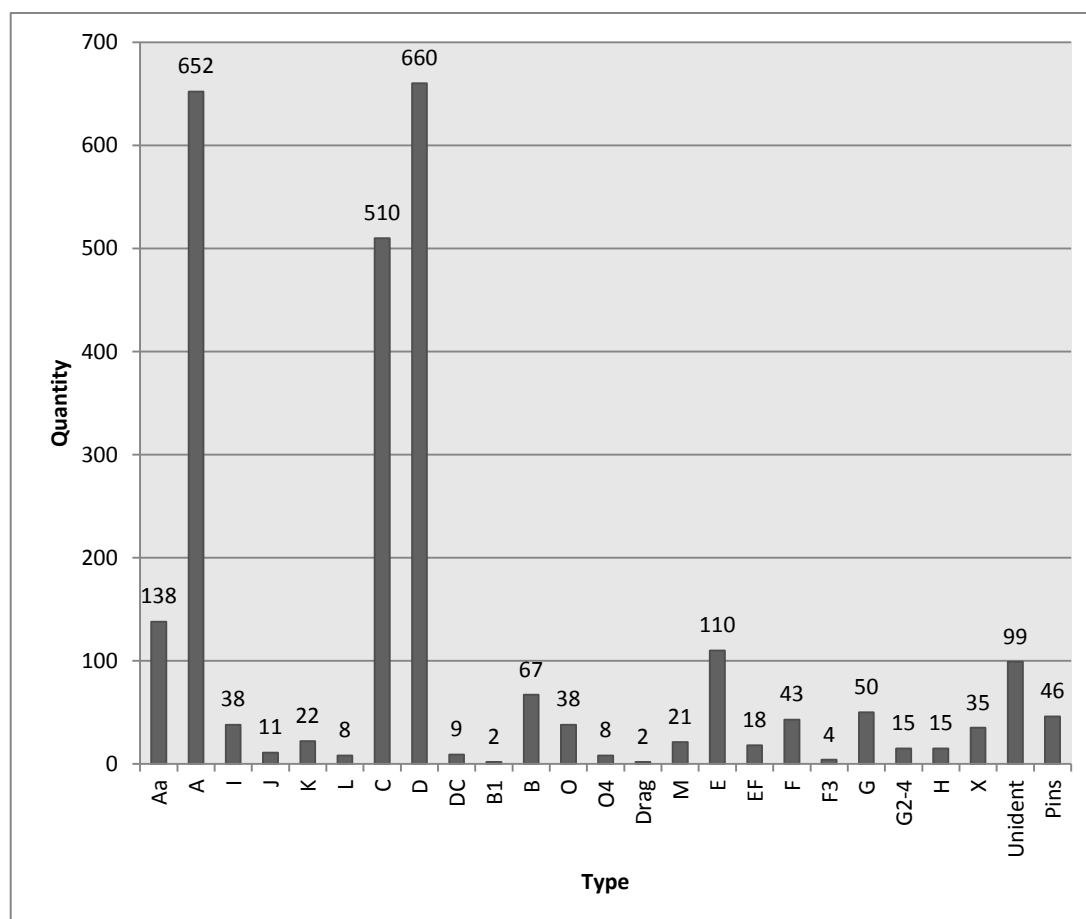


Figure 3.5. Total quantity of each penannular type

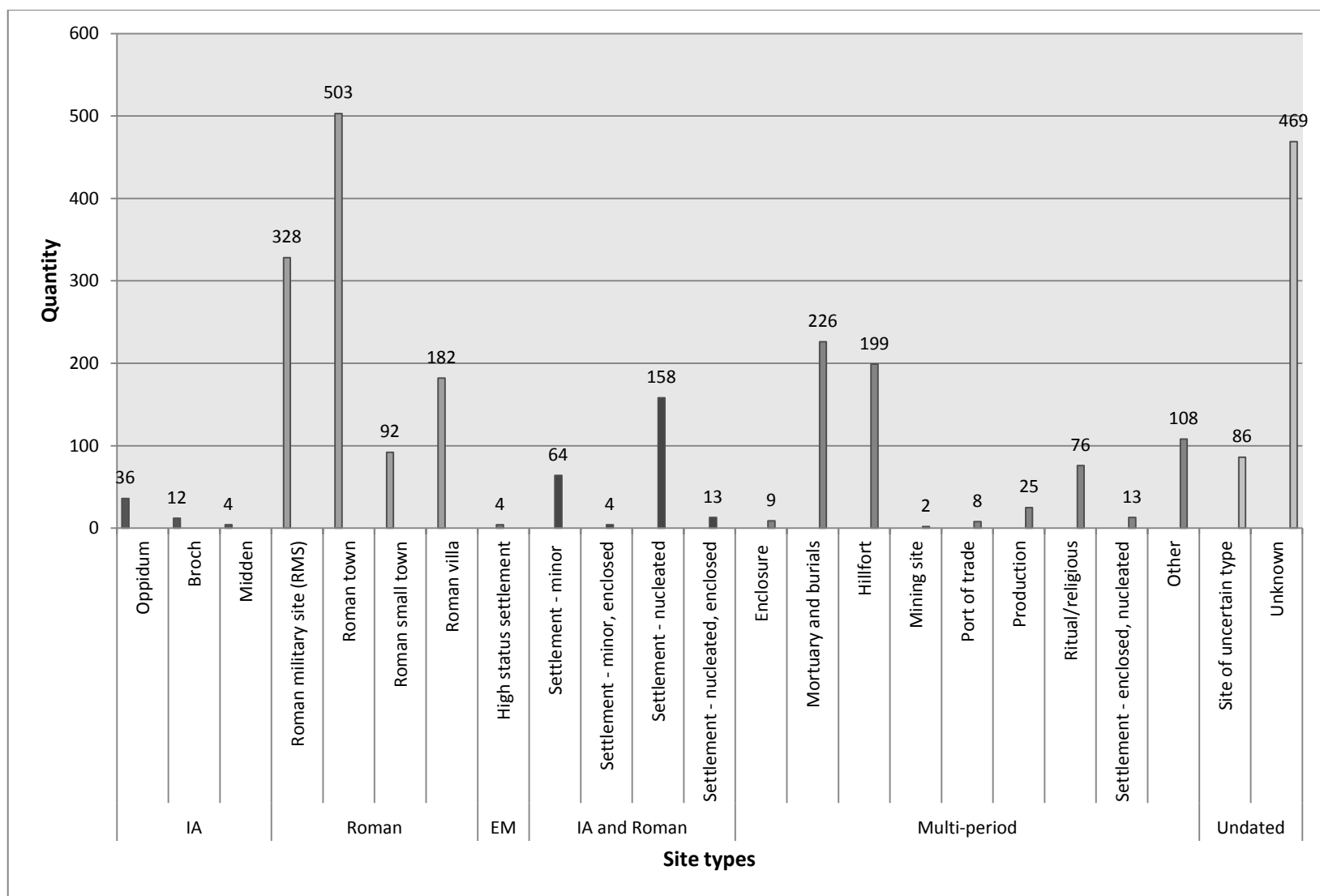


Figure 3.6. Total number of brooches per category of site (all periods)

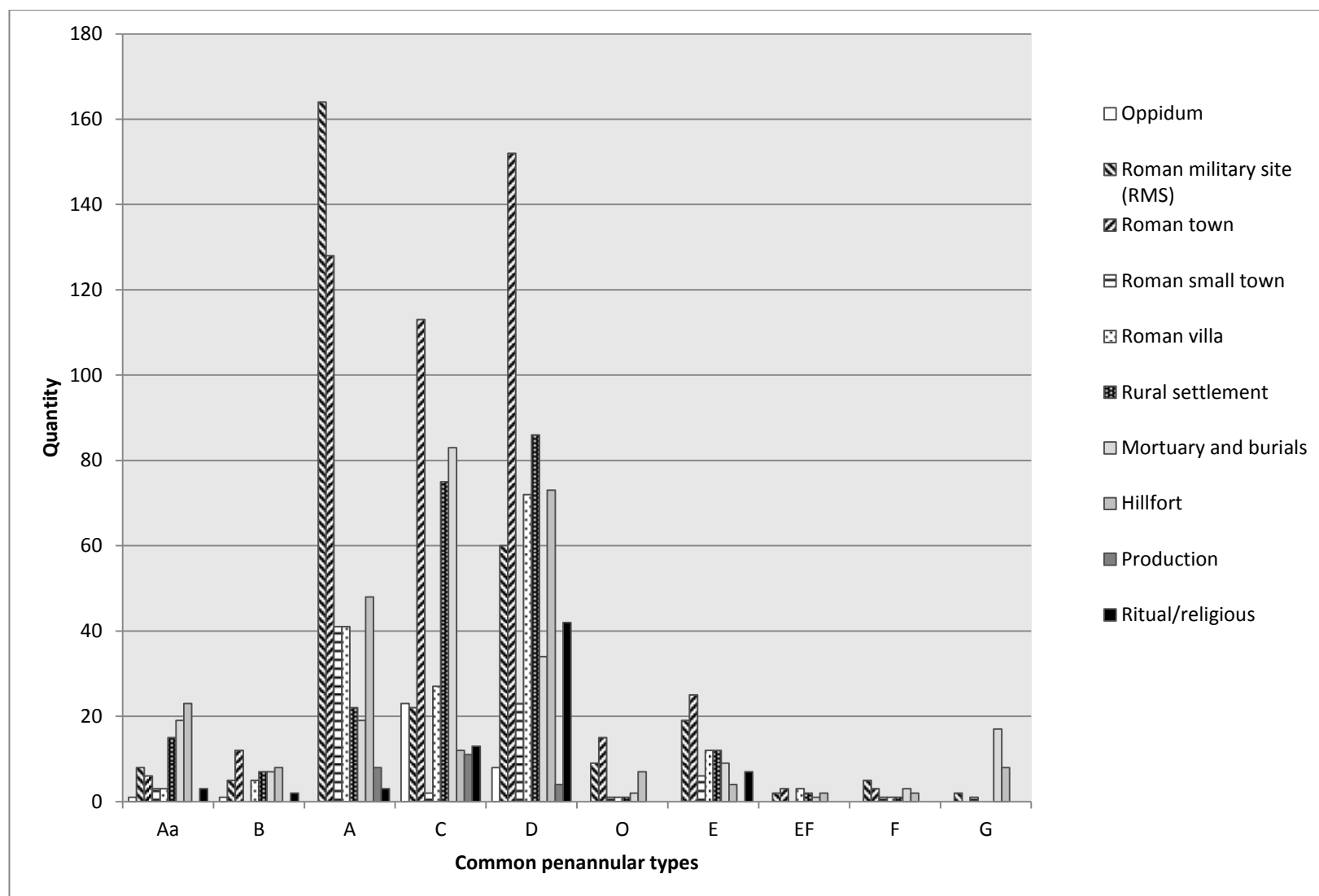


Figure 3.7. Quantity of common penannular types per common site types

3.4.2 Distribution

There are clear concentrations of penannulars, both in terms of overall number of sites and quantity per site, in South-West England around the Severn basin, and in East Yorkshire/North Lincolnshire to either side of the Humber estuary (fig.3.2). While these concentrations are partially related to the methods of data collection, they are also apparent in the three older databases and it is for this reason that they were chosen for detailed regional case studies (chapters 5 and 6). A band of more widely dispersed sites, generally producing smaller numbers of brooches, extends across central England from north east to South-West, effectively joining these two regions. There is a smaller, dispersed group in East Anglia and further concentrations occur elsewhere, most notably at several forts along Hadrian's wall. Areas where fewer penannulars have been found often correspond with high ground or modern urban areas where less excavation has been carried out. The largest and most conspicuous gap covers the Weald in South-East England. This is thought to have been sparsely populated and wooded throughout much of the period under consideration and produces few prehistoric, Roman and Medieval artefacts overall (Spratling 1972, 330).

3.4.3 Contexts of deposition

Sites were grouped into a number of general categories covering all periods (fig.3.6), following (and expanding on) Haselgrove (1987, 185, fig.8.7). It should be emphasised that this approach involved much generalisation because the specific context of each brooch is rarely known and many of these categories are themselves poorly defined. For example, Woolf (1993) has drawn attention to the problems with the category of 'oppida', which is used for an often disparate range of sites, and the relationship between villas and other forms of Roman rural settlement have also been debated (e.g. Reece 1988; Taylor 2007). While these limitations are accepted, these categories were nonetheless deemed useful for creating broad groupings. Where sites had multiple phases of occupation covering more than one category they were categorised according to their most intensive phase of occupation, or alternatively according to the phase that the majority of penannulars related to (if known). Although not ideal, this approach does offer a basic overview of the types of sites that produce penannulars, which can be drawn on for comparison.

The highest number of brooches (595) come from Roman towns and small towns. There is known evidence of earlier Roman military activity at approximately 65% of these (12% of brooches were associated with such phases). By contrast, only 250 brooches come from rural settlement sites. The second largest group, comprising 326 brooches, come from Roman military sites with no later urban development. A total of 221 brooches came from mortuary sites and burials of all periods. These were sites with a clear mortuary function, primarily cemeteries and single burials. This category did not, however, include brooches associated with human remains in Iron Age contexts (in this case usually settlements or middens) unless these had clearly been deposited as part of a formal burial rite. A similar number of brooches came from hillforts and villas – 201 and 182 respectively. Miscellaneous site types, such as mining and production sites, have produced fewer penannulars. The ‘other’ category produced more than 100 penannulars, the vast majority from caves, primarily in Derbyshire, where they frequently formed part of assemblages with a broad chronological span, but chiefly Roman.

3.5 Making penannulars

3.5.1 Hoop diameter

Hoop diameter measurements have been organised into a series of standardised groups (fig.3.8). Group six is the most common for most types, showing that size was fairly standardised across the whole chronological range. The less common types tend to have shorter ranges, something no doubt affected by their lower numbers. Only Type F and G stand out from this picture - Type F brooches are larger than almost every other penannular and Type G are on average smaller than any other type.

3.5.2 Material

Most penannulars are made from copper alloy, but iron and silver brooches are also known (fig. 3.9). The problems of iron survival in the archaeological record mean that the sample studied here is not representative of those that were originally in use. It seems highly likely that the number of iron brooches would have been much higher originally. It is possible that some of these varied in form from the copper alloy brooches, but the surviving iron brooches offer few clues about the extent of this

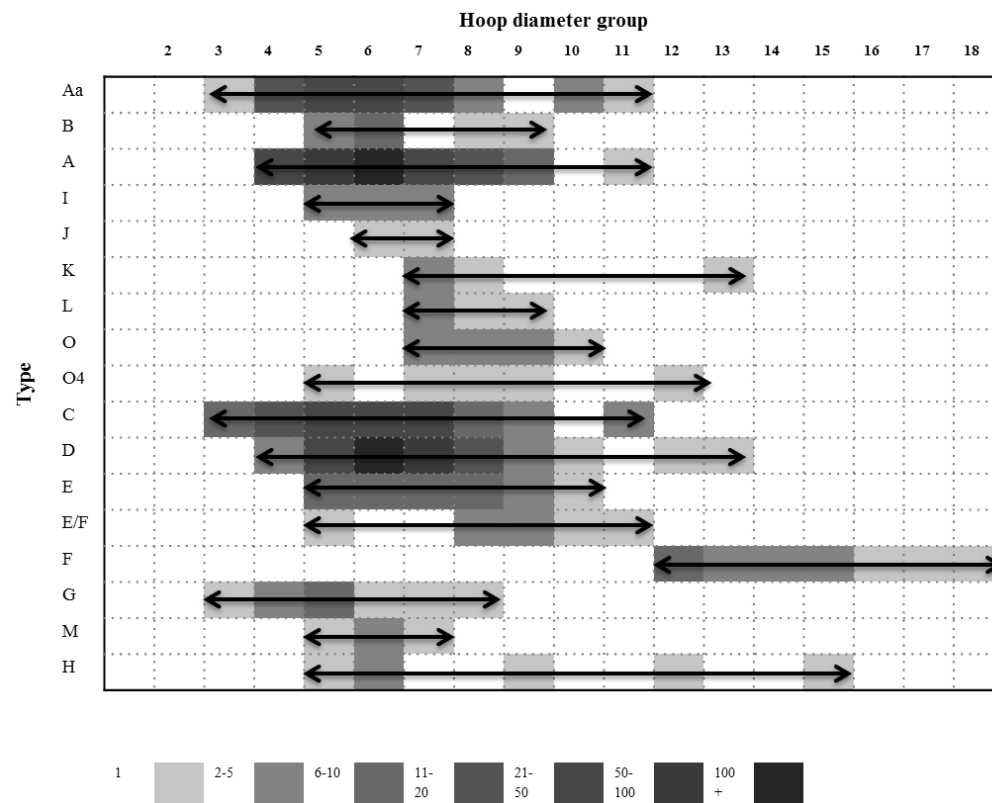


Figure 3.8. Proportion of each hoop diameter group per type

Hoop diameter group	Measurement (cm)
1	Unknown
2	<1
3	1.1-1.5
4	1.6-2
5	2.1-2.5
6	2.6-3
7	3.1-3.5
8	3.6-4
9	4.1-4.5
10	4.6-5
11	5.1-5.5
12	5.6-6
13	6.1-6.5
14	6.6-7
15	7.1-7.5
16	7.6-8
17	8.1-8.5
18	8.6-9

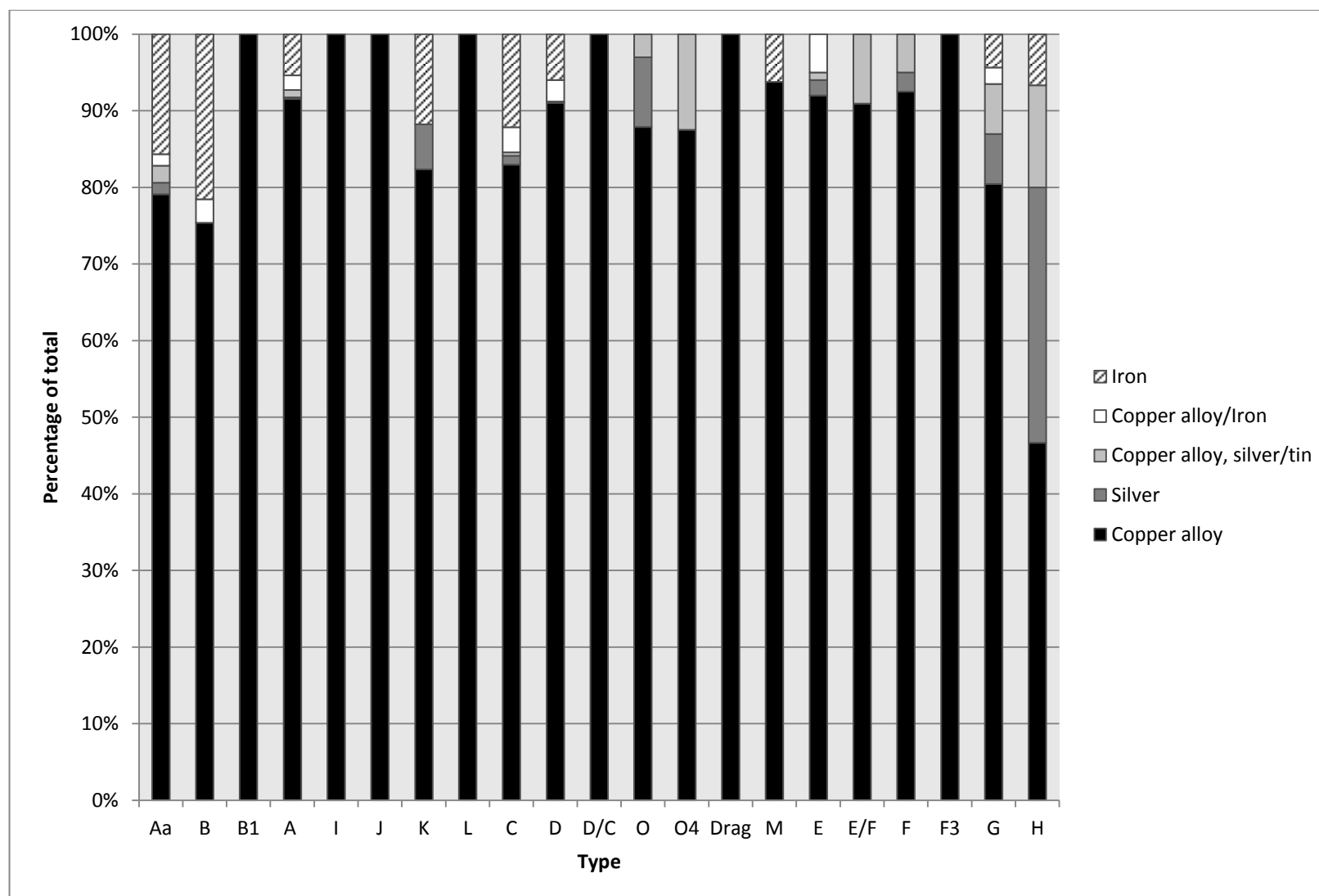


Figure 3.9. Percentage of each metal per type

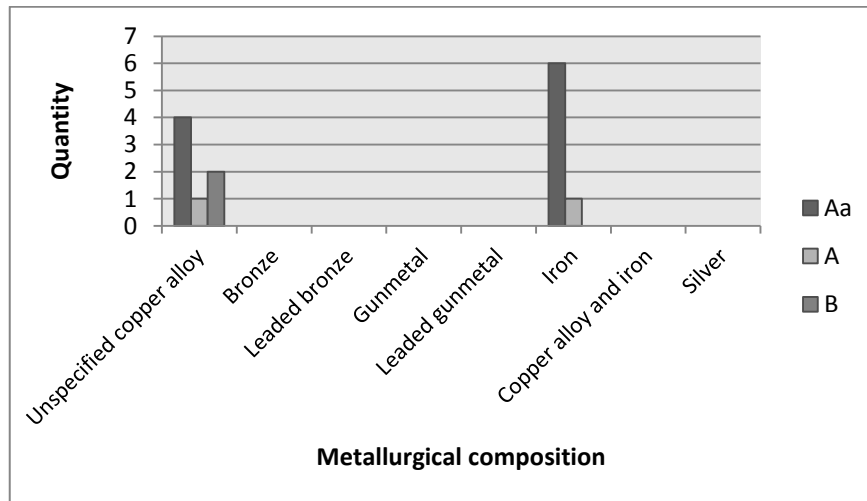


Figure 3.10. Quantity of different metal types during the Iron Age

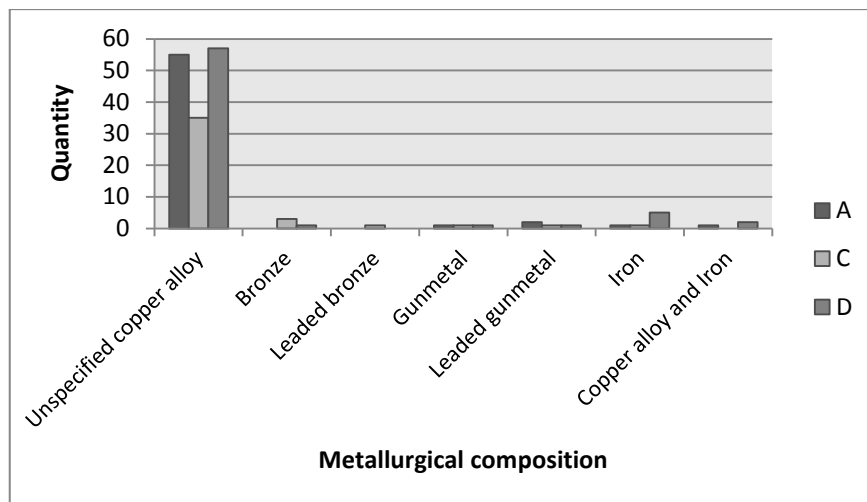


Figure 3.11. Quantity of different metal types during the first and second centuries AD

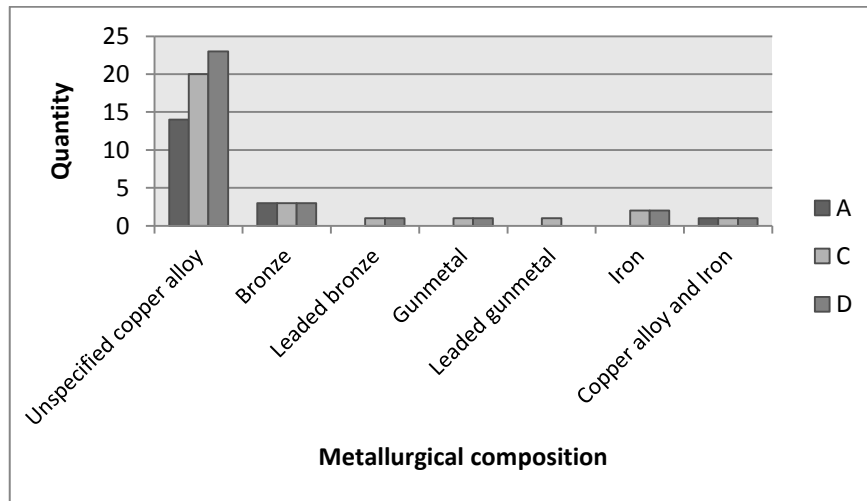


Figure 3.12. Quantity of different metal types during the third and fourth centuries AD

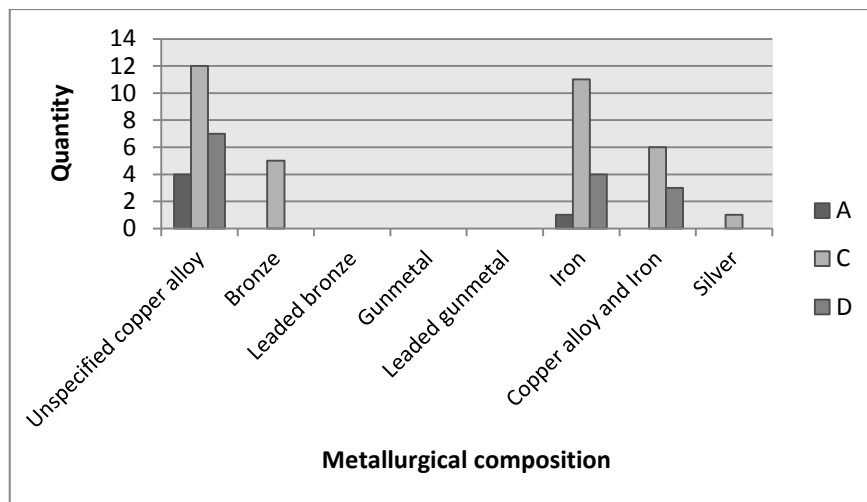


Figure 3.13. Quantity of different metal types during the fifth and sixth centuries AD

problem as they are typically in poor condition. In contrast silver survives particularly well and so the number of silver penannulars may be disproportionately high, although it should equally be remembered that this material was often specifically selected for recycling. For reasons of time material of manufacture is not considered in detail in this thesis, but this may be a productive area for future research. Each penannular type typically shows a similar ratio of different materials and the highest number are always copper alloy (fig.3.9). Each of the three most common types have particularly similar ratios. Only Type E/F stands out because almost half are silver or contain some silver content. None of the Roman types L, O and O4 and the zoomorphic types E, E/F and F occur in iron.

There is also chronological variation in the metal chosen. The percentage of penannulars made from iron is substantially higher during both the Iron Age and post-Roman periods, but copper alloy dominates in the Roman period (figs. 3.10 to 3.13). This is in line with wider brooch trends (Johns 1996, 149). The composition of the copper alloy brooches is seldom analysed and reported, but where it is known, primarily for Roman brooches, it is clear that a wide range of alloys were used. In addition and greater number of post-Roman brooches are made from a combination of iron and copper alloy (typically copper alloy hoops and iron pins) and a small number of Type C made from silver also appear during this period. These patterns may not be representative of what was originally in circulation, however, as they may also relate to differing practices of deposition and recycling.

3.6 Wearing penannulars

3.6.1 Iron Age

Iron Age penannulars tend to be deposited in the graves of older females in the 20-25 age group or above, worn singly like bow brooches and located on the upper part of the body. In East Yorkshire iron Type Aa penannulars were found in the graves of a female aged 20-25 years (grave 166) and a female aged 30-40 (grave 230) at Wetwang (Dent 1984, 162-3) and in an unsexed inhumation burial close to the neck at Danes Graves (Greenwell 1906, 25, fig. 16). A further iron Type Aa from Whitegate Farm, Bleadon, Somerset is the only example from a certain Iron Age burial in the southwest (Young

2008, 39-40). This was found in the crouched inhumation grave of a female aged between 35-45 years and positioned at the left shoulder (*ibid.* 39-40). This burial is also noteworthy because the remains of two different fabrics, one fine and one coarse, were found adhering to the penannular. Significantly the finer fabric was wrapped tightly around the pin, whereas only a small patch of the coarse one remained, attached to the outside of the ring (*ibid.* 62). This suggests that the penannular was used to hold a garment in place with a heavy cloak over the top secured separately; an arrangement in opposition to the one suggested by Stead (1991, 179). It also suggests that the deceased, on this occasion at least, was clothed as they may have been during life and not simply wrapped in a shroud.

3.6.2 Roman

Although several penannulars have been found in Roman burials there is often limited information about them. Two Type Cs were found in a male pre-Conquest and a child post-Conquest cremation burial in the King Harry Lane Cemetery, Verulamium (Stead 1989, 98, no.Z1&Z5), suggesting that they began to be worn by a wider cross-section of the population during the first century AD. Penannulars from Roman inhumation burials tend to be found in pairs or threes suggesting that they were worn by women to fasten a tunic and cloak (Wild 1985, 393-97). A pair from Dorchester were found in a burial linked together with a first century AD bow brooch (Moule 1901) and a similar trio have been found during recent excavations at Winterbourne Kingston in the same county (Damian Evans, Bournemouth University, pers. com.). Such an arrangement means that they could not easily have been worn by the deceased, but does suggest that they were considered a set and were intended to function together. A pair of silver Type O penannulars with a fragment of silver chain that would have presumably joined them together was found in a burial at Turners Hall Farm, Harpenden, Hertfordshire dated to the first half of the second century AD (Burnham *et al.* 2003, 327). Bow brooches with headloops seem to have been designed to facilitate such an arrangement, but it is rare on penannulars and seems to be largely restricted to the continental omega form. As such the use of penannulars in this way may not have been common among the native population of Britain.

In Scotland a number of penannulars have been found in Roman Iron Age cist burials. Unfortunately little seems to be known about the age and sex of most, but a copper alloy

Type Aa was found in a child cist burial at Dunbar golf course, East Lothian, radiocarbon dated to AD cal 75 to cal 242 (95%) (Baker 2002, 205–212) suggesting that they may have been worn by a wider cross-section of the population in this part of Britain too. They do not seem to occur in pairs, however, so perhaps were not worn in the same way as in Roman southern Britain. An unusual late Iron Age or early Roman cist burial containing a penannular was also found further south at Beadnell, Northumberland (Tait and Jobey 1971). These appeared to consist of an earlier cist, which the inclusion of a cup-and-ring marked stone suggests may have been Bronze Age in date, overlain by a large quantity of disarticulated remains and an adult and child inhumation in an extension (*ibid.*). The penannular was found close to the shoulder of the adult (*ibid.*) suggesting that it may have fastened a cloak.

3.6.3 Post-Roman

A total of 152 penannulars from Anglo-Saxon graves and cemeteries were recorded, 6 from cremations, the rest from inhumations. Of the latter, 31 were female and six male. The number from male graves seems surprisingly high. Walton Rogers (2007, 206) suggests that brooches were occasionally worn by men to fasten cloaks and interestingly penannulars seem to have been the preferred type. All the penannulars from male graves are Type C. Walton Rogers (*ibid.*) suggests that three unpublished examples from graves at Mucking were all positioned on the chest or shoulder. Two from Abingdon were found below the right or left ear (Harden and Leeds 1936) and so may have pinned a cloak above the shoulder. Alternatively all may have been used to pin shrouds.

Female graves were typically those of adults, although there were 11 juveniles and adolescents. The youngest, at Abingdon, was aged around 12 and buried with two penannulars (Harden and Leeds 1936). The eldest was a woman aged 50+ at Worthy Park, Hampshire buried with one penannular (Chadwick Hawkes and Grainger 2003, fig.2.24/27/1). This latter was thought to be residual as it was found in the loose fill of the grave, which seems likely given that brooches are rare in the graves of older women (Walton Rogers 2007, 178).

Penannulars rarely occur alone in Anglo-Saxon female graves and are found in a variety of positions. Often they are located in an area of the body that does not relate to a known dress style, for example to one side of the skull or around the waist. At Long Wittenham, Oxfordshire two were found in the lap area together with a knife and

several glass beads (White 1988, 13). In such cases the penannulars may have fastened a shroud or simply been placed on or next to the body. It seems likely that such highly personal items were worn by the individual during life, not just bestowed upon them as grave goods, but we can only guess at their function from the quantity and combination of types. For example, White suggests that the pair from Long Wittenham may have been intended to be worn at the shoulders with the beads strung between them in the Germanic fashion (*ibid.*).

A number have also been found in the shoulder, throat and chest area and these seem more likely to have fastened clothing. The most common location is the shoulder area with another penannular or an annular positioned on the other shoulder, which may have fastened a *peplos*. Several have also been found in the throat or jaw area without other brooches in the grave (Snape, Suffolk, Filmer-Sankley 2001, fig.100/C; Norton, Stockton-on-Tees, Sherlock and Welch 1992, fig.54; Fairford, Gloucestershire, White 1988 fig.4, no.9; Fonaby, Lincolnshire, White 1988, fig.2, no.2) and one at the throat with a pair of annular brooches as the shoulders (Norton, Stockton-on-Tees, fig 45, pl 16). In these cases they seem likely to have fastened a cloak.

Unfortunately information about the associations of most penannulars from Anglo-Saxon graves is limited and so little can be said about potential regional differences in the way that they were worn, although a few broad patterns are evident. The majority of those placed lower in the grave or to one side of the body come from Oxfordshire, with a few from Hampshire and one from Kent. Those worn at the shoulders all come from East Anglia, Oxfordshire and Worcestershire with two from West Heslerton, East Yorkshire (Haughton and Powlesland 1999, 242, 254). Those worn as cloak fasteners come from Suffolk, Lincolnshire and peripheral areas of Anglo-Saxon settlement like Gloucestershire and Stockton-on-Tees. Chronological factors may also play a role in this variation, but unfortunately few graves are closely dated.

Some penannulars may not have functioned as dress fasteners at all. At Portway, Hampshire an inhumation of an unsexed individual aged around 14 years contained amongst other things a reused Nauheim derivative brooch on the right shoulder, a quoit brooch to the left of the neck with two perforated Roman coins above it and chatelaine items, a Type C penannular and various fragments of iron and copper alloy to the left of the pelvis (Cook and Dacre 1985, fig.67). The penannular may have been chosen, like

the Nauheim derivative and coins, for its antique associations, but rather than being worn it may have been part of a girdle group, a collection of amulets, fragments and curiosities kept in a bag suspended at the waist (Walton Rogers 2007, 134).

3.7 Depositing penannulars

3.7.1 Provenance

This section focuses on penannular deposition in the Iron Age to later Roman period as the majority of brooches from the post-Roman period were deposited in graves (discussed above) and the small remainder are considered in the following chapters. Just over half, or 55%, of all penannulars can be attributed to a specific excavation on a known site. These sites were divided into major, defined as those that have produced five or more brooches, and minor, which produced only small numbers. A list of all major sites can be found in appendix four. Hillforts, Roman towns and military sites, the occasional hoard and cave sites are most likely to be classed as major sites. Sites that have produced 30+ penannulars include Cirencester (64), Wroxeter (63), Richborough (46), Dragonby (45), Colchester (44), Cadbury Castle (41), Traprain Law (41), Corbridge (39), Grandcourt Farm, Middleton (36), the Batheaston hoard (32), Leicester (32), Silchester (31). These have a wide geographical distribution with a slight bias towards eastern Britain.

A further 16% are associated with sites, but their provenance is less certain. These are primarily penannulars from antiquarian collections in museums, plus a few that were recorded from brooch corpuses without sufficient references. Problems of provenance are frequently associated with antiquarian collections. These objects were acquired through various means and those that reached the hands of collectors via dealers or direct from finders may have been attributed false findspots to increase authenticity and value. The quantity of each penannular type from specific excavations and with uncertain provenances are very similar (fig.3.14), however, which would suggest most of the latter are indeed from their recorded locations. In addition 29% were stray finds, mostly found during metal detecting and recorded with the PAS.

The greatest contrast exists between stray finds and site finds (fig.3.14). The percentage of each type remains similar whether they come from a major site (producing 5+ brooches) or a minor one, but very different ratios of types comprise the metal detected (PAS), non-site stray and hoard finds. While Type D is the most common from specific sites, Type A and C are more common as stray finds. A particularly low number of Type Ds have been recorded with the PAS and instead Type A is more common, reflecting the northern bias of PAS penannulars. Hoards are dominated by Type Aa and B due to the early date of most.

3.7.2 Excavated contexts

An assessment of the excavated contexts within which penannulars are typically found is vital if we are to understand how and why they were deposited, whether this was as a result of accidental loss or other activities. The majority of penannulars with contextual information came from a broad range of general 'layers' not associated with any particular structure or other feature (fig.3.15). The vast majority of these occur in Roman forts and associated civilian settlements, towns, villas and rural settlements (fig.3.16) but their specific character is typically poorly defined. Patterns are therefore difficult to discern, but on a general level most come from public areas such as baths, drains and cess pits, courtyards, areas of commercial activity, roads, and particularly demolition/abandonment deposits. A relatively small number have been found in rubbish deposits and dumps, which may simply have been casually disposed of, but a ritual element to such practices cannot be excluded. A few have also been found in agricultural deposits probably as a result of spreading rubbish as fertiliser.

Many others are from potentially deliberate deposits. The second largest group come from burials of all periods. Most are inhumations of Iron Age, later Roman and early medieval date, with a few early Roman cremations. Few have been found as formal ritual deposits in shrines or temples, but they do frequently occur in pits, ditches and occasionally wells and post holes of all periods. Those classed specifically as 'ritual deposits' largely comprise the group from Grandcourt Farm, Middleton and the 'massacre deposit' at Cadbury Castle discussed in more detail in section 5.3.1.3.

3.7.3 Temporal variation in patterns of deposition

Breakdown by period shows some continuity from the Iron Age through to the late Roman period, but patterns were far from temporally static. Iron Age penannulars are found in the smallest range of contexts (unsurprisingly given their lower numbers). Those from general 'layers' are typically areas of general occupation in hillforts (and several also come from Glastonbury). The contexts within which they have been found - inhumation burials, pits, defensive earthworks and occupation surfaces - also produce significant numbers throughout following periods (apart from inhumation burials due to changing burial practices in the early Roman period).

Hill (1995a) has suggested that what can initially look like accidental loss or rubbish disposal on Iron Age settlement sites may often have been part of a process of deliberate deposition. Deposits of human remains are sometimes found in boundary ditches, or in pits where there are no ditches present; animal remains also occur as single deposits in similar locations or in larger groups perhaps as a result of feasting, and various artefacts, often including brooches, are found in both pits and ditches (Fitzpatrick 1997, 78-80). The location of such deposits often appears to have been highly significant and carefully chosen with regards to the layout of the site, the position of other features and the wider landscape (Hill 1995).

Penannulars have been found in Iron Age pits on a small number of sites and in a quarry pit at Maiden Castle. These enigmatic features are likely to have been the product of multiple intersecting processes. Some may have been created during the removal of stone or clay, others for storage, others for purposes unknown. They often seem to have been used for a relatively short period and once any other functions ceased infilling typically occurred via a combination of natural and deliberate processes. Lally (2008), analysing structured deposition in pits at Danebury, has observed that bow brooches tend to be placed in the lowest levels suggesting that they were deliberately positioned at the start of the infilling process. Unfortunately the small number of penannulars from such contexts makes it difficult to determine whether they were subject to the same practices, although this was probably the case. For example, at Dragonby a penannular was found in a layer close to the base of a wicker lined pit together with sherds of 17 or more Iron Age vessels and one sherd of white ware (Olivier 1996, fig.11.12, no.129).

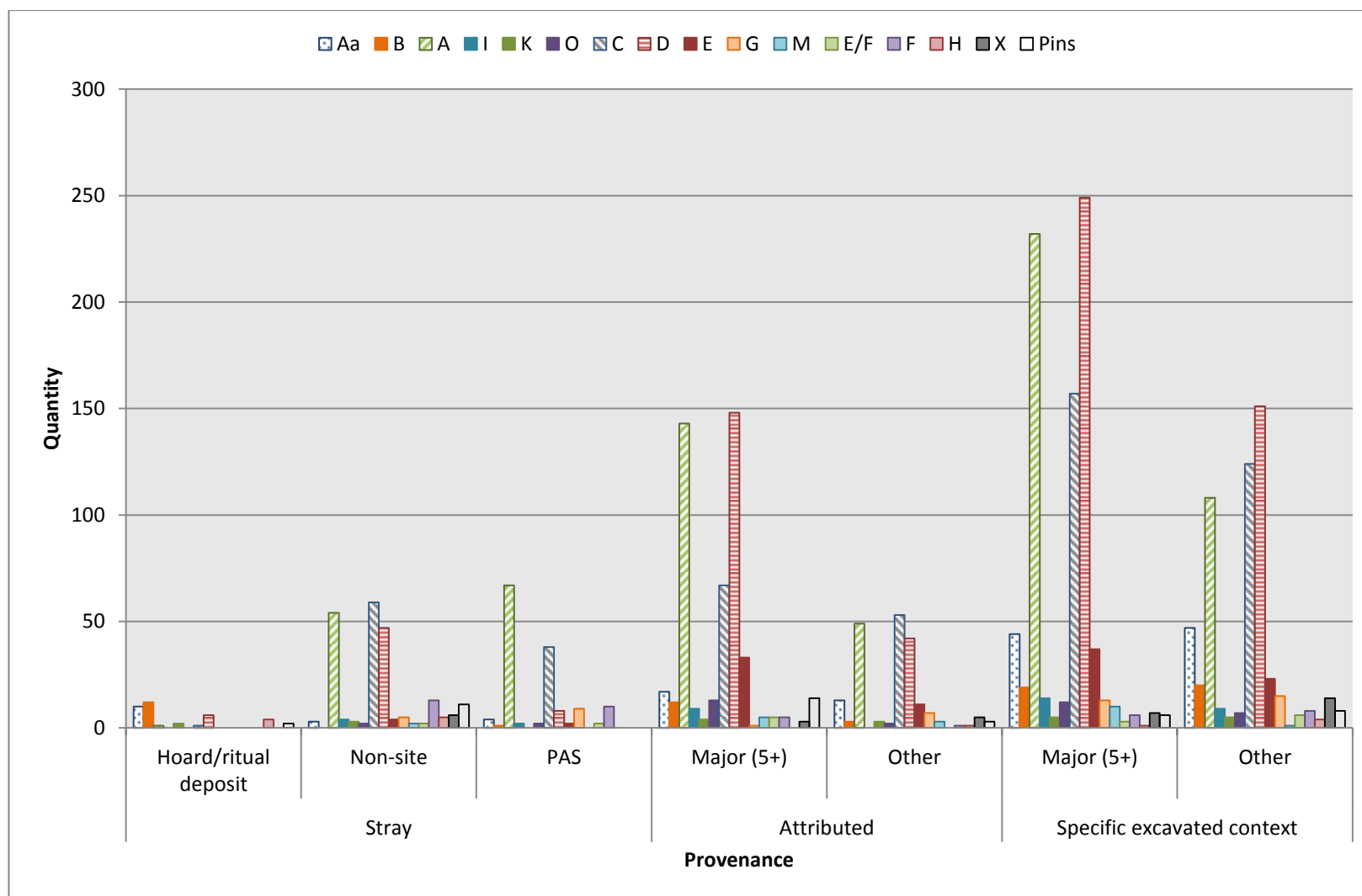


Figure 3.14. Provenance of each penannular type

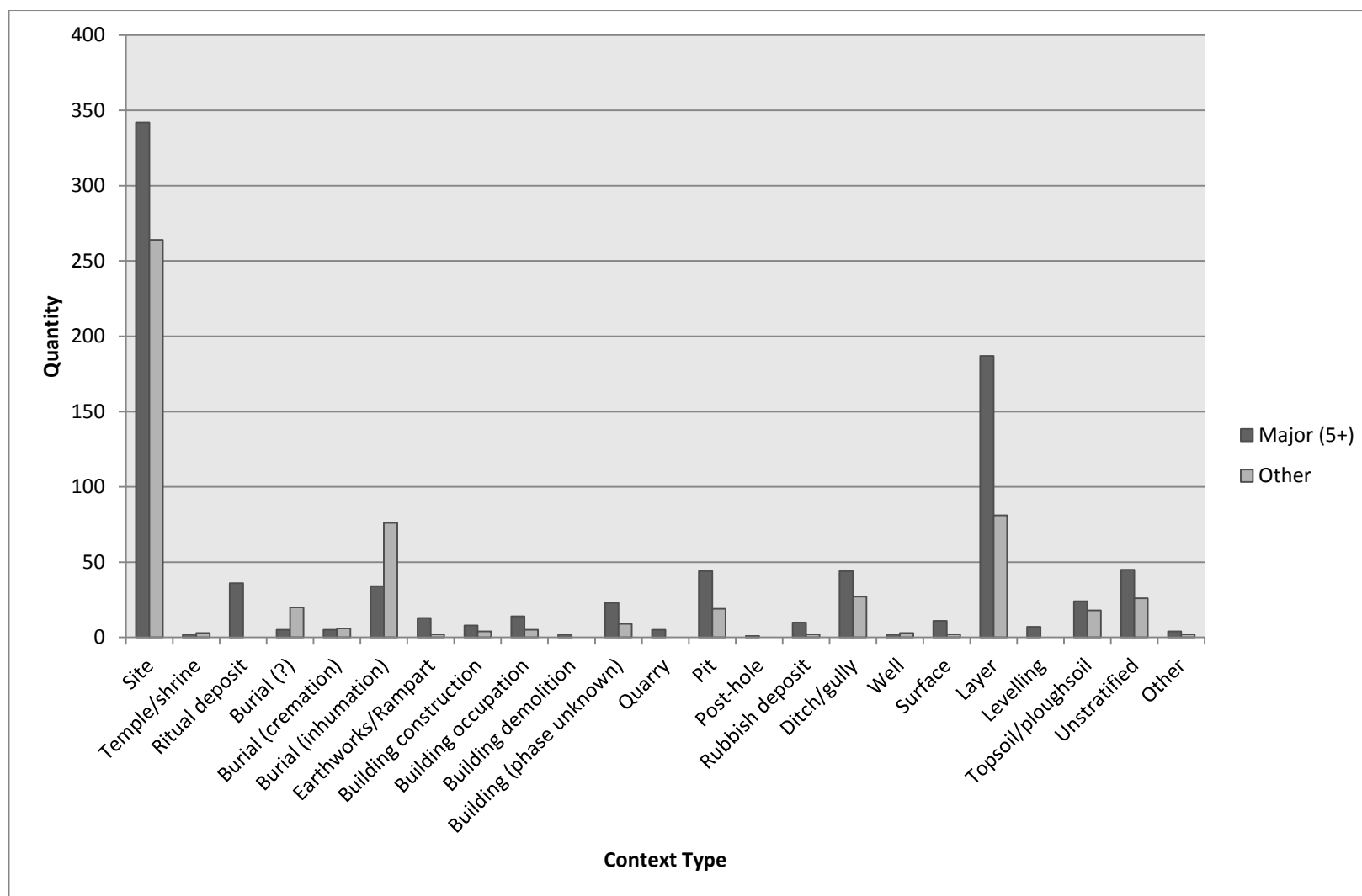


Figure 3.15. Contexts of deposition for all excavated penannulars

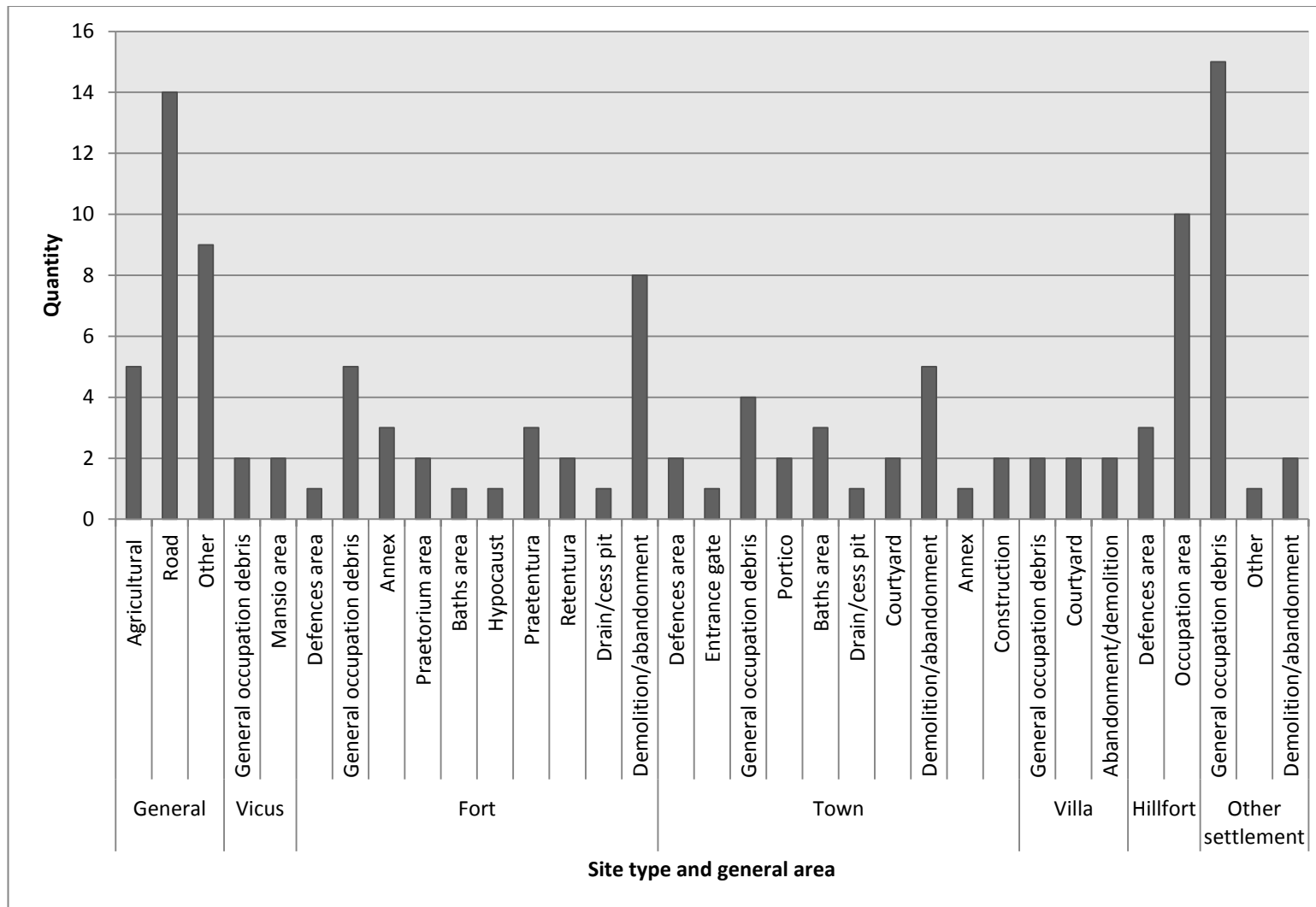


Figure 3.16. General 'layers' not associated with a specific building, activity or context. Breakdown according to the general area of the site within which they occur.

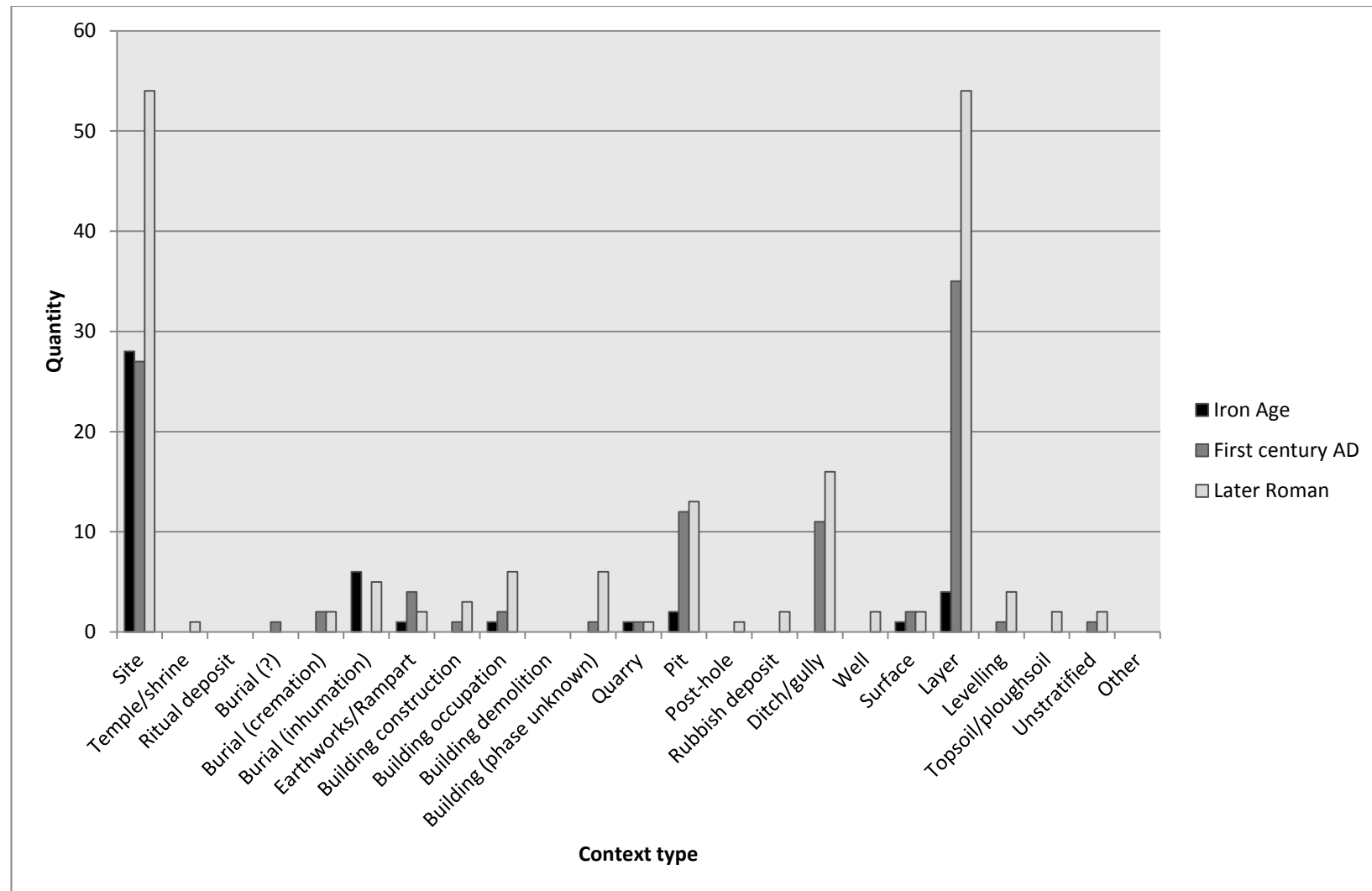


Figure 3.17. Contexts of deposition for all excavated penannulars broken down by period

The incorporation of penannulars into pits and ditches increased from the early decades of the first century AD onwards, and remained common forms of deposition throughout the Roman period (fig.3.17). Hingley (2006) has argued that the interpretation of ‘structured deposition’, which is now well accepted for the Iron Age, may also be applicable to much deposition in the Roman period, although specific details about the position of penannulars within such contexts often remains limited. What is available shows that penannulars were placed in a variety of locations within pits and ditches, in contrast to Lally’s study at Danebury. Deposition of penannulars, even when deliberately structured, may therefore have resulted from a wide variety of processes and did not always occur at the start of the infilling processes. Penannulars in Roman pitches and ditches also tend to be found in isolation, but where they occur with other objects this also suggests an intentional or ritual dimension. One from Couthorpe, Lincolnshire was notably found together with a loom weight, sherds of pottery and an iron knife within a silted ditch, which were attributed a tentative date of c.AD 25-75 (Thompson 1955-6). A penannular was found in the fill of a pit at Bancroft villa together with sixteen bronze coins that had a date range of 321-64 (Mackreth 1994, 303).

The number of penannulars from later Roman contexts is usually higher, primarily because there are higher numbers overall, but penannulars also occur in a slightly wider range of contexts in the later Roman period, including temples and shrines, post holes, wells and rubbish deposits (fig.3.17). The only decline is in the number from ramparts or earthworks reflecting the changing nature of settlement.

3.7.4 Deposition at types of site that commonly produce excavated penannulars

3.7.4.1 Hillforts

Twenty-seven hillforts, mostly located in the South-West and Wales have produced penannulars from excavated contexts. Cadbury Castle (37), Traprain Law (36), Hod Hill (21) and Maiden Castle (11) have been the most prolific. The others have produced no more than 6 penannulars each. The majority come from contexts of an Iron Age or early Roman date, reflecting the occupation spans of most hillforts. The only exceptions to this are the six Type G penannulars from Cadbury Congresbury, one from

the rampart, one from within a cairn and the others unstratified (Rahtz et al. 1992), plus one from Lydney found with pottery of mid-third to fourth century AD date and a potentially associated nummus of Constantius II in a section of rampart (Casey and Hoffman 1999, 100).

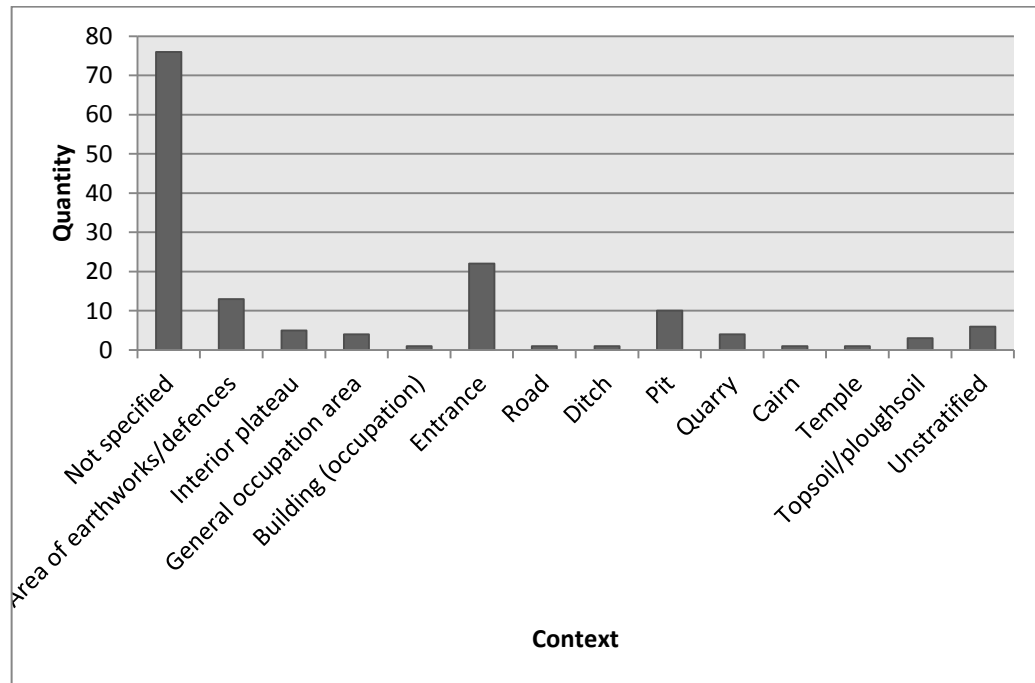


Figure 3.18. The location of penannulars from excavated contexts at hillforts

Penannulars are particularly common around earthworks, in pits and quarries and in entrance areas (fig.3.18). The figure for the latter has been inflated by the inclusion of the Cadbury Castle ‘massacre deposit’, however, which was considered here according to its entrance location rather than its ritual character as above. The penannulars from Traprain Law remain difficult to relate to what we now know about the sequence of occupation there and Brailsford’s excavations at Hod Hill recorded little contextual information, so neither site is considered. Of the other major hillfort sites Cadbury Castle has produced the most penannulars with some of the best contextual information and is discussed more in section 5.3.1.2.

3.7.4.1.1 Maiden Castle

The remaining major site, Maiden Castle, has yielded four penannulars from late Iron Age/early Roman general occupation layers, two from Iron Age pits, one from the

eastern entrance (c.200 BC) and one from the area of the later Roman temple (c.AD 25-50 in a layer immediately above a filiform brooch), one from the ramparts (second century BC), two from the quarry hollow (one of which was dated to the third to first century BC), and one from the early Roman road at the eastern entrance. Overall their distribution is centred on the later Roman temple, the central ditch and earthworks and the eastern entrance (fig.3.19), all of which have produced large quantities of the other brooch forms (primarily La Tène I, filiform and strip bow). The distribution of penannulars is most closely paralleled by that of the La Tène brooches, which are also restricted to the eastern end of the site, the area earliest of occupation. The other types typically have a wider distribution extending to the western end.

3.7.4.2 Roman military sites

Penannulars have been excavated at 57 Roman military sites, with Castleford (27), South Shields (23), Newstead (17), Caernarfon (14), and Caerleon (12) producing the highest numbers. The contexts from which penannulars have been recovered reflect the sporadic nature of excavation on military sites. They have been found in ditches on all sites. Frequently these were used for drainage and so objects may have been washed into them from other areas. Similar proportions have been found in the barracks area, ditches, pits and drains from the two Welsh forts, whereas penannulars from the three northern forts come from a more disparate range of contexts. South Shields and Newstead are the only sites that have produced penannulars from the *principia* area, but have produced lower numbers from the barracks and baths, so they may have been worn by different sections of the fort population in this particular region.

Castleford has produced most of those from ancillary settlements, which is unsurprising given that its *vicus* has been the focus of an extensive programme of excavation. This site is discussed more in section 6.3.3. Unfortunately little is known about the provenance of most of the penannulars from excavations at South Shields. Allason-Jones and Miket comment in their preface to the report that ‘...the finds had been divorced from their original small find numbers and context cards’ (1984, 7). The only penannulars with contextual information all come from excavations of the *principia* and South-West gate carried out between 1983-7. More is known about those from Caernarfon, Caerleon and Newstead, however.

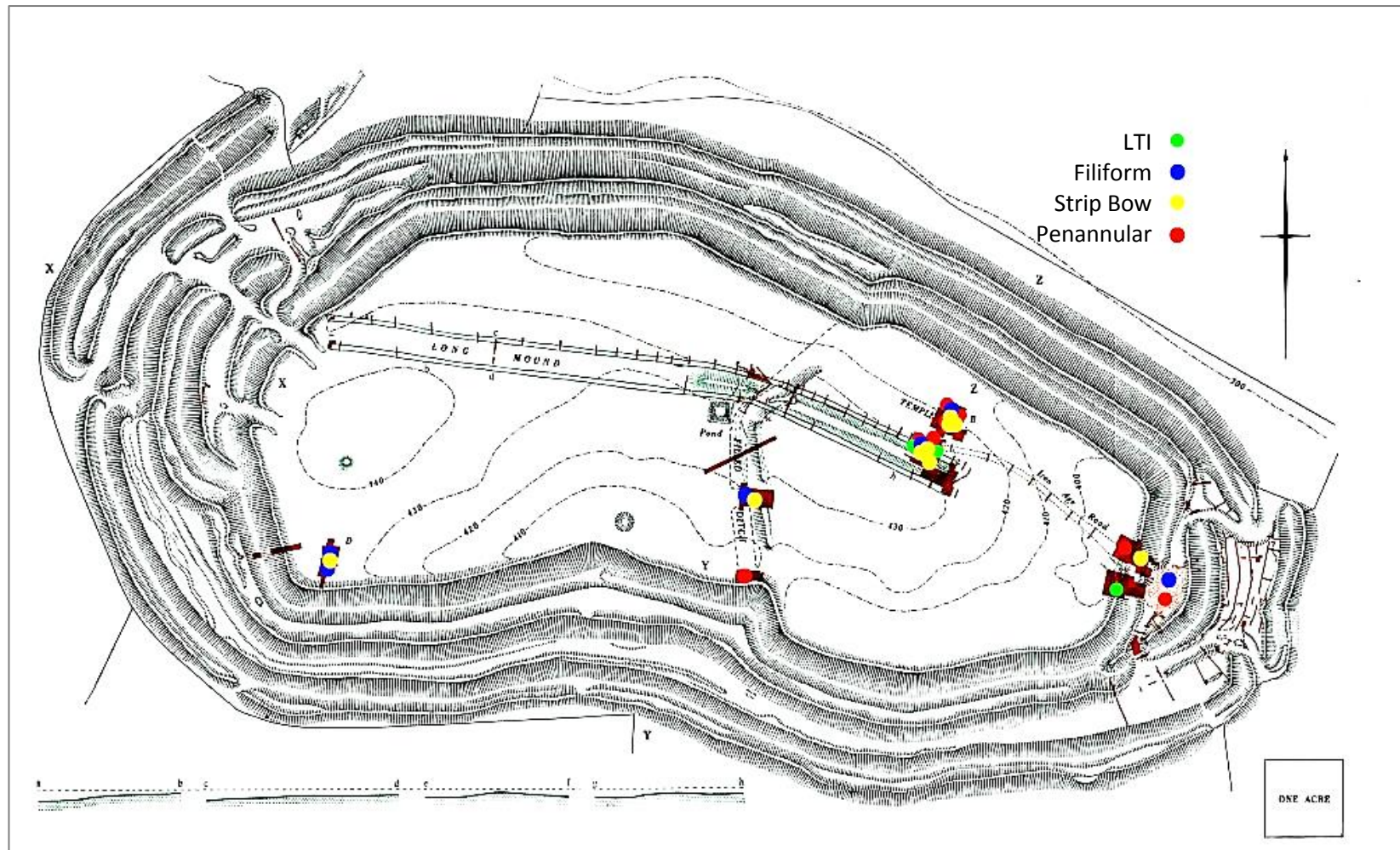


Figure 3.19. Approximate findspots of common brooch types from 1943 excavations at Maiden Castle (with penannulars from later excavations) (image © English Heritage)

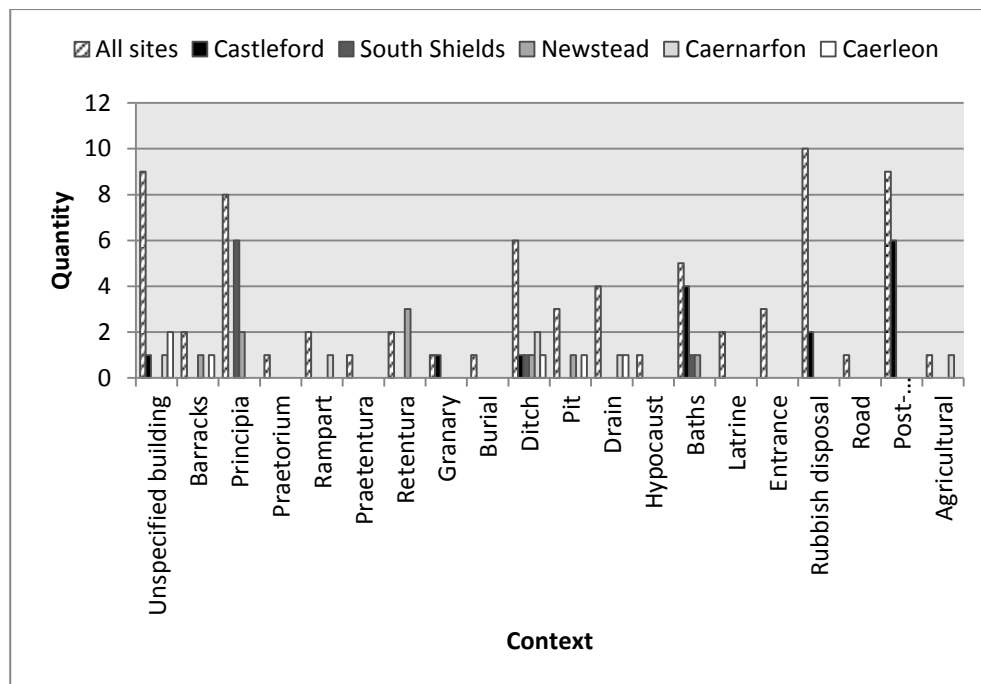


Figure 3.20. Areas that have produced excavated penannulars within Roman military sites

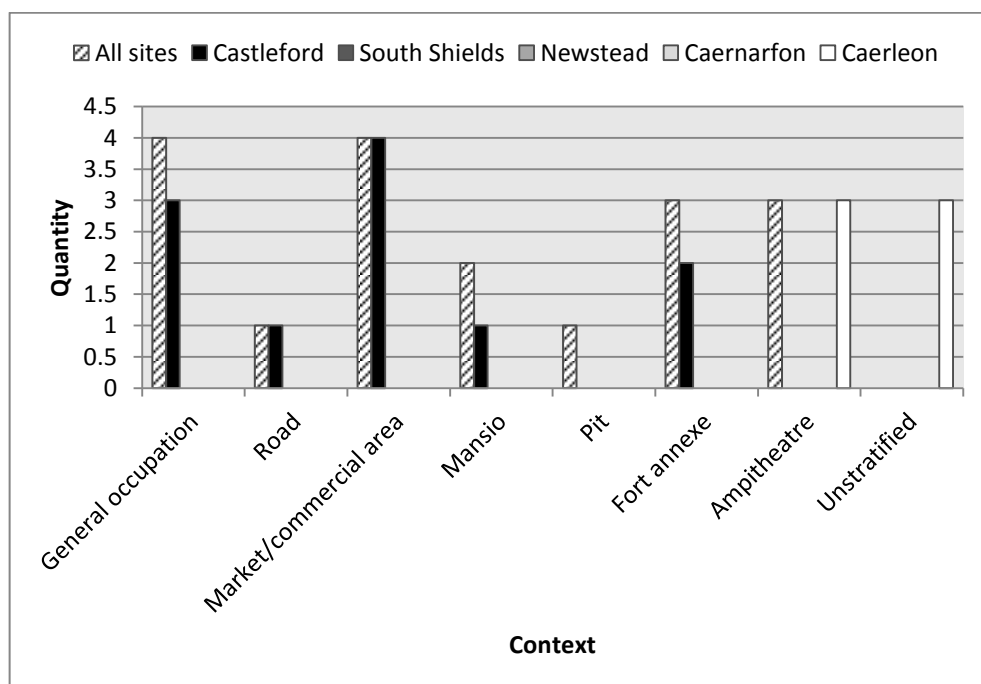


Figure 3.21. Areas that have produced excavated penannulars within settlements ancillary to Roman military sites

3.7.4.2.1 Caernarfon (*Segontium*)

Several specific structures were the subject of targeted excavations here in the nineteenth century, but the most extensive excavations were carried out between 1975-79 focusing on the South-East corner of the fort (Casey et al. 1993, 7-9). Penannulars were the commonest brooch form recovered with the broadest chronological span, occurring from period three to the latest phase of occupation; whereas other types were largely restricted to the fourth century AD phase. Penannulars of all phases were concentrated around site B, the area of the larger bath house, whereas other types of brooch were scattered around the periphery (fig. 3.22). The earliest penannular, an A6, from the Flavian-Trajanic timber fort phase, was found in the wall of the barrack block TS4 (*ibid.* 168, no.23). The rest were mostly residual from various demolition and overlying deposits of various dates in the same area. In addition Wheeler (1923b, fig. 57, 3) recorded a penannular from outside the north-west rampart. Other brooch types came from a similar range of contexts - building occupation and demolition deposits in other parts of the site and the drainage culvert in the South-East of the site. The most common penannular form from the site was Type E, which occurred from Phase eight onwards, but variation in the location of different penannular types was impossible to determine due to low numbers

3.7.4.2.2 Newstead

Most penannulars from the site were recovered during Curle's excavations in the early twentieth century. These were well published for the time, but full contextual information was often general or completely lacking. What is available shows that the penannulars are concentrated in the centre and north of the fort, around the *principia* and *retentura* (fig.3.23). Those clustered around the *principia* and the few from the south of the fort, which tend to belong to the earliest phases, are all Type A (other), whereas those from the north of the fort and baths in the western annexe are all Type A3 (and one A9). Unfortunately the locations of the single Type K and D penannulars were not recorded. In comparison most other types of brooch are found in the peripheries of these areas, in the south of the fort and particularly the baths (fig.3.23). Interestingly the only exception was a single Nauheim derivative, the earliest type from the site, found in the lowest level of the *principia* (Curle 1911, no.1).

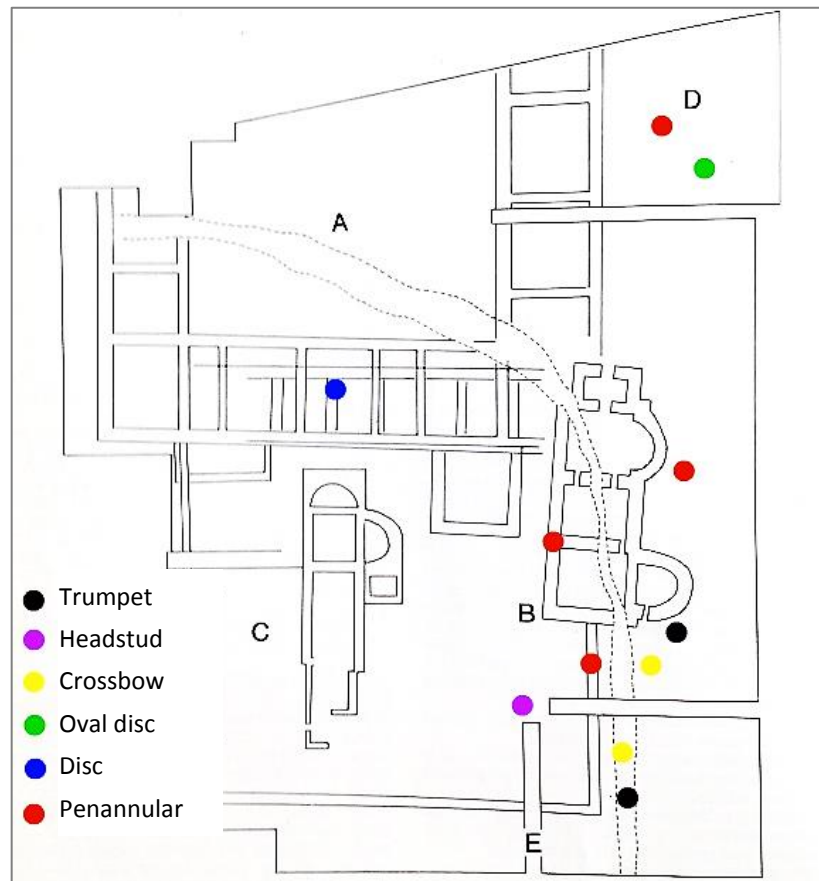


Figure 3.22. Approximate distribution of brooches from Segontium (after Casey et al. 1993, 8, fig.1.4)

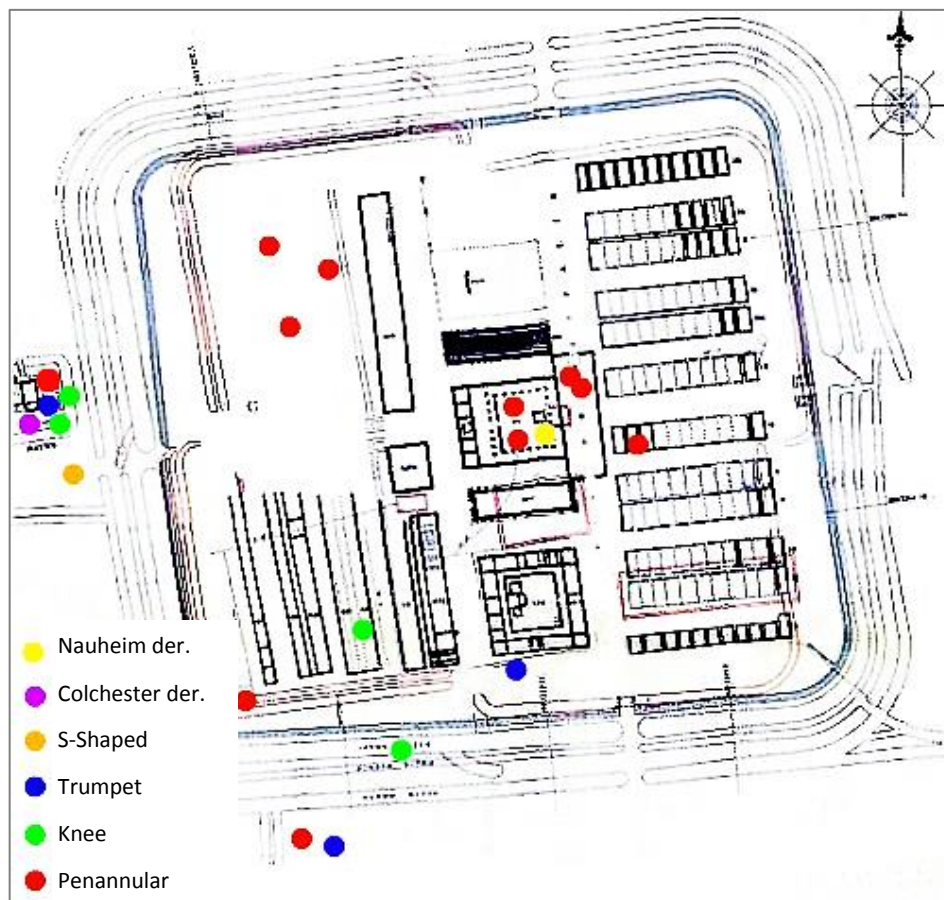


Figure 3.23. Approximate locations of brooches from the fort at Newstead

Two of the best recorded penannulars, one a complete Type P and one fragmentary, came from a deep pit in the north-east corner of *principia* courtyard, which also contained a wide range of other material (Curle 1911, 116 & 327, pl. 88, 7 & 16). The fragment was found at a depth of five feet together with ‘a piece of twisted silver wire, two bronze rings and 12 links of a small bronze chain’ (*ibid.* 116), whilst the complete one was found lower at eight feet together with ‘a human skeleton ...two pieces of bronze, perhaps part of a second brooch’ (*ibid.*). A further, Type A3, penannular has been discovered during recent excavations on the site (Nat. Mus. Scot. no ref), but has yet to be published

3.7.4.3 Roman towns

A total of 34 Roman towns have produced penannulars from excavated contexts. Aldborough (10), Canterbury (17), Cirencester (11), Colchester (14), Gloucester (10), Leicester 17), Richborough (35), Verulamium (11), Wroxeter (50) and York (12) are the most prolific of these. Most fit into the major site category (fig.3.24) as they tend to have been extensively excavated due to later development. No analysis by period has been carried out here as dates often span long periods and so are not easily divisible. Just under half (49%) of the penannulars from towns have only a vague association, largely because they are antiquarian finds. Only those towns that have produced a significant number of excavated and well-published penannulars from a variety of locations are examined in more detail here – Canterbury, Cirencester and Colchester. Cirencester is looked at in more detail together with Bagendon in section 6.4.2 and Colchester together with Sheepen in section 6.5.2. Due to the size of these sites the full brooch assemblage is typically much larger and so will not be examined here. Instead analysis focuses on the penannulars only, which tend to occur in larger quantities than on other sites.

Once again the most commonly excavated contexts are general ‘layers’. Most come from open public areas such as roads, courtyards, baths, town gates and defences (fig.3.25). Penannulars from other context types also display a similar spatial distribution (fig.3.26). All excavated penannulars are found almost exclusively in public areas and buildings, with only a single example coming from a domestic building. Baths have produced a particularly large number, although this figure has been inflated by extensive excavations at Wroxeter of the baths basilica.

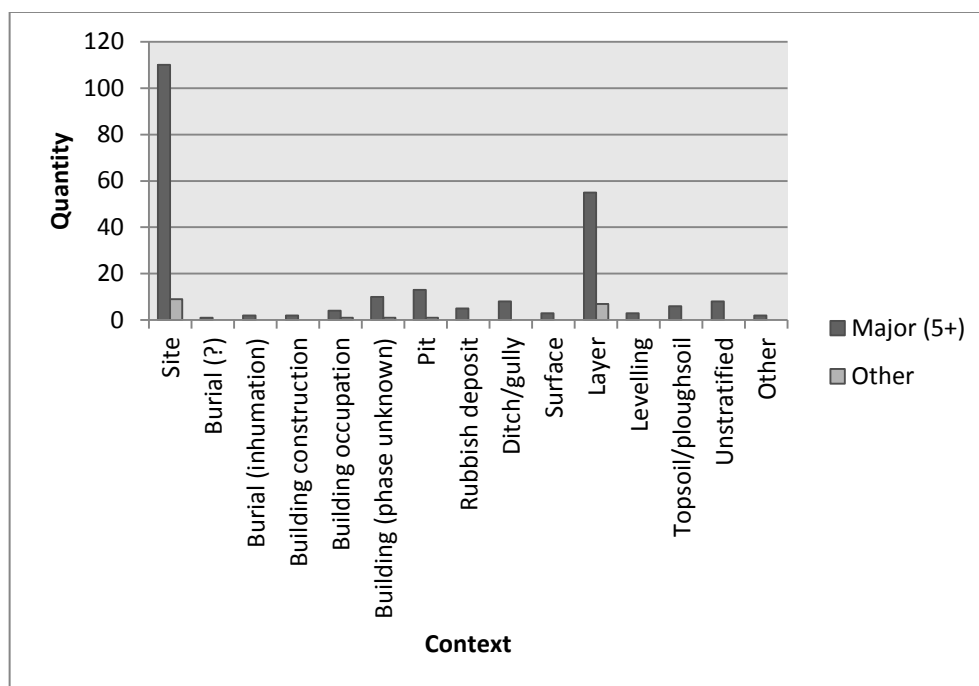


Figure 3.24. Penannulars from excavated contexts in Roman towns

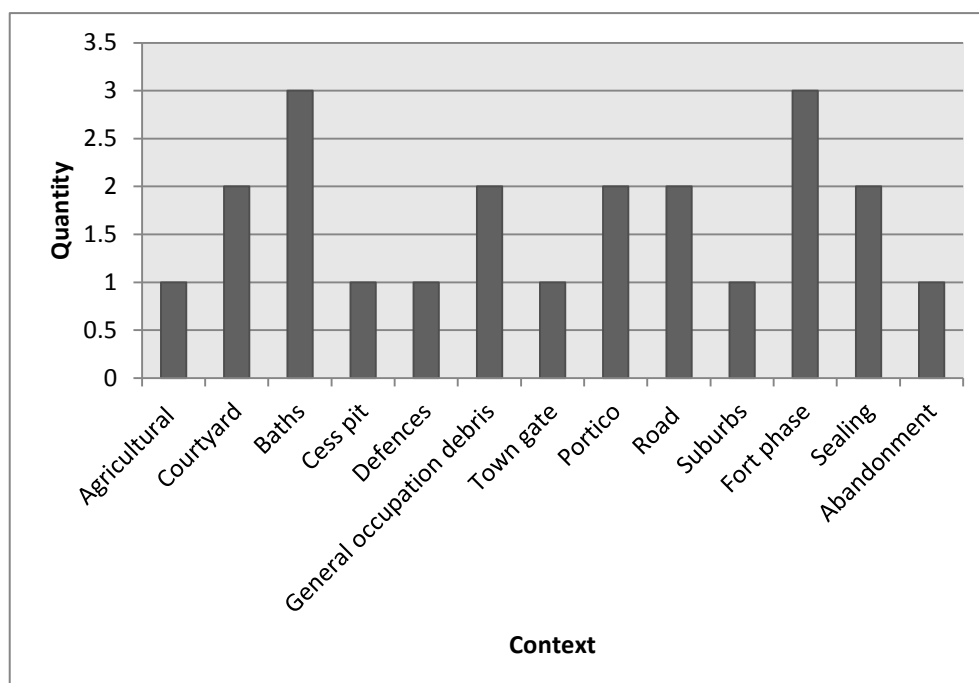


Figure 3.25. Penannulars from general 'layers' in Roman towns

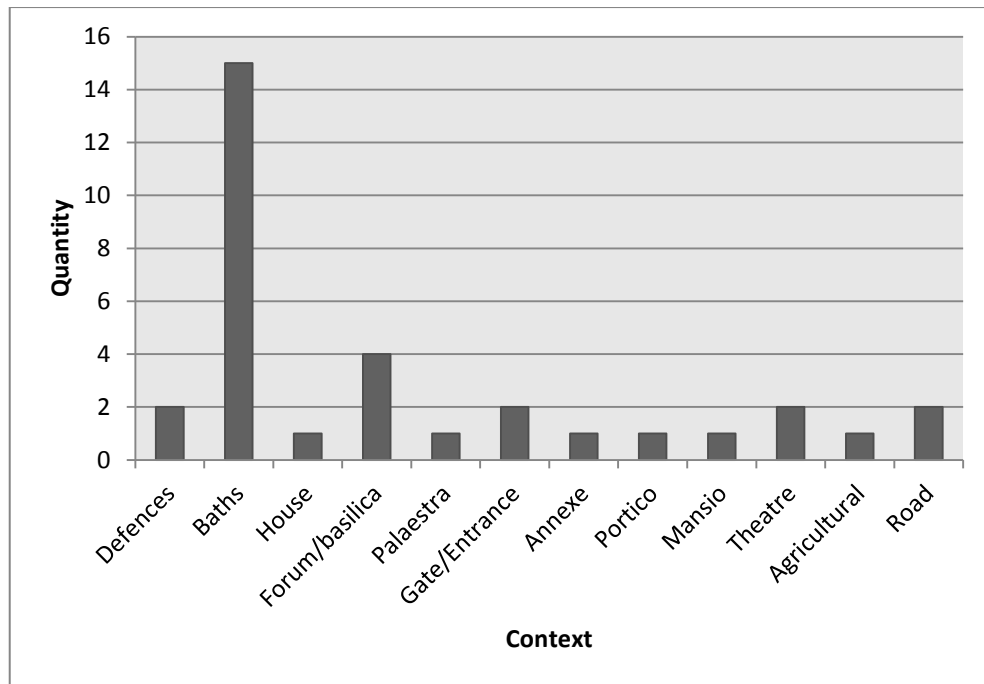


Figure 3.26. Areas of Roman towns that have produced penannulars

3.7.4.3.1 Canterbury

The most extensive and best documented excavations in Canterbury took place prior to development in the centre of the city where the Roman town's theatre and public baths lay and all the excavated penannulars recorded come from this area. Type C is commonest and exclusively clustered around the baths (fig.3.27). Single Type J, B, D/C and D penannulars have also been found, all in the area to the south of the theatre. Three stray finds from the collections of the Royal Museum, Canterbury have also been included, even though their provenances are vague. These include two Type A brooches, which were found at different location on the city walls. This contrast between the types found in the periphery and the centre of the city can be interpreted in different ways. The walls of a Roman town have traditionally been viewed as a military zone, perhaps with restricted access for the civilian population. The presence of different sections of the town's population and/or the performance of place-specific activities may therefore have led to the accidental deposition of different penannular forms in particular locations. Alternatively the wall's symbolism as a boundary location may have led it to be chosen for practices of deliberate deposition by certain sections of the population or for which only specific penannular types were deemed suitable.

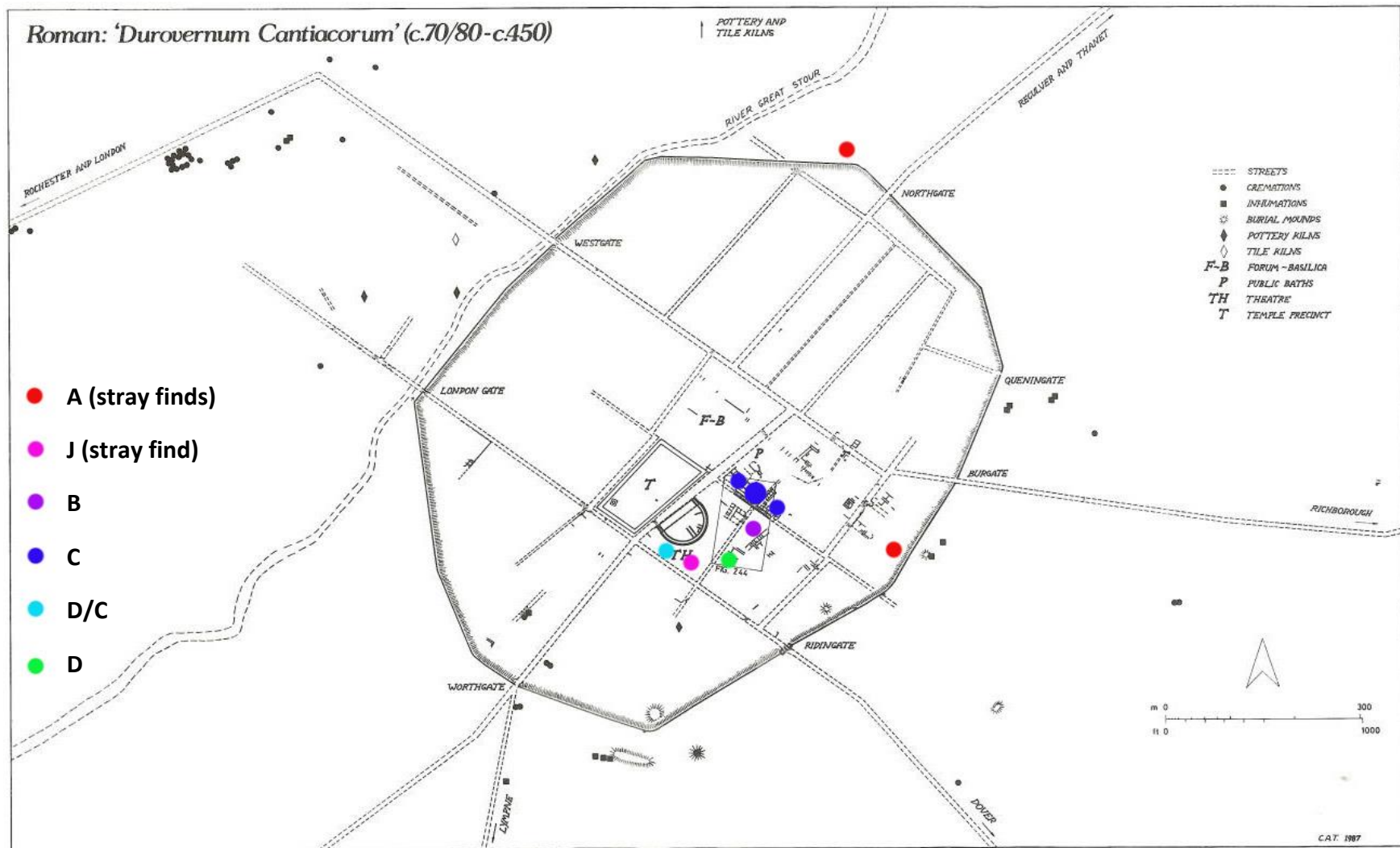


Figure 3.27. Approximate locations of penannulars found in Canterbury (all from excavations apart from Type A and J). Larger dots indicate higher number of brooches. After Blockley et al. (1995).

3.7.4.4 Rural settlements

Larger, nucleated settlements of Dragonby (29), Glastonbury (8), Usk (8), Meare (7), Old Winteringham (7), and Hacheston (7) have produced the highest numbers of penannulars, whereas minor rural settlements have mostly produced just one or two and a maximum of five. Settlements situated in North Lincolnshire are considered in section 6.3.2. Again a breakdown by period has not been carried out due to the long span of many context dates. The distribution of penannulars compared to other brooch types has also not been examined as it was for larger sites because numbers tend to be much lower.

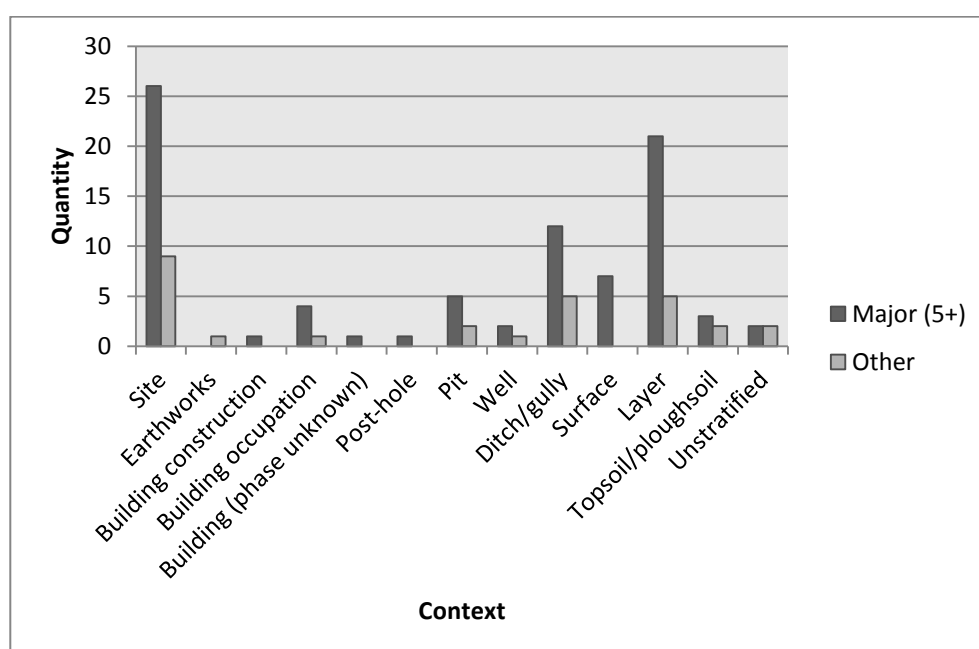


Figure 3.28. Excavated penannulars from nucleated settlements

When excavated contexts on major nucleated settlements are further broken down a great deal of variation can be seen (fig. 3.28). This reflects the huge geographical and chronological variation in the character of British rural settlement during the period under consideration. The only general pattern that may be observed is the predominance of pits, ditches (some of which were designed for drainage) and trackways over domestic contexts. A similar picture is evident at minor rural settlements, although few have produced penannulars from well-defined contexts. The only notable

difference is the couple from burials associated with minor settlements; one, poorly defined, from Odell, Bedfordshire (Mackreth cat no.3032) and one from Litton Cheney, Dorset with an early Roman male inhumation (Bailey 1968, fig.11, no.1).

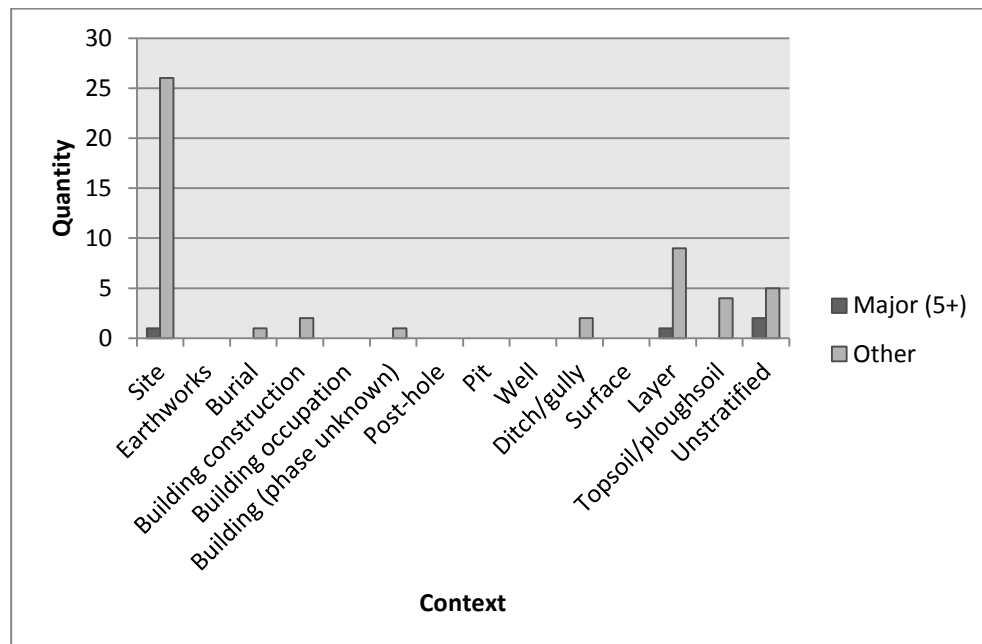


Figure 3.29. Excavated penannulars from minor settlements

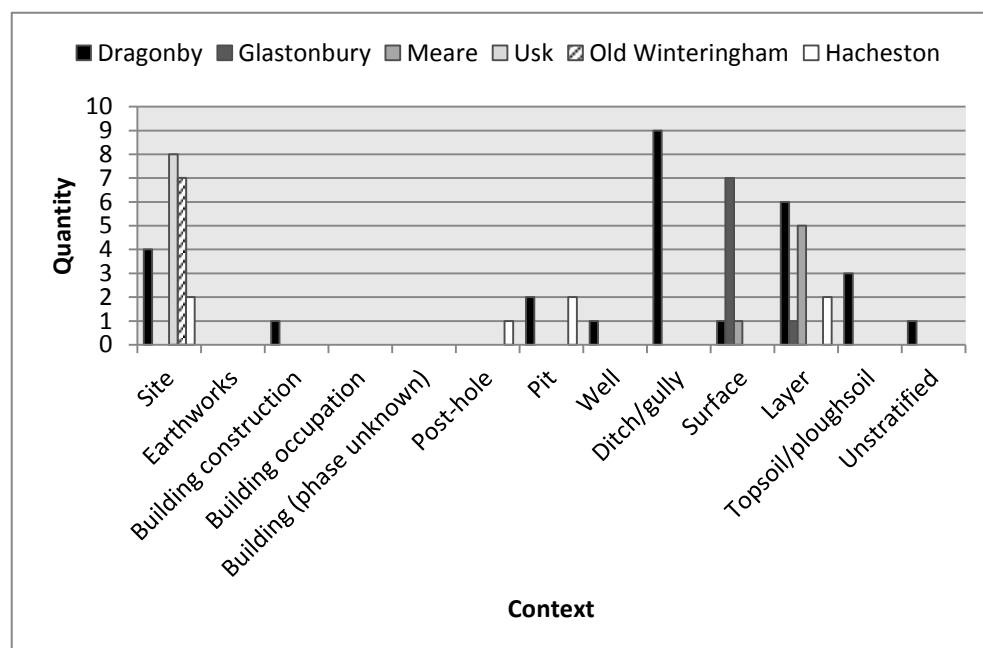


Figure 3.30. Excavated penannulars from major (5+) nucleated settlements

3.7.4.4.1 Glastonbury and Meare

Glastonbury and Meare provide two exceptions to these general patterns as all penannulars from these sites were recovered from the various mounds. These represent the site of clay floors, most probably of houses, each with multiple phases of occupation. Most other brooches and indeed most artefacts were found within the mounds rather than other areas.

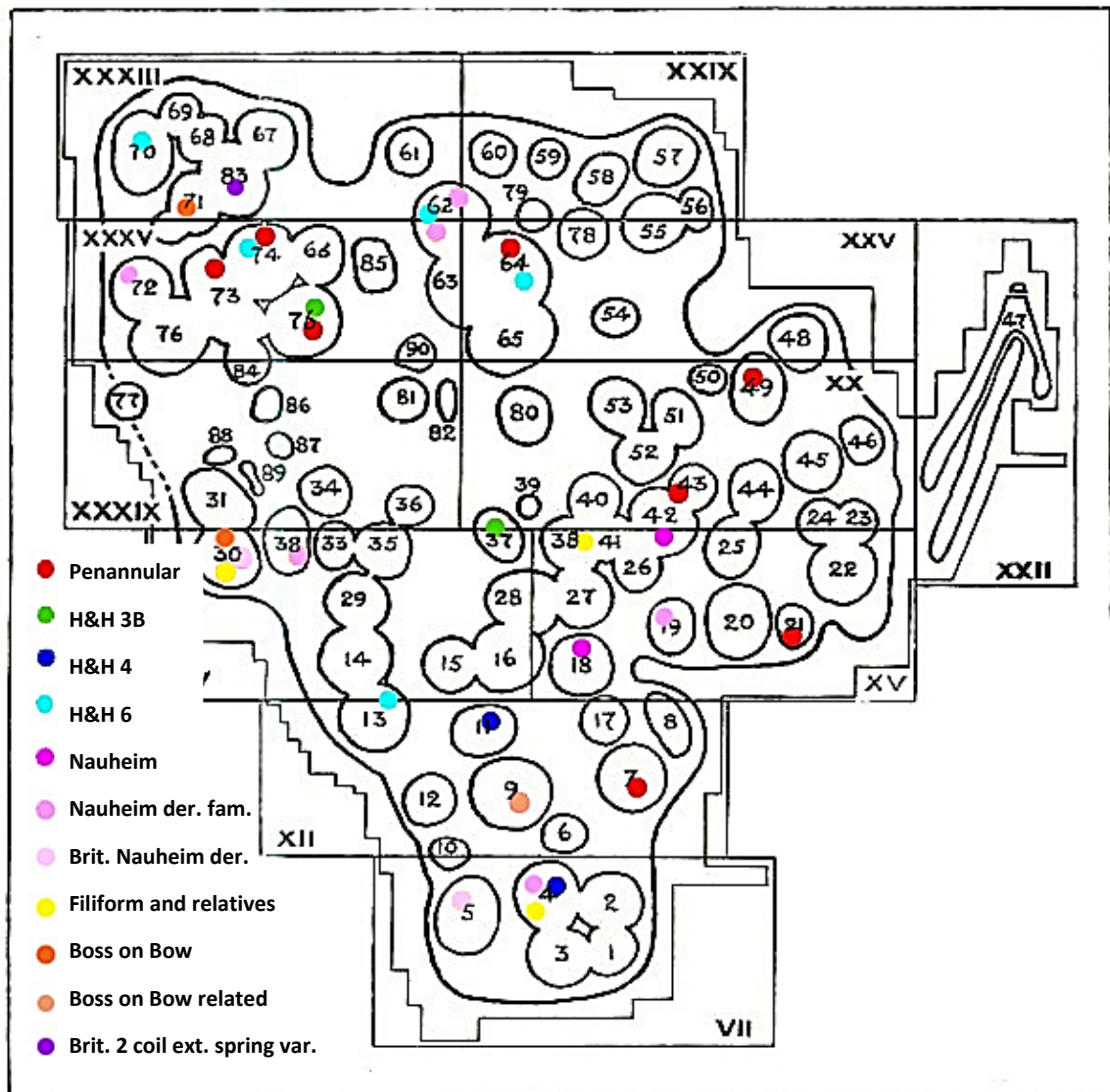


Figure 3.31. Plan of the Glastonbury Lake Village showing the distribution of different brooch types (after Bulleid and Gray 1911, 62, fig.11).

Only Glastonbury was looked at in detail here as few penannulars come from specific mounds at Meare. Comparison of the distribution of penannulars and bow brooches at

Glastonbury (fig. 3.31) shows that penannulars are restricted to the northern and eastern parts of the site, whereas other forms occur across the south, centre, west and north (fig.3.31). There is some overlap between the penannulars and other types in the north, but otherwise their distribution remains distinct. In addition each type of bow brooch has its own unique distribution with the later types occurring across the widest area. These distributions relate, at least in part, to the occupation phases identified by Coles and Minnitt (1995, 103). Most of the dated penannulars appear to come from the middle to final phases which coincides with the extension of the settled area first to the north and then the east (*ibid.*). In addition such patterns may also reflect differences in the activities being carried out, in the composition of the population or in practices of deposition (or combinations of the three), at different parts of the site and in different phases.

Chapter 4:

A revised typology for the penannular brooch in Britain

4.1 Introduction

This chapter re-examines the development of the penannular in Britain, but the aim is not simply to create a traditional typology with definitive and fixed categories. Rather it is to explore why this type of brooch was used for such a long period of time whilst simultaneously varying so much in size, form and decoration. Although Fowler's basic typology has been retained, the analysis presented here looks beyond terminal design and assesses a range of other features. Such a methodology creates a somewhat 'messy' typology, but one that better reflects the complex lifecycles of penannulars. The chapter is organised chronologically rather than alphabetically, following Fowler and so begins with the early types before moving on to those that developed in the first century AD and so on.

4.2 Methodology

The reasons for creating typologies are manifold, but it is generally agreed that they are useful tools (or necessary evils depending on the perspective) for dealing with large and complex datasets. During the mid-twentieth century debates centred on whether typologies, as Wylie put it, 'capture fundamental and inherent empirical structure or are instead heuristic, problem-specific constructs' (2002, 43). Some felt that the antiquarian goal of standardised and comprehensive systems of classification remained a possibility and indeed an important goal of archaeology. The advent of computing was offered up by some as a final solution to the problem, offering an objective method of typological classification. It has become clear, however, that the human element in the process is not easy to replace. As Orton (1980, 27) pointed out even highly mathematical methods require decisions to be made about which data to record and use in order to be effective. A second perspective that 'typologies are tools made for a purpose' (Adams and Adams

1991, 8), has begun to dominate in recent decades and is the view taken here. As such the analysis and the resulting typology are by no means comprehensive, but instead have been specifically designed, firstly to search for broad spatial and chronological structure in the data, and secondly to look for deeper patterns within this. As Johns points out ‘typological analysis is a practical device for studying objects, but we should not imagine that it was part of the thinking of the manufacturers or users of the artefacts’ (1996, 148). The production of a comprehensive typology is not a goal of this study, but rather typological study is employed to indicate centres of manufacture, regional and sub-regional traditions and patterns of trade and exchange in order to understand who was using different types and why.

All typologies are created with a specific aim, whether simply to organise the data in a way that will allow statistical analysis to be carried out (basic purpose), to answer a more specific set of questions (instrumental purpose), or both (Adams and Adams 1991, 158-9). Here a basic typology has been created using the set of categories developed by Fowler. This provides a broad framework within which to explore the chronology and distribution of a large dataset. Adams and Adams define the basic typology as one where ‘purpose will not dictate the selection of any particular attributes in preference to others; we will probably give some attention to all of the attributes that are readily observable’ (*ibid.*, 215). In this case, as with most basic typologies, the categories chosen were based on Fowler’s intuition – terminal form ‘feels like’ a key variable within the overall design. Because this feature shows the greatest amount of variation it is also the best candidate for generating insights into chronology and distribution, one of the key aims of the study.

Wherever possible the basic types have also been further sub-divided. Again these divisions typically follow Fowler. Type A is, however, one exception. All other types can be intuitively sub-divided into a standard range of closed categories. Type A shows so much variation in the design of the terminals that the same is not possible, despite Fowler’s attempts. Here analysis of this type has therefore been kept general and open, focusing on combinations of design elements and accepting that a comprehensive range of sub-categories is not achievable (and indeed is probably not desirable).

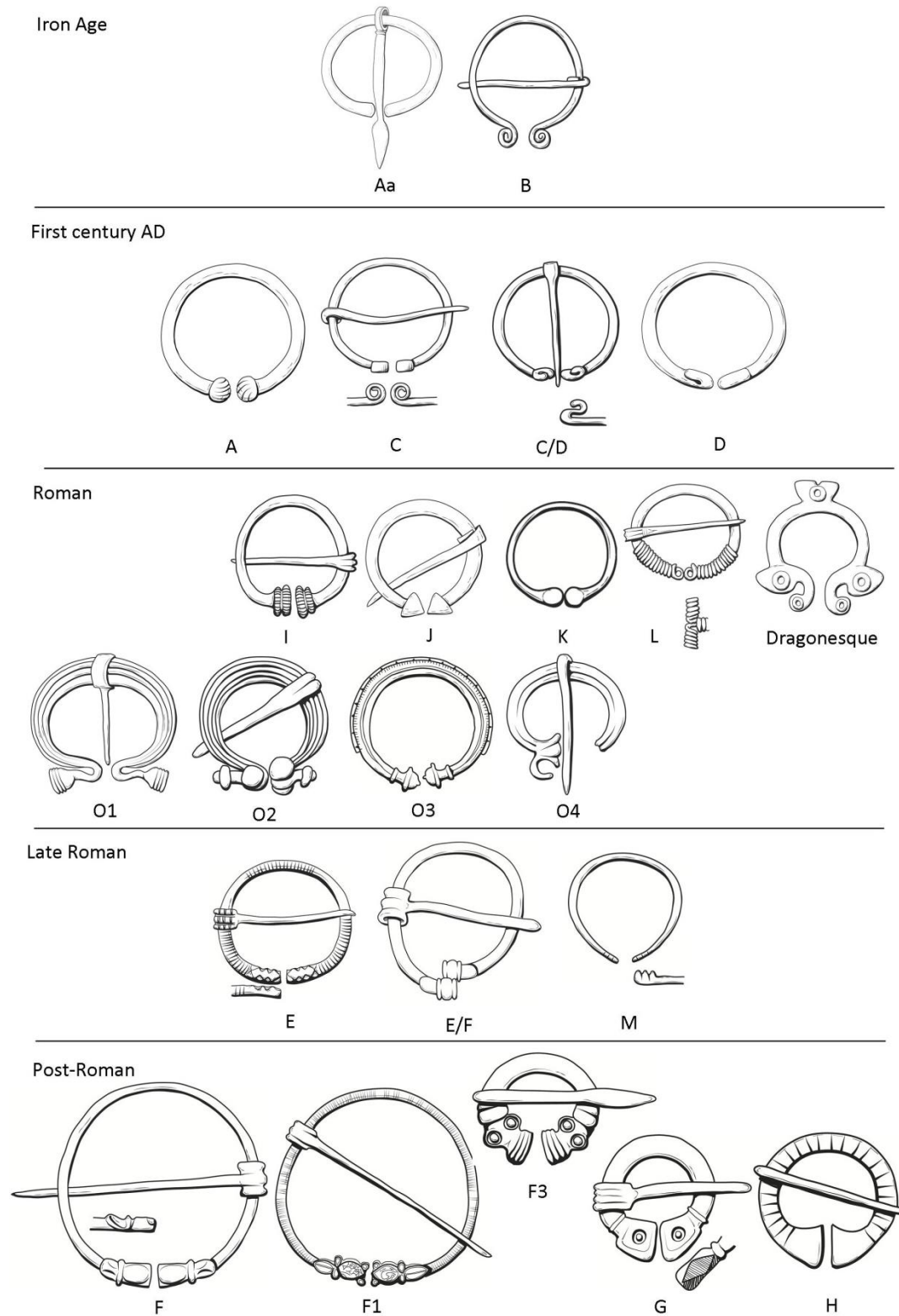


Figure 4.1. Penannular types referred to in this chapter (not to scale). Each chronological section refers to the period when production commenced. See fig.4.41 for full typology with sub-types.

An additional set of instrumental categories has also been created. These are ancillary to the basic typology and perhaps less intuitively significant. They include the form of the pin, the cross-section of and any decoration on the hoop. The fact that these features often show less variation than terminal design means that they offer less detailed information about chronology and distribution when considered in isolation. The aim of considering them, however, is to generate additional insights into broad chronological and spatial changes and to further understand the relationships between the basic types.

No attempt has been made to create a single typology that can incorporate every brooch feature into a set of fixed categories. Correspondence analysis that creates relationships between variables such as terminal design, size, hoop decoration and pin form was considered, but has been rejected on the basis that it may create an artificial sense of order, which is contrary to the aims of the study. There are undoubtedly relationships present between different elements of brooch form and decoration, but these are unlikely to be direct and straightforward. As is discussed in section 4.6.7, basic multivariate analysis actually over-simplified the complex distribution of Type G, which was only fully revealed when different elements were analysed separately and this study aimed to avoid such pitfalls.

4.3. Types with Iron Age origins

4.3.1 Type Aa

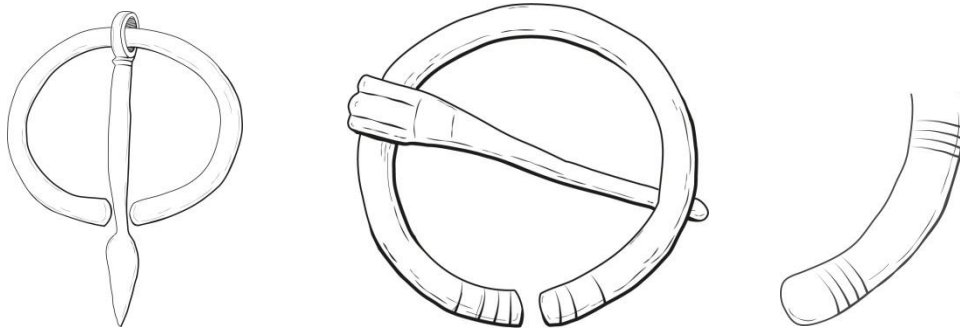
4.3.1.1 Distribution and site types

The distribution of Type Aa is broad (fig.4.4), but the greatest concentration lies in Somerset and west Wiltshire. This group has a well-defined western boundary extending no further than the Somerset Levels, but a scatter spreads eastwards and into Wales to the north. A further, smaller concentration occurs in northern England on either side of the Humber estuary; beyond this a few are found in the highlands and islands of Scotland.

Type Aa is most commonly found on hillforts, unspecified ‘sites’ (this number is high because of the group from Grandcourt Farm, Norfolk – see section 3.1.6), in mortuary contexts and on minor and nucleated settlements (fig.4.5). Most hillforts were occupied

only during the Iron Age or the brooches come from Iron Age contexts. Iron Age inhumation burials in East Yorkshire comprise the majority of mortuary contexts, apart from six from Scottish cist and inhumation burials dating to the first century AD or later and four from, or associated with, early medieval graves. Of those brooches in the ‘other’ category, three were from caves, one was from the Iron Age midden site at All Cannings Cross, Wiltshire (Cunnington 1923), and two were from the medieval monastery site of Whithorn, Dumfries and Galloway (Hill 1997), which although found in late contexts are probably associated with an earlier phase of activity on the site.

4.3.1.2 Terminal variants



Aa1 – Undecorated hoop

Aa2 – one or more
grooves behind the
terminals

Aa3 – Entirely or partially
grooved hoop

Figure 4.2. Type Aa variants (not to scale).

Type Aa has three terminal variants (fig.4.2). Fowler did not include any decorated brooches in her typology, but they are actually more numerous than their undecorated counterparts – 44 Aa1 brooches, 70 Aa2 and 7 Aa3 brooches have been recorded in total (alongside 16 that could not be identified to this level of detail). Fowler was, however, working with only 18 brooches as opposed to the 138 now available. In addition she suggested that an unusual brooch with a thick, flattened, enamelled hoop discovered at Newstead (Curle 1911, 327, pl. 88, 7; fig.4.3) represents an intermediary between this type and the later Type H (Fowler 1960 151, fig.1), but here this link is rejected on the basis that it appears quite distinct from the other Type Aa and H brooches.

Type Aa1 offers a slightly more northerly and easterly distribution than Aa2 (appendix 2.1). It is found at more sites in East Yorkshire, is the only form from north Wales and is found well into the highlands of Scotland. Type Aa2, on the other hand, only reaches central lowland region of Scotland, but is found at more sites in South-West England and is the only type from south Wales. Although it does occur at a few sites in central and eastern England there is a gap in its distribution in the north east (apart from East Yorkshire) before it appears again further north. There are too few Aa3 brooches to make a secure assessment of their distribution, but like Aa2 they appear to be concentrated in the South-West. Each of the three types is found at a similar range of sites, but in varying proportions (fig.4.5). Noticeably more Aa1 and Aa3 brooches come from mortuary contexts than Aa2.

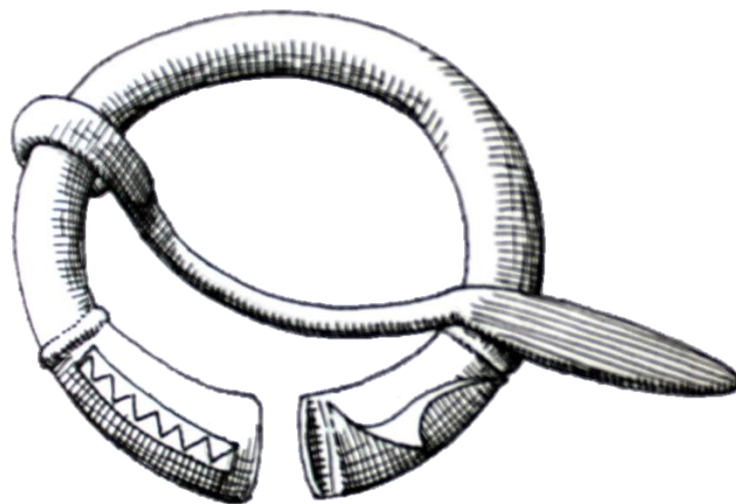
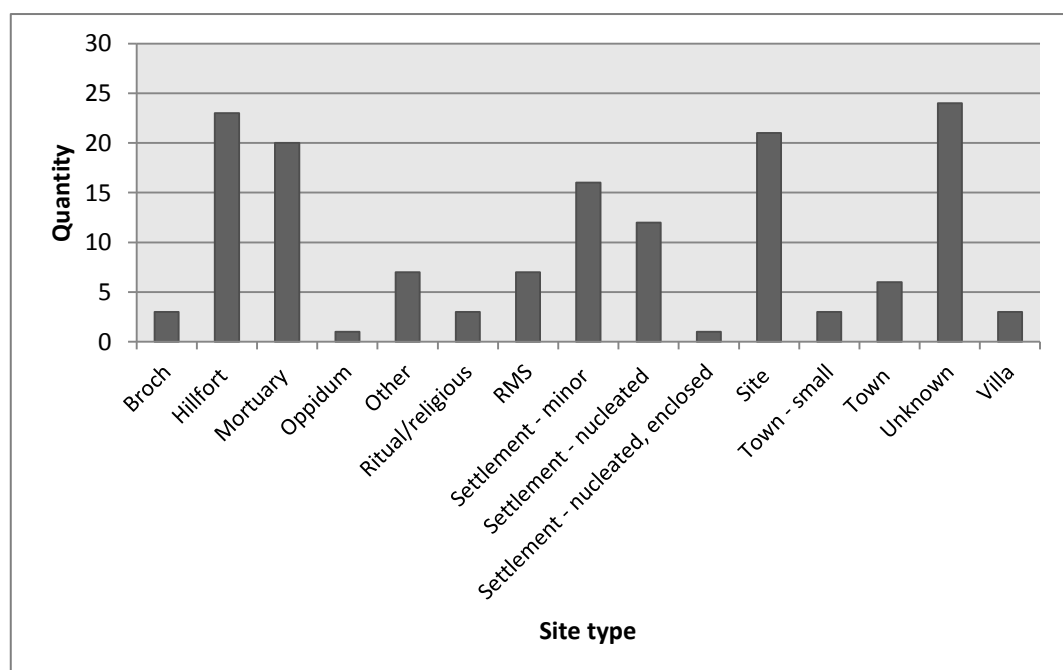
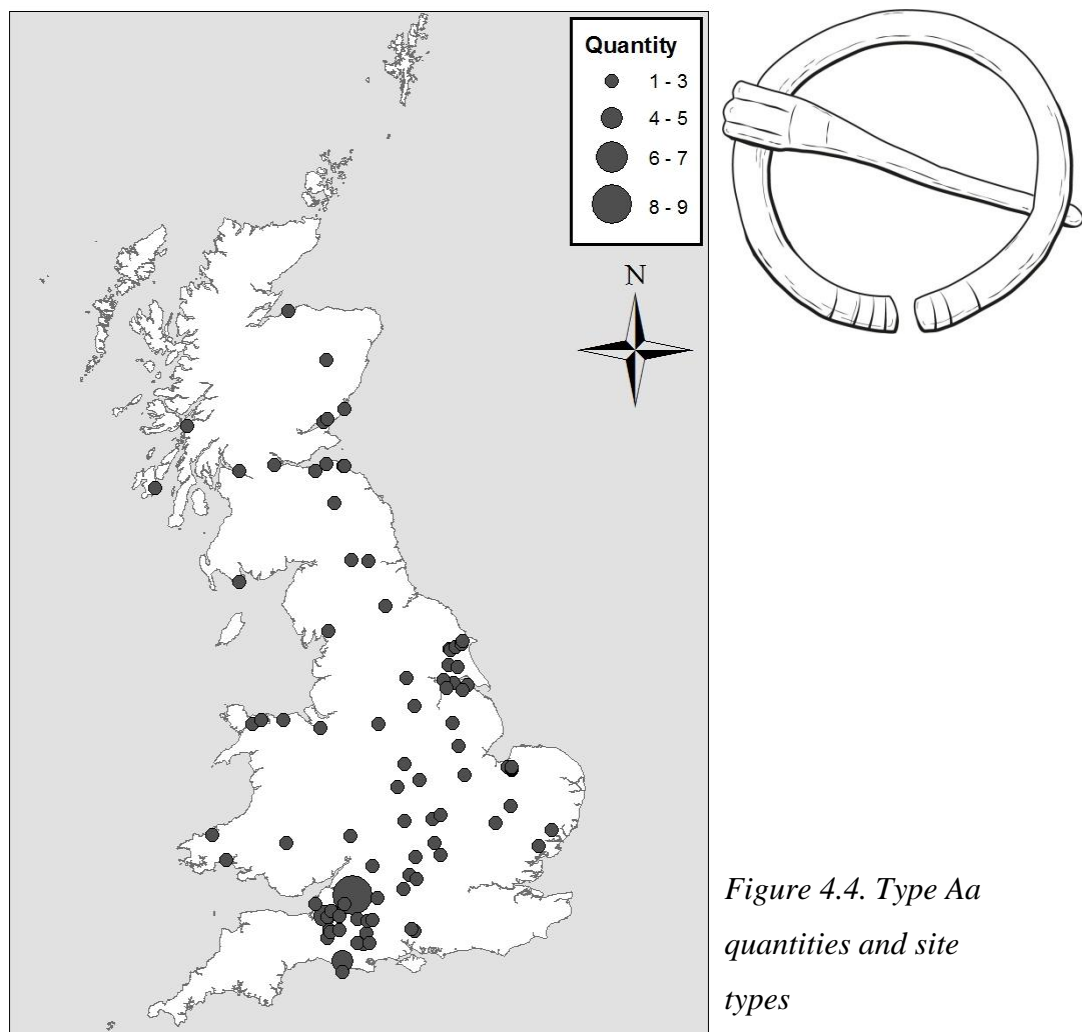


Figure 4.3. The enamelled penannular from Newstead.

(Mackreth brooch archive © The Trustees of the British Museum)

Brooches with straight pins are concentrated in South-West England with a smaller group around the Humber estuary and a scatter across the Midlands, whereas humped pins have a much wider distribution in accordance with general patterns (see appendix 1, figs.1.7&8). Curved pins also have a wider distribution, with a bias towards northern Britain; this correlates with the similar patterns observed for Type A (appendix 2.15).



4.3.1.3 Pin form

These distributions resemble those observed for the different terminal forms, but there is no direct relationship. A majority of Type Aa2 brooches have humped pins and yet this type is concentrated in the South-West where straight pins are more common. Type Aa1 brooches, which have a much wider distribution, are less likely to have the more widespread humped pin form. Both terminal and pin forms therefore appear to be independent factors in the distribution of Type Aa.

4.3.1.4 Hoop form

Most brooches have circular sectioned hoops. Only three have D-sectioned and three rectangular or square sectioned hoops. One of the latter, part of the hoard of Bronze Age and Iron Age material found near Batheaston, Somerset (BM cat no.1989.0601.86), also has moulded decoration on the hoop. It may therefore be a one-off design, although the hoard did contain other Type Aa brooches. The other two brooches with rectangular/square sectioned hoops were also found in the South-West, whereas the three with D-sectioned hoops have a wider distribution appearing both in South-West and northern England.

Most hoop diameter groups have widespread distributions (appendix 2.3), particularly Groups Four, Five and Six, which lie at the middle of the range. The smallest and largest brooches, however, feature most in northern Britain, but in such small numbers that this pattern may not be significant.

4.3.1.5 Chronology

Type Aa includes some of the earliest penannulars found in Britain, but unfortunately few are well dated. Two brooches with Aa1 terminals were found in separate burials at Wetwang Slack, pre-dating other burials containing H&H Type 2Ca involuted brooches (Dent 1984) and so are likely to be of third century BC date. At Huntow a further pair were apparently discovered in the barrow with a straight bow brooch of Type 2Aa (H&H cat no.3412) suggesting an earlier third century BC date. At Whitegate Farm, Bleadon, Somerset a highly corroded, but possible Aa brooch was associated with an adult female crouched inhumation burial radiocarbon dated to cal 210 BC - cal AD 1 (95%) (Young 2008, fig.16).

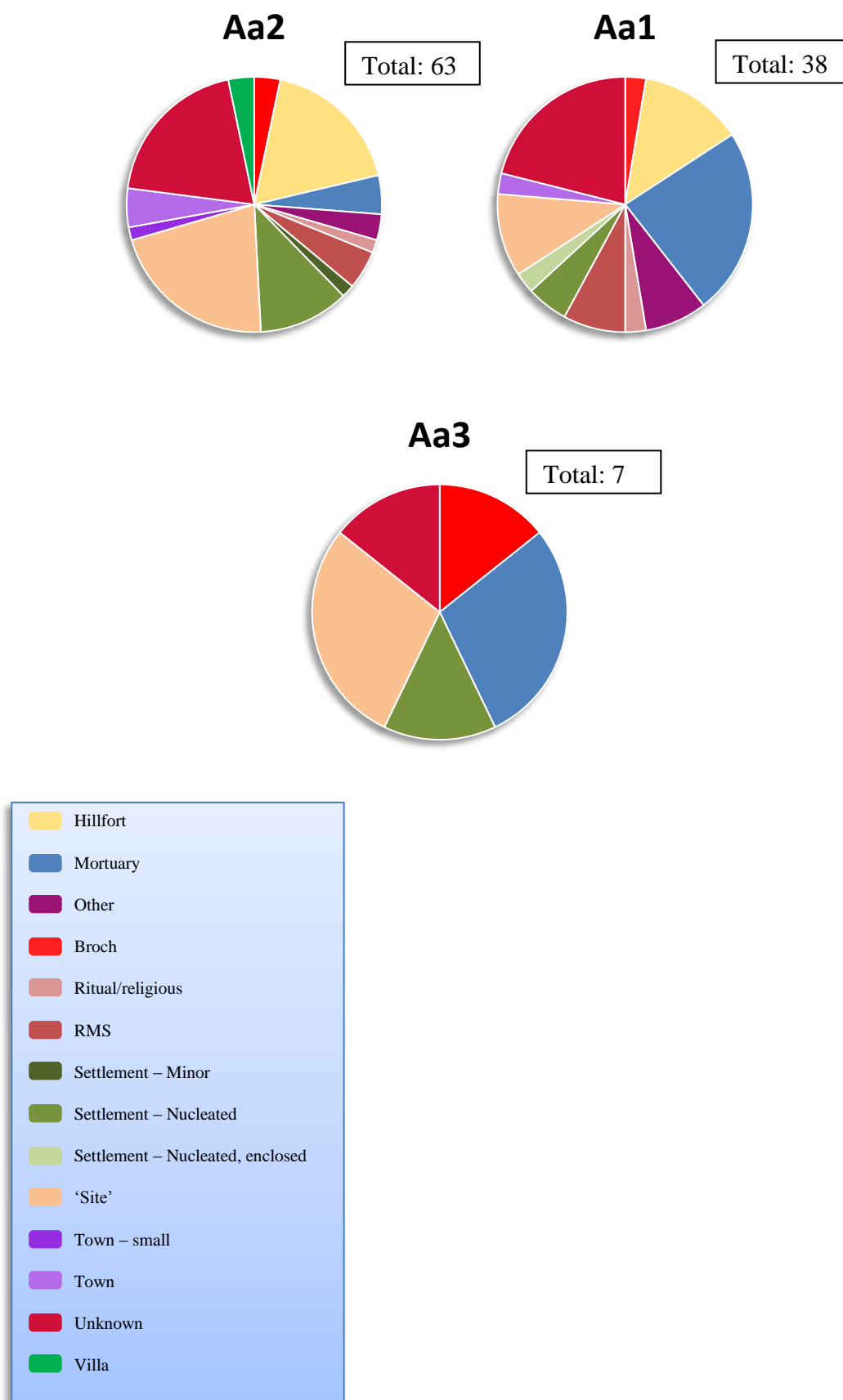


Figure 4.5. Percentages of each Type Aa terminal form from each site category

A particularly early example of a decorated Aa2 terminal was found at Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1943, fig. 86, 1) in a pit containing pottery that could indicate a date as early as the fourth century BC. Another came from excavations on the same site within the final, third century BC fill of a quarry hollow (Sharples 1991, 155, 241, fig. 130, no 5). Comparable examples derive from Midsummer Hill in a context dated to the late third century BC (Stanford 1981); at Ecton, Northamptonshire (fourth to second century BC context; Atkins *et al.* 2001, 66, fig.14), and Cadbury Castle (mid Iron Age to first century AD; Olivier 1993, 42). The earliest Aa3 brooch comes from Glastonbury and can be broadly dated to the second or first century BC (Bulleid & Gray 1911, pl.44; Fowler 1960, fig. 3).

The data in appendix 3.1 suggest that the type was in circulation until the second century AD with a slight intensification of numbers during the first century AD. Quantities decline thereafter, but there is a small group from late third and fourth century AD contexts, which corresponds with the general renewal of interest in penannulars during this period. Three examples also occur in Anglo-Saxon graves – a pair from Sleaford (White 1988, 7) in a sixth century burial and one from Blewburton Hill (*ibid.* fig.1, no.1) in a fifth or sixth century burial (although this was found at the edge of the grave and so the association was not certain). All of the terminal variants appear to have developed early in the type's chronology and were in use simultaneously throughout. Straight and curved pins both cluster at either end of the chronology, whereas no brooches with humped pins post-date the third century AD.

4.3.1.6 The Grandcourt Farm assemblage

The discovery of 33 complete and fragmentary penannulars at Grandcourt Farm, Norfolk has increased the number of known Type Aa by a further 19 (Adams *et al.* in prep). This is the now largest group of this type recovered from a single British site to date. The assemblage from Batheaston containing nine comes a distant second, but the date of this group is less secure because it was found through metal detecting and contains a much wider range of different penannular types. At Grandcourt Farm, however, within what appears to be a fairly homogenous assemblage were also numerous Iron Age bow brooches of Types H&H1c to 2c and two Kentish primary potin coins, which together suggest a later third to early second century BC date (*ibid.*).

Significantly three Type A penannulars were also found that appear to be closely related to Aa. Two have distinctly knob-like terminals, with collars behind and the other has milled cylindrical knobs with a collar behind separated by a constriction. These share many similarities with the Type Aa brooches in the group, some of which would be virtually the same style if their ends were more expanded and rounded. This may suggest that the Type A sub-types emerged much earlier than Fowler suggested, but based on the chronological evidence presented in section 4.3.3.5 this seems unlikely. Alternatively these three brooches represent early experiments with the Type Aa form, long before Type A's main phase of production. Either way they demonstrate the possibility of a developmental link between some of the decorated Aa and A brooches, although may have occurred independently at different places and times.

4.3.2 Type B

4.3.2.1 Distribution and site types

The distribution of Type B (fig.4.6) resembles that of Type D. As Fowler noted they are also concentrated in South-West Britain, but there is a further, much smaller group in East Yorkshire/North Lincolnshire. Occasional examples occur in Wales and in eastern and northern Britain, but few are found in central and southern Britain and none further north than Whithorn in South-West Scotland.

The proportion of brooches from each site category (fig.4.7) is also very similar to Type D. The highest percentage come from Roman towns and Leicester, Silchester, Catterick and Winchester in particular have all produced two or more Type B brooches (although only the former two towns have produced any Type D). Hillforts are the second most common category of site and Roman military sites and nucleated settlements have produced several brooches. In contrast to Type D mortuary sites are a common category, most being from early medieval graves. Despite some relationship with Type D this is not necessarily direct and may simply be a product of their similar distributions. Single brooches have also been found at the Iron Age enclosure at Gussage All Saints, Dorset (Wainwright 1979, fig. 84, 3060), and at the Iron Age midden site of All Cannings Cross, Wiltshire (Cunnington 1923, 116, pl. 18/1), although neither of these were from dated contexts.

4.3.2.2 Terminal form

A small majority of terminals have loose, single coils. These are concentrated in the core South-Western region with just a few outliers (appendix 2.4). A smaller number have terminals with multiple coils. There is a small cluster of these in North Lincolnshire and a scattering across the rest of Britain, but fewer in the South-West. Finally, a much higher percentage of the simple form come from Roman towns than any other type of site, whereas those with multiple coils come from a wider range of sites.

4.3.2.3 Hoop form

Most brooches lie within hoop diameter groups one to seven. The only two brooches with larger hoop diameters occur outside the core region, but this could be purely coincidental as they are so few in number (appendix 2.6). The majority of hoops are plain and circular in cross-section. The only exceptions are a single brooch from Richborough that is rectangular in cross-section (Bayley and Butcher 2004, fig.102, no.392), and three with completely grooved hoops from the Batheaston hoard (BM cat. no.1989, 0601.169), the Roman town of Catterick (Wilson 2002, 161, fig.307, 19) and the early medieval cemetery at Sancton (White 1988, 9), both in East Yorkshire.

4.3.2.4 Pin form

Most Type B brooches have straight pins. These have the most widespread distribution, whereas those with the humped and curved pins are only found in the South-West in opposition to the general trend (appendix 1.7&8). This also contrasts directly with Fowler's statement that all Type B brooches have humped pins (Fowler 1960, 152).

4.3.2.5 Chronology

Five brooches from Glastonbury represent the earliest known examples of this type. All belong to Coles and Minnitt's (1995) middle, late and final phases. Potentially the earliest is one that the museum record suggests was discovered in the black earth on the surface of mound 73 (SCM cat no.E259). If this is the 'thick black earth' of floor one (*ibid.* 83), then this would suggest a middle phase date of 225-175 BC (*ibid.* 200). The other brooches either cannot be assigned to a phase, or date to the late or final phases, 175-80 BC and the later first century BC respectively (*ibid.* 200-206).

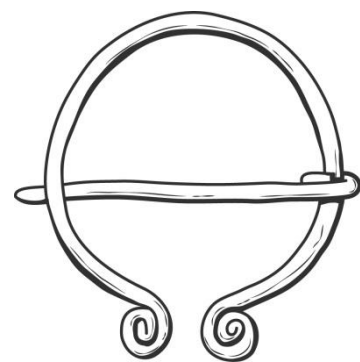
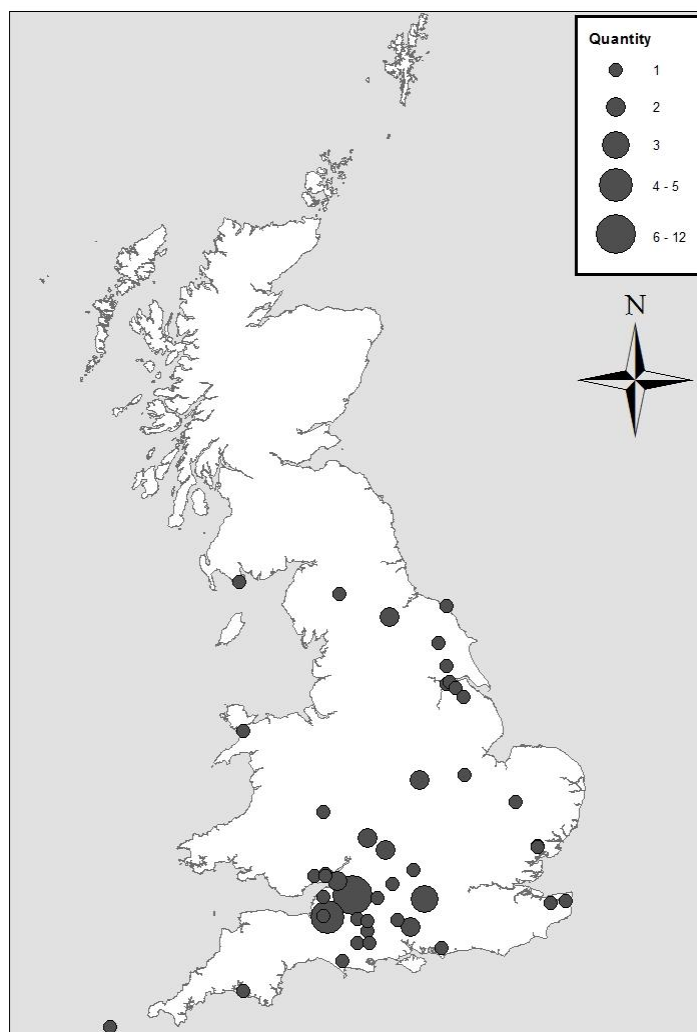
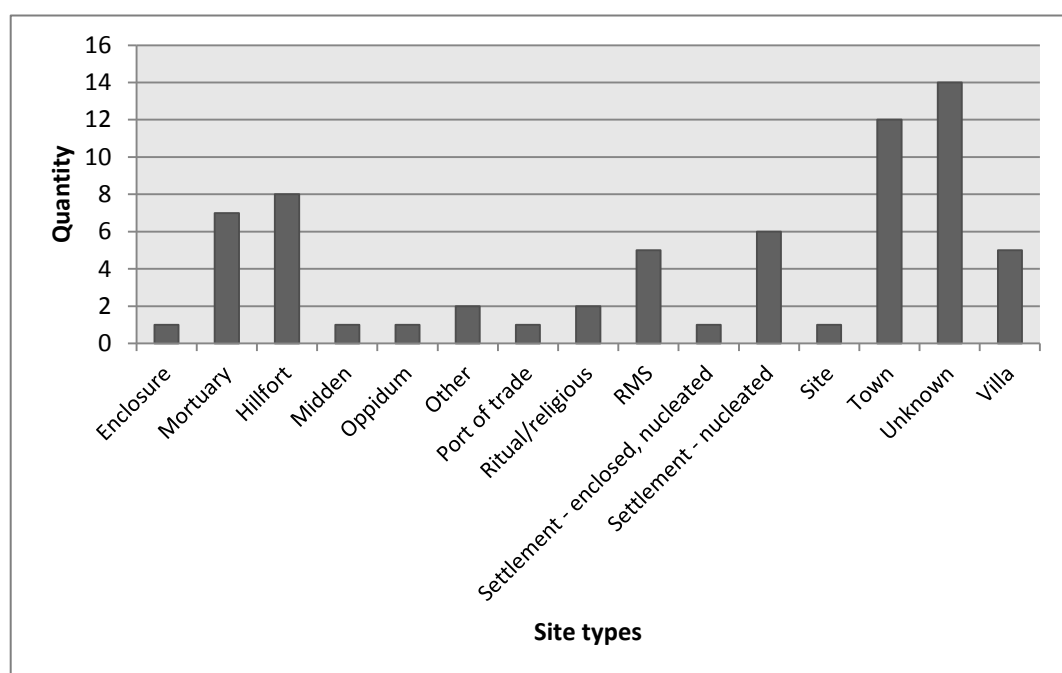


Figure 4.6. Type B quantities and site types



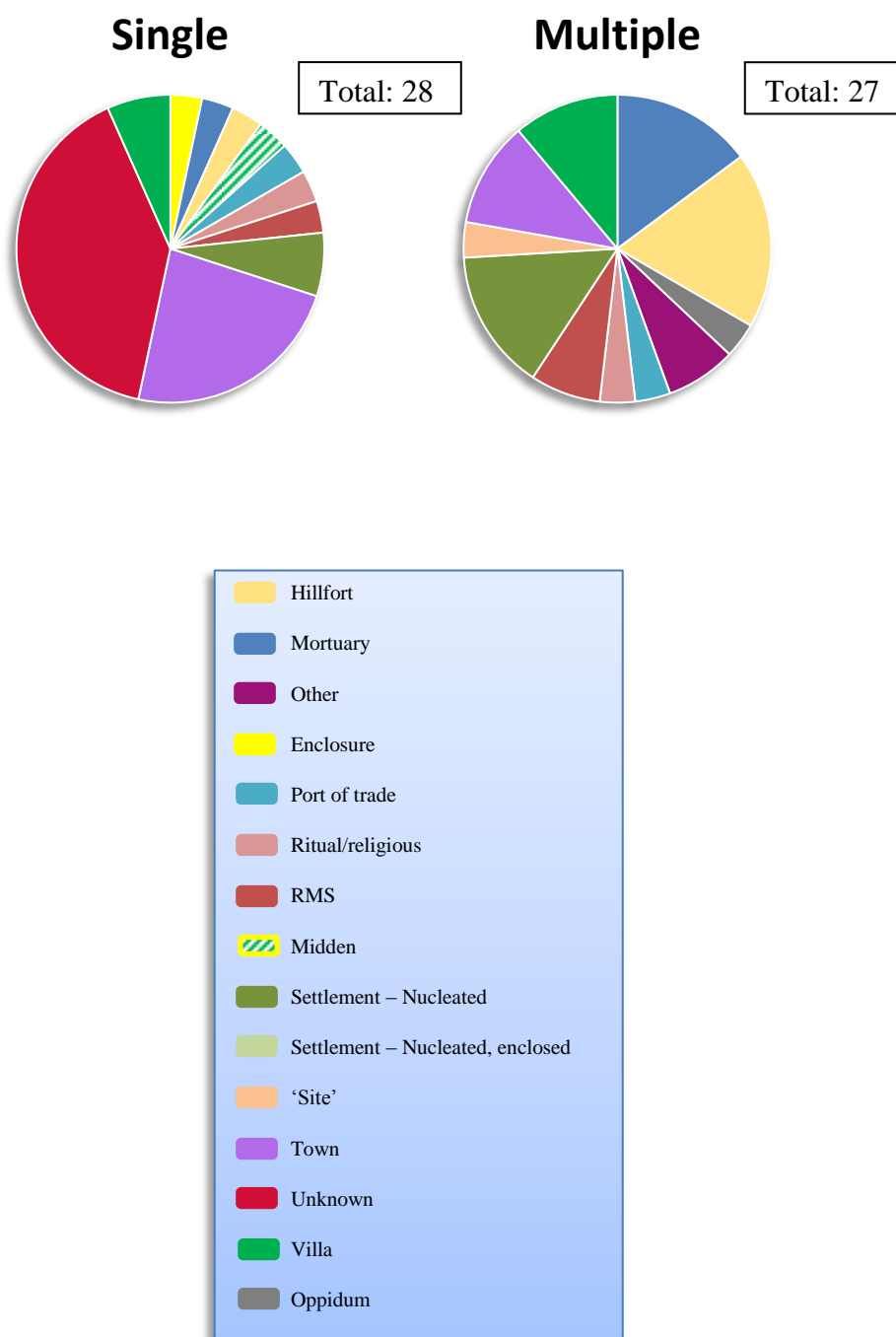
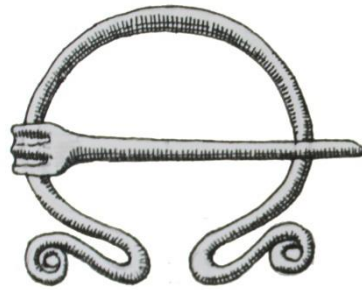


Figure 4.7. Percentages of each Type B terminal form from each site category

Only two others come from pre-Conquest contexts. An example from Gussage All Saints, Dorset (Wainwright 1979, fig.84, no.3060) occurred in a context dating to the first century BC or AD and one from Maiden Castle was found in a 'Romano-Belgic' level dating to between AD 25-70 (Wheeler 1943, fig.86, no.5). Both could easily date to the later ends of their chronologies and so the Glastonbury examples appear to be the only ones of confirmed Iron Age date. Appendix 3.2.1 shows that *floruit* of Type B occurred during the first century AD. Its popularity then seemingly decreased, but it does occur in small numbers from the later second to the fourth century and again from the later fifth century onwards in graves.

4.3.2.6 Type B1



*Figure 4.8. Type B1 from Gussage All Saints, Dorset.
(Mackreth Archive © The Trustees of the British Museum)*

Finally, two brooches are apparently a variant of Type B. These have terminals that curve round in the same plane as the hoop before coiling round in the opposite direction at the ends. One was found in the Batheaston hoard (BM cat no.1989,0601.181) and another at Gussage All Saints (fig.4.8) again in a context dated to the first century BC/AD (Wainwright 1979, fig. 84, no.3063). This date range corresponds with that of the Type B brooches, as does their distribution in the South-West, suggesting that they are related to this type rather than Type C/D, which are otherwise only found in eastern Britain.

4.3.3 Type A

This type appears in an almost infinite variety of terminal designs with the only uniting feature being the rounded or flattened knob. Fowler's related post-Roman Type A5

with acorn-knop terminals is abandoned here because only one Viking brooch, from Lagore Crannog, Ireland (Hencken 1950, fig.34a) can be satisfactorily classified as this type.

4.3.3.1 Distribution and site types

Type A's distribution is wide, but it is particularly common in North-East England and South-East Scotland (fig.4.10), with notable concentrations in Yorkshire and North Lincolnshire and also along Hadrian's Wall. Most sites that have produced exceptionally large quantities are also located in this core zone. These include Castleford (22 brooches) and Alborough (18 brooches), Yorkshire; Corbridge, Northumberland (28 brooches); Newstead, Borders (21 brooches) and Traprain Law, East Lothian (31 brooches).

Distribution is focused on Roman military sites followed by Roman towns and small towns (fig.4.10). Slightly less than 50 have also been found at hillforts and Roman villas. Of those from hillforts the majority of dated examples come from Roman contexts. The majority from mortuary contexts are from Roman or Early Medieval graves. Most from rural settlements are from Roman or undefined multi-period sites.

4.3.3.2 Terminal form

The terminals of this type vary far more than those of any other. A standard range of design elements were utilized (knobs, disks, grooving, collars and so on), but these can appear in virtually any combination or arrangement. To compensate for the difficulties that this causes terminal designs were recorded element by element. This method produced a long list of different types, but this was preferable to creating a smaller number of categories prior to recording, which would ignore this level of variation. Nine types appeared regularly, however, and so were analysed in more detail (fig.4.9).

Brooches with grooved disk and conical terminals both have very different distributions to those with knob terminals. Brooches with grooved disk terminals are found almost exclusively in southern and particularly western England, except for an outlier from Ravenglass, Cumbria (Potter 1979, 69, fig.26, no.11). By contrast, those with conical terminals are concentrated in eastern and south eastern England with only a small number occurring further north. Both distributions are distinct from those of the knob terminal forms which all have a broadly northern focus (appendix 2.7-9).

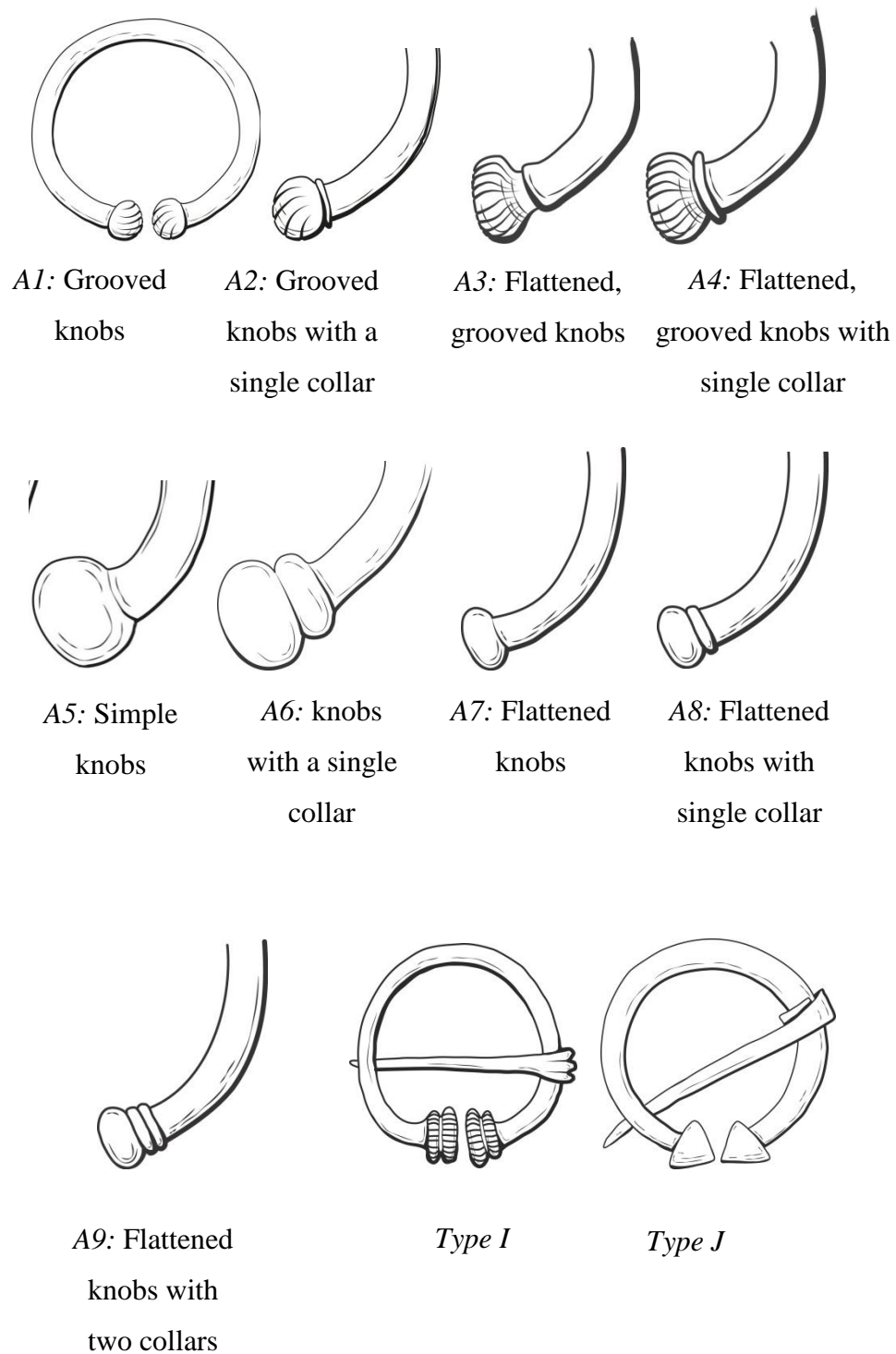


Figure 4.9. Type A terminal variants with new Types I and J for comparison.

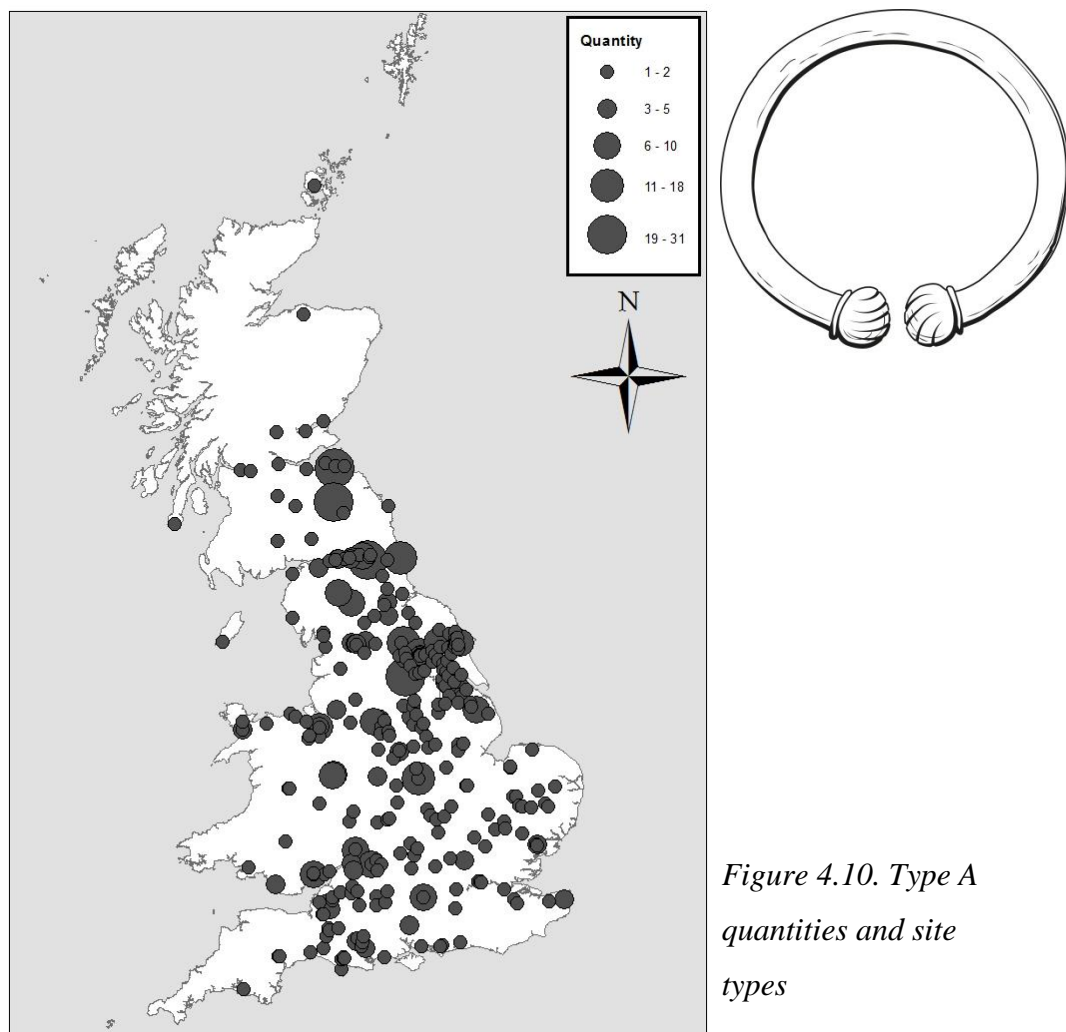
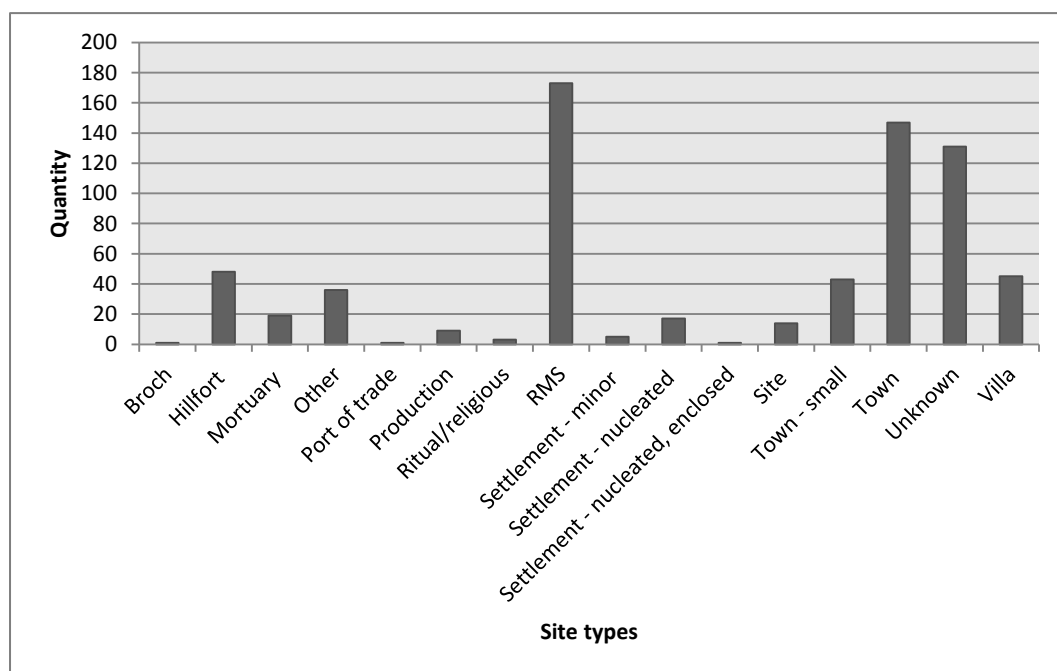


Figure 4.10. Type A quantities and site types



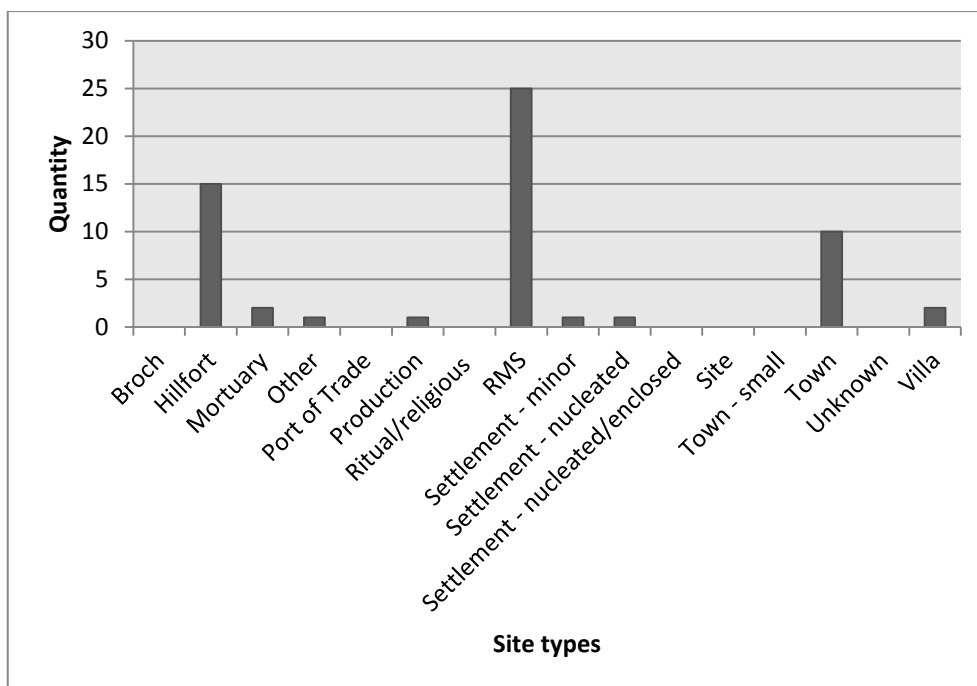


Figure 4.11. Type A brooches from first and second century AD sites

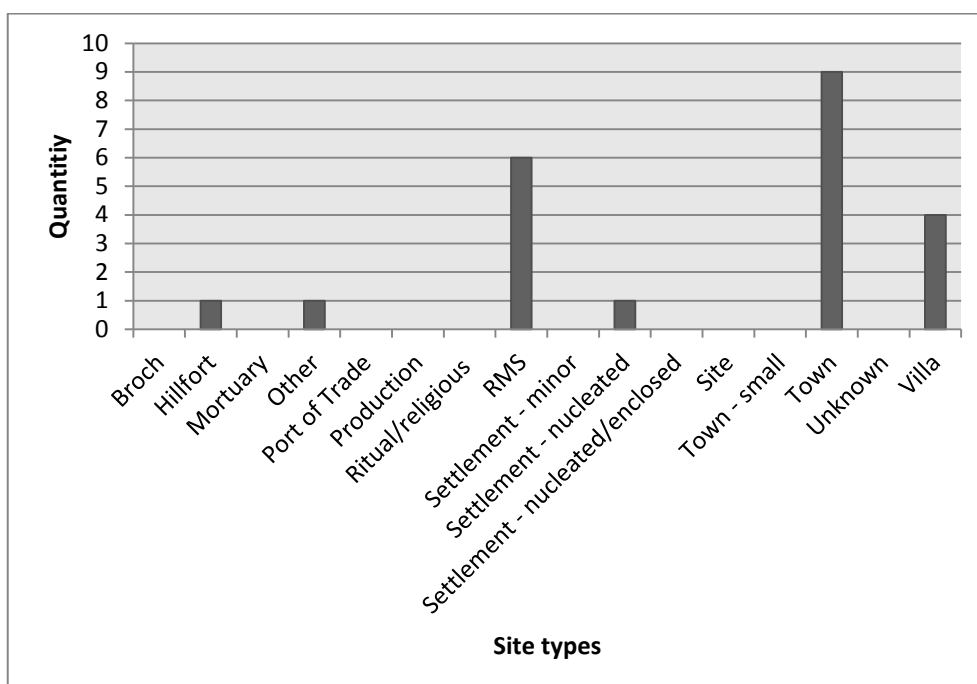


Figure 4.12. Type A brooches from third and fourth century AD sites

Any analysis of the other variants is difficult because each form is subtly different even if simultaneously sharing features with several others. Fowler created a set of ‘rules’ to determine how these shared features influence distribution, but this does not provide an adequate analysis of how different features of the terminal interact with one another and with other components such as hoop and pin form. Instead then it is more productive to compare the distributions of each terminal type before factoring in the hoop and pin.

Taking this approach it is clear that each of the common terminal types has its own unique distribution with a rough division into two broad groups. One group has a northern bias and tends to be concentrated in the Yorkshire/North Lincolnshire region (appendix 2.10). This includes the most common type, which has flattened, grooved knob terminals (A3). The types within the second group all have slightly more widespread, dispersed distributions, although still usually with a concentration in Yorkshire/North Lincolnshire (appendix 2.11). Together this suggests that no single feature such as grooves, collars and so on, is significant in isolation, but instead the overall terminal design is more important. Overall design cannot, however, be broken down into a few simple sub-categories as Fowler attempted. Terminals that otherwise look very similar, such as those with round, grooved knobs with a collar behind and those that are otherwise the same, but with flattened instead of rounded knobs, can still have distinct distributions. It would seem that a range of decorative features were available to the manufacturers of Type A penannulars and, while there was a range of standardised combinations, much experimentation also occurred, leading to many ‘limited editions’ and one-off designs.

Terminal form and site type

Fowler suggested that Types A2, A3 and A4 were found almost exclusively on ‘military sites, fort sites along the Wall, settlements within the Military Zone, and towns where soldiers may be assumed to have foregathered’ (1961, 60-1) whereas she believed that Type A1 (with plain knob terminals) had slightly earlier origins and a different distribution. Certainly a high percentage of Type A brooches do come from Roman military sites, there is a significant concentration along Hadrian’s Wall and a large number of the towns show indications of earlier military activity. A slightly lower than average percentage of Fowler’s Type A1 does come from military sites, but there are other variants with similar or lower percentages.

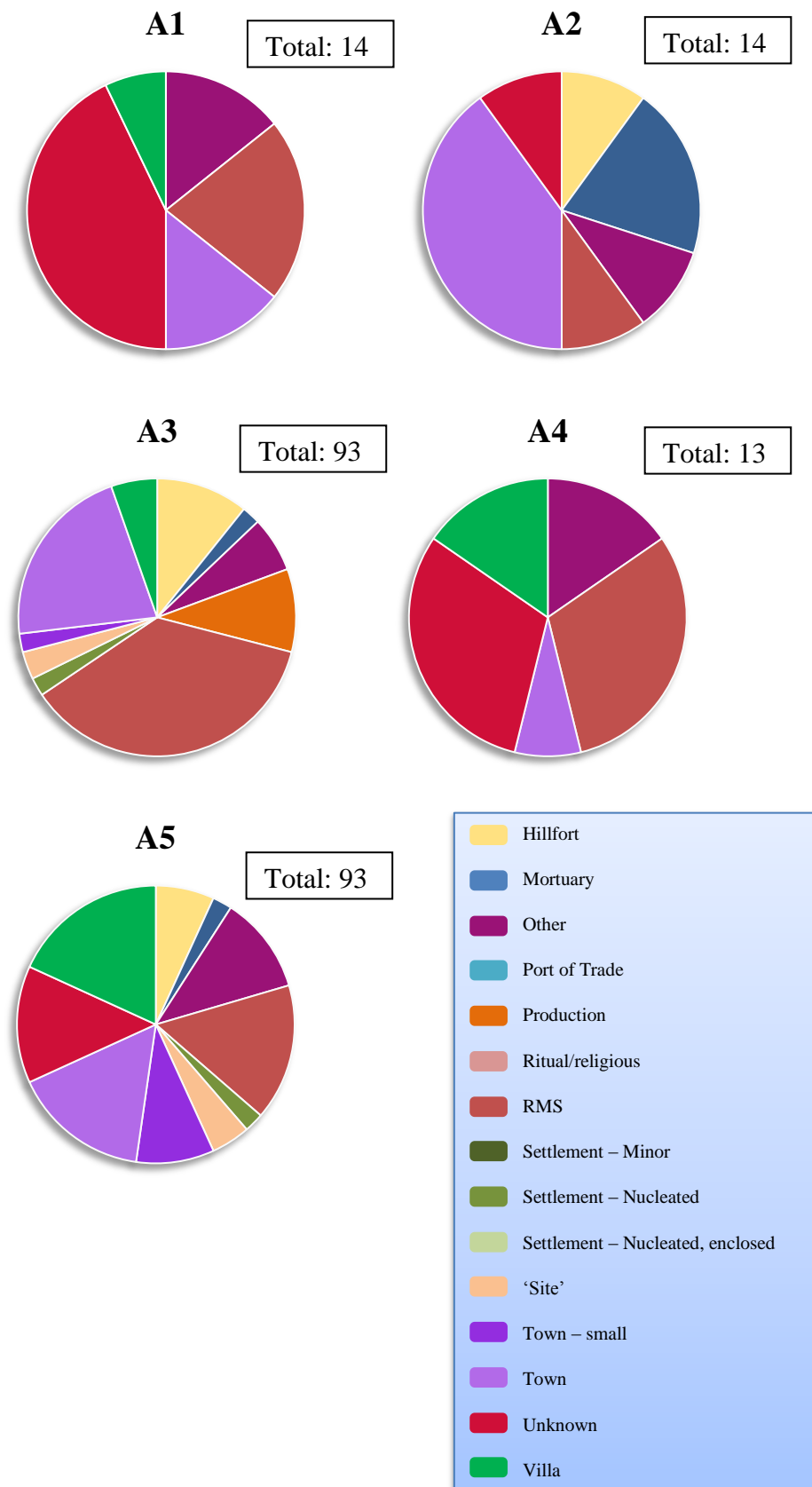


Figure 4.13. Percentages of each Type A terminal form from each site category

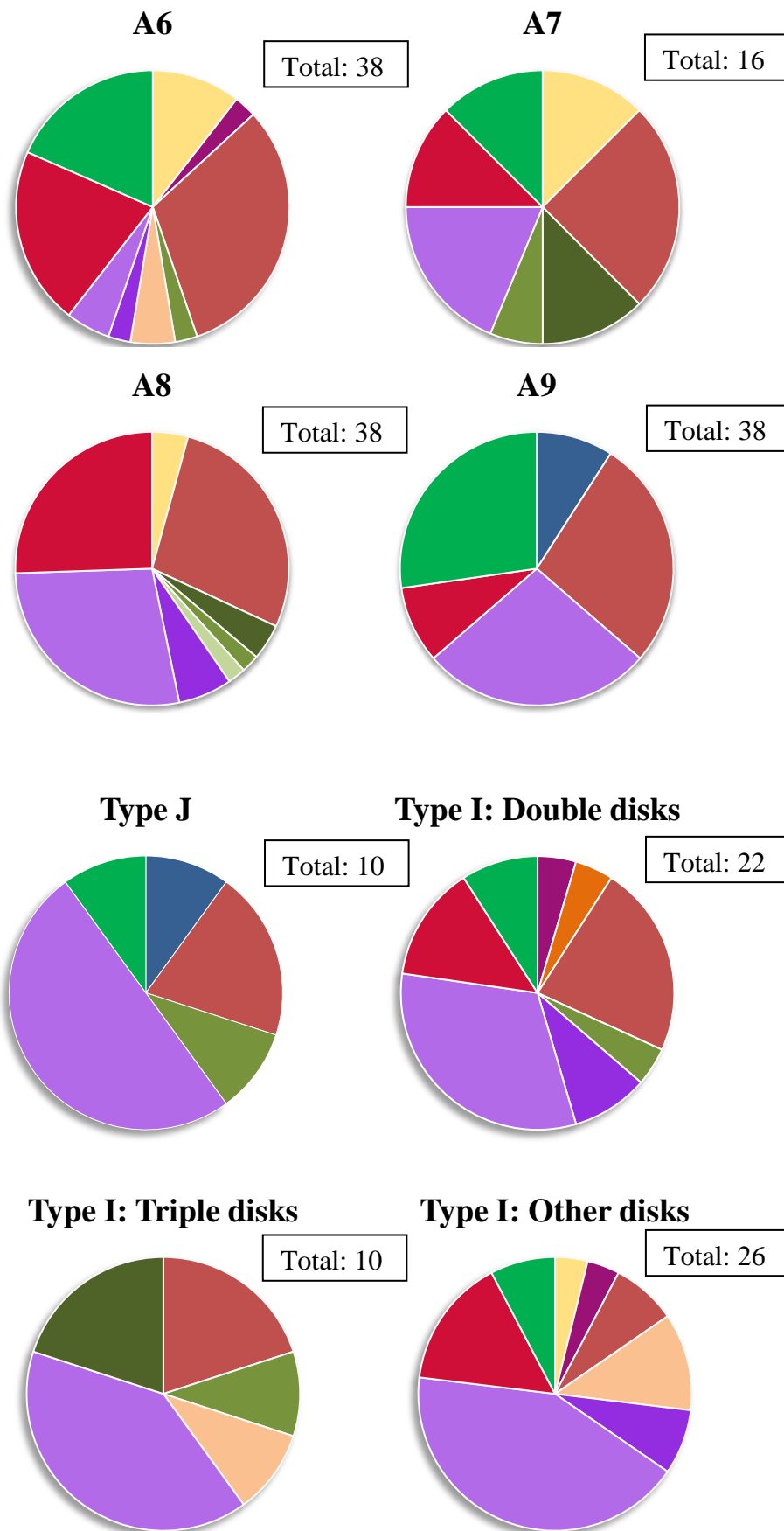


Figure 4.13 (cont.). Percentages of each Type A terminal form from each site category

No single element of terminal design seems to be related to site type (fig.4.13) and instead the overall design of the terminal seems to be of more significance. This analysis further reinforces the division between the conical, grooved-disk and knob terminal forms. A similar proportion of the first two types come from Roman towns and/or small towns, whereas the amount from Roman military sites is smaller. Few patterns can be observed within the distribution of the different knob terminal forms, however. There is no clear distinction between the two terminal distribution groups, although unfortunately forms belonging to the northern group are generally fewer in number, introducing bias into the data. The exception is the most common form with flattened, grooved knobs, by far the highest percentage of which (and indeed the highest percentage of any variant) come from Roman military sites.

Given these conclusions it would therefore be an impossible task to determine a set of rules for categorising the less common forms of terminal. This makes it difficult to create a closed typology like Fowler's, which could incorporate every Type A brooch into a straightforward set of sub-types. Information about the common variants can be used as a basis from which to query the data generally, but this can only hint at general trends rather than offering rigid rules. Most features like the shape of the terminal and decoration appear to only have a subtle impact on distribution. The most significant feature seems to be the numbers of collars behind the terminals, as brooches with two or more collars are concentrated in the East Yorkshire/North Lincolnshire region. Brooches whose terminals feature grooved disks at any point in their sequence stand out from all other Type A brooches, however, as they are strongly concentrated in the south and west of Britain together with those with double and treble grooved disk terminals.

4.3.3.3 Hoop form

Size

There is no clear link between any individual terminal feature (collars, decoration and so on) and hoop diameter. Three terminal designs have slightly larger hoops than the others, but none of these share any stylistic elements. The group with conical terminals is smallest, but this could be because only a very small number have known measurements. All of the brooches with grooved terminals are fairly similar in size, whereas the undecorated ones are more disparate, but again this could be coincidental.

Therefore there may be a slight relationship between overall terminal design and hoop and terminal size, but that this is unlikely to be particularly significant.

Hoop section and decoration

Hoop section also does not appear to have a significant impact upon distribution. Some hoops have additional decoration of grooving and a range of other motifs. The impact of these other motifs on distribution is difficult to assess as they are too diverse in range. All but one of the brooches with grooved hoops, are found in the South-West (appendix 2.14), although they appear in such small numbers that again this may be coincidental.

4.3.3.4 Pin form

Pin form appears to be the only factor that exerts a significant influence on Type A's distribution. Although each form has a widespread distribution, humped pins are concentrated in the north of Britain and straight pins in the south and South-West, whereas the distribution of curved pins lies somewhere between the two (appendix 2.15). This corresponds well with the broader patterns shown in appendix 1.7&8. As would be expected given their relative distributions, brooches with grooved- disk (Type I) and conical terminals (Type J) tend to have straight and never humped pins, whereas those with knob terminals are more likely to have humped pins (fig.4.14).

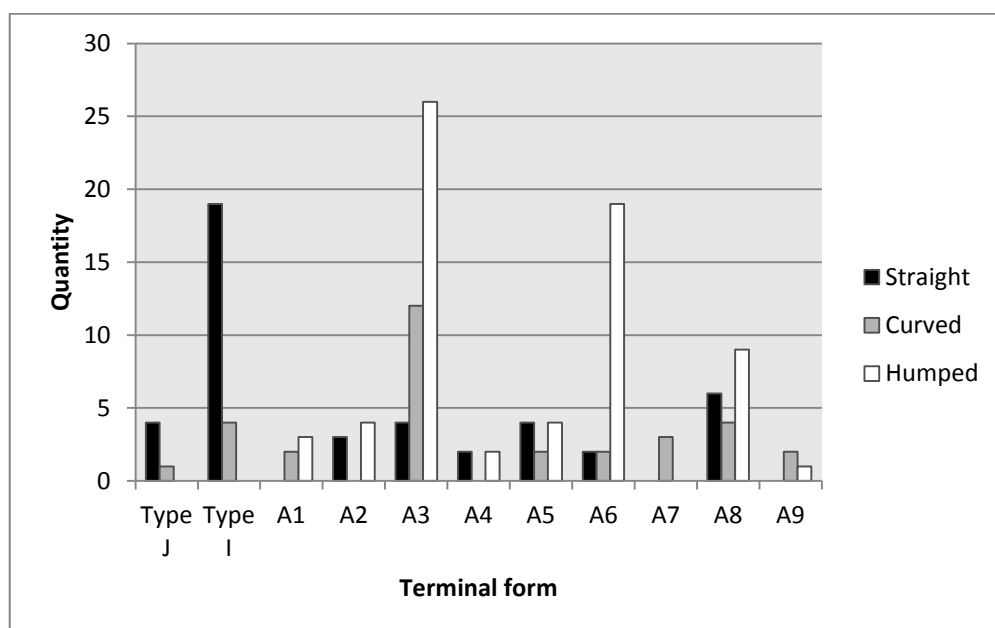


Figure 4.14. Type A pin form according to terminal type

4.3.3.5 Chronology

Fowler suggested that her Type A1, with its simple knob terminals, existed alongside Type Aa from its earliest origins. She cited an example from Thornton-le-Dale in Yorkshire and a group of unnamed 'Scottish examples' (1961, 29), all of which were poorly dated, not least the former, which was apparently found on the edge of a stream. An early iron brooch with apparently plain, bulbous terminals was found during excavations at Cadbury Castle in a certain Iron Age context dated c.300-200 BC (Olivier 1993, 42) but because it is so corroded this identification is far from certain. Other than this there is still no reliable evidence to confirm that the form with simple knob terminals developed any earlier than the others and data shown in appendix 3.3 suggest that they were in fact in use for the same period of time as the other variants. Type A brooches with decorated knobs are now known also from early contexts, as Fowler herself recognised. An example with a single collar behind plain round terminals was discovered during excavations at Maiden Castle '...in a layer of rampart 5' (Wheeler 1943, fig.86, no.2), which lies within Sharples' (1991) Phase 6F, dated to the second century BC with additions in the late second/early first century BC (Phase 6G). As noted above, the discovery of the Grandcourt Farm assemblage may also offer evidence of early brooches with knob and collar, and grooved-disk terminals.

Despite these few early examples Type A was clearly not common in the Iron Age compared to Type Aa. The majority of brooches date to after the Conquest, with a particularly large concentration around the late first/early second century AD, before becoming less frequent in contexts dating up to the mid second century AD. After this point there is a drop off in numbers, before a slight increase again in the late third and fourth centuries. None appear in certain fifth century contexts, but a small group from sixth and seventh century contexts represent finds from early medieval graves.

The first century AD examples mostly come from Roman military sites and towns. Potentially the earliest two come from South-West Britain, from the fort at Waddon Hill in Dorset dated by Mackreth to c.50-60/56 (Webster 1979, fig.25, no.12; Mackreth cat. no.3388) and from the 'massacre deposit' at Cadbury Castle hillfort, which appears to date to the middle decades of the first century (Olivier 1993). The largest group was found at Castleford with the earliest of these dating to between AD 72-76 (Cool 1998b). According to Hull (cat no.2180) an example was found during excavations in Leicester

in a context dating to between AD 75-80, but as he offers few further details this date is far from secure. An example from Balcerne Lane, Colchester, was found in the fill of a town ditch dating to AD c.75/80-c.80/85 (Crummy 1983b, 18, no.95). Another was found in a slag pit inside the southern rampart of the fort at Castle Hill, East Bridgford in Nottinghamshire in a context of Vespasianic date, although this is undoubtedly now in need of revision (Oswald 1941, pl. 6, no.6). Finally one was found in the first period levels at Fishbourne villa, West Sussex, dating to AD 43-75 (Cunliffe 1971, fig. 40, no. 46).

Brooches deposited during the mid-first century AD tend to be poorly identified or have rare terminal designs (appendix 3.3). The majority of the uncommon terminal types appear in late first/early second century or later contexts, with the exception of the type with flattened, grooved terminals, which only begin to appear in any numbers during the first half of the second century AD. Overall each of the terminal forms likely circulated for a similar period of time.

On the one hand, variation within hoop diameter and pin form does not appear to be strongly linked to chronology. This is particularly true of pin form. On the other hand hoop diameter does decrease slightly in size over time. It is clear that all but one of the brooches with hoop diameters of 31mm or greater are found in first century AD or earlier contexts and the largest brooch of all the dated examples, measuring 42mm, also happens to be the earliest one from Cadbury Castle. By contrast all of the smallest brooches date to the first century AD or later and there are no brooches larger than 35mm from this period.

4.4 Types that developed during the first century AD

4.4.1 Type C

4.4.1.1 Distribution and site types

Type C is confined almost exclusively to the south, South-West and east of England (fig.4,15). One from Eldbottle, East Lothian, two from Hadrian's Wall, three from Wroxeter and one from Meols, Cheshire, are the only outliers. Sites that have produced

particularly large numbers are concentrated in North Lincolnshire and the north coast of Kent. Elsewhere findspots are fairly evenly dispersed.

The greatest number comes from Roman towns, most with military origins (fig.4.15). Very few are from exclusively military sites, however. A large number have also been found on smaller rural settlements, most of which have multiple phases of occupation. Almost all of those from ‘oppida’ come from Sheepen, Essex and Bagendon, Gloucestershire. Mortuary sites are the second most common type of site and the majority of these are early medieval burials, but there are also two from Phase 1 pre-Conquest burials at King Harry Lane, Verulamium (Stead 1989, 98, no.Z1&Z5). Mackreth (2011, 246) has recently re-dated this phase to 15 BC- AD 30 on the basis of the wider brooch assemblage.

4.4.1.2 Terminal form

Analysis of the terminal form focused on whether the coil consisted of single or multiple loops. The largest group comprises those with single coils, perhaps because they are the simplest to make. In addition a small number (most of which are from Richborough) had some decoration, usually in the form of grooving, on the terminals. Appendix 2.16 shows the distribution of each terminal type. There is little variation between the patterns suggesting that terminal design has little bearing on distribution. A slightly higher number of brooches with simple, single coil terminals come from mortuary contexts, most of which are early medieval graves, therefore suggesting some chronological variation.

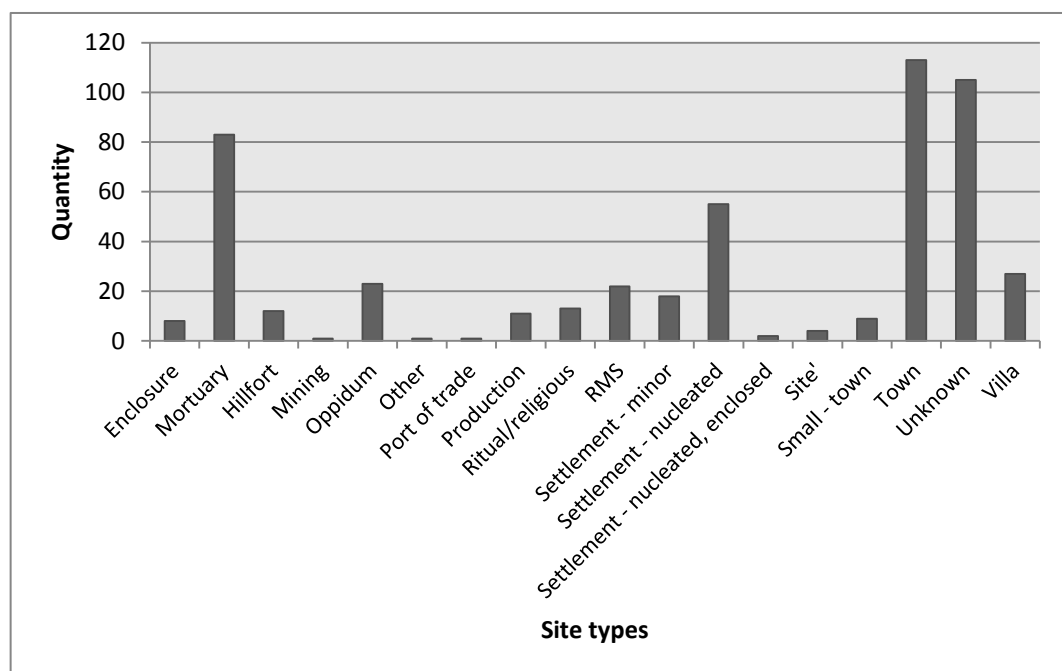
4.4.1.3 Hoop form

Size

Type C can be divided into two groups according to hoop size (appendix 2.17). The largest brooches, which lie within diameter group nine, are found only in South-West Britain. Groups six, seven and eight are concentrated in the South-West and become more dispersed in a north-easterly direction as hoop size decreases. The smallest brooches, however, are almost entirely confined to South-East and eastern Britain. None are found further north than Castleford and only three are found outside this region in the west. Three very large brooches have a dispersed distribution that does not seem to relate to these patterns.



Figure 4.15. Type C quantities and site types



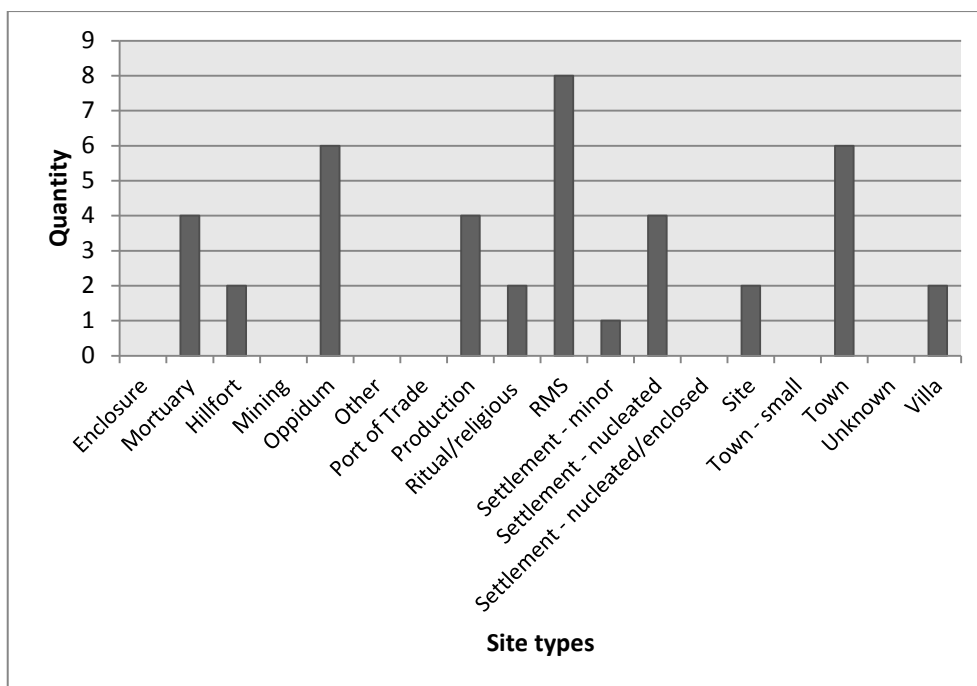


Figure 4.16. Type C brooches from first and second century AD sites

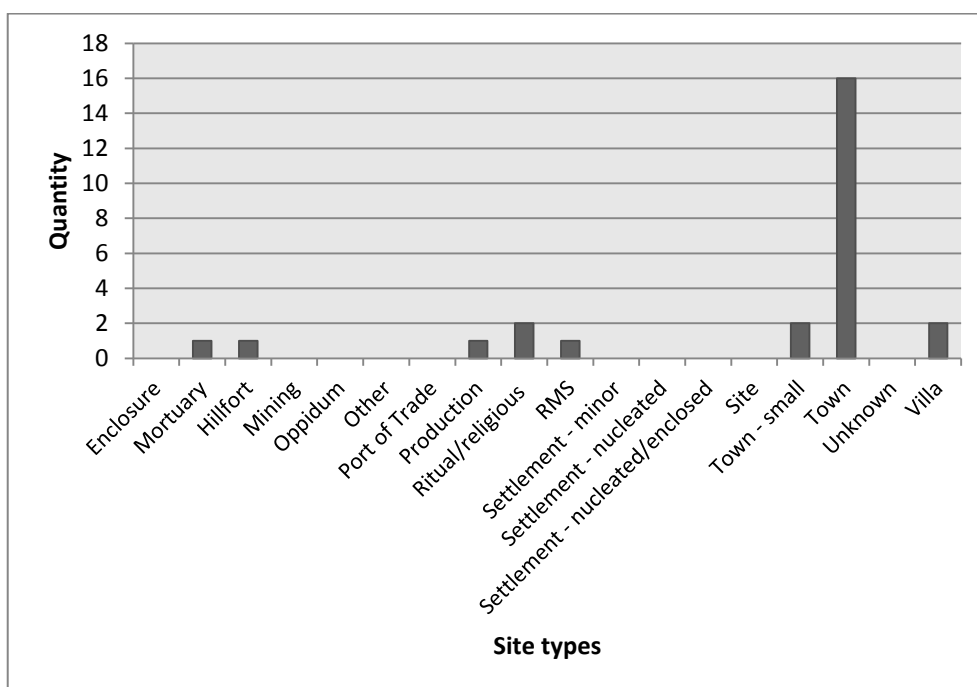


Figure 4.17. Type C brooches from third and fourth century AD sites

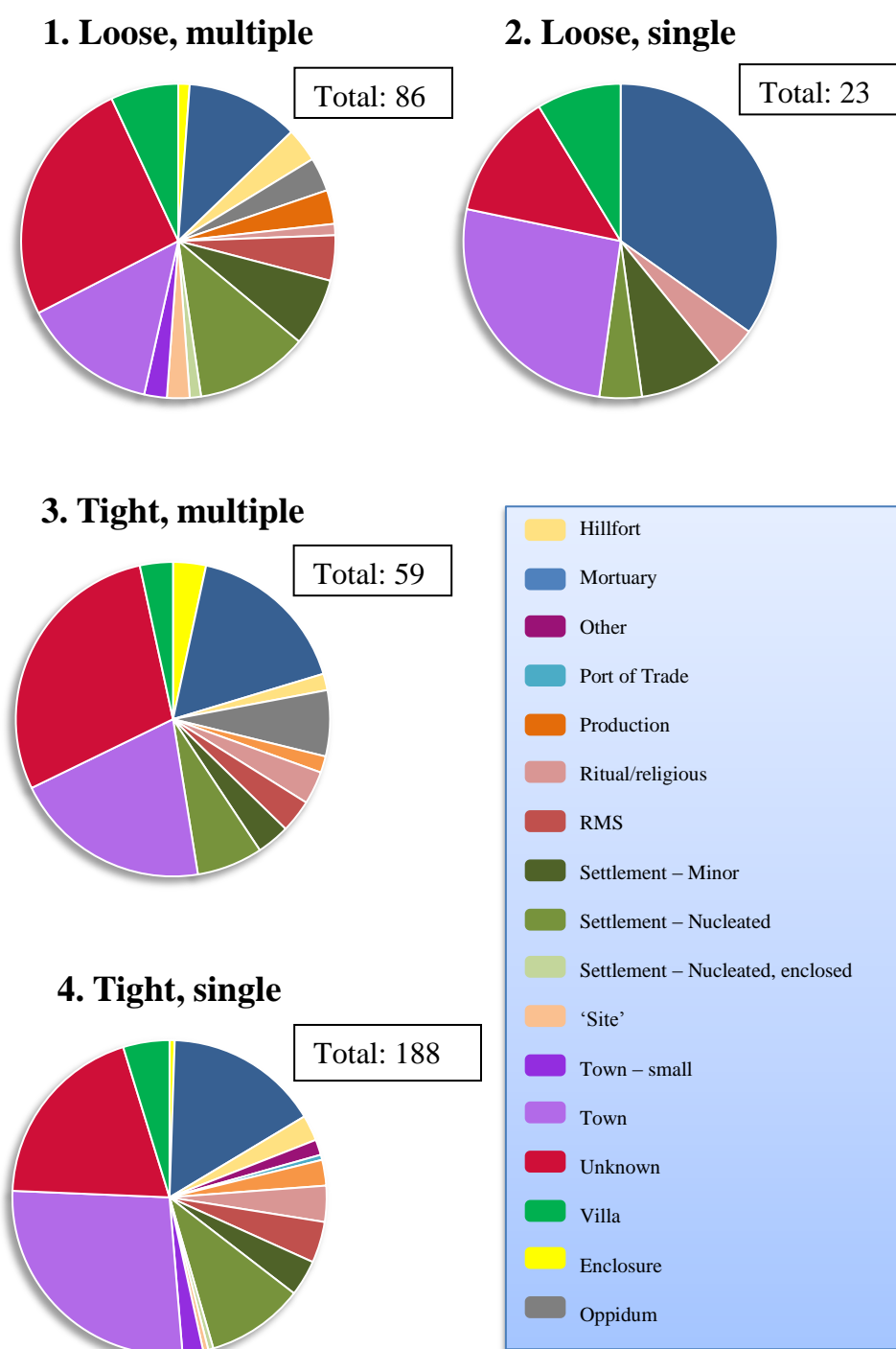


Figure 4.18. Percentages of each Type C terminal form from each site category

Hoop section and decoration

		Decoration					
		No decoration	Moulding	Grooved	2 x grooves	3x grooves	4x grooves
Section	Cross	2					
	D-shaped	1		1			
	Lozenge	29	2				
	Oval	7	5		1		
	Rectangular/ flattened	47	54	1		2	2
	Square	3	1				
	Circular	310	13	19	2	4	4

Table 4.1. Type C hoop section and decoration combinations

A total of 31.1% have hoops of non-circular section and 43.7% of these are decorated compared to only 11.9% of those with circular-sectioned hoops. This decoration includes diverse combinations of moulding and grooving, all of which are considered together as a single category for simplicity. Those with non-circular sectioned hoops are most likely to be decorated with moulding and less often with grooving (table 4.1). Grooving is rare overall, but is more often found on brooches with circular sectioned hoops. This is probably due to the practicalities of applying these different forms of decoration; flattened hoops offer more space for moulding than other styles.

Both hoop decoration and section also appear to show strong regional variation (appendix 2.19&20). On occasion the two seem to interact. For example, moulded decoration is strongly concentrated in eastern Britain, principally East Anglia, but this is particularly true of brooches with circular sectioned hoops, whereas those with other sections and moulded decoration tend to have slightly wider distributions. In some regions one form of decoration appears to have been chosen in preference to the others. In the Midlands, for example, there are few brooches with moulded decoration and grooving predominates instead.

4.4.1.4 Pin form

Where the pin form could be identified 80.9% were pins, 14.8% curved and only 4.3%, humped. The majority of brooches with humped pins are found in the Yorkshire/North Lincolnshire region (appendix 2.18), again corresponding with broader patterns. Brooches with straight pins naturally have the widest distribution and the distribution of those with curved pins overlaps both groups.

4.4.1.5 Chronology

Chronologically there are three groups of Type C. The first spans the first and early second century AD, with a particular concentration around the middle decades of the first century. There is then a gap with a second group covering the late third to early fifth century, while the third group appears at the start of the sixth century and continues until the seventh century. This second gap is likely to be an artificial one created by the well-known problems of dating fifth century material and the second and third groups may well represent continuous use throughout this period.

The type was already popular by the time of the Conquest. Two certainly and two possibly pre-Conquest brooches were found at King Harry Lane (Stead 1989, 98, no.Z1, 3, 4, 5) and two more at Prae wood, Verulamium, in a context dated to AD c.5-35 (Wheeler and Wheeler 1936, fig. 24, 3 & 4). Potentially pre-Conquest examples have also been discovered at Sheepen (Colchester Museum cat no.30/26; Hull and Hawkes 1947, no ref); West Stow (West 1990, fig.53, no.166); West Hill, Uley (Butcher with Bayley 1993, fig.125, no.8); Maiden Castle (Wheeler 1943, fig. 86, 6), and there are two from Weekley, Northamptonshire (Jackson and Dix 1987, M77, fig.23, 17), although some could be slightly later. Together this comprises a variety of site types located across southern Britain. There is no particular bias towards 'Belgic' sites as Fowler suggested.

Brooch form and chronology

In a note on the Colchester penannulars Fowler (1983, 18-19) suggested that Type C brooches with flat sectioned and decorated hoops were often found in third century AD or later contexts both on the continent and in Britain and so may have been a new development of that period. Earlier, Galliou (1977), in the discussion of a penannular of this type found in a multiple burial at Sables d'Or les Pins, Fréhel, Côtes-d'Armor

suggested that they occurred across a wide area of the continent between the third and sixth century and particularly during the fourth century. Drawing on this Fowler (1983, 19) proposed that the British examples many therefore have had continental origins, spreading to Britain in the late Roman period and perhaps brought by migrants.

There is little chronological distinction between those with standard hoops and those with decoration or unusual sections. Data in appendix 3.4 suggest that hoops with moulded decoration are evenly distributed across the extent of the Type C chronological range, but that those with continuous grooving are restricted to the second chronological group. The latter are limited in number, however, and so this observation may not be particularly significant. When the proportions of brooches with non-typical hoops are compared at different points across the type's chronological range, however, it becomes clear that the quantity with non-typical hoops increases in the third and fourth centuries before dropping again slightly in the post-Roman period (fig.4.19). Evidently Type Cs with decorated and non-circular sectioned hoops were not a new development of the late Roman period onwards as Fowler suggested, but their numbers increase substantially during this period. This is reinforced by the observation that the form with the flat hoop is found elsewhere in Europe during the late Iron Age (Simpson 1979; Tuitjer 1986).

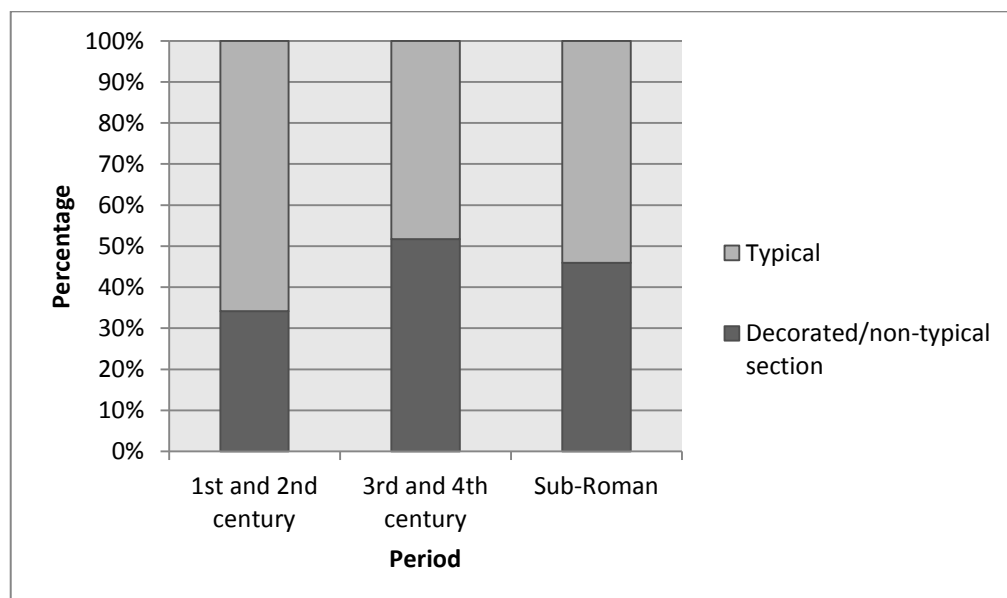


Figure 4.19. The relative proportions of brooches with typical and non-typical hoops at different points in the Type C chronological range

Terminal form does appear to be subject to strong chronological variation despite the fact that it has little influence upon distribution. Appendix 3.4 shows that brooches with multiple tight coils comprise the highest percentage of the first chronological group, whereas those with loose single coils the highest percentage of the latter two groups (further reinforcing the link between them). Brooches with single, tight coils are also most likely to belong to the first group, although a small number are found at the very end of the overall chronology. Those with single, loose coils are spread more evenly throughout the whole chronology, but do not appear in the final group. The two most chronologically significant terminal forms are therefore the two that are also most common – multiple tight coils and loose single coils.

4.4.2 Type C/D

Nine brooches of a type not recognised by Fowler have been recorded during the course of this study. Typologically these appear to a hybrid of Types C and D. The terminals are bent back at a right-angle to the hoop, then curve back on themselves into a small coil. All have simple, plain hoops and all but one have straight pins. They are only found in Eastern and South-Eastern England (appendix 2.21), suggesting that they are most closely related to Type C. Only one example is dated, from the Roman settlement at Hacheston, in a late third to fourth century context (Plouviez 2004, 107, fig.70, no.208).

4.4.3 Type D

4.4.3.1 Distribution and site types

Type D is highly concentrated in South-West Britain with lower numbers scattered across much of the rest of Britain (fig.4.21). A small cluster is located in north Lincolnshire and there are some sites outside the primary concentration that have produced large numbers, such as Richborough (8 brooches) and Wroxeter (26 brooches). To the north of Hadrian's Wall their presence becomes very limited, but a single example was found at Covesea, Morayshire (NMS cat. no. H.M.76.1931.941). In the South-West the majority are found in Somerset, Dorset, Wiltshire and the Severn basin, with a scatter to the west of the Somerset/Devon border.

The greatest number come from Roman towns (fig.4.21), followed by villas, hillforts and then military sites. Only a relatively small number have been found on rural settlement sites, although more come from enclosed settlements than any other form, perhaps representing the nature of settlement in the South-West. Just over half of those from enclosed, nucleated settlements are from Iron Age sites or phases. All of those from enclosed minor settlements are from Roman phases or their date is unknown. A significant number also come from mortuary and ritual/religious sites. The majority of the former are from Anglo-Saxon graves and the majority of the latter are from Roman temples and shrines.

4.4.3.2 Terminal design

Type D terminal decoration is fairly standardised when compared to Type A and can therefore be divided into a typical range of sub-types. These follow Fowler's to a certain extent, but there is some deviation where they were unclear or additions were required (fig.4.20):

D – Plain

D1 – Slight transverse grooves. These are distinguished from *D4* and *D5* because they are not deep enough to create pronounced ridge

D2 – Sides curve inwards, usually with one or more transverse grooves at each end

D2i – The more developed zoomorphic version, with upwards tilted 'snout'

D3 – Incised saltire

D4 – Ends bulbous and rounded. Sometimes 'S' shaped in profile. Tip usually tilted upwards.

D5 – Three transverse ridges. The end is sometimes tilted upwards slightly, giving impression of animal head when viewed in profile.

D6 – any with more than three transverse ridges.

D7 – Each end rounded & decorated, with hollow in the middle of the upper face.

D7i – Small, simple, with a single transverse groove across the middle (this looks like an attempt to create a basic, simplified version of the standard *D7* design).

D8 – Large, well-rounded terminals, with diagonal grooving on each end. Coiled wire pin and additional piece of wire often wrapped around.

D9 – Miscellaneous

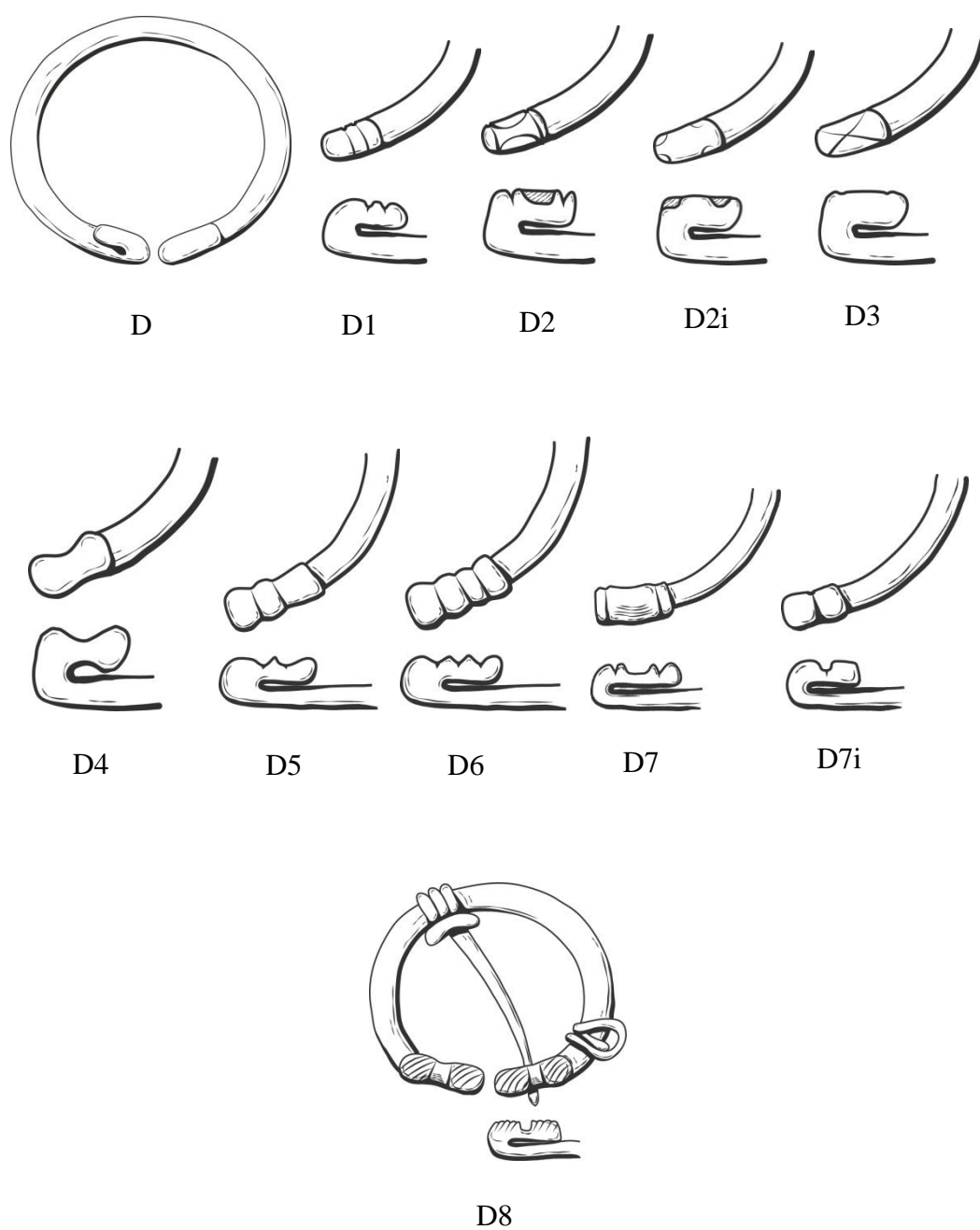


Figure 4.20. Type D terminal variants (not to scale).

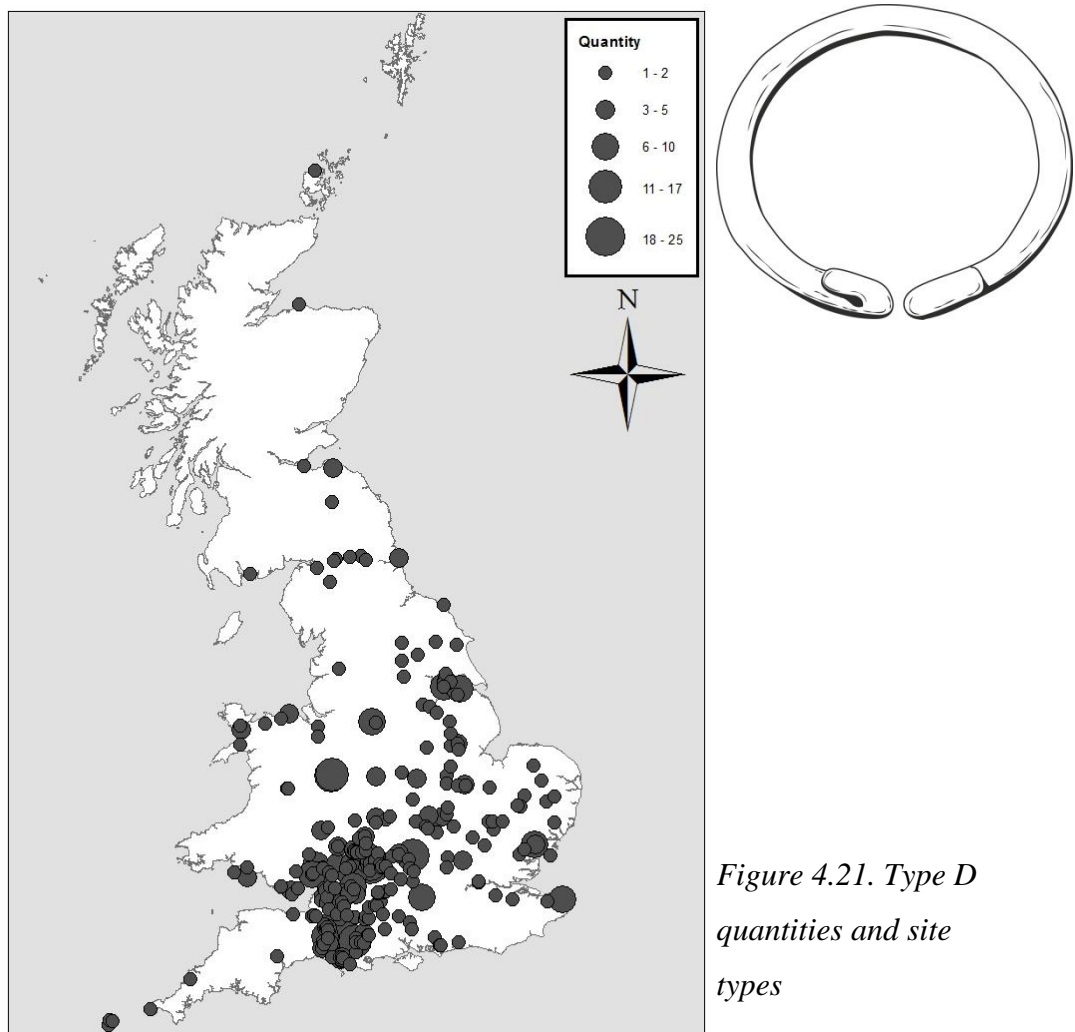
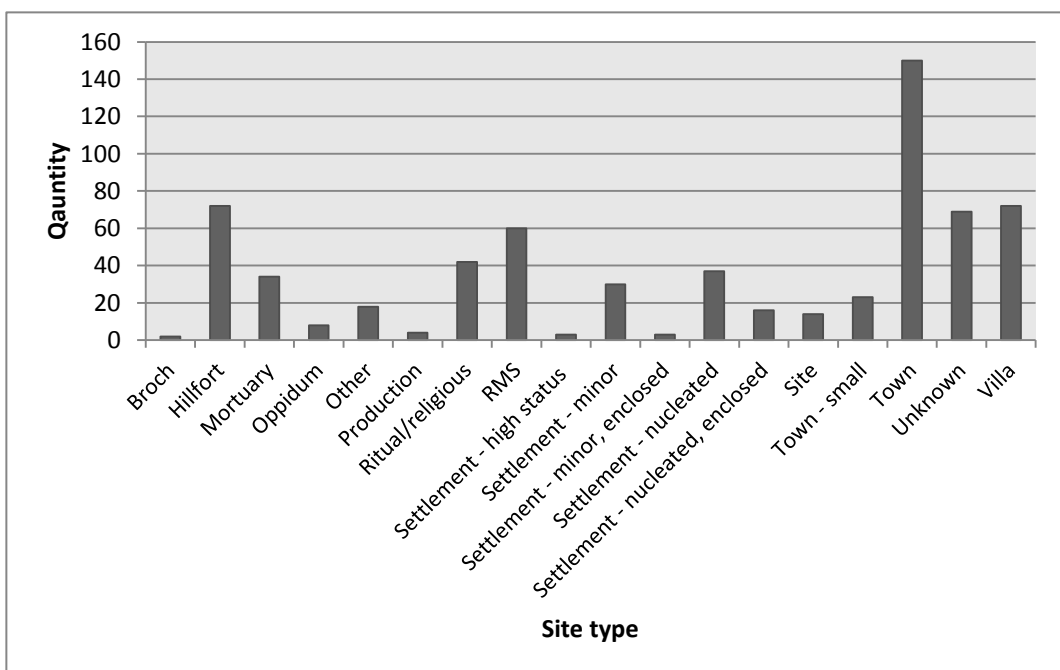


Figure 4.21. Type D quantities and site types



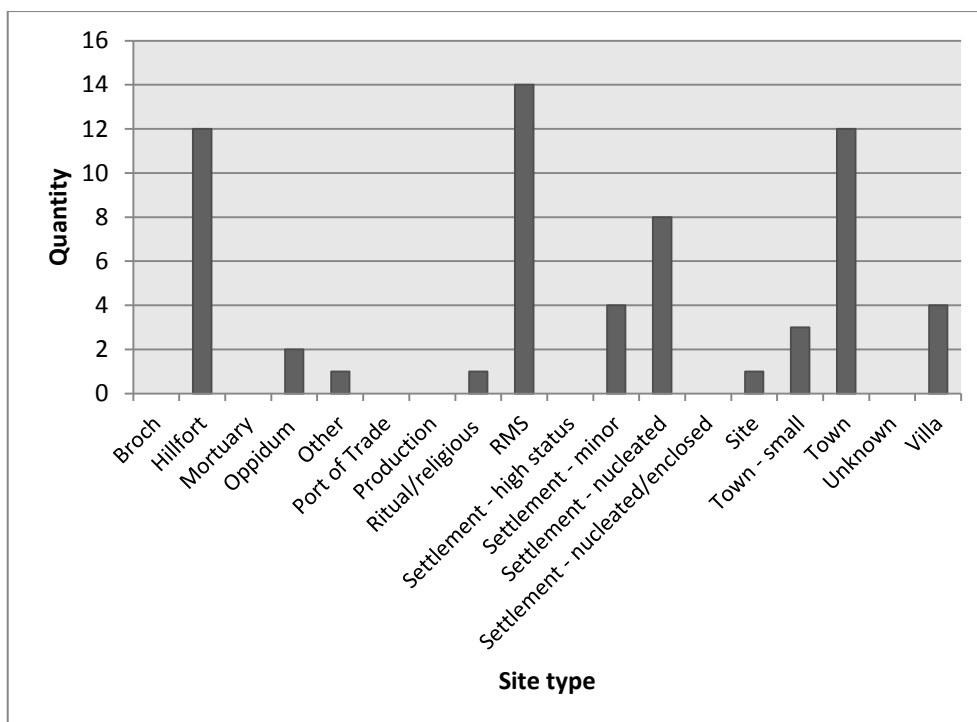


Figure 4.22. Type D brooches from first and second century AD sites

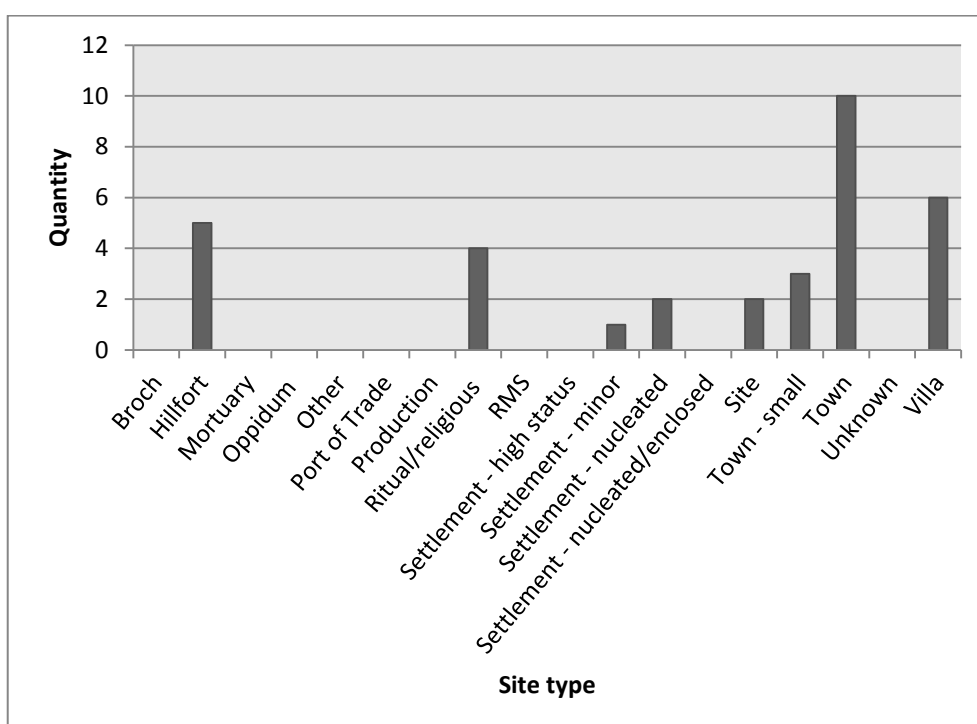


Figure 4.23. Type D brooches from third and fourth century AD sites

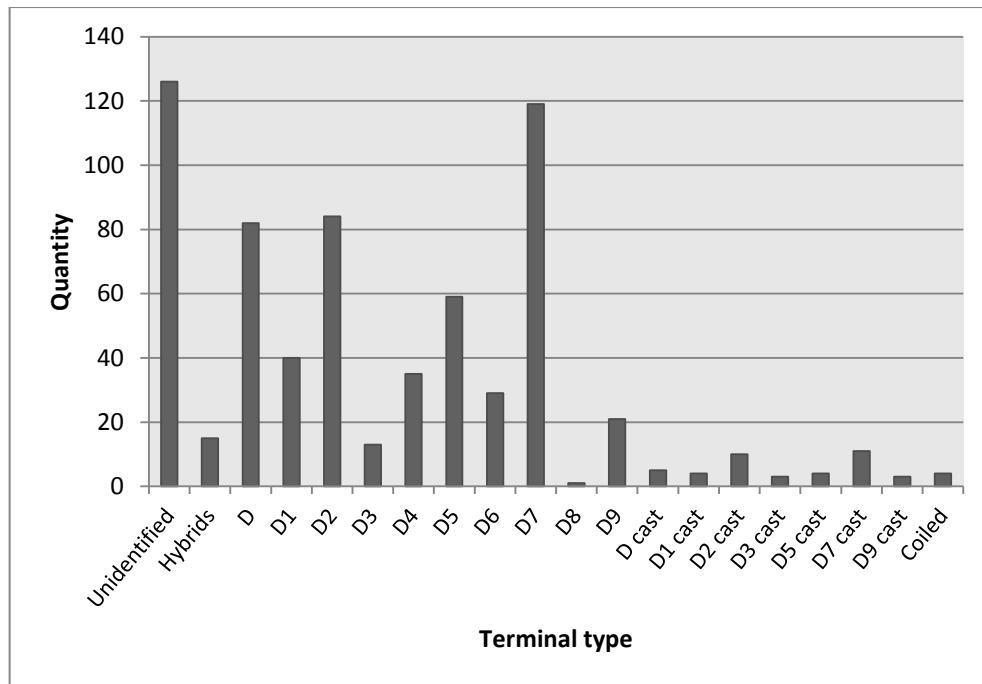


Figure 4.24. Quantity of each Type D terminal form

All terminal designs, whether reflexed (turned back on itself), cast or coiled, have remarkably similar distributions centred on South-West Britain. Whether the terminal is cast or reflexed appears to have less influence upon distribution than terminal decoration. The variants with slight zoomorphic tendencies, Types D2i and D7ii, are strongly concentrated in the South-West, but this is probably because they only occur in small numbers (appendix 2.22). Similarly the distribution of the simple variant D7i fits in well with the general distribution of D7 suggesting that it is indeed related. There are only four brooches with coiled terminals, two D1s, one D3 and one with decoration that could not be identified. These numbers are too small to make any detailed judgements about their distribution or whether they do indeed represent a hybridisation of Type C and D, but there is nothing to suggest that they deviate significantly from the general distribution pattern (appendix 2.23).

The miscellaneous brooches within group D9 are decorated with a wide variety of motifs. Some, such as an example from Richborough decorated with incised 'S' shaped lines alternating with dots, are purely abstract (Bayley and Butcher 2004, fig.103, no.425). Others, like an example decorated with notches to produce 'ears' from Cadbury Castle (Olivier 2000, 44), are more zoomorphic in style, but lack the full range

of zoomorphic features found on the later Type E and F brooches. Types D2i and D7ii with their upwards tilted ‘snouts’ can perhaps be viewed, following Kilbride-Jones, as an ‘initial type’ that later led to the development of the fully zoomorphic forms.

4.4.3.3 Terminal design and site type

All of the Type D terminal forms are found across a wide range of site types in variable proportions (fig.4.25). Roman towns have produced the most Type D overall, but although every style of terminal are found in towns, their numbers are highly variable. The most common site types have all produced the full range of sub-types except hillforts, which have produced no D6. A large percentage of D2, D4, D7 and particularly D1 have been found on rural settlement sites, whereas the other types are found only in low numbers or not at all.

4.4.3.4 Hoop form

Hoop size

The size of the hoop does not appear to play a significant role in the distribution of Type D. Some variation may be observed in the distributions of the various diameter groups, but this is limited. In general all groups follow the overall Type D distribution pattern – a dense concentration in the South-West with sparse scatterings across most of the rest of Britain. Both the smallest and the largest brooches appear to be almost exclusively confined to the South-West, although there is a single outlier of each group further north. Similarly there appears to be no variation in hoop size in relation to terminal form.

Hoop section and decoration

Type D and Type C hoops share many similarities. Type D are also typically round in cross-section and plain, but a smaller number of different styles are also found that are comparable to the Type C brooches (table 4.2). Again the rectangular/flattened hoop section is the most common of these and most have some moulded decoration. Grooving, both complete and partial, is also found on a small proportion of brooches with every type of cross-section apart from brooches with D-sectioned hoops, but is most common on brooches with circular cross-sections.

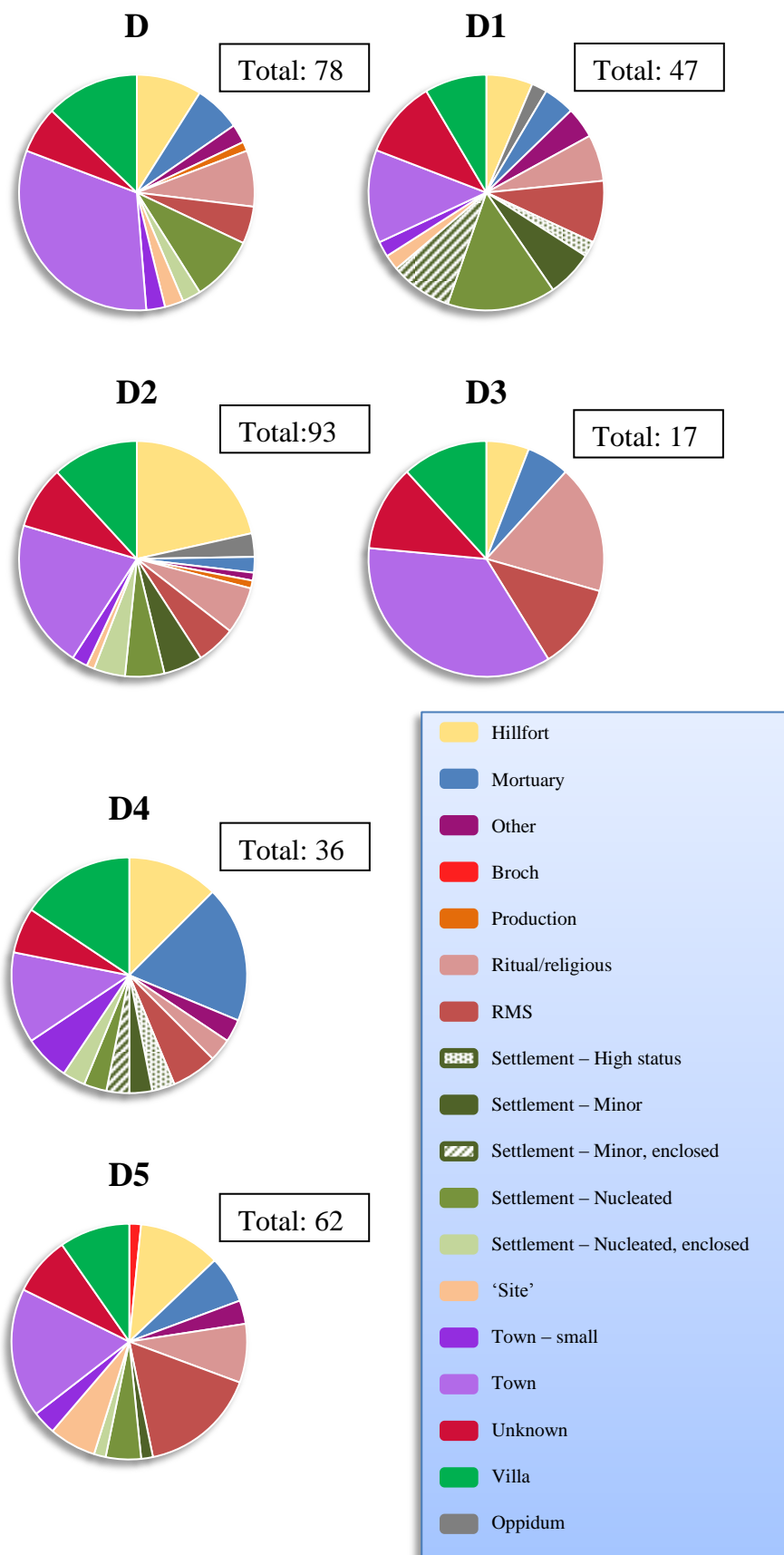


Figure 4.25. Percentages of each Type D terminal form from each site category

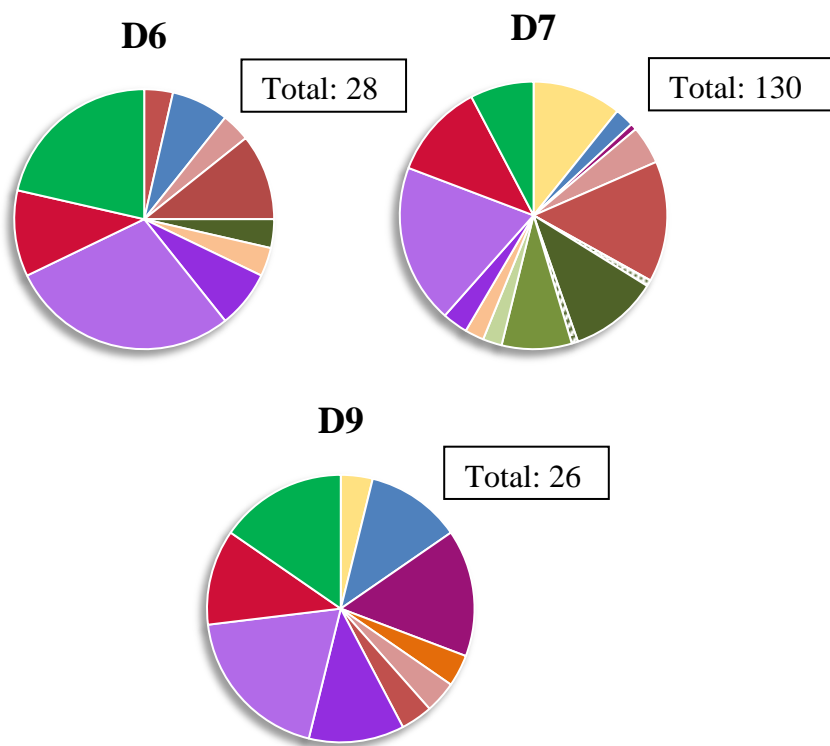


Figure 4.25 (cont.). Percentages of each Type D terminal form from each site category

		Decoration					
		No decoration	Moulding	Grooved	Grooves x2	Grooves x3	Grooves x4
Section	D-shaped	1	2				
	Lozenge	10	9	1			
	Oval	4	5	1			
	Rectangular/flattened	16	30	4	4	2	2
	Square	1	1		1		
	Circular	510	5	26	5	2	6

Table 4.2. Type D hoop section and decoration

Brooches with square and D-sectioned hoops are too few in number to draw any detailed conclusions about their distribution. Brooches with oval-sectioned hoops are exclusively found in the South-West apart from a single outlier in North Wales and those with lozenge-sectioned hoops are also strongly concentrated here, although there is a small group of these in eastern Britain (appendix 2.26). Brooches with rectangular sectioned hoops have a much wider distribution that follows the overall Type D pattern. Brooches with completely grooved or moulded hoops are concentrated in the South-West, but those with partially grooved hoops are more widely distributed across the Midlands (appendix 2.25).

Comparing Type C and D hoops

There does appear to be an indirect relationship between the Type C and D brooches with similar hoop sections and/or decoration (appendix 2.28 & 2.29). Type C and D brooches with moulded decoration, continuous grooving and oval sections are all highly concentrated in the core zones for each brooch type – eastern England for Type C and the South-West for Type D – but there is a distinct gap in the central Midlands where almost none are found. Brooches with lozenge-sectioned hoops appear to follow a similar pattern, although each type also often occurs in the other region, and yet the gap in the middle still remains. This gap is not always present, however. As noted above, Type D brooches with-oval sectioned hoops are restricted to the South-West, but Type C brooches with oval-sectioned hoops are found across a much wider area that extends across the central Midlands and into this region, whereas brooches of both types with rectangular-sectioned hoops have very widespread distributions that overlap with one another considerably even if they do not entirely correlate. Finally brooches of both types with multiple bands of grooving are found scattered across the Midlands and display only a limited degree of east/west bias. It is clear then that terminal form is typically of more significance than hoop design, but there are a few exceptions to this.

The relationship between hoop and terminal form

Hoop section and decoration appears to be related to terminal form (fig.4.26&27). Less than 10% of D4, D5 and D6 have non-circular-sectioned hoops or are decorated, whereas the other forms are all much more likely to have these features. A particularly high percentage of D3 brooches have rectangular hoops with moulded decoration. A considerable number of D2 brooches are also decorated, but with a wider range of

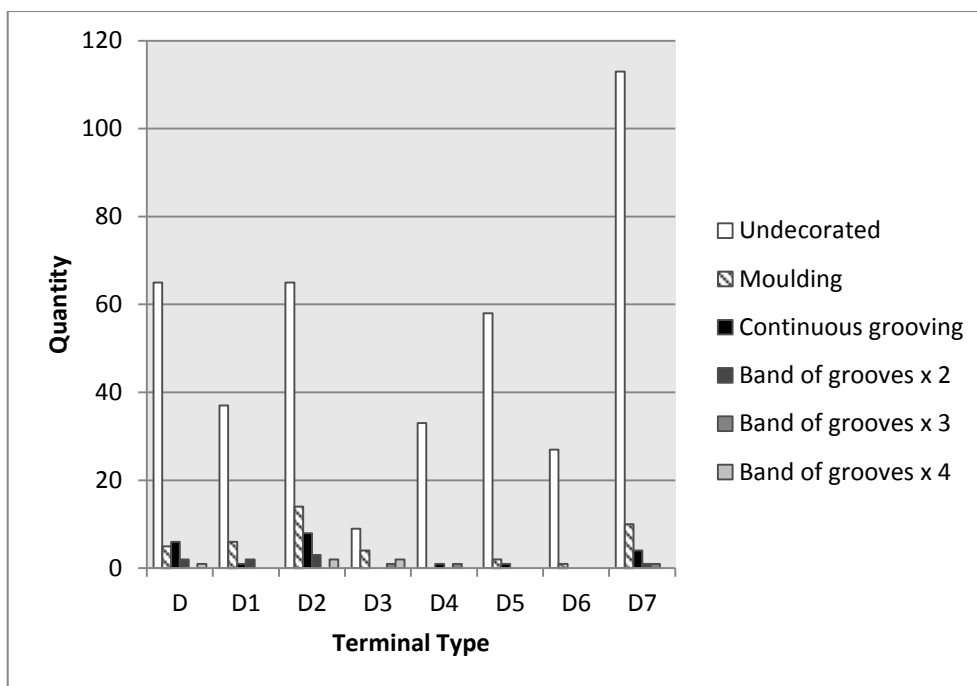


Figure 4.26. Type D hoop section according to terminal form

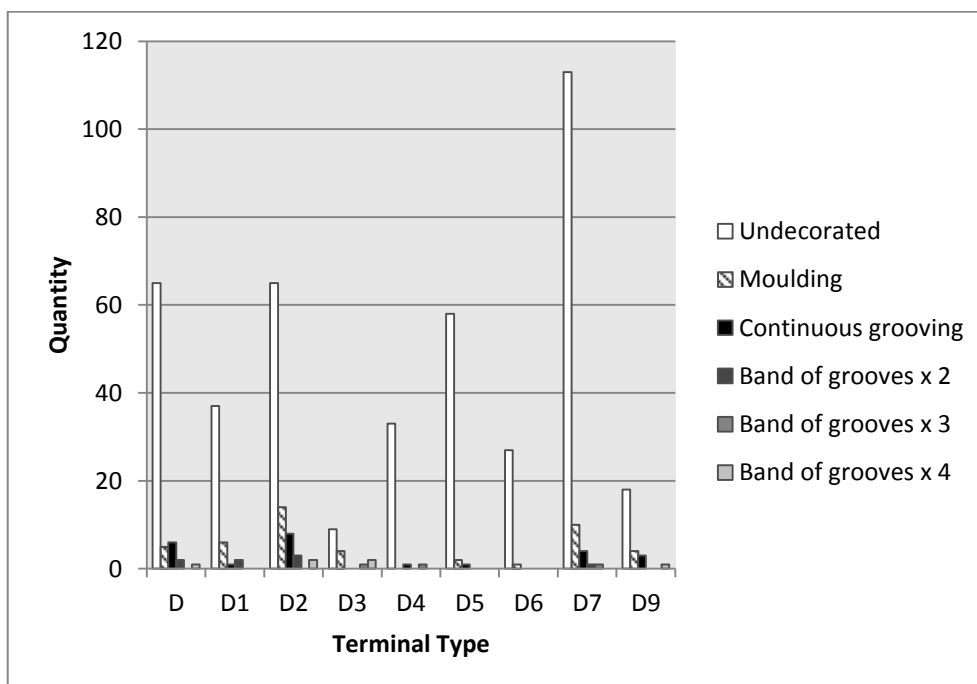


Figure 4.27. Type D hoop decoration according to terminal form

designs and this is the only form besides D1 to be found with the full range of different cross-sections. It is possible that some terminal forms may have been associated with non-standard hoops, but that the specific design of the hoop was not fixed and open to experimentation. Unfortunately there are too few decorated hoops to test this idea fully, but it certainly appears to be true of Type D2, which tend to have atypical hoops. All D2 brooches with oval sectioned hoops are found in the South-West – in Somerset, Dorset and Gloucestershire – whereas most of those with rectangular sectioned hoops are found on the periphery of this region or elsewhere in Britain. On the other hand hoop decoration appears to be more random.

4.4.3.5 Pin form

74% of Type D have straight pins, 22.4% curved and only 3.5% humped. These proportions are similar to Type C, although there are slightly more are curved. In contrast to Type C and Type A, the Type D brooches with humped pins are concentrated in the South-West rather than the north-east with an additional small number scattered across much of the rest of Britain. Brooches with straight pins are also highly concentrated in the South-West, however, as are those with curved pins although the latter have a slightly wider distribution (appendix 2.27). This probably reflects the type's broad distribution more than anything else.

4.4.3.6 Chronology

Overview

Type D, like Type C, clearly became popular during the first half of the first century AD (appendix 3.5). None are definitely from earlier contexts, although single brooches from North Perrott, Somerset and Poundbury, Dorset were found in contexts that could go back to the first century BC, but they seem more likely to be contemporary with the other early penannulars from the site. The earliest examples that can be securely dated come from Bagendon, dated AD c.30-40, (Clifford 1961, fig.36.11) and from Sheepen, Colchester, in a pit dated AD c.10-43 (Hawkes and Hull 1947, fig. 59, 6). Possible pre-Conquest examples have also been found at Maiden Castle, dated AD 25-70 (Wheeler 1943, fig.86, 8) and at Dragonby, dated up to and including the Conquest (Olivier 1996, fig.11.12, no.152). Fowler (1960, 176) suggested that the brooch from Wandlebury, Cambridgeshire was possibly of a late first century BC to early first century AD date.

A significant group have been found in deposits attributed to the mid first century AD, the majority of which are of post-Conquest date. The type seems to have reached the heights of its popularity during this period, but continued to be deposited in relatively consistent numbers throughout the following three centuries. There is not the same decline in numbers around the late second and early third century that may be observed in Type C. There is, however, a significant break during the fifth century followed by the reappearance of the type in the sixth century. Again this is probably partially due to the problems associated with dating material from this period.

Brooch form and chronology

The design of the terminals appears to have only limited chronological significance. The majority of types are found across the extent of the type's chronology with just a little variation towards its later end (appendix 3.5). From the late fifth century AD only Types D and D1 and occasionally D6 and D9 occur.

All forms were in use from the first century AD, but relative proportions shifted over time. The plain Type D was popular at three separate points, the first and fourth centuries AD and the post-Roman period. As with certain other types, it is possible that its rise in popularity in the late Roman period led to its continued use in the post-Roman period. In contrast, during the second and third centuries AD, Types D5 and D6 rose in popularity to become the most common forms. Both forms emerged in the first century AD, but D5 quickly became the most common before being overtaken in numbers by D6 during the fourth century AD.

Analysis of hoop section and decoration presents a contrasting picture. There is a significant chronological gap in the third century AD. Brooches with grooved decoration, although limited in number, are found across the Type D chronology, but brooches with moulded decoration are largely restricted to the first, second and fourth centuries AD. The same is true of brooches with rectangular sections, whereas brooches with other atypical hoop sections are found throughout the Roman period. There is, as discussed above, a considerable overlap between brooches with rectangular sections and moulded decoration, but it is also clear that this pattern applies to brooches that also possess one of these features independently of the other. The brooches, whether they have moulded decoration, rectangular sectioned hoops, or both, appear to be equally likely to belong to either the early or late group.

4.4.4 Type D7

Fowler (1963, 146) identified a final sub-group of Type D with ‘castellated’ terminals, which comprised just four brooches and one mould from Britain and two brooches from Ireland. She argued for a post-Roman date on the basis of the discovery of a mould at Dunadd, Argyll, which Laing (1993, 17) dates to the eighth century or later, and a similar brooch from Ballycatteen, Co. Cork, which Laing suggests may be seventh or more likely eighth century (*ibid.*). There is, however, little evidence to suggest that the three others brooches she listed from Britain, from Woodcuts, Dorset; Colchester and Richborough are directly connected with these in any way. Together they have a very different distribution, are found in contexts of unknown date and at sites with Roman phases of occupation where Type D are known to have been in use, and so there is no reason to suppose that they are anything other than Type D brooches with unusually precise, broad grooving on their terminals. Fowler suggested that the brooches from Woodcuts and Colchester have terminals ‘flattened upwards’ (Fowler 1963, 146) and, although this seems to be true of neither brooch, this later became the defining feature of Snape’s (1992) Type D7, which does appear to be a distinct type and is here renamed Type M. The Dunadd mould and Ballycatteen brooch may indeed represent a single, late type of which only a very small number were ever produced, but they are not considered here as they appear to lie outside the date range covered by this study. Within the typology presented here Type D7 as Fowler defined it is therefore abandoned.

4.5 Other early Roman types

Several other forms appear to have developed or come into use in Britain from the mid-first century AD onwards. All appear in smaller numbers than the types discussed so far and so they are assessed here more concisely.

4.5.1 Type I

The type with grooved-disk terminals, formerly part of Fowler’s Type A4, shows few signs of a direct relationship with the other Type A penannulars. As such it is here reclassified Type I. As the discussion above indicates, this form was concentrated in

southern and particularly western Britain, is most commonly found on Roman town sites, and appears to have emerged in the mid-first century AD. Two penannulars with grooved-disk terminals date with certainty to this period, the one from the villa at Fishbourne, West Sussex (Cunliffe 1971, fig. 40, no. 46) and one from Cadbury Castle hillfort, Somerset (Olivier 1993, 42).

4.5.2 Type J

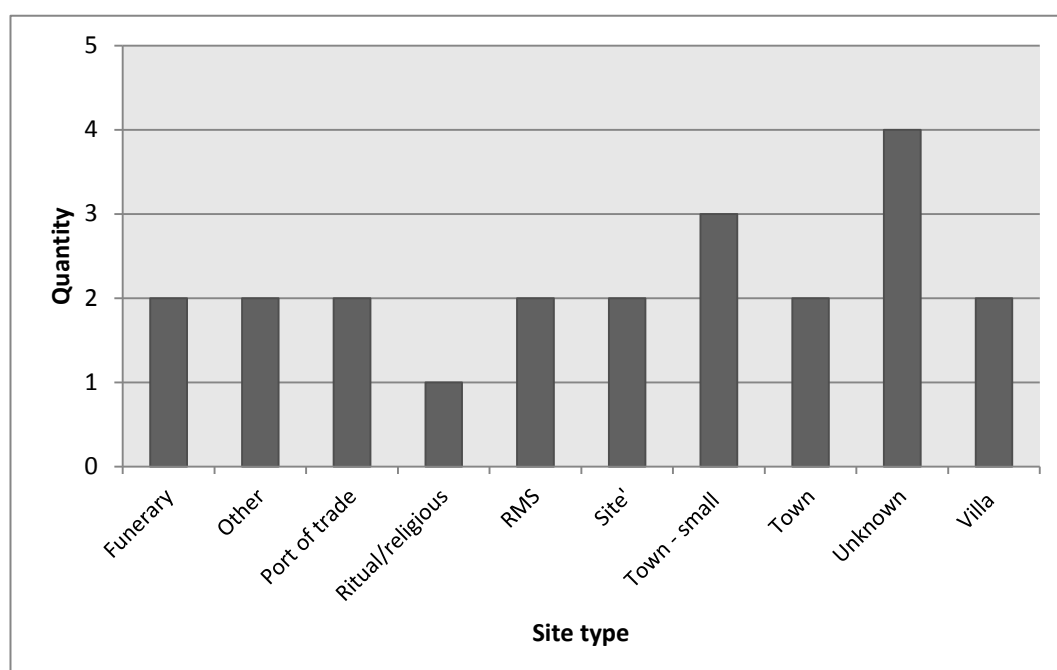
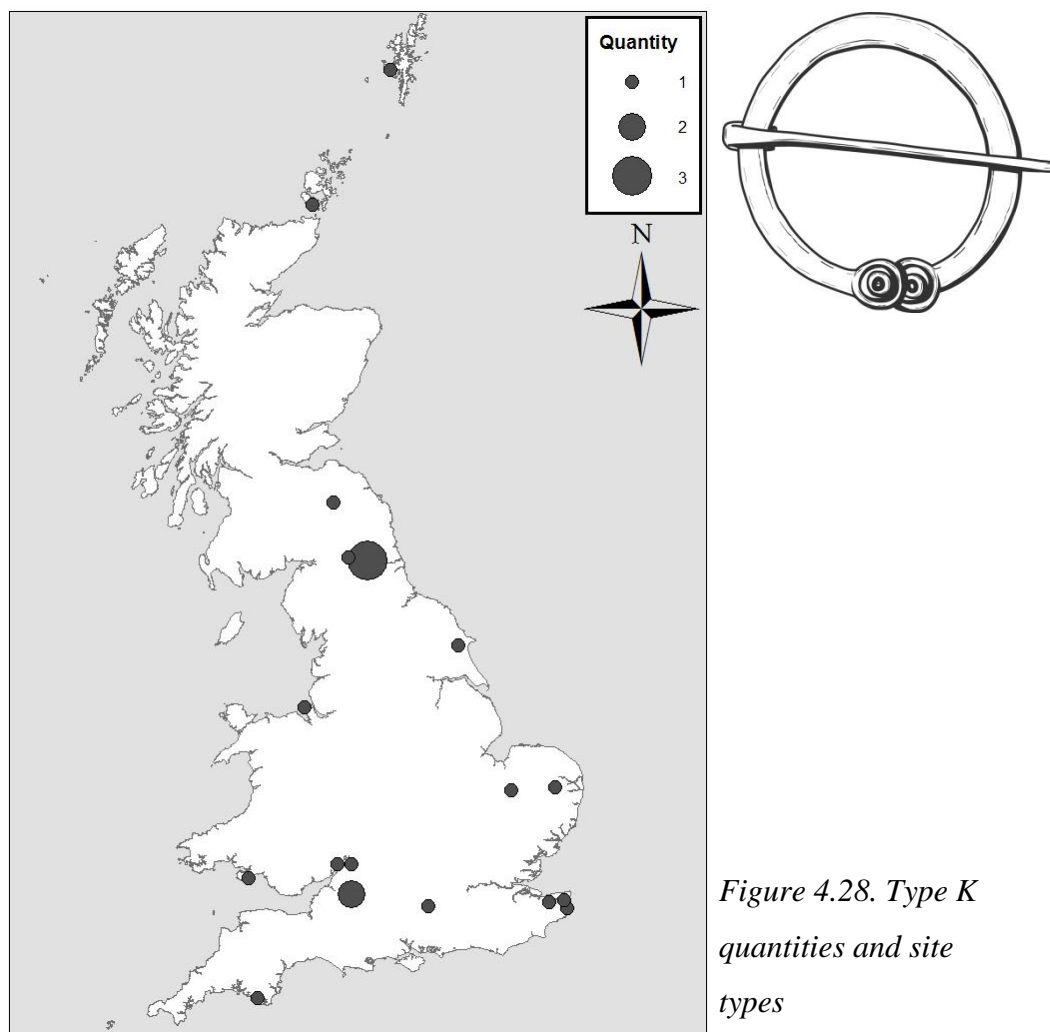
The form with conical terminals, formerly part of Fowler's Type A1, is limited in numbers, but again evidence suggests that it is not related to the other Type A brooches, and so it is reclassified Type J. This type appears to have been almost exclusively restricted to South-East England, where, like Type I, the highest number come from Roman town sites. An example was found at Richborough in a context dated to c.AD 288-400+ (Bayley and Butcher 2004, fig.104, no.431). Another came from the villa at Gestingthorpe, Essex, associated with a building that was very broadly dated from the first to fourth century AD (Butcher 1985, fig.8, no.12). Only a very broad Roman date can therefore be suggested.

4.5.3 Type K (Fowler's Type H2 and H3)

This type has flattened, circular terminals (H2), sometimes decorated with enamel (H3). Within Fowler's typology these are sub-types of Type H, but, as Laing has pointed out (1993, 18), they have a very different distribution and chronology. They are here reclassified as Type K.

4.5.3.1 Distribution and site types

Type K is found in almost every region of Britain, but there are no particular concentrations (fig.4.28). Only Corbridge, Northumberland has produced more than one example (Hull cat. nos. 5182, 5184 & 5076) and two were found in the Batheaton hoard (BM cat. nos. 1989,0601.17 & 1989,0601.18). The largest number come from Roman small towns, but they also occur at a range of other Roman sites including larger towns, military sites, villas and the temple site at Lydney (Hull cat. no.6720). Two come from coastal sites: one from the early medieval site at Bantham, Devon (Silvester 1981) and one from the multiple period site at Meols, Cheshire (Bu'lock 1961). One of two brooches from funerary contexts come from an Anglo-Saxon grave



at Morningthorpe, Norfolk (Green et al. 1987); the other was supposedly associated with late Iron Age and early Roman burials at Mill Hill, Kent (Parfitt 1995).⁵

4.5.3.2 Terminal form

Brooches with plain and decorated and/or enamelled terminals feature almost entirely distinct distributions (appendix 2.30). Plain terminals are found only in western and northern Britain, decorated terminals of all types in the south and east. The only exception is a single enamelled brooch from South Walls, Orkney (NMS cat. no.HD446). Fowler created three categories for her Type H, but those with decorated and enamelled terminals are grouped together here as K2 because they are too few in number for a difference in distribution to be discernible. The remainder, with plain terminals, become K1.

4.5.3.3 Hoop form

Only seven brooches have known hoop measurements. All hoops sit within diameter groups six to eight, apart from one much larger brooch from Newstead, Borders (Curle 1911, pl.88, 2). The hoop size does not appear to be significantly related to distribution except that the two smallest brooches are from southern Britain and the large one from the north. Most brooches are circular in section but one that is oval, one rectangular and two D-sectioned. There appears to be little relationship between hoop section and distribution or hoop section and terminal design: two brooches have grooved or semi-grooved hoops – one from Richborough, Kent (Bayley and Butcher 2004, fig.105, no.433) and one from Feltwell, Norfolk (Gurney 1986, 15, fig.12, 2), both with enamelled terminals.

4.5.3.4 Chronology

Only a small number of K brooches are dated. Limited evidence suggests that the type has early Roman or even late Iron Age origins, as Fowler suggested, although there is no evidence to confirm that the variant with decorated terminals is of an earlier date than those with undecorated terminals. Providing probably the best evidence of Iron Age origins is an iron example with plain terminals, found in a pit with a swan neck pin

⁵ The details of this brooch are unclear in the report and apparently it has now been lost.

and some Iron Age pottery at the potential settlement site at Kilham, East Yorkshire (Stead 1971, 38, fig.7, no.3). The Mill Hill brooch may also have been associated with broadly late Iron Age/early Roman burials. Unusually this had a rivet through each terminal, which could possibly have been designed to secure coral or shell decoration as seen on the brooches from the (potentially) third century BC burial at Newnham Croft, Cambridgeshire (Fox 1923, pl.15). Two brooches with recessed terminals, which may have held enamel originally, came from the late Iron Age Batheaston hoard, which also contained metalwork of broadly Bronze and Iron Age date. The presence of numerous Type C and D brooches suggest it was deposited in the first half of the first century AD at the earliest.

The later chronology of this type is less clear, however. Some may be late or post-Roman, but whether these represent the later end of an extended chronology or a late revival of an earlier style is unclear. A brooch from the cave at Minchin Hole, Glamorgan was found with coins and pottery of late and post-Roman date (Savory 1956, 42). Laing classified this brooch as his Type Ja, which are enamelled, but the few descriptions of it suggest that it is actually undecorated. One from Feltwell villa, Norfolk has bands of transverse grooving on the outer face of the hoop, and round terminals with corroded sockets for enamel (Gurney 1986, 15, fig.12, 2). This is described as coming from the topsoil, but Laing (1993, 19) suggests it was found in a context of fourth century AD date. An undecorated example has been found at Bantham, which was occupied from the fifth to seventh century (Silvester 1981, fig.7, no.15). Fowler (1981) used this as evidence to suggest that the type was actually a late rather than an early Roman development as she had originally suggested, but in fact it would seem that it had a particularly long chronology covering both periods and during which both decorated and undecorated forms were in use simultaneously.

Although outside the period covered by this study, the type also appears to have undergone a revival from the late sixth century AD onwards. It appears amongst the penannular moulds found at the Mote of Mark (Curle 1913-4) and the later site of Dunadd (Hewat Craw 1929-30). Laing (1993, 19) has also identified two further types with circular, highly decorated and enamelled terminals (his Type Jb and Jc) in use during the eighth and ninth centuries AD.

4.5.4 Type O

4.5.4.1 Distribution and site types

A total of 38 omega and related brooches were recorded with a wide distribution across Wales, South-East and northern Britain and a slight concentration in South-West Britain (fig. 5.24). Fowler suggested a Roman military activity connection and this remains true of every type. The highest percentage of Type O come from towns, most of which have evidence of earlier military activity, followed by hillforts, primarily Ham Hill, Somerset and Hod Hill, Dorset, both of which have phases of Roman military occupation. This military association is paralleled on the continent. Fowler (1960, 173-4) lists a number of her Type B1 and B2 from sites in France and Germany, all of which appear to be of first to early second century date (if her dating is to be believed), apart from an example from Lavoye, Meuse reused as an armlet in a sixth century AD grave. She suggested that, as this form appears to have originated in Iberia in the last few centuries BC, it may have reached other regions including Britain via Iberian auxiliaries in the Roman army (*ibid.* 167). This remains a plausible suggestion, but there is no reason to suppose that this was the only way in which it spread. In Britain the form was already a familiar one and even brooches predominantly worn by soldiers and their families may have subsequently been acquired by those outside the military, explaining why a few appear on other types of site.

4.5.4.2 Terminal forms and other features

Fowler divided the omega brooches into two types, but in practice the dividing line between a standard terminal (B1) or a 'bulbous' one (B2) is unclear. Accordingly these types have been grouped together under the single category O1. Three additional related forms are also known (fig.4.29), which show all of the features of the standard omega brooch but differ slightly in form:

O2: Terminals that end in knobs like those of the standard form, but with an additional dumbbell-shaped boss held in the elbow of the curve.

O3: The terminals of Type O4 are usually flattened and simple with residual claw-like protrusions below, mimicking the curve of Types O1 and O2.

O4: Terminals that face one another rather than curving round, but where hoop and terminals retain the standard omega design (Galliou's (1981) type A6).

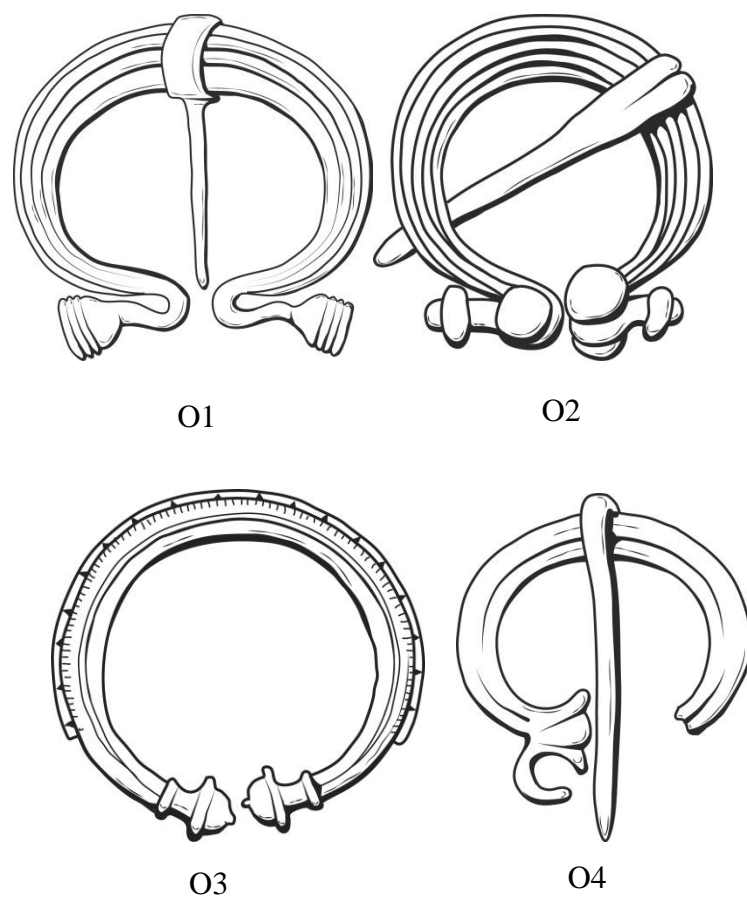


Figure 4.29. The Type O variants.

4.5.4.3 Type O1

The terminals of this type can be organised into the following six categories:

- a) Cylindrical knobs*
- b) Knobs, single or multiple*
- c) Tiny knobs*
- d) Plain conical knobs*
- e) Flattened oval sometimes in the form of a snake's head*
- f) Other design*

Categories a, b and c occur in similar numbers whereas the others are slightly less common (fig.4.30). There does appear to be some patterns in their respective distributions: a, d, e and f only occur in southern Britain in a narrow region running across the country from Somerset in the west to East Anglia in the east; b and c on the other hand are only found outside this region on both sides, but predominantly in the north.

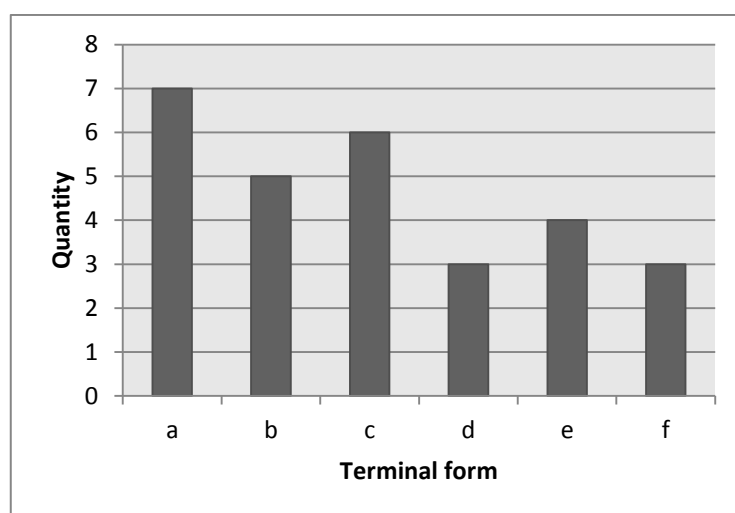
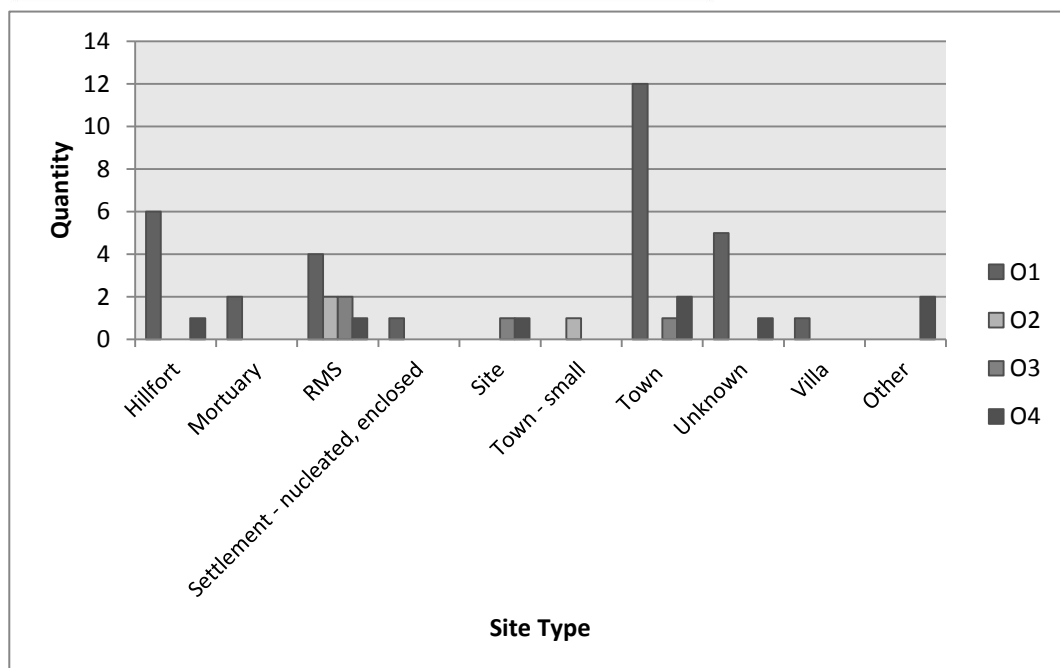
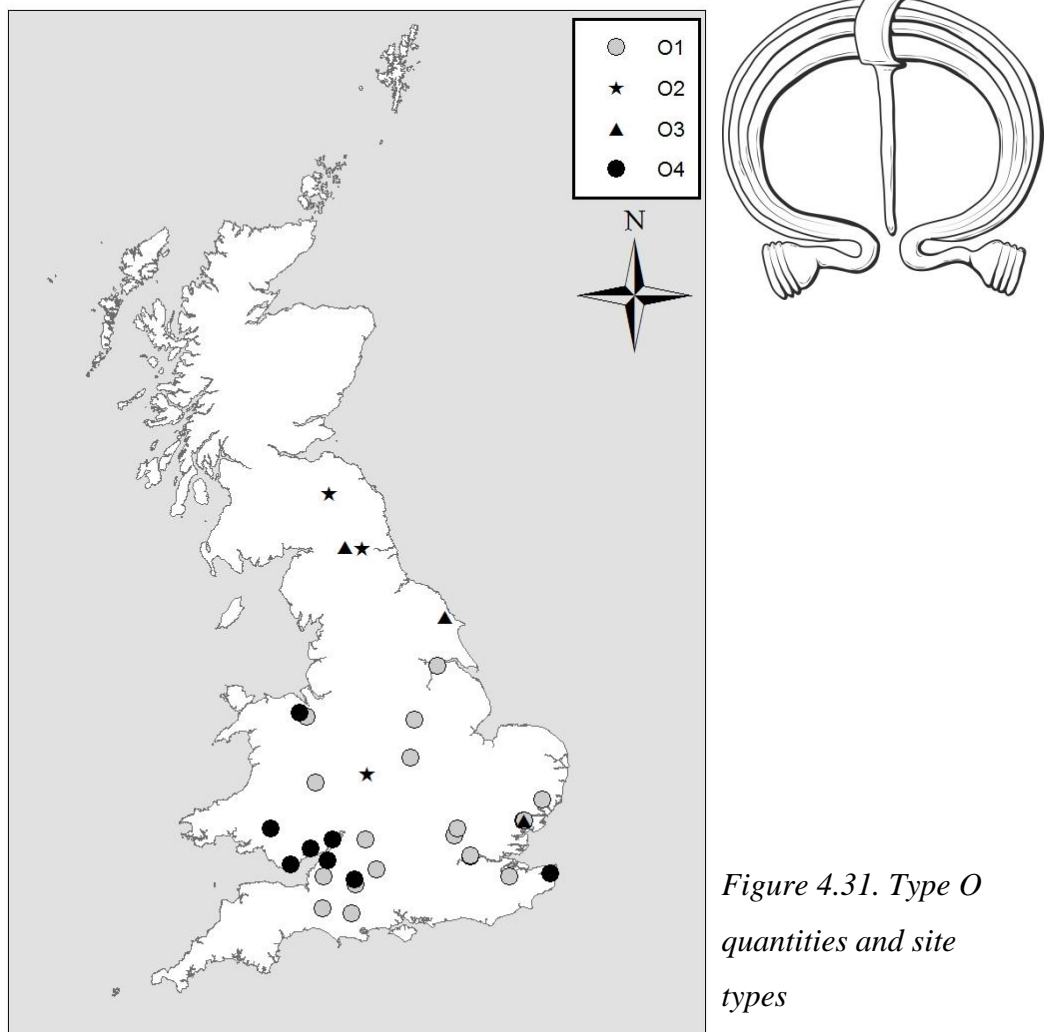


Figure 4.30. Quantity of each Type O1 terminal form recorded

In size the O1 brooches are comparable to most other Roman forms. They all lie within hoop diameter groups five to ten, with the largest number falling into group seven. Eleven brooches have lozenge or cruciform cross-sections, 12 circular, one oval and five alternative shapes typically involving faceting or multiple raised ridges. Most with alternative cross-sections have some form of additional decoration consisting of moulding or grooving running along the ridges. All O1 brooches date to between the mid-first to mid-second century AD, matching the chronology of the continental examples. The earliest come from Richborough, in a pit of Claudian date (Bayley and Butcher 2004, fig.102, no.391) and the Gilbert School Site, Colchester, in a context dated AD 49-61 (Crummy 1992b, 209 & fig.6.1, no.21).



4.5.4.4 Types O2 and O3

Only three O2 and four O3 brooches have been recorded in total and so it is difficult to make an assessment of their relative distributions, although they both seem to occur further north than O1 (fig. 4.31). All O2 and O3 brooches share similar hoops – lozenge in cross-section with beading or raised wavy lines on the ridges – and have straight pins.

Type O3 has fairly standardised terminals, typically knob-like with prominent raised bands around the middle, but they apparently varied considerably in size as the two known hoop diameters fall into groups four and eight. The two O2 brooches both fall into diameter group seven, but they appear to be direct parallels for one another. These brooches, one from Newstead and one from Corbridge, are both silver, have similar hoops and share acorn-like terminals. The third O2 brooch came from excavations of the Roman fort at Metchley, Warwickshire. It is copper alloy rather than silver and has phallic terminals (Jones 2001, 77, fig.22, 9). All O2 and O3 have straight pins. Only one O2 and one O3 brooch are dated: the former from Metchley, in a phase dating to between the foundation of the fort in AD 48 and AD 75 (*ibid.*); the latter, from the Roman site at Staxton in North Yorkshire, dates to the early second century AD (Galliou 1981, 288-9, fig.2.3).

4.5.4.5 Type O4 (Fowler's Type B3)

Typologically O4 shows strongest links with O2 because there is often an integral or riveted knop instead of the boss in the elbow of the curve. They are found almost exclusively in the Severn basin and Wales (fig.4.31) apart from a single example from Richborough, Kent (Bayley and Butcher 2004, fig.105, no.432). Fowler's inclusion of a brooch from Traprain Law (Burley 1958, fig.2, no.90) in this group is rejected here, because it is so unusual in form that it is difficult to know whether it is actually a penannular at all. Interestingly their distribution correlates best with that of Type O1, but not the northern Type O2 to which they appear typologically linked. Like O1 they appear most commonly on Roman military sites and towns. Examples have also been found with prehistoric and Roman burials in a cave at Maeshafn, Denbighshire (Savory 1956, 48, pl. 5/a) and in an unstratified deposit in a cave at Ogof-yr-Esgyrn, Powys (NMW cat. no.78.29H/16).

This latter site produced material of first to second and later fourth century AD date. Fowler also suggested a date of first or second century AD for the brooch from Maeshafn (Fowler 1963). An unpublished brooch from Caerleon, Newport has provisional date of AD 230-296 (NMW cat no.58.33). A brooch from Richborough Kent, has been dated to 280-400+ (Bayley and Butcher 2004, fig.105, no.432) and one from Sea Mills, Gloucestershire came from the early fourth century AD expansion phase, but the deposit within which it was found contained much third century AD and earlier material. Most therefore appear to be of third century date, but some Welsh cave finds suggest that the type may have been in used slightly earlier.

4.5.5 Type L (Fowler's Type C1)

Only seven examples are so far identified. Fowler classified these as Type C1 because she felt that the coiled shape of the terminals suggested a relationship with Type C, but there is little other evidence to confirm this and so here it is renamed Type K. They are found at sites across southern and central Britain, with a single outlier in North Wales (fig.4.32), a distribution which does not relate to that of Type C. Single examples were found at Hod Hill (Allason-Jones 1993, E9), at the Late Iron Age and Roman minor settlement at Odell, Bedfordshire (Mackreth cat. no.3032)⁶, Segontium (Allason-Jones 1993, 165-210. fig.10.2, no.22) and possibly from the military phase at Nettleton (Wedlake 1982, 133, fig.55, no.79). The remaining four all come from Roman towns.

Two terminal variants can be identified, the first with coils that protrude outwards at a right-angle to the hoop and another where they protrude in both directions. The former are more common, whereas there are only two examples of the latter, from Nettleton and Chichester (Mackreth 1978, fig.19.28, no.58) and so it is difficult to say whether this variation has any geographical or chronological significance. All of the four with known measurements fall into hoop diameter groups seven to nine and so fit within the standard range for most penannulars of this date; all also have plain hoops with a circular section and straight pins Only three brooches are dated: the Caernarfon example was found in a Hadrianic/Antonine to late third century AD phase; the Nettleton brooch was associated with a Type D penannular and a Dobunnic coin in a possible first

⁶ In his archive Mackreth suggests that this came from a burial but there is no reference to support this.

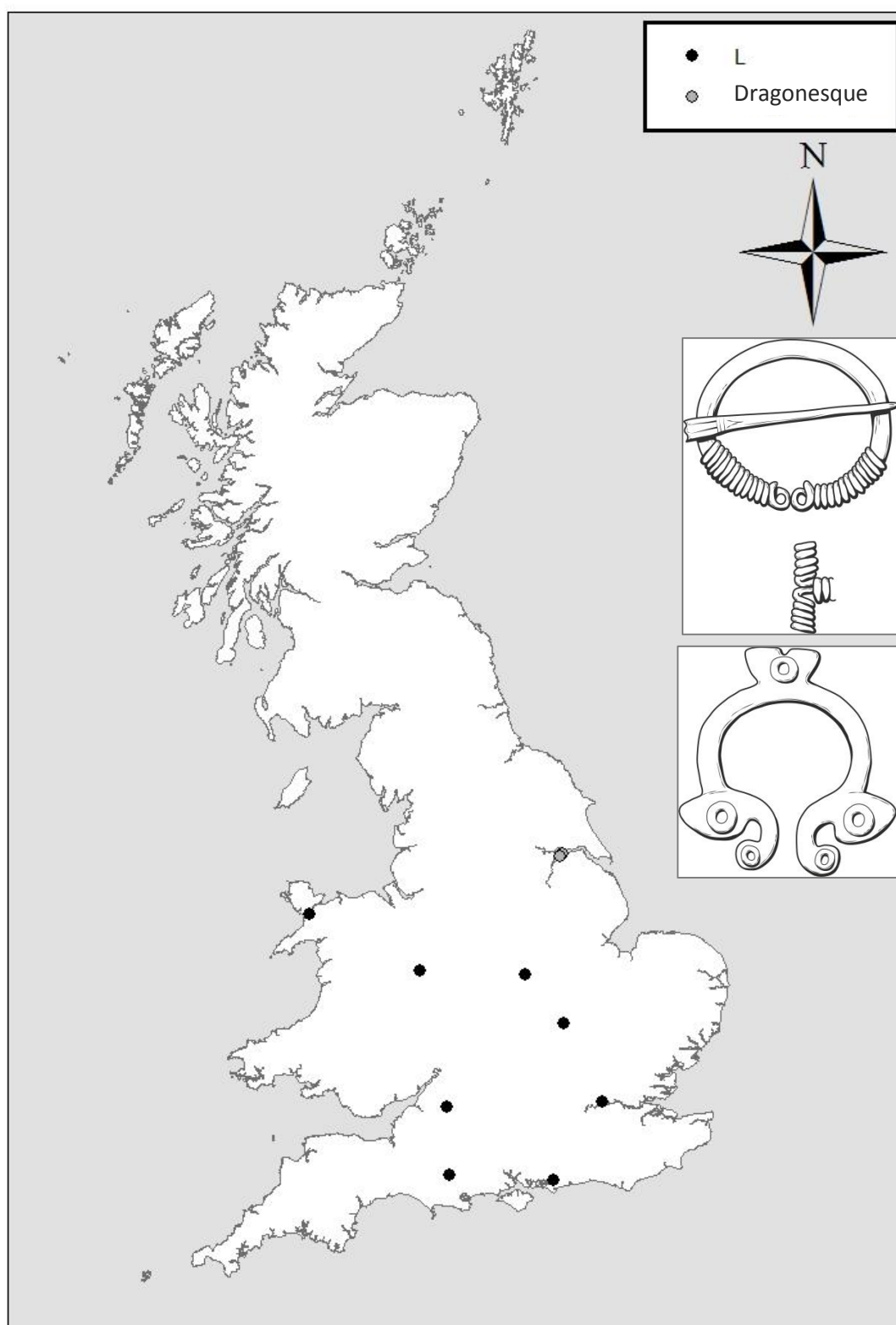


Figure 4.32. Distribution of Type L and the Dragonesque penannulars

century AD context. Mackreth suggested that the Chichester brooch ‘should be first century and to the period before the demise of the Colchester whose spring system is imitated’ (Mackreth 1978, 278). The idea that the C1 terminals were designed to imitate the springs of Colchester brooches is conjecture and offers no firm ground for dating. A first century AD date therefore seems likely if not certain.

4.5.6 The ‘dragonesque’ penannulars

Dragonesque penannulars do not appear in Fowler’s typology and only two have been recorded during this study. Their terminals recall those of the dragonesque plate brooches found across the east and north of Britain and appear to be of first and early second century AD date (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 171-2). Both come from sites in Lincolnshire (fig.4.32) which fits in well with the distribution of their plate brooch counterparts, but neither are dated. One comes from Winterton villa (Stead 1976, 202, fig. 102, 37) and the other from the nearby Roman settlement and possible fort at Old Winteringham.

4.6. Late and post-Roman Types

4.6.1 Type E

Fowler described Type E as the ‘small zoomorphic brooch’ (1960, 153). The links with Type D are clear as the boundary between the two types is often quite blurred. Type E is, however, distinguished from Type D by the presence of zoomorphic features on the terminals, including a ‘snout’ facing inwards, ‘eyes’ behind this and ‘ears’ at the outer end. Some brooches possess only a few of these features together and so the argument could be made for placing them in either group. For the purposes of this analysis, however, any brooch that does not fit into one of the standard Type D forms and has any obvious zoomorphic features is categorised Type E. Yet these features come in almost as many styles and arrangements as there are Type E brooches: some are very basic and consist simply of notches and grooves; others are more sophisticated and appear closer to those found on Type F. These are always smaller in size than Type F and do not

usually have large pins with barrel heads, and so are here classified E/F. The varied nature of the other Type E brooches prohibits systematic analysis of the terminal designs. Comparisons can be made between individual features or complete terminals, but the huge range means that an unfeasibly large number of groups are produced. For this reason only hoop form and size are assessed in detail. In addition Fowler's Type E1 is abandoned here as the brooches that she listed do not form a coherent group, but instead are unusual variants of the standard types.

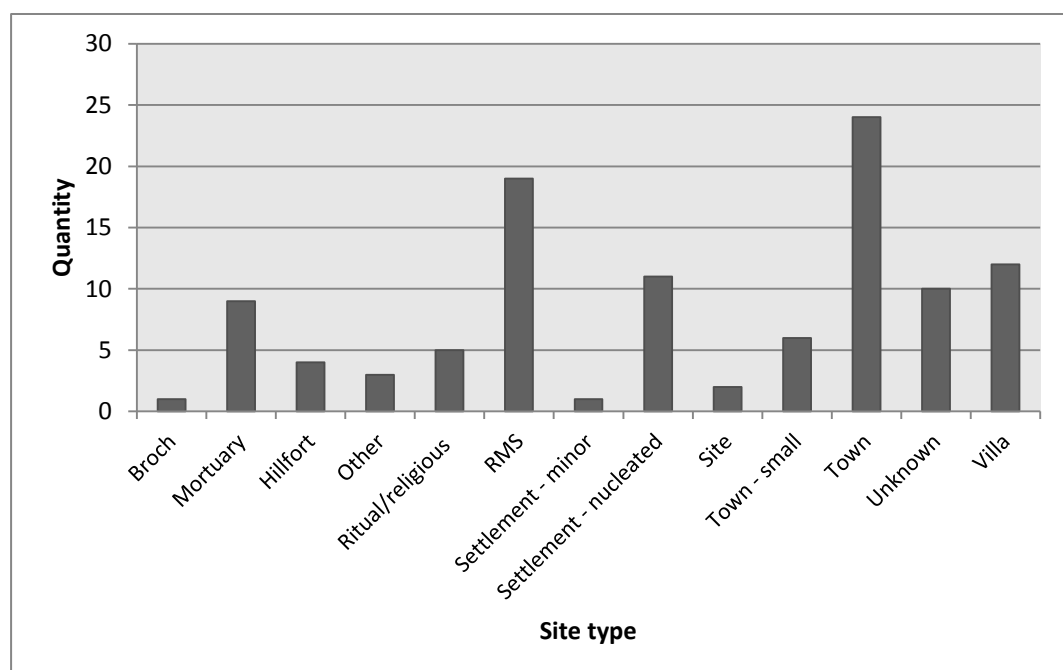
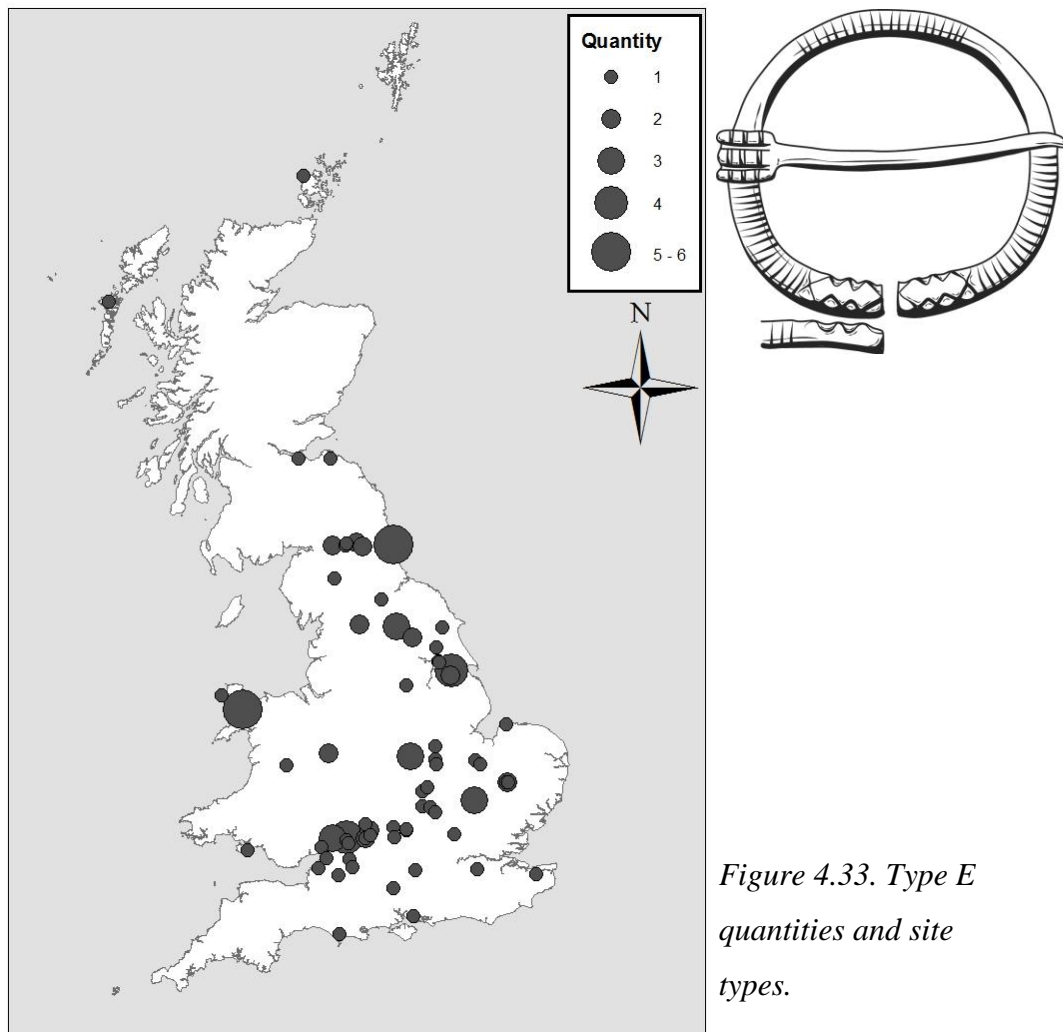
4.6.1.1 Distribution and site types

Type E is widely distributed from southern Britain as far as the Scottish islands (fig.4.33), but focused on central and eastern England. A smaller cluster of sites producing more than one are located in the Severn Cotswolds region and a more dispersed group is found in Yorkshire, North Lincolnshire and along Hadrian's Wall. There are some similarities with the distribution of Type D and both types appear together on many sites, but type E has less of a South-Western focus and a stronger northern trend. Type E pin form is not considered here as the majority are straight.

Type E derives chiefly from Roman towns and then, in descending order, military sites, villas and nucleated settlements of various dates (fig.4.33). Those from military sites are largely from the later phases of forts located in Wales and the far north of England. Interestingly the villas, towns, temples and settlements are primarily those with evidence of very late and often post-Roman occupation. Three of the brooches from hillforts are from Lydney, Gloucestershire and are likely to be from later phases of activity. One was found at Okstrow/Oxtro Broch, Orkney which was occupied for much of the first millennium AD (Kilbride-Jones 1980, 148, fig.52, no.8). Nine appear in Anglo-Saxon graves.

4.6.1.2 Hoop form

The hoops of Type E are always smaller in size than Type F, but vary much more than Type D. Their size does appear to be associated with distribution: the smallest brooches are concentrated in South-West Britain, with a few scattered across north-east England and Wales (appendix 2.32). Only brooches with larger hoops occur in the north of Britain, but a few are also found on the periphery of the areas where smaller brooches predominate.



		<i>Decoration</i>					
		No decoration	Moulding	Grooved	Two groups of grooves	Three groups of grooves	Four groups of grooves
<i>Section</i>	D-shaped	1		5	1		1
	Oval		1	2			1
	Rectangular/flattened		2	1		1	
	Circular	38		29	11	6	6

Table 4.3. Type E hoop section and decoration

Type E has a less varied range of hoop cross-sections than Types C and D (table 4.3) and while various forms of grooving are evident, only 3% of Type E are decorated with moulding compared to 8% of Type D. Hoop decoration does appear to impact upon their distribution (appendix 2.34): hoops decorated with groups of grooving are restricted to central and eastern England and those with moulding are only found in the Severn/Cotswolds region and directly east from here at Verulamium, whereas those with continuous grooving occur across a much wider area. The effects of hoop cross-section on distribution are even more pronounced (appendix 2.33). D-sectioned hoops are restricted to north-east England apart from an outlier at Minchin Hole, Glamorgan; rectangular and oval sectioned hoops only appear in the south and west. This could be related to the influence of Type D. Many more of these have rectangular- and oval-sectioned hoops, which are concentrated in this southern and western region. By contrast, although few Type D have D-sectioned hoops, when these do occur they show a wider distribution around the periphery of this region.

4.6.1.3 Chronology

The few dated Type Es reveal no clear links between hoop form or pin shape and chronology. In addition to the brooches shown in appendix 3.6 there are several more of a poorly defined post fourth century AD date. These include a brooch from Birdoswald, Northumbria (Wilmott 1997, fig.190, no.71), one from South Shields (Bidwell and Speak 1994, 179, fig.7.2, no.16), two from Richborough (Bayley and Butcher 2004, fig.103, no.423&424) and a fifth century or later example from Frocester (Price 2000, 43, no. 72). The better dated brooches cluster around the late fourth and early fifth

century AD, coinciding with a renewed interest in Types A, D and particularly C. There is also a small group of sixth century date all from mortuary contexts.

Type E does occasionally appear in earlier contexts. An example from Traprain Law with one small surviving terminal bearing finely worked zoomorphic features was apparently found in a level together with first and second century AD coins, although whether this implies a similar date is not clear (Burley 1958, 164, no. 85). One dated to the last three quarter of the third century AD was found at Brancaster with apparently cast terminals showing very basic zoomorphic details with pronounced ‘ears’ (Sparey Green et al. 1985, fig.28, no.20). And one from Camerton was found in a slag pit context dated 150-200 AD according to its museum record (Bristol Museum and Art Gallery no. Fb 7295, Hull cat. no. 4441). All illustrations of this brooch, including the original, show simple terminals inscribed with a saltire, but when examined in person a range of notches and grooves are clear that together produce a basic zoomorphic effect. The argument could be made for recording this brooch as an unusual Type D2, but rather than requiring definitive classification such brooches are perhaps better viewed as evidence of how fine the dividing line between Type D and E can actually be. The terminals of Type D, even in their most basic form, create the effect of an animal head in profile and this tendency was clearly emphasised early on by tilting up the ‘snout’ end of some terminals. Certainly experiments with decoration may also have occurred at the same time and this is one potential origin for the Type D brooches; whatever the links between the two types it is clear that Type E denote a distinct class with a separate development and distribution.

4.6.2 Type M (Fowler’s H4)

4.6.2.1 Characteristics, distribution and site types

Type M comprises only 21 brooches. These have terminals flattened vertically, usually with notches along their upper edge and sometimes with a few additional transverse grooves on the sides. In Fowler’s (1960, 153) typology they were H4, but they disappeared altogether in later versions (Fowler 1963, 1961). Typologically they appear to have very little in common with Type H, however, and so are considered separately here as Type M. Snape (1992) suggested that the form was a variant of Fowler’s Type D7, but in fact these are indistinguishable from the other Type D brooches. The line of differentiation between M and D is often blurred, however, suggesting a relationship.

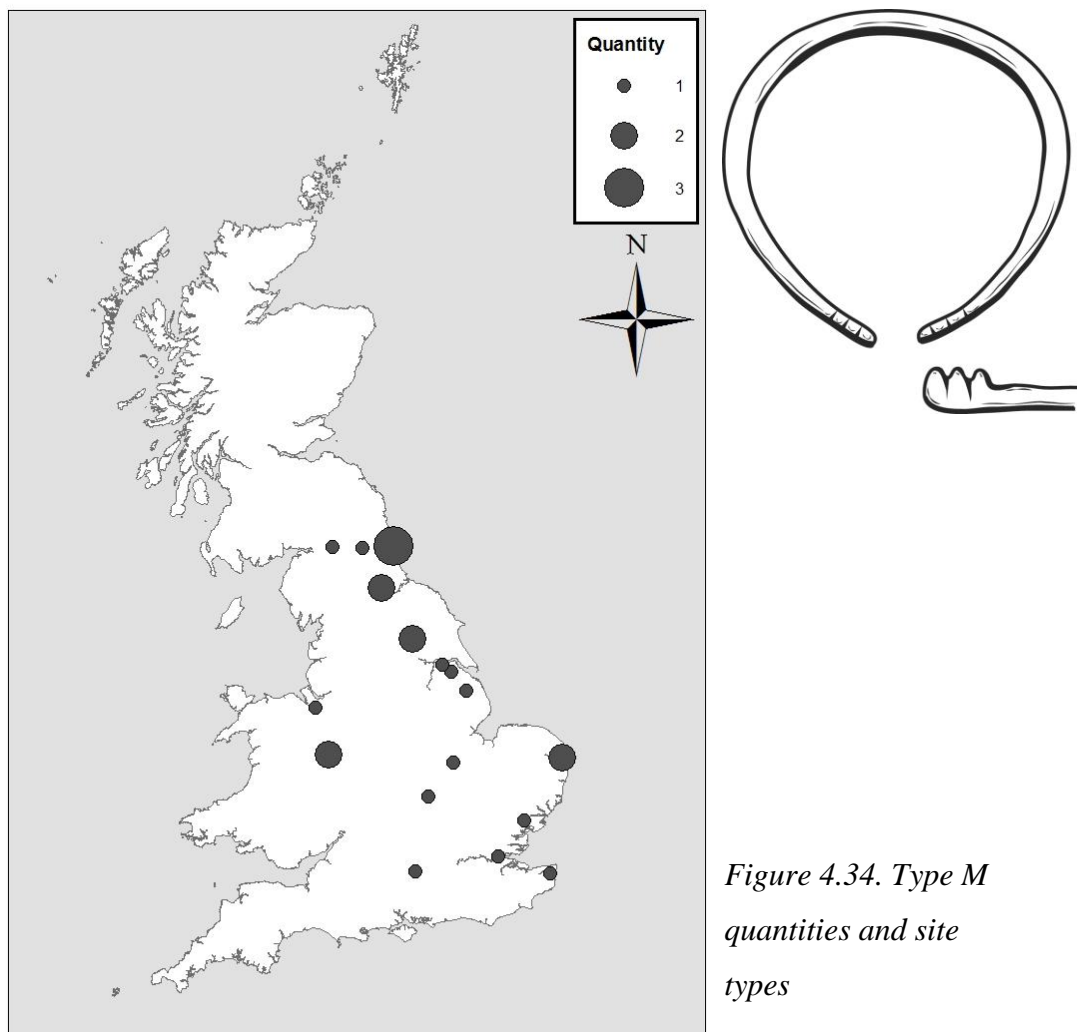
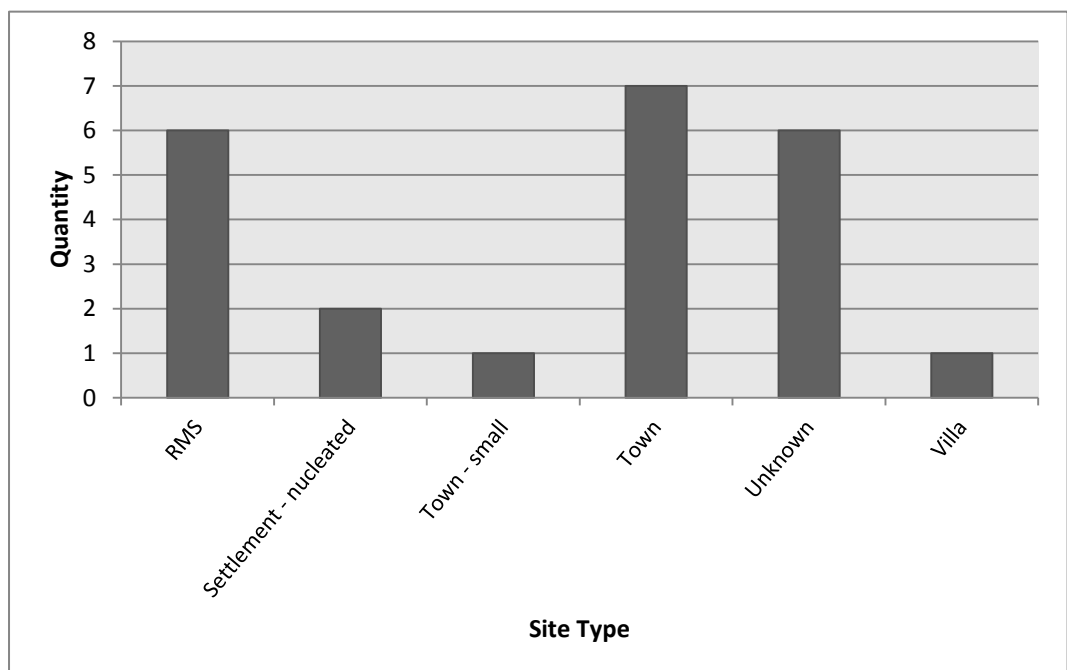


Figure 4.34. Type M quantities and site types



Snape's main criterion for the identification of Type M appeared to be whether the terminals were flattened and she included a brooch from Woodcuts, Dorset (Pitt-Rivers 1887, 56, no.10), also referred to by Fowler, on this basis. This brooch, however, has typical Type D terminals and there is nothing other than a degree of flattening to separate it from others of this type. Those referred to by Snape from South Shields do appear to be significantly different, with cast, flattened terminals, decorated with two v-shaped notches along the upper edge. Brooches with these features are found only across northern and eastern England with a small number from sites along the Welsh border and their distribution is therefore significantly different to that of Type D, suggesting that they do represent a distinct type (fig.4.34). Like Type D, however, they predominantly occur at Roman towns and military sites.

4.6.2.2 Brooch form

The terminals of Type M brooches are all very similar and no sub-types have been observed. All have round sectioned hoops and four brooches have completely or partially grooved hoops. The two with completely grooved hoops are both found in the north at Corbridge, Northumberland (Hull cat no. 5181) and York (Yorkshire Museum cat. no. YORYM H2060.1) and the two with partially grooved hoops further south, from Piddington, Northamptonshire (Mackreth cat. no.12812) and Silchester, Hampshire (Mackreth cat. no.3644), although this pattern may be coincidental. The five brooches with curved pins have a slight northern distribution bias and the six with straight pins a southern one, but these numbers are so low that this may be coincidental.

4.6.2.3 Chronology

Two iron brooches from Wroxeter, found in first or second century AD contexts, were identified as this type by Mackreth (cat. nos.12814 & 12816), but the illustrations in the excavation report suggest that they are Type D (Barker et al. 1997, fig.309, no.9&10). All other dated examples suggest that the type had a relatively short chronology around the late fourth to fifth century AD. An example from Birdoswald, Northumberland was found in a period 5 dump in a layer containing worn coins of Valens and Valentinian, suggesting a date post 350-400+ (Wilmott 1997, fig.190, no.73). Snape (1992, 158-9) has dated two brooches from Piercebridge, North Yorkshire to the late fourth or early fifth century. Two of the South Shields brooches are from early post-Roman deposits that cannot be precisely dated (Bidwell and Speak 1994, 179, no.9&10) and the third

was found in demolition deposits associated with a worn coin of Valens, providing a *terminus post quem* of c.400 (*ibid.*, 179, no.10).

4.6.3 Type E/F

Fowler (1960, 153) divided Type E and F largely according to size, but in practice some brooches seem to lie on the dividing line between the two. As a result Type E/F has been created here to incorporate brooches with fully zoomorphic features, but which do not possess the large size and uniformity of Type F. This has some overlap with Kilbride-Jones' (1980) 'initial type' and particularly Laing's (1993, 13) Type Fa.

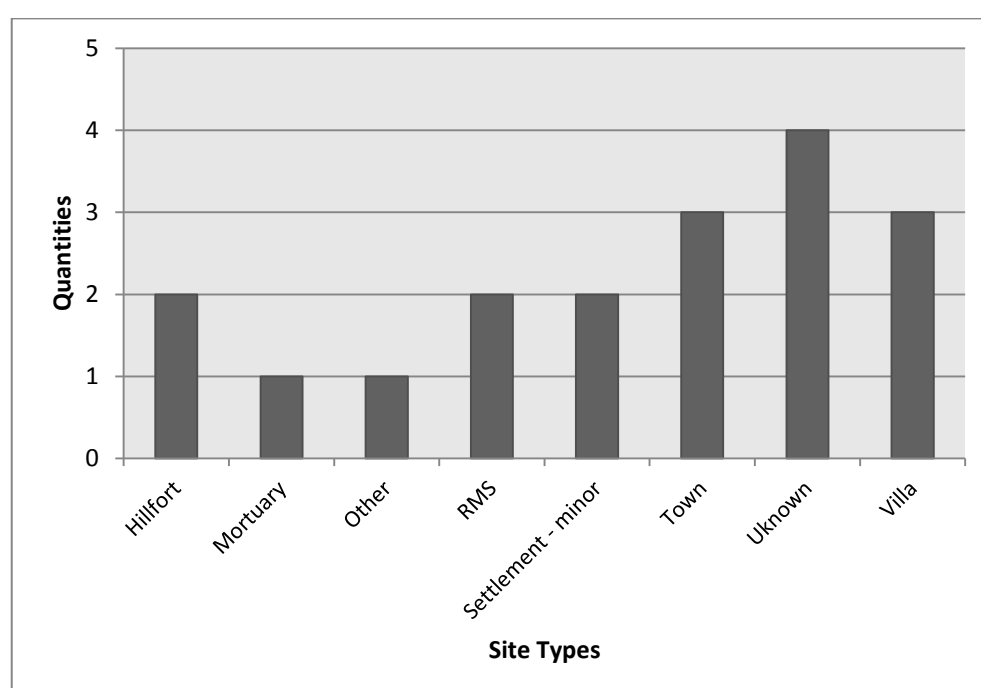


Figure 4.35. Quantity of Type E/F per site category

These brooches have a similar distribution to, and are found on the same types of sites as both Type E and F, although their smaller numbers mean that they produce a distributional ellipse more akin to Type F (appendix 2.36). Although few are precisely dated, their chronological range is most comparable to Type E and so they seem to represent the transitional phase between the two types as Laing (1993, 13) has also suggested. Possibly one of the earliest is from Bays Meadow, Worcestershire, found in a

rubbish pit together with fragments of jet bracelet, bone pins and twelve third century AD coins (Gelling 1957, 16, fig. 10, 6) and examples from Barton Court, Oxfordshire (Miles 1986, fig.103, no.7) and Witcombe Villa, Gloucestershire (Clifford 1954, fig.13, no.2) are of late Roman and third or fourth century AD date respectively. Three further examples, two from Howe on Orkney (Ballin Smith 1994, illus.133, no.1111) and one from Pewsey, Wiltshire (White 1988, fig.8, no.5), are of a general late or post Roman date. Almost all have undecorated hoops, circular in cross-section, and like Type E and F most have straight or curved pins.

4.6.4 Type F

Fowler divided Type F into four categories – F, the standard form, F1 with enamelling on the terminals; F2 with entirely enamelled terminals and sometimes millifiori decoration; and F3 which is significantly different in form and discussed separately below. Much debate has since taken place about appropriate sub-classifications and links with Type H. Unfortunately Type F brooches remain limited in numbers and their chronology vague, making it difficult to do more than provide a broad outline of their distribution and development. Fowler's divisions have been retained as they remain the most straightforward and functional. Only the British Types F and F1 are considered here. The Irish types are not looked at in any detail due to constraints of time and space, but it is accepted that any discussion of the British Type F and H penannulars is far from complete without deeper consideration of this related material.

4.6.4.1 Distribution and site types

The distribution of Type F and F1 closely matches that of Type E, with the same focus on central and eastern England (appendix 2.36) It is, however, less dense due to lower numbers without particular concentrations. Despite this similarity Types F and E are rarely found on the same sites, particularly in southern Britain. Only two sites have produced more than one Type F – Porth Darfach, Anglesey (Stanley 1876) and South Shields, Tyne and Wear (Allason-Jones and Milet 1984, 122; Hull cat. no.7756). Types E and F are also found at a similar range of site types, but the proportions are slightly different; the highest number of Type F come from Roman military sites, followed by towns and then mortuary contexts (fig.4.36).

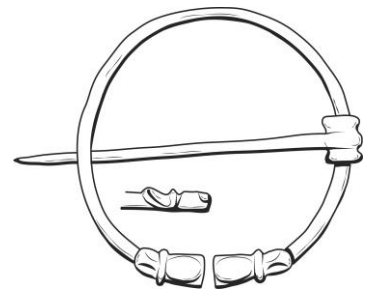
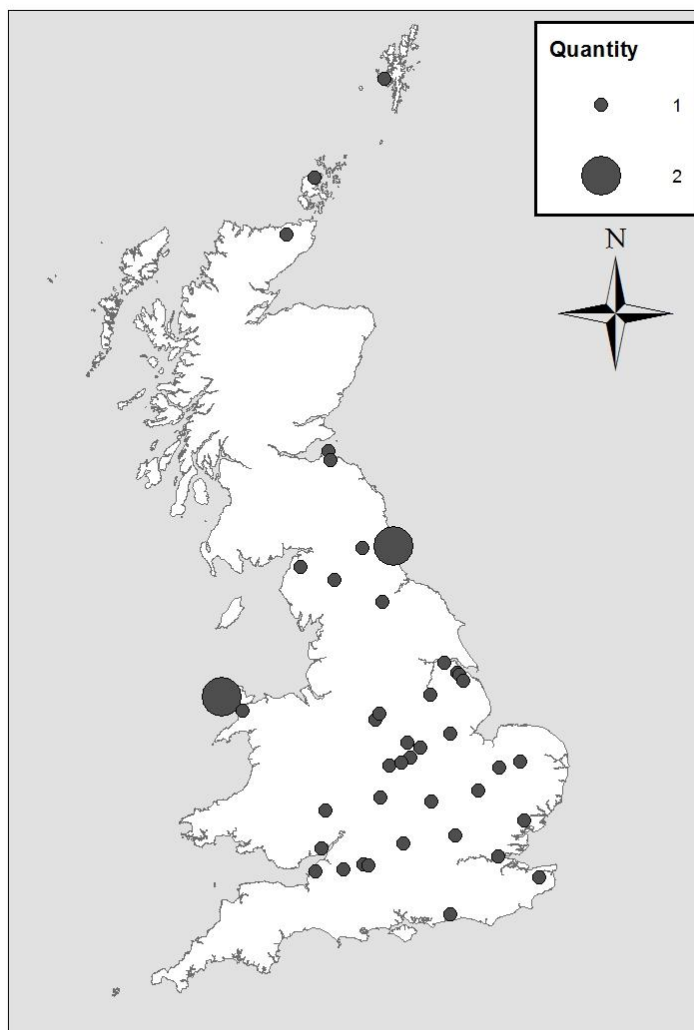
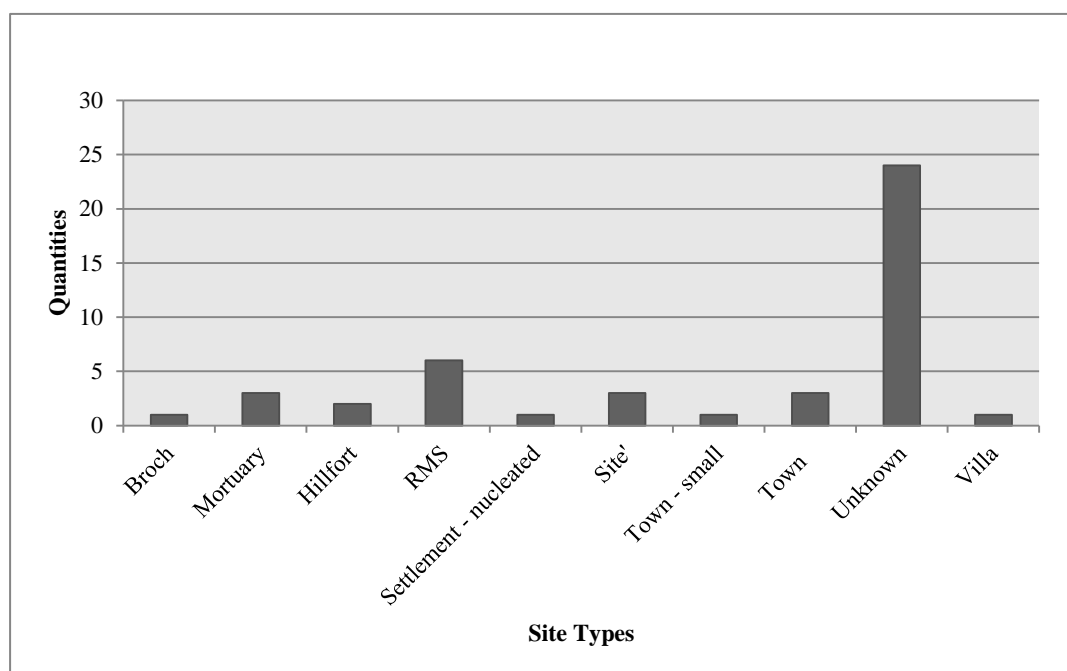


Figure 4.36. Type F quantities and site types



4.6.4.2 Brooch form and chronology

One of the defining characteristics of Type F is its large size. All brooches lie within hoop diameter group 12+. Larger brooches, belonging to hoop diameter group 14+, tend to be found in central Britain, whereas smaller ones of diameter groups 12 and 13 are generally restricted to the periphery of this area. All have circular sectioned hoops and 39% of these are decorated with grooving, continuous or in bands. Brooches with hoops decorated in this fashion are primarily found in southern and eastern Britain with just a few outliers (appendix 2.38). Similarly brooches of silver or base silver and/or with enamelling are almost entirely restricted to the same region (appendix 2.39). Of those brooches with grooved hoops 35.5% are also enamelled, contrasting with only 12% of those with non-grooved hoops.

Many of the brooches with grooving decorating their hoops are also from sites of unknown date and type. An example was found by a metal detectorist in North Yorkshire on a site thought to be an Anglo-Saxon cemetery (PAS ref. NCL-A31A61) and another at Feltwell Roman villa, Norfolk (Gurney 1986, 30, fig.22.2) in a post- AD 400 context. There is also one from near Stratford-upon-Avon found associated with human remains, to which White (1988, fig.10, no.1) has attributed a late fourth or early fifth century AD date, although the basis for this is unclear. A few have been found in northern and western Britain at a range of sites – the forts at Caernarfon, Gwynedd (Wheeler 1923, fig. 58, 6), and at Longfauth, Midlothian (Kilbride-Jones 1980, 85, no.2), Traprain Law (Burley 1958, fig.23) and one from an unusual burnt deposit on a beach at Porth Dafarch, Anglesey found together with a shard of samian ware and a Type E penannular (Stanley 1876, 132).

The area of southern and eastern Britain where the majority of brooches with decorated and enamelled hoops are located correlates well with the area supposedly settled by Anglo-Saxon migrants and many appear to come from Anglo-Saxon graves, but this does not necessarily mean that together these form an exclusively ‘Anglo-Saxon type’. The distribution of brooches without these features extends further into western and northern Britain, but the two groups also overlap considerably. Those from western and northern Britain are found at a different range of sites, but this is regardless of hoop and terminal form and there is little evidence to show whether they are contemporary with or of an earlier date than the ones found in southern and central Britain.

Here they are typically found on sites that show evidence of both late and post-Roman occupation, such as Traprain Law, Aikerness Broch, Orkney, Caerwent and Porth Dafarch. Four have also been found on, or close to Hadrian's Wall – one and a pin from South Shields (Allason-Jones and Miket 1984, no.122; Hull cat. no. 7756), one from Corbridge (Hull cat. no.5102), and one each from Kirkby Thore (Kilbride-Jones 1980, 93, fig.23, 24) and Mealsgate, Cumbria (Fowler 1963, 138) – but none of these are dated. Within the primary distribution brooches with un-enamelled terminals and plain hoops are also found in Anglo-Saxon graves at Bifrons in Kent (Godfrey-Faussett 1976, 30), High Down Hill, Ferring, West Sussex (Meaney 1964, 215) and possibly Leicester (White 1988, fig.9, no.5), but they also occur at other types of site like the early medieval settlement at Mucking, Essex (Hamerow 1993, fig 112, no.1) and Oldbury Camp hillfort, Wiltshire (Devizes Museum cat. no.DZWS 340). Clearly then the picture is a complex one and it would be impossible to create any fixed sub-divisions that could be associated with any particular cultural group.

The parallels between the distributions of Type E and F may also be significant. In contrast to what Kilbride-Jones believed, there is some evidence to suggest that the two types are related, even if this relationship is more complex than that proposed by Fowler. From the evidence discussed here it seems likely that Type F developed, and certain that it reached its floruit, in the post-Roman period, just as Type E began to decline in popularity. Type F did not entirely replace Type E, however, and so Type F should not be seen solely as an endpoint in the development of Type E, but perhaps instead as a separate development drawing inspiration from these earlier brooches and gaining popularity in the regions where they had already been in use for generations.

4.6.5 Type F1

Type F1, the enamelled zoomorphic brooches, largely come from sites of unknown type and date apart from ones from the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries at Griston, Norfolk (BM cat. no.1996,1104.1) and Abingdon, Oxfordshire⁷ (White 1988, fig.10, no.3; Kilbride-Jones 1980, 93, fig.23, 25); one of unknown date from Corbridge (Hull cat. no.5102); and the

⁷ Dickinson (1976, 138) is unsure about whether this is definitely from a grave. The British Museum record (1862,0717.1) says it is from the foundations of a house on Abingdon High Street.

unusual example from the sacred spring at Bath (Cunliffe 1988b, 23, no. 48, pl. 17) whose date has been debated. As Cunliffe (*ibid.*) pointed out, although there appear to be stylistic links between this brooch and Kilbride-Jones' Irish Type B1, such motifs appear on no Irish brooch and find better parallels in the artistic styles of the Roman period. Laing believes that these brooches are fourth century British versions of the new decorative styles that were starting to develop in Ireland around this time (Laing 1993, 14).

4.6.6 Type F3

Type F3 are quite different in form from the other zoomorphic types and only four have been found in Britain with most occurring in Ireland. They are smaller in size than the other zoomorphic brooches, with blunt 'snouts', bulbous staring eyes and a collar at either end of the terminal. There is one example from the Ronaldsway, Isle of Man (Newman 1989, fig.5), two from Glenluce Sands, Wigtownshire (Rynne 1965), one from Culbin Sands, Morayshire (Newman 1989, pl.IX, B) and a mould from Dunadd (Hewat Craw 1929-30). The latter suggests that these brooches were being manufactured in Scotland rather than simply imported from Ireland. The Irish examples all have long, straight pins with simple wrap-around grooved heads, whereas the pin on one of the Glenluce Sands brooches is much shorter with a plain head, piriform tip and a recessed lozenge on the pin where it lies against the hoop. Rynne (1965) noted possible similarities between the Glenluce brooches and one from Ballinderry Crannog in Ireland and on this basis suggested a fifth or sixth century date for the former, but this similarity appears to be coincidental as the Glenluce brooches are smaller and simpler in design than all of the Irish brooches. The terminals of the brooches from Culbin Sands and Dunadd both share more similarities with the Irish examples than the Glenluce pair, but according to Newman (1990) the Scottish brooches have a smaller average diameter than the Irish ones.

Newman (1989, 14) has suggested that the type originated in Ireland and given the higher numbers found here this does seem likely. How they developed seems less clear, and although there appear to be some links with the Type F brooches it is impossible to say whether they developed from Type F or simply drew inspiration from them. Newman's (*ibid.* 10-14) sixth and seventh century date was based primarily on stylistic similarities with the Type F brooches and various other forms of metalwork and is only

confirmed by a single date from Ballinderry Crannog 2, which suggested that the site was occupied during this period (*ibid.* 14). Given these problems it would be impossible to suggest a date for the Scottish brooches, but they seem likely to lie beyond the chronological range covered by this study and so are not considered further.

4.6.7 Type G

4.6.7.1 Distribution and site types

Only the earliest forms, Graham-Campbell's group G1, are discussed here as the others date from the seventh century onwards. These are found across much of western and northern Britain (fig.4.37). A particular concentration is located around both sides of the Severn estuary, extending from here into South Wales and eastwards into the Midlands, just as Fowler described. Unusually for any penannular type three have also been found in Devon and Cornwall. A lesser concentration is also located in the Yorkshire/Lincolnshire region and a small scatter of brooches stretch from South-West to north-east, connecting these two groups. In contrast to the contemporary F, very few are found in southern and eastern England, the only exception being a single brooch from Lowestoft, Sussex (Mackreth cat. no.3690).

Type G are found at a similar range of sites to E and F, but come predominantly from mortuary contexts and to a lesser extent hillforts, with only very small numbers from other types of site (fig.4.37). All of the mortuary contexts are Anglo-Saxon graves except for those from Cannington, a cemetery which defies easy classification and is thought to be of both late and post Roman date (Rahtz et al. 2000). The number from hillforts is inflated by six brooches from Cadbury Congresbury, Somerset (Fowler 1968, fig.10, no.8), the highest number from any individual site, but one has also been found at Whorlebury hillfort (Dymond and Tomkins 1886, pl.x) in the same county and at Lydney, Gloucestershire (Wheeler and Wheeler 1932, fig. 14, 39). Three come from the multiple period site at Meols, Cheshire (Hume 1863, pl.4, nos.5,6&7). There are two from Welsh Roman military sites, Caerleon (NMW Caerleon cat. no. 87.47H) and Castell Collen (Evelyn-White 1914) and one from the small Roman town at Camerton (Wedlake 1958, 234, fig.54, 62).

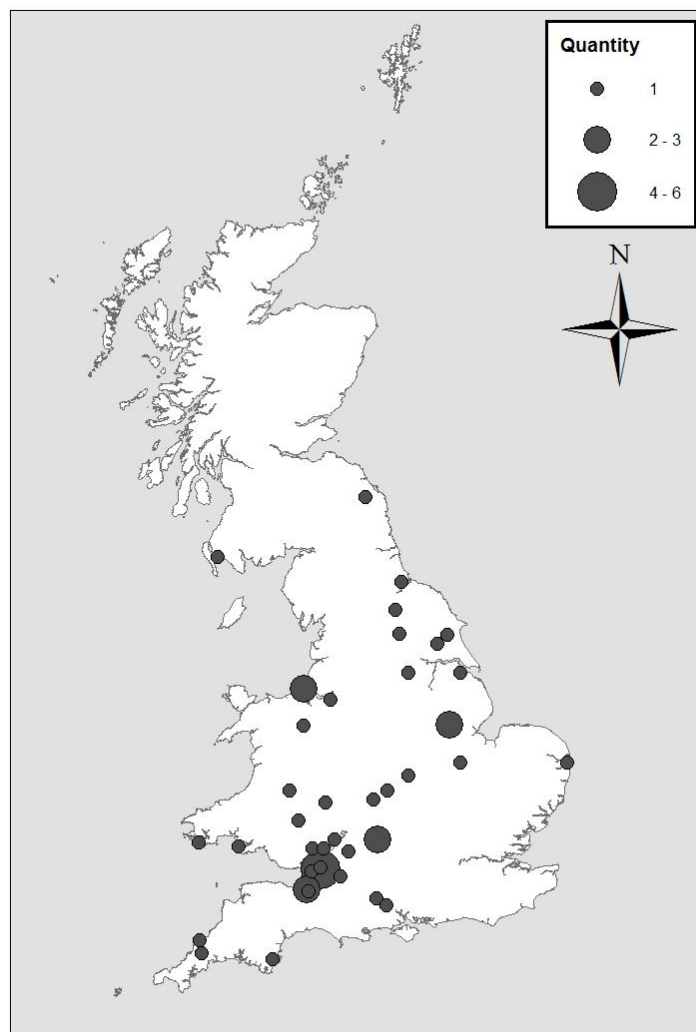
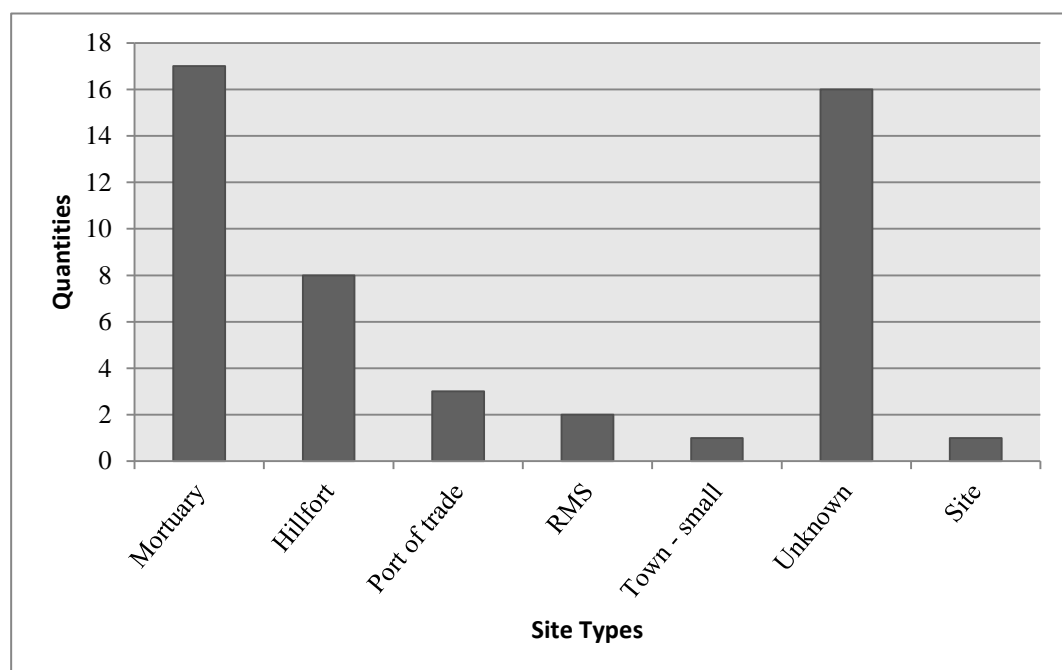


Figure 4.37. Type G quantities and site types



4.6.7.2 Brooch form and chronology

The most comprehensive study of Type G1 remains that carried out by Dickinson (1982). She divided them into groups based on combinations of terminal and hoop decoration (table 4.4) and concluded that they form two concentrations – categories 1.1 to 1.4 tend to be located in the west, South-West and Wales, whereas the others are predominantly found in the South-West, central and eastern regions and are almost exclusively from Anglo-Saxon graves (here these will be referred to as distribution group one and two). She agreed with Fowler that the type probably originated in Somerset and the lower Severn basin where the highest concentration lies, but concluded that the two groups probably had their own production centres, although links may have been retained. Appendix 2.45 shows an updated version of Dickinson's original distribution map⁸, which to a certain extent confirms these findings. Certainly there are concentrations of categories 1.1 to 1.3 in Wales and the South-West and these come from a wider range of sites, whereas the distribution of 1.5 to 1.8 extends further into central and eastern England and the majority are from Anglo-Saxon graves. Category 1.4 consists of only three brooches, two of which come from an Anglo-Saxon grave in the cemetery at Sleaford, Lincolnshire (White 1988, fig.12, no.2 & 3) and so this type could fit into either distribution group, but the second seems more likely. In the updated map, however, the first group now extends into southern Scotland and includes three brooches from north-east England (PAS refs. SWYOR-50B036, NCL-030777 & SWYOR-6EA057).

It is apparent, however, that group one is actually just based on an arbitrary grouping of hoop designs, but if we consider the design of the terminal independently then we are presented with a very different pattern. Only brooches with single or no dots on the terminals are included in Dickinson's second distribution group and so we would expect few brooches with multiple dots to appear in the region where this group is concentrated, but quite the opposite is true. Terminals with multiple dots are actually concentrated in this region, whereas those with single dots are concentrated in western and northern Britain. On the other hand, if we consider hoop decoration (appendix 2.42) then it becomes clear that Dickinson's category of 'partially ribbed hoop' has obscured

⁸ I have reclassified some brooches following a visual inspection.

some deeper patterns. In fact brooches with two and three groups of grooving are concentrated in Wales and the South-West, whereas brooches with four bands of grooving are found further west and in the north, but together they do have a predominantly western and northern distribution. Brooches with plain and completely grooved hoops on the other hand have much wider, overlapping distributions, the former extending further east than the latter.

There are also two further factors that Dickinson did not take into consideration – hoop size and pin form – both of which appear to have a significant influence upon distribution. The most common diameter group, five, is widely dispersed across central England, whereas the other groups only occur on its periphery. Groups three and four, the smallest, all cluster around the Severn basin and south Wales, whereas the largest groups, six, seven and eight are all found in the South-West and northern Britain. The differing distributions of each pin type are equally pronounced (appendix 2.43). Most brooches have straight pins and these have a widespread distribution, but all of the brooches with curved pins (and one example with a humped pin) are found around the Severn basin and south Wales, apart from a single outlier in Lincolnshire.

	Multiple dots	Single dots	Plain
Partially ribbed	1.1	1.2	1.3
Ribbed	1.4	1.5	1.6
Plain		1.7	1.8

Table 4.4. Dickinson's (1982, 182, table 1) classification of her Type G1

No single factor or even combination of factors therefore appears to determine the distribution of Type G. Dickinson's conclusion that there are broadly two distribution groups does, however, appear to be correct and remains significant, but her first distribution group, which centres on western and South-Western Britain, can now be extended to include northern Britain. Her method of analysis was, however, obscuring

the true distribution of terminal types. If considered separately, their distribution becomes fairly straightforward and also conforms to this pattern – terminals decorated with multiple or no dots are concentrated in the second distribution region and terminals with single dots in the former. This pattern overlaps with and relates to the distribution of the different hoop styles without being directly connected. The same pattern is also clear within the distribution of brooches of different sizes. Those in the second distribution region are far more standardised and fall at the midpoint of the overall range, whereas larger and smaller brooches fall primarily into the first region.

4.6.7.2 Chronology

Only chronological variation in terminal design could be considered as the numbers of dated Type G brooches are so low. Brooches with multiple or no dots decorating their terminals cluster together at the later end of the chronological range, whereas brooches with single dots appear slightly earlier (appendix 3.7). This offers further confirmation of Fowler and Dickinson's theory that type G emerged in the West before spreading eastwards. The distribution maps appear to further pinpoint their origins to the region around the Severn basin and south Wales, where a group of brooches consistently stand out both in form and date from those found elsewhere in Britain. These brooches tend to have the smallest hoop diameters, two or three bands of grooving on the hoop and curved or humped pins (although not every brooch possesses all of these elements) and all of the dated examples are potentially earlier than those found anywhere else, which are all from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries.

One brooch with a curved pin and small hoop, from Twlc Point, Glamorgan was found in a midden together with pottery of second to fourth century date (Savory 1956, fig. 12, 3). Three brooches from Cadbury Congresbury, Somerset, all with curved pins, two of which have three bands of grooving on the hoop, were found in broadly late Roman to sixth century contexts (Rahtz et al. 1994 fig.92, no.P0159; Dickinson 1982, fig.3, nos.5&6). A potentially late Roman brooch with three bands of grooving on its hoop was also found at Castell Collen, Powys, just to the north of this concentration in a refuse layer above the courtyard of the commandant's house (Evelyn-White 1914, 1-58, fig.14.4). This was dated on the basis of pottery evidence to the third or fourth century, although Alcock has since pointed out that the sequence on the site was pushed backwards because phases of abandonment were not considered and so it may date to

the later end of this period (Nash-Williams 1969, 74-77). Finally a brooch with a small hoop and curved pin was found in an unstratified context between two burials in the extra-mural cemetery at Caerwent (Campbell and MacDonald 1994). The cemetery as a whole produced radiocarbon dates ranging from cal AD 330-490 to cal AD 790-930 and so, although not as early as some of the other brooches from the region, the brooch could still potentially date from the immediate post-Roman period (*ibid.*).

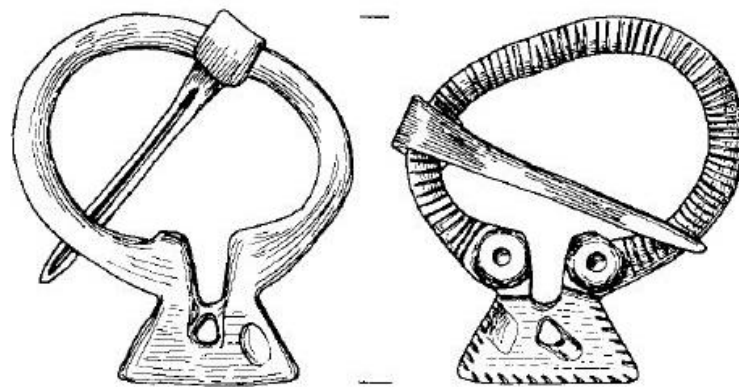


Figure 4.38. The Kempfsford ring brooch (Dickinson 1982, 65, fig.55).

Dickinson offered one final piece of evidence to support the late Roman origins of Type G – the discovery of two ring brooches, one from the Thames at Kempfsford, Gloucestershire and one from a sixth century grave at Londesborough, East Yorkshire. These brooches are in fact annular; the gap in the hoop is typically closed by a plate, but a slot is left at the top of this through which the pin can pass, producing a penannular effect. Ring brooches are found on the continent across the Western frontier of the Roman Empire and appear to have been produced from the third to early fifth centuries AD (Dickinson 1982, 54-56). Dickinson pointed out that neither the Kempfsford nor the Londesborough brooches fit particularly well within the established continental typologies. Instead both have terminals that share similarities with Type G, suggesting that they may have been of insular manufacture (*ibid.* 55-56). As a result she argued that these brooches were likely to have been produced in the fourth or earliest fifth century in Britain, influenced by the Type G penannular style, thus offering confirmation of the early date of the latter. This argument is flawed in several respects, however. Ring

brooches produced in Britain do not have to belong to the same period as their continental counterparts and there is no obvious reason why the two she discussed could not in fact have been produced much later. Even if they were earlier there is still no reason to assume that they were contemporary with Type G rather than insular experiments that later inspired a new form of penannular.

4.6.8 Type H

Type H encompasses a diverse range of brooches, few of which bear any similarities to each other beyond the standard expanded and flattened terminals. Fowler's Type H/F represents what she believed is a hybrid form mixing features of both Type F and H. These are not considered further here as they are primarily an Irish type with the few Scottish examples dating to the late sixth century AD at the earliest (Laing 1993, 18).

4.6.8.1 Distribution and site types

Type H has a very widespread distribution covering western and northern Britain from the Isles of Scilly in the south as far as the Outer Hebrides in the north (fig.4.39). There are no particular concentrations and all brooches occur singly apart from a group of three found beneath a tree at Tummel Bridge, Perthshire, together with fragments of a bronze hanging bowl and a possible harness fitting of unrecorded date (Anon 1888). The majority are from sites of unknown type, but two come from Anglo-Saxon graves, from Baginton, Warwickshire and Kempston, Bedfordshire (White 1988, 20 & fig.1, no.20), one came from a medieval phase of the monastery at Whithorn and St. Ninian, Dumfries and Galloway (Hill 1997, 370, fig.10.56, no.16.1), one from the Roman military site at Caernarfon (Wheeler 1923, fig.58, no.5) and another from the small enclosed multi-period settlement at Pant-y-Saer, Anglesey (Philips 1934, fig.7). None of these are closely dated.

4.6.8.2 Terminal form

Here the terminals of Type H have been divided, as Fowler did, into two groups H and H1, the first plain and the second with engraved detail. Only two brooches do not fit into either category. One from Baginton, Warwickshire has grooving on the hoop that continues on to the terminals (White 1988, 20; Dickinson 1982, fig.7, 56). Its expanded, flattened terminals suggest that it belongs to this group typologically, but it could equally be an unrelated one off creation or even related to Type Aa. A brooch from Bay

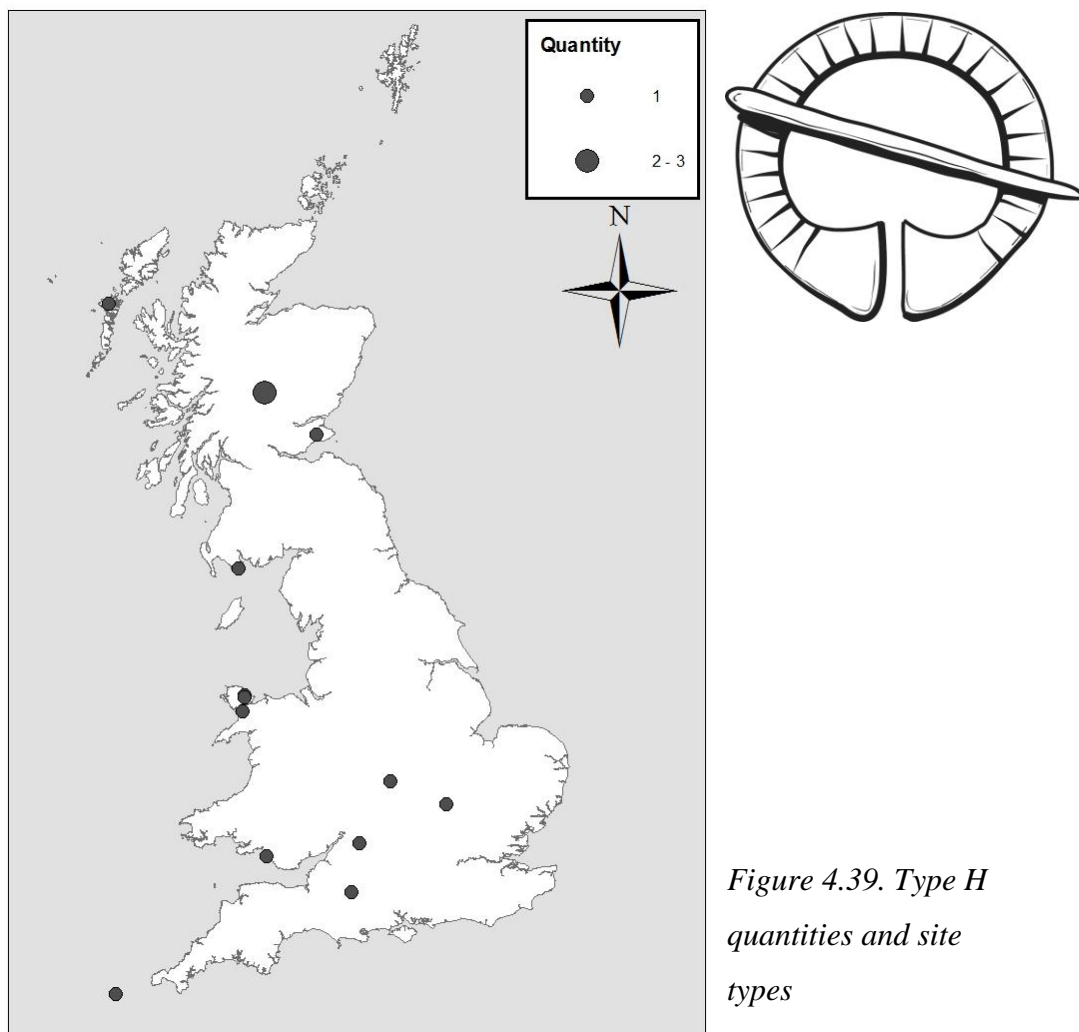
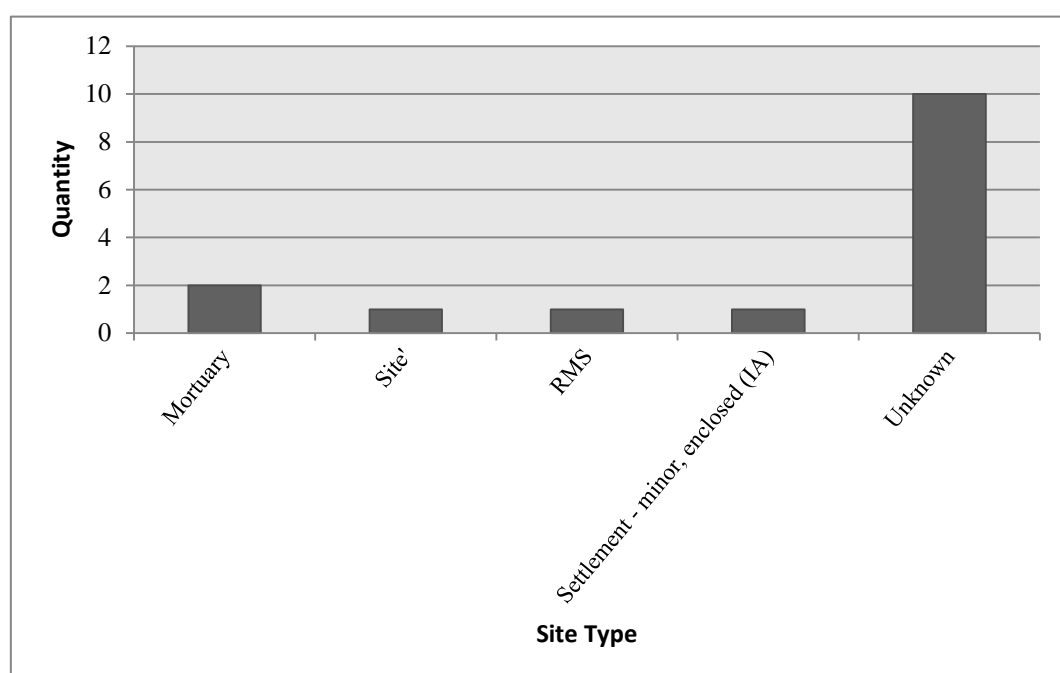


Figure 4.39. Type H quantities and site types



Hill, Scilly seems more certain to be a Type H, but its unusual terminals are decorated with a star embellished with black and yellow millifiori and white paste (BM cat. no. 1953,0702.1). Of the two common groups, brooches with plain terminals are lesser in number and this may count for their more limited distribution (appendix 2.46), but this still complements that of the decorated version.

4.6.8.3 Hoop

Four brooches have grooved or partially grooved hoops and these are widely scattered across the distribution area. All four have decorated terminals, but this may be coincidental. The six brooches with known hoop diameters appear to form two groups. Three brooches belong to diameter groups five and six; the other three are much larger and belong to groups nine to fifteen. Although these numbers are too small to produce a useful distribution map, the three smaller brooches are all found in South-West and central Britain and the larger ones on Anglesey and in Scotland. Again this may be coincidental but it does appear to relate to the similar distribution of Type G brooches of different sizes.

4.6.8.4 Chronology

Fowler (1963, 110) suggested that Type H developed in the late Roman period in Scotland from the last surviving Type Aa brooches still in use there, whereas Laing (1993, 18) proposed that they were an Irish development of Type F later adopted by the Picts. Several studies have argued a late or post-Roman date for the type. Fowler (1961, 106) and Leeds (1963, 145) both suggested a fifth century or earlier date for the two examples from the Tummel Bridge hoard, Perthshire on the basis of the hanging bowl fragments found with them, but Laing (1995, 18) pointed out that these may have been in circulation for some time before deposition and are more likely to be of seventh century date. Fowler also noted that Type H has been found on sites that have produced imported pottery, particularly E ware, which is currently thought to have a range of later sixth to early seventh century AD date (Campbell 2007, 45-6), but evidence of any direct link in chronology is limited. Campbell (*ibid.*) points out that stratigraphic relationships between E ware and penannulars are often unsound, however, and despite broad similarities in their British distribution, Type H penannulars are frequently found further east.

Laing (1993, 18) suggested that the Type H from Pant-Y-Saer, Anglesey is likely to be the earliest example of the type, but the basis for this reasoning is unclear and the brooch could easily date from one of the later phases of activity on the site. Other evidence seems to suggest a later date for the type. There are two from Anglo-Saxon cemeteries mentioned above and one was found in a silverware hoard at Norrie's Law, Fife, which was collectively dated to the seventh century on the basis of a leaf shaped plate bearing a dog's head design similar to one seen at Lindisfarne (Fowler 1963, 143). Consequently a later date for Type H is preferred here and as a result Laing's (1993, 18-19) chronology currently appears most appropriate; Type H/F probably developed first in Ireland from Type F, followed by the plainer Types H and H1, some of which appeared in western Britain, becoming most popular in Scotland where they may have undergone further development in the eighth and ninth centuries.

4.7 Overview

Finally, a comparative overview of the data presented in this chapter offers several broad chronological and spatial trends. Four key periods of penannular innovation and two overlapping periods of particularly intense deposition can be identified (fig.4.39). The two periods of high deposition can be linked to increases in brooch use in Britain more generally (see fig.2.1). When the distributions of the four chronological groups of penannular types are plotted separately on a map (fig.4.40), the more extensive British distribution of the types with Iron Age and post-Roman origins are revealed, alongside the more limited distribution, focused on southern Britain, of the first to fourth century AD types. Again this relates to broader brooch, and indeed other artefact, distributions and undoubtedly relates to patterns of settlement, trade and exchange.

4.8 Conclusions

As a result of the analysis presented in this chapter Fowler's original typology and chronology has been considerably restructured and modified, whilst many of her conclusions have also been confirmed. General terminal design remains the most

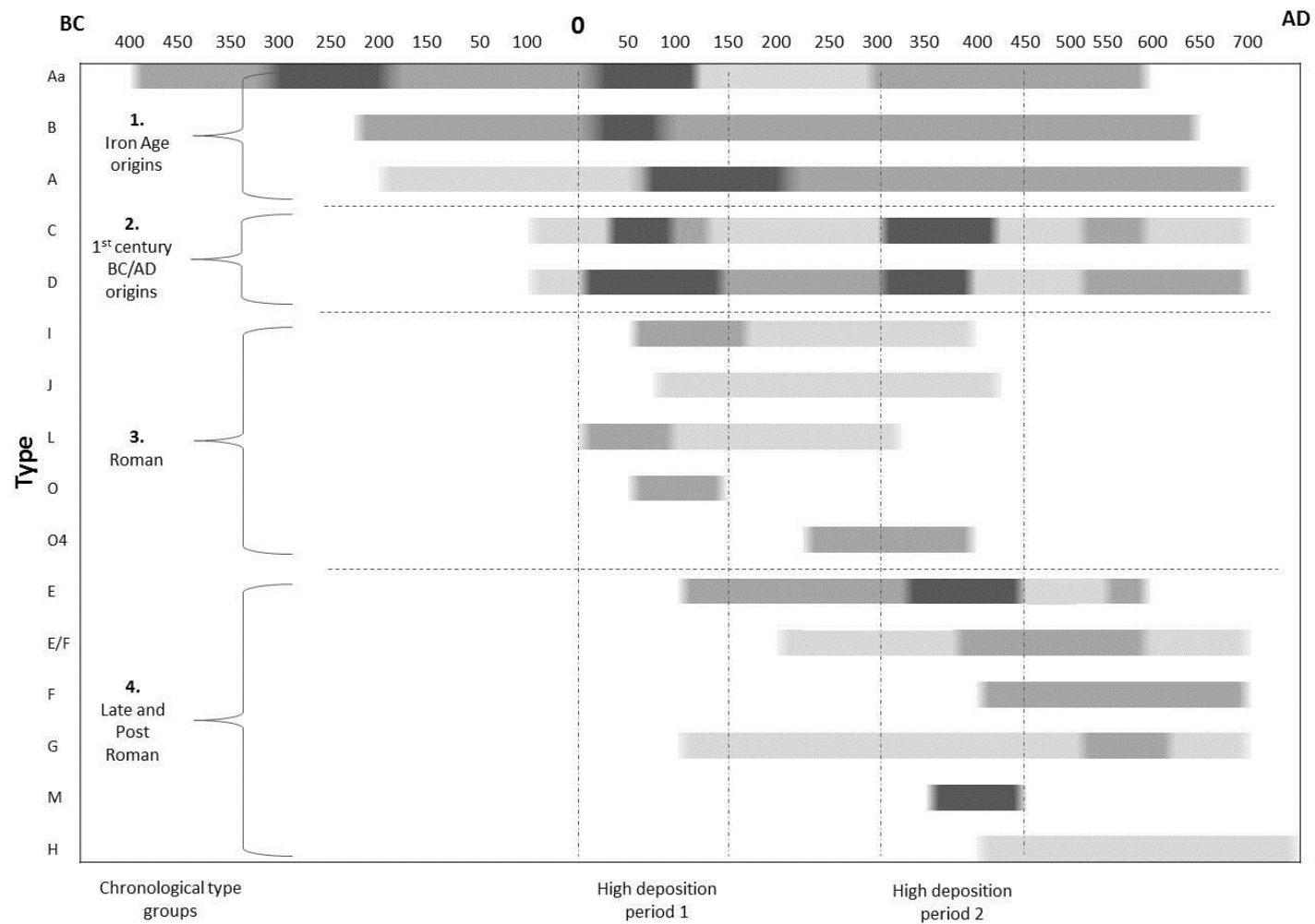


Figure 4.40. Comparative chronology of all penannular types. Darker areas represent higher numbers.

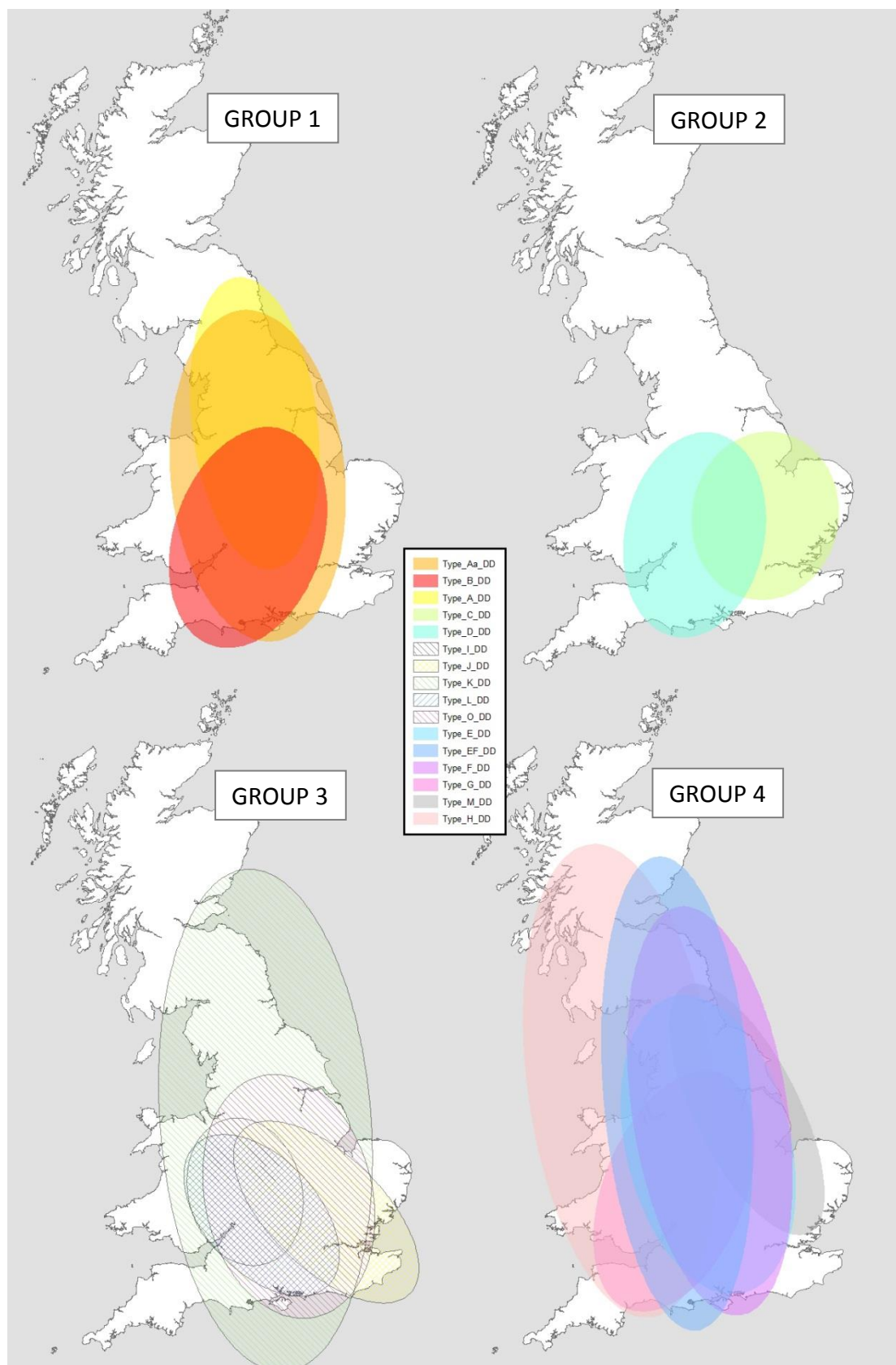


Figure 4.41. Comparative distributions of the four chronological groups of types shown in fig.4.40.

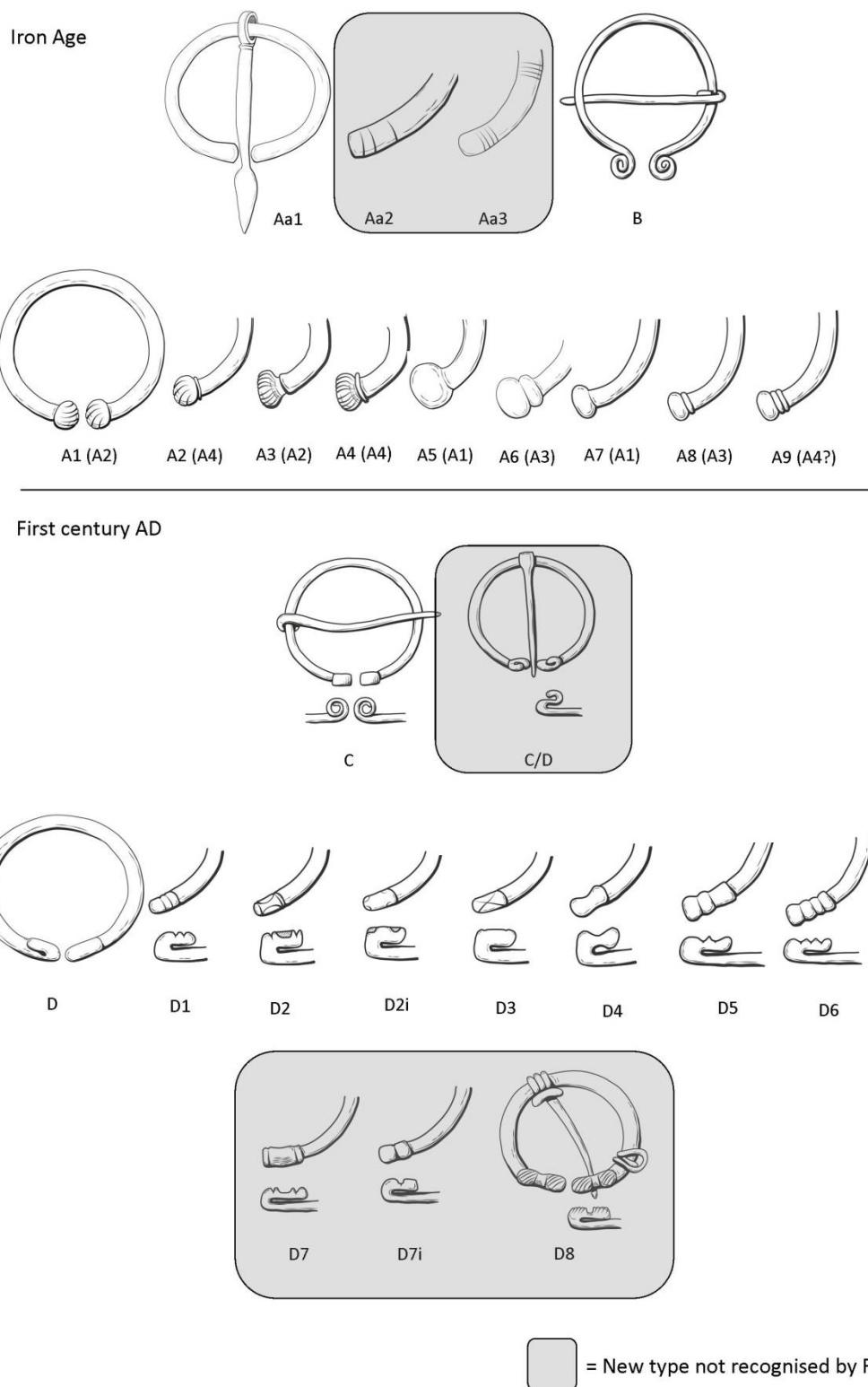
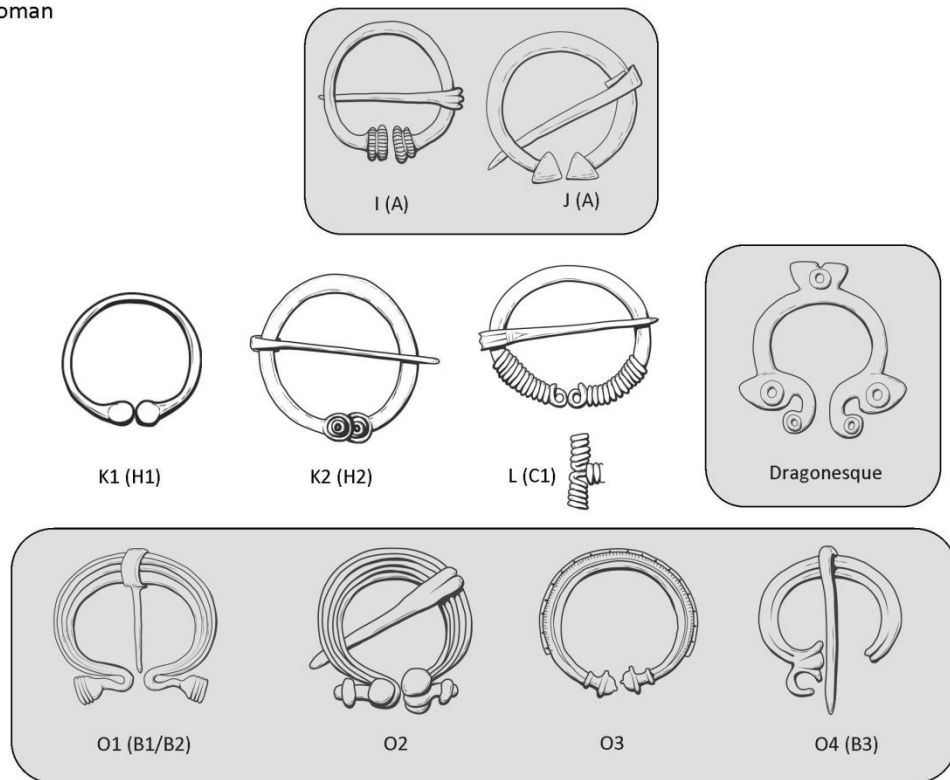
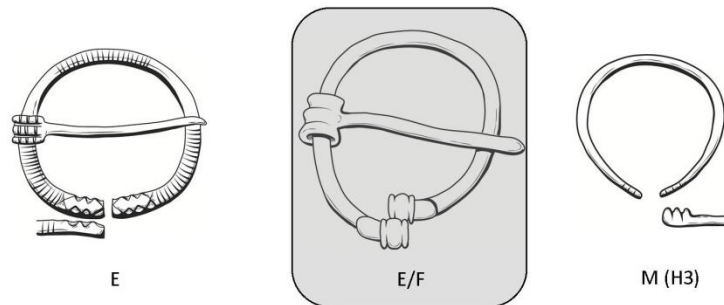


Figure 4.42. Detailed typology of penannular brooches in Britain. Where this deviates from Fowler's the original classification is given in brackets. Entirely new types are highlighted in grey. Chronological periods refer to when the type emerged.

Roman



Late Roman



Post-Roman

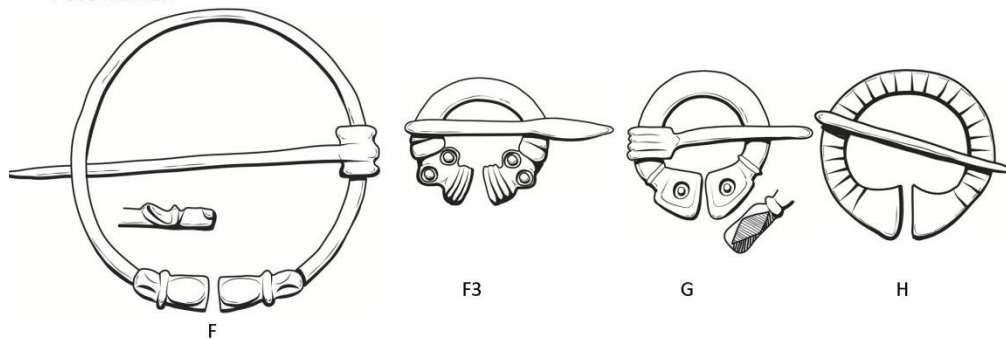


Figure 16.22. Continued.

appropriate way of creating broad groupings. Other features like hoop decoration or size are not always shared across these groups. For example Type Aa, A, B, E, G and H brooches with the largest hoop diameters are most commonly found in northern Britain. In contrast larger Type C brooches tend to have a wider distribution than the smaller ones, but they are still concentrated in the core region, Type D distribution appears to have little to do with hoop size and the largest Type F brooches are found around the periphery of those in the middle of the range. And brooches which apparently shared feature, like C and D with decorated hoops, can still have very different distributions.

On the other hand, sub-divisions based on terminal design can have variable degrees of significance. The form and size of the hoop or the shape of the pin sometimes appear to be more important than the different terminal variants, something that Fowler did not take into consideration. The creation of a typology with multiple sub-divisions should not be seen as an end in itself, however. It is unlikely to offer a useful tool for dating as the sub-types rarely produce very chronologically or spatially discrete patterns. Instead it is better to view the development of each type as a complex process with different forms and combinations of hoop, pin and terminals developing as the result of a mixture of factors such as the location of manufacture, networks of exchange, movement of people and the conscious and unconscious choices of individuals about which style of brooch to wear. This means that each type cannot be simply sub-divided as some of these features may have risen or declined in importance at different times and places and sometimes transcended type altogether.

Finally, although many of the earliest types have chronologies that continue into the post-Roman period, proportions of sub-types often vary. For example there are a higher number of post-Roman Type C brooches with simple, single coil terminals, Aa and A brooches with straight pins and Type D with plain and simple grooved terminals. This reinforces the idea that there was a renewed production of penannulars during this period rather than simply re-use of older brooches, but unfortunately the level of variation is seldom significant enough to provide a basis for chronologically distinct typological groupings.

Chapter 5: Southern Britain

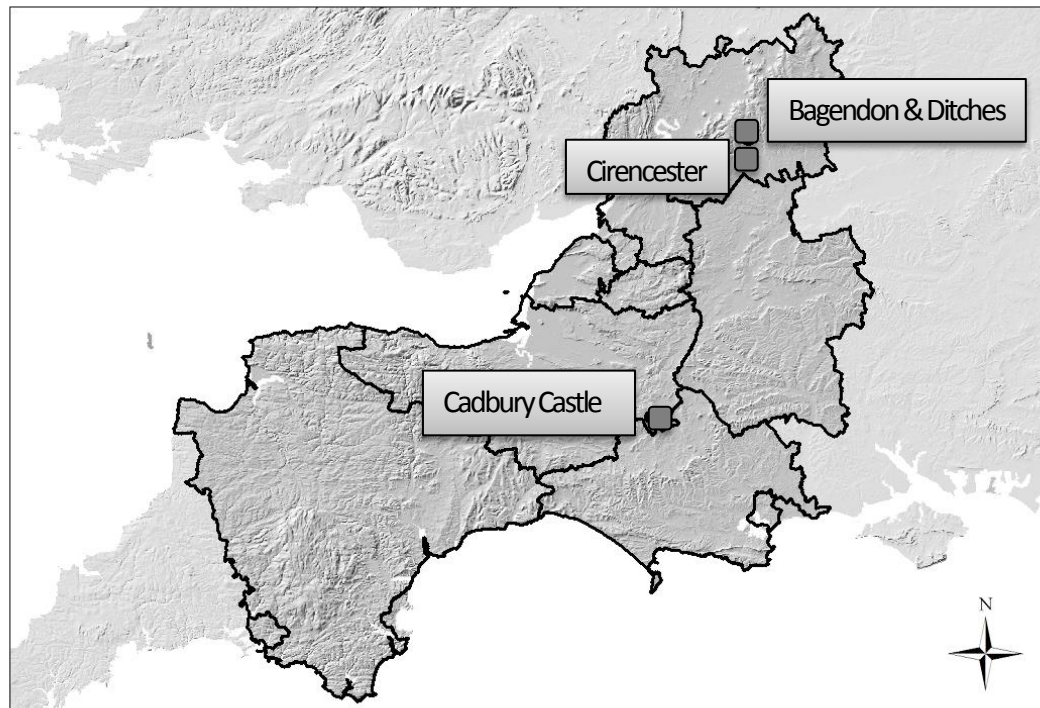


Figure 5.1. The study region and key sites discussed in more detail

This chapter focuses primarily on South-West England where a significant concentration of penannulars has been identified. For the purposes of this study the region is defined by the modern county boundaries of Devon, Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire and Gloucestershire. While Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly are briefly mentioned, these are not part of the study area as few penannulars have been found here. The final part of the chapter turns briefly to South-East England where Type C is concentrated. Because penannulars are more evenly distributed here and there are no prominent regional clusters this region is examined in less detail via a single case study focusing on Colchester.

5.1 South-West England

The South-West's extensive coastline, the longest of any English region, has undoubtedly played a key role in the development of its character and there are indications of overseas trade links throughout the period under consideration here. The region is also defined by a great deal of landscape diversity. In the far South-West lie the rocky mineral-rich uplands of Dartmoor and Cornwall where tin was mined from the early Bronze Age onwards. The Somerset Levels and Moors, bisected by the Polden Hills, occupy the central-western part of the region. This artificially drained area of clay lowland remained largely marshy until the Middle Ages and is rich in well-preserved archaeological deposits. The northern part of the region is dominated by the Jurassic limestone uplands of the Cotswolds and the eastern part by wide fertile valleys and limestone downlands. To the east of the Cotswolds lies the tip of the Upper Thames Valley and south of here the Wessex chalklands extend into the region.

The region has a well-developed tradition of archaeological research established by some of the pioneers of British archaeology including General Pitt Rivers, OGS Crawford and WG Hoskins. Several key excavations have taken place here, including the Glastonbury and Meare Lake Villages (Avery 1968; Bulleid 1911; Coles and Minnitt 1995) and Cadbury Castle (Tabor 2008), Somerset; Bagendon (Clifford 1961) and Ditches (Trow 1988), Gloucestershire and the Roman urban centres of Gloucester (e.g. Hurst 1988; 1999a, b), Bath (Cunliffe 1988b; 1995; Cunliffe and Davenport 1985), Cirencester (Holbrook 1994; 1998; Wachter and McWhirr 1982; Reece 1990; Darvill and Holbrook 1994) Ilchester (Leach 1982; 1994) and Shepton Mallet (Leach and Evans 2001). Landscapes that have also seen sustained programmes of archaeological investigation include relatively undisturbed areas of the Wessex chalklands such as Salisbury Plain and Cranbourne Chase and the Thames Valley, which, thanks to widespread gravel extraction, is now one of the most extensively researched landscapes in Britain.

This diversity together with inconsistent traditions of research has, however, led to an uneven understanding of the region's archaeology, as highlighted in the recent regional resource assessment and research agenda (Webster (ed.) 2007a). Here it was pointed out that the Roman and early medieval periods have often been neglected, the former because attention has long been focused on the military and 'Romanised' societies of

northern and South-East England and the latter because of a paucity of material evidence (*ibid.* 270). In the following sections our understanding of the region's archaeology and current gaps in our knowledge are summarised to provide a background to the following analysis and case studies.

5.1.1 The Later Iron Age

Our main source of information about mortuary practices in the region come from the human remains frequently found in pits, boundary ditches and similar contexts (Hill 1995). Secondary burial appears to have been a complex rite and although human remains treated in this way seldom have burial goods directly associated with them some appear to be indirectly associated with artefacts or groups of artefacts. A few later Iron Age inhumation burials, often crouched, have been found in the Cotswold-Severn region (e.g. at Barnwood and Bagendon; Clifford 1934; Rees 1932; Staelens 1982) and some undated crouched inhumation burials could also potentially date to this period. Cornwall (and the Isles of Scilly) is one of the few regions in Britain with a distinctive Iron Age inhumation tradition. The dead were placed in stone-lined cist graves together with dress accessories and personal items and a few penannulars have been recovered from such contexts (e.g. from Hughtown; Ashbee 1955). Late in the period so-called 'Durotrigian' burials appear in Dorset, characterised by shallow, oval graves in which the dead were placed on their sides in a crouched position, sometimes accompanied by joints of meat, pottery and other goods (Fitzpatrick 2007, 143).

Studies of Iron Age settlement in the South-West have tended to focus on the controversial category of 'hillfort', unsurprisingly given their frequency in the region, and less on lowland settlements, although arguably PPG-16 has begun to help restore this balance (Fitzpatrick 2007, 127). Although many sites have been classified as hillforts, these are characterised by diversity in form and complex construction and occupation sequences. During the middle Iron Age, around the fourth or third century BC, some went out of use, while others were enlarged and refortified (Cunliffe 2005, 388). Whereas some hillforts in southern Britain were abandoned around the start of the first century BC, in the South-West activity at many continued until the time of the Conquest and beyond, but it is often difficult to say whether this was continuous or not (*ibid.* 400).

Large lowland settlements commonly termed oppida are concentrated in South-East Britain, but some are found in this region, particularly in Gloucestershire. Most seem to have developed during the late second and first century BC, possibly at significant points in relation to route-ways (Cunliffe 2005, 406). Debate continues about how to define this type of site and the idea that they were early urban centres is increasingly seen as an over-simplification of their varied and complex occupation sequences (Fitzpatrick 2007, 137). Cunliffe (2005, 472) has speculated that trade with the South-West of Europe may have been conducted from Mount Batten, Plymouth. Enclosed oppida in Gloucestershire include Salmonbury (Dunning 1976), a site which was occupied from at least the first century BC into the first century AD and Bagendon, which appears to have been occupied from the end of the first century BC into the middle of the first century AD (Cunliffe 2005, 191) with a middle Iron Age phase discovered in recent excavations by Tom Moore (Colin Haselgrove pers com.).

Other settlement forms have been more sporadically excavated, but some areas like Dartmoor have received considerable attention. Bronze Age phases of settlements are better understood here, but some appear to have been occupied during the Iron Age too. Such sites include Kestor, Foale's Arrishes and Gold Park, all of which include a cluster of smaller huts around a larger enclosed building and associated field systems (Cunliffe 2005, 277). Kestor appears to date to around the fifth or fourth century BC (Fox 1954a, b), whereas Gold Park was probably occupied from the fourth to second century BC with a stone building on the site possibly even dating from the first century BC (Gibson 1992).

The Somerset Levels have been the subject of systematic archaeological investigation focusing on the Glastonbury and Meare lake villages (see Chapter 4). Excavations by Bulleid and Gray first took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and were continued at Meare by Michael Avery (1968) between 1966-9 and by Bryony Orme (1981; 1983) between 1979-82. A considerable amount has been published about both sites, most notably the thorough reassessment of original excavation data carried out by Coles and Minnitt (1995). The Somerset Levels Project, which commenced in 1978, did not add any major new Iron Age sites to those already known, but our knowledge of the Iron Age in the Central Levels has since been increased by a number of chance finds, including several log boats and votive deposits (Minnitt 2000, 73).

Far more excavation has been carried out in the Cotswolds and Upper Thames Valley. A number of small, enclosed settlements, commonly of rectangular form and usually less than one hectare in size, have been excavated in the Cotswolds, including Frocester (Price 2000), Birdlip (Parry 1998) and in Guiting Power at Guiting Manor Farm (Saville 1979; Vallander and Catchpole 1997), The Bowsings (Marshall 1996; 1994) and The Park (Marshall 1995). Gravel extraction on the terraces of the neighbouring Upper Thames Valley has revealed numerous settlements of varying scales (Miles et al. 2007). From the mid-Iron Age small-scale settlements appear to have been concentrated on the first gravel terrace, some larger scale aggregated settlements on the second gravel terrace and seasonal occupation of the flood plain itself (Cunliffe 2005, 257). Hingley (1984) has suggested that these functioned together as a single socio-economic system distinct from the less integrated communities in the neighbouring Oxfordshire Cotswold uplands, but Moore (2007, 43) considers that such conclusions may apply less to the Gloucestershire Cotswolds where the settlements appear to be less isolated and show more evidence of clustering. Similar evidence of clustering has also been observed in the neighbouring lower Severn Valley, where late Iron Age enclosures often form part of larger field systems (*ibid.* 44-5). During the first century BC settlement patterns in the Upper Thames Valley began to change, with some sites being abandoned and activity on others becoming more specialised, forming part of an increasingly organised agricultural landscape (Smith 2007, 7).

The Wessex chalklands were also densely occupied during much of the Iron Age. Military activity on the Salisbury Plain Training area has enabled extensive exploration of around c 40 km² (Field et al. 2002), revealing a process of landscape reorganisation between c.1200-1000 and the eighth to fifth centuries BC. Existing 'Celtic' field systems were overlain with a new system of linear earthworks, something that appears to have coincided with a widespread move from arable to livestock farming (*ibid.*, 154). A number of later Iron Age enclosures of various shapes, but primarily circular or oval, were also discovered here, alongside five hillforts of varying forms (*ibid.* 155).

Many Wessex settlements were extremely long-lived and although their surrounding enclosures are often seen as their defining feature, several appear to have passed through enclosed and unenclosed phases. To the south, just below Salisbury, Bersu's (1940) excavations at Little Woodbury identified what is thought to be a single farmstead with a well-organised interior featuring facilities for grain processing and

storage surrounded by a palisaded enclosure. This had been replaced by a ditch by the Middle Iron Age, a pattern that has also been observed at Meon Hill, Houghton Down and the Caburn (Cunliffe 2005, 241).

5.1.2 Roman

Rome's influence was clearly felt in the South-West prior to the invasion, but evidence for the presence of the military in the region appears only around 50 AD when legionary fortresses were established at Gloucester and Exeter (Holbrook 2007, 151). Our knowledge of urban development in the region remains patchy as some key excavations, for example in Gloucester, remain to be published (Webster (ed.) 2007c, 287). Few marching camps have so far been identified in the region and pre-Flavian forts and fortresses are concentrated in Devon, Dorset and South Somerset and in smaller numbers in North Somerset and Gloucestershire (Jones and Mattingly 1990, 89, map 4:23). Possible 'vexillation' fortresses were also located at Lake Farm in Dorset and North Tawton, Devon, and naval bases at Hamworthy on the south coast and Sea Mills on the south side of the Severn estuary (*ibid.*). Military activity has also been observed at a number of hillforts, most notably Hod Hill, Ham Hill and Hembury (*ibid.* 95). Overall the distribution of forts in South-West does not follow the pattern seen elsewhere in Britain and it has been suggested that those located here functioned as winter quarters for troops and were arranged to enable control of local agricultural and mineral resources (Holbrook 2007, 160). Many were abandoned by the 70s AD and military activity in the region tailed off after the end of the first century AD (Jones and Mattingly 1990, 97).

Life for the majority of the population in the region appears to have continued much as it always had done. Although a number of towns were established, most of the population continued to live in rural settlements, which on the whole show continuity in both form and distribution from the late Iron Age. Analysis of late Iron Age and Roman rural settlement across Britain (Taylor 2007, 25, fig.4.2) using HER data reveals that enclosed settlements remain common in most areas, particularly Cornwall, Devon and Somerset. Unenclosed settlements are fewer in number and concentrated in west Cornwall, the Upper Thames Valley and on the margins of Exmoor and Dartmoor, with relatively few outside these areas (*ibid.* 26, fig.4.3). Linear settlement systems are limited in number to the west of the region, but the ratio of enclosed to linear

settlements increases towards the west (*ibid.* 30, fig.4.6), where settlement appears to have been more diverse and complex (*ibid.* 54). The distribution of villas seems to mirror this pattern, with larger numbers of linear system settlements tending to correlate with more villas (*ibid.*).

Within such broad patterns there was undoubtedly additional intra-regional variation. A few studies of smaller areas offer a more nuanced view of the relationships between different settlement forms and how these changed over time. Both the Shapwick Project (Aston and Gerrard 1999; 2007) in Somerset and work in the Upper Thames Valley (Miles et al. 2007) have revealed settlement patterns that initially show much continuity with preceding periods followed by the gradual development of more pronounced hierarchies. Excavations on Salisbury Plain (Field et al. 2002) revealed the development of a highly integrated agricultural landscape that encompassed two ‘...enormous, sprawling concentrations of settlement with interlinked roads and fields, and suburb development utilizing ‘greenfield’ sites’’ (*ibid.* 157).

Not every project has produced a picture of uninterrupted continuity and slow change, however. In the Cadbury Castle hinterland the deliberate backfilling of ditches at several locations together with a lack of diagnostically Roman pottery may point towards a single event horizon during which settlements were abandoned and productive land decommissioned in response to the arrival of the Roman army (Tabor 2008, 160). Occupation of the hillfort itself appears to have ended around this time, with only the shrine left standing in the central plateau, until this too was destroyed in around AD 50 to 70 when barracks were constructed (*ibid.* 162-3). In the Upper Thames Valley a period of settlement disruption occurred in the early second century AD with the abandonment or reorganisation of many existing sites and the establishment of a new network of linking trackways (Smith 2007, 7).

Towns of varying sizes also developed during this period. The *colonia* at Gloucester was founded between AD 96-98 on the site of the earlier legionary fortress (Wacher 1995, 18) and Dorchester was possibly granted municipal status later in the period (*ibid.* 19). There were a number of *civitas* capitals acting as local administrative centres, including Exeter, Dorchester and Cirencester (*ibid.* 22, fig.1). Ilchester may be the *Lindinis* referred to in inscriptions on Hadrian’s Wall and so may have also gained *civitas* capital status, but excavation has yet to confirm this theory (Aston and Burrows

1982, 78-80). Settlements classed as ‘small towns’ (although some could be quite large in size) grew up in a more organic, unplanned fashion. It should be remembered that these definitions are all flexible, however, with many settlements changing in size and status throughout the period. Finally Bath held an unusual role as a specialised religious centre, its temple and bath houses offering curative facilities to visitors (Cunliffe 1988b; 1995; Cunliffe and Davenport 1985). Overall urban settlement was primarily concentrated in North Somerset and Gloucestershire, with few towns located found to the west of Ilchester and Dorchester (*ibid.*).

The development of towns may also be linked to that of the road network, which allowed the efficient transport of the goods required to sustain their populations. Undoubtedly there were also many smaller tracks that are now lost, many of which may have continued to follow well-established prehistoric routes (Jones and Mattingly 1990, 177). The southern end of the Fosse Way passes into the region above Cirencester before running down through Somerset and Devon to Exeter on the south coast. This important arterial road was constructed soon after the Conquest (Leach 2003, 39) and a significant number of the urban centres in the region subsequently grew up along it (Jones and Mattingly 1990, 156, map.5:12).

The sea and rivers were also key facilitators of travel and transport. Continentally imported goods are likely to have entered and exited Britain via numerous ports along the region’s extensive coastline. The strongest archaeological evidence for these is found along the Channel coast and such sites are likely to include Hamworthy, Seaton, Topsham, Mount Batten and St. Michael’s Mount (Holbrook 2007, 154). Ports are also thought to have been present on the Severn coast and further south around the Camel estuary, but evidence for these remains more limited (*ibid.*). The particularly wide distribution of Dorset black-burnished ware is testament to the breadth of the networks that connected the region. At its peak in the second and third centuries it appeared as far north as the Antonine Wall (Allen and Fulford 1996), its movement probably aided by long-established trade routes running northwards from the Dorset coast and its success with the military (Tyers 1996, 66-7).

5.1.3 Early Medieval

The fifth to the ninth century AD in the South-West has traditionally been thought of as strongly divided, both chronologically and spatially. It has often been assumed that the

region was entirely Romano-British in character at the start of the fifth century, with Anglo-Saxon culture only encroaching later in the century, first around Salisbury/Old Sarum before spreading east and southwards (Webster 2007, 169). By the end of the seventh century the influence of Anglo-Saxon culture is thought to have begun to spread further into the region, eventually to most areas apart from Cornwall (*ibid.*).

A lack of datable artefact types, such as coins and pottery, makes identifying Early Medieval settlement difficult. There remains a reliance on written accounts to identify sites and key events (Webster 2007, 170). The population clearly did not disappear following AD 410, but they became far less archaeologically visible. It is likely that life changed considerably following the withdrawal of Roman administration, but identifying whether this resulted in the immediate collapse of existing social and political systems or rather a period of slow decline remains difficult.

There are signs of continued occupation at several rural settlement sites (Webster 2007, 171). Post-Roman phases have been identified at Hayes Farm, Devon (Simpson et al. 1989); Yarford (Wilkinson et al. 2004) and Shapwick, Somerset (Gerrard and Aston 1999; 2007); Worth Matravers, Dorset (Graham et al. 2002) and the villa at Frocester, Gloucestershire (Price 2000, 115-6). Post-Roman phases are less archaeologically visible further east where fewer settlements appear to have been enclosed (Webster 2007, 172).

Some post-Roman cemetery sites have been identified in this region which may have had associated settlements of a similar date, for example those at Collingbourne Ducis (Pine 2001) and Market Lavington (Williams and Newman 2006), Wiltshire. Very late Roman military metalwork has been found at sites in the Upper Thames Valley including Woodeaton, Frocester and Somerford Keynes (Miles et al. 2007, 401). Although these objects may no longer have been in use by military personnel, they could suggest the presence of a late or post-Roman elite who were using them as badges of office (*ibid.*). Activity also appears to have continued at temple and shrine sites such as Lydney (Casey and Hoffman 1999) and Uley (Woodward and Leach 1993), Gloucestershire and Henley Wood (Watts and Leach 1996) and Lamyatt Beacon, Somerset (Leach 1986).

Despite these signs of continuity there was also much change in settlement patterns. A fast rate of decline is evident at all villas that were in use at the end of the Roman

period. Frocester Court, Gloucestershire, for example, was apparently occupied into the fifth century and the site itself well beyond this period, but its inhabitants became ever more impoverished and the villa increasingly difficult to maintain until they were forced to move into an adjacent timber building (Price 2000). In contrast, a number of hillforts in the region show renewed occupation and refortification in the fifth and sixth centuries. These appear to have been the sites of high-status settlements and include Cadbury Congresbury (Rahtz et al. 1992), Crickley Hill (Dixon 1988, 78) and most extensively, Cadbury Castle (Alcock 1995).

The nature of occupation at many towns clearly began to alter towards the end of the Roman period. Signs of decline are often apparent, but exactly what happened next is not always clear. The existence of large late Roman urban cemeteries, such as those at Poundbury (Farwell and Molleson 1993), Ilchester (Leach 1994) and Kingsholm (Hurst 1975), suggest that the populations of towns remained high in the late Roman period, but how long these cemeteries were used for is not always known due to a lack of carbon dating (Webster 2007). Evidence for post-Roman settlement within towns can be mixed. At the Greyhound Yard site, Dorchester, some buildings showed signs of lower intensity late fourth century use (Woodward *et al.* 1993). At Gloucester several public buildings and the main street were demolished in the early years of the fifth century and new buildings set on timber sill-beams were constructed in their place (Heighway and Garrod 1980, 84). At Exeter a cemetery dating to around c.450 has been excavated, but there are fewer signs to suggest that the nearby town was still inhabited (Allan 1991). Burials radiocarbon-dated to the post-Roman period have also been excavated at Fosse Lane, Shepton Mallet (Leach and Evans 2001). Cirencester is unusual because occupation here increased in intensity during the late Roman period until it peaked around AD 350, remaining high until the final years of the fifth century (Faulkner 1998) and there are signs of continued post-Roman occupation at several sites across the town (Holbrook 1998).

A number of cemeteries of varying character in use in the late and post-Roman periods have been excavated alongside a smaller number of individual burials. Many more single burials may date to this period, but have not been interpreted in this way due to a lack of accompanying evidence (Webster 2007, 183). There are two distinct styles of burial found in late Roman South-West Britain. Group 1 are aligned west-east, usually have few accompanying grave goods and may be placed in stone coffins or stone-lined

graves (Petts 2004, 77-8). Group 2 are aligned north-south, do have grave goods and the bodies are placed in a wider variety of positions (*ibid.* 78). Cemeteries containing Group 1 burials tend to show a level of overall organisation, with graves often being arranged roughly in rows, whereas Group 2 burials often cluster in small groups, sometimes around a central burial, suggesting that relationships between the deceased were afforded more importance than the overall structure of the cemetery (*ibid.*). These different styles of burial sometimes occur together in the same cemetery, for example at Poundbury (Farwell and Molleson 1993), or in separate cemeteries that are located close to one another, such as the two contemporary cemeteries located to the north and south of Ilchester, Somerset (Leach 1982). Only the Group 1 tradition continued into the fifth and sixth centuries, although this was not unchanged as some of these later burials do include grave goods. The distribution of these cemeteries is restricted largely to Somerset and Dorset (Petts 2004, 81). Further west burial traditions are more varied, but Grave 1 styles graves begin to dominate there in the post-Roman period suggesting that they may have spread westwards during this period (*ibid.*).

The earliest Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, dating to the later fifth century, are concentrated in Wiltshire, particularly around Salisbury (Eagles 1994, 13-15). Some appear to have been deliberately associated with existing prehistoric burial monuments (Meaney 1964; Williams 1997). Collectively the Anglo-Saxon cemeteries of Wiltshire also display certain characteristics that set them apart from those found in other areas of Wessex or Anglo-Saxon England, including a lower proportion of cremations and the occurrence of clothed burials (*ibid.*), suggesting the incorporation of elements of both Anglo-Saxon and existing traditions. It is these cemeteries that provide the most evidence for Anglo-Saxon activity during the fifth century, but there is also some limited artefactual and settlement evidence. In particular a large timber two-phase building has been identified through aerial and magnetic survey at Foxley in north-west Wiltshire, which has produced a single radiocarbon date of cal AD 555-665 (430-760) at a level of 68% (95%) confidence (Eagles 1994, 21).

Many more sixth- and seventh-century Anglo-Saxon cemeteries have been excavated. There is a concentration in the Wessex chalklands, the distribution of which appears to be related to rivers and later patterns of settlement (Eagles 1994, 16). Fewer are found to the north and north-west of here and they also decrease in number towards the chalkland's south-west limits (*ibid.* 17). In Dorset sixth-century cemeteries are sparsely

scattered, but focused in the east of the region and along the south coast, leading Eagles to suggest that this new burial tradition may have been entering this region from the coast along the river Stour (*ibid.* 17). This route may have been in use earlier as some of the earliest Anglo-Saxon artefactual evidence from the county was discovered at Hod Hill, which also lies along the course of the river (*ibid.* 13). Further north a wealthy Anglo-Saxon cemetery was excavated at Lechlade in the Upper Thames Valley, with sixth- to eighth-century pottery and crop marks nearby indicating the location of possible sunken-featured buildings (*ibid.*). A further cemetery was also discovered to the west of here at Fairford in the mid-nineteenth century (Wylie 1852). In Somerset the only evidence of Anglo-Saxon activity prior to the seventh-century is limited and exclusively artefactual at present (Eagles 1994, 18).

5.2 Regional data overview

5.2.1 Quantities

It is striking that 618 penannulars, or 25.3% of the British total are located in this study region. This figure is likely to have been artificially increased by museum visits, but is so high nonetheless that it supports the conclusion that there is a significant concentration of penannulars located here.

Type D is the most common form including nearly half of the national total (48%) (fig.5.2). The second and third most common types nationally, Type A and C, are both found in far smaller numbers, comprising only 12% and 14% of the national total respectively. Proportionally speaking Types Aa, B, L, O and G are also found in significant quantities – each more than 25% of the national total. In particular nearly half, or 44.8%, of Type B are found in the region. Types D/C, O4, M, Dragonisque and F3 do not appear in the region. Types, H, E and F are found only in small numbers, particularly Type F.

5.2.2 Distribution

The eastern and north-eastern part of the region contains the highest number of penannulars (fig.5.4). In contrast, far fewer have been found to the south and west in

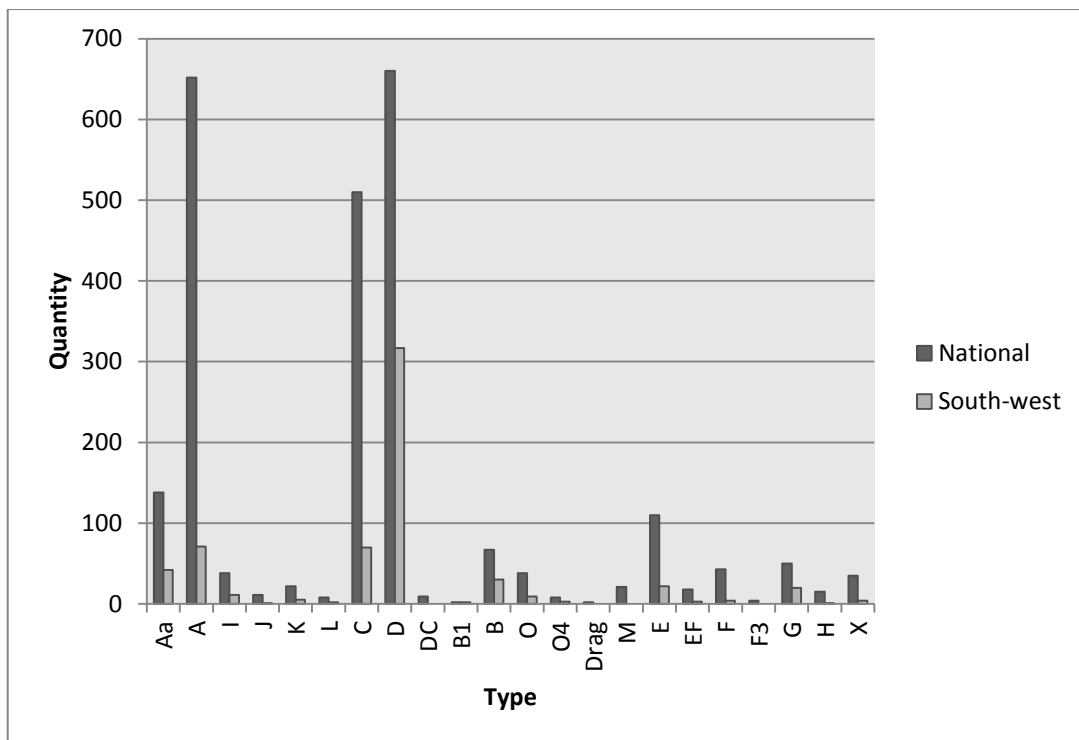


Figure 5.2. Quantity of each penannular type found in the case-study region compared with national data.

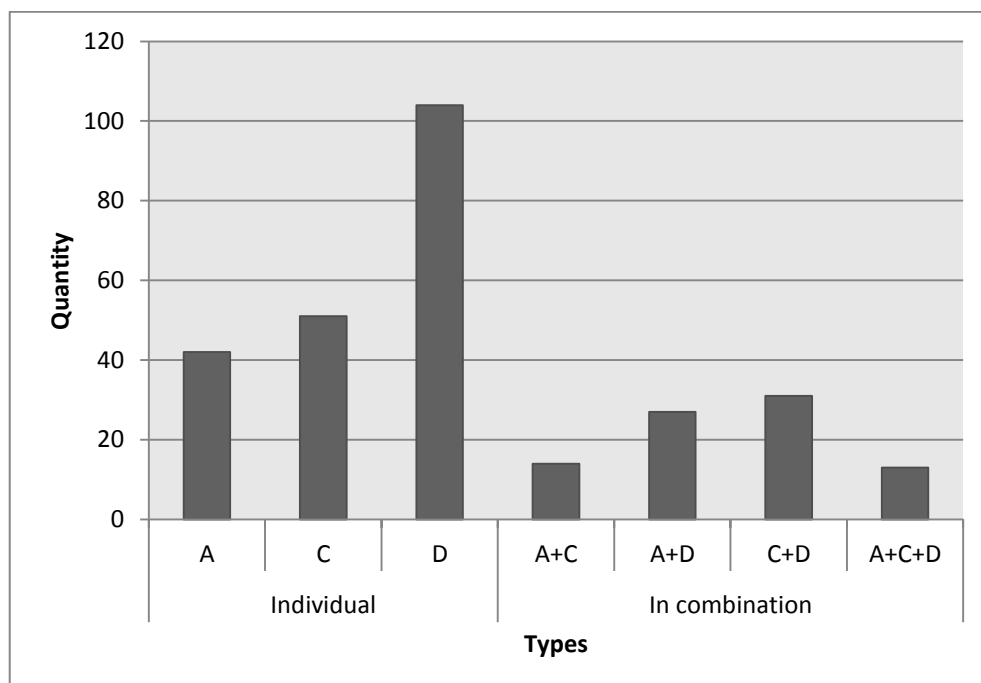


Figure 5.3. Combinations of Types A, C and D penannulars on individual sites in South-West Britain

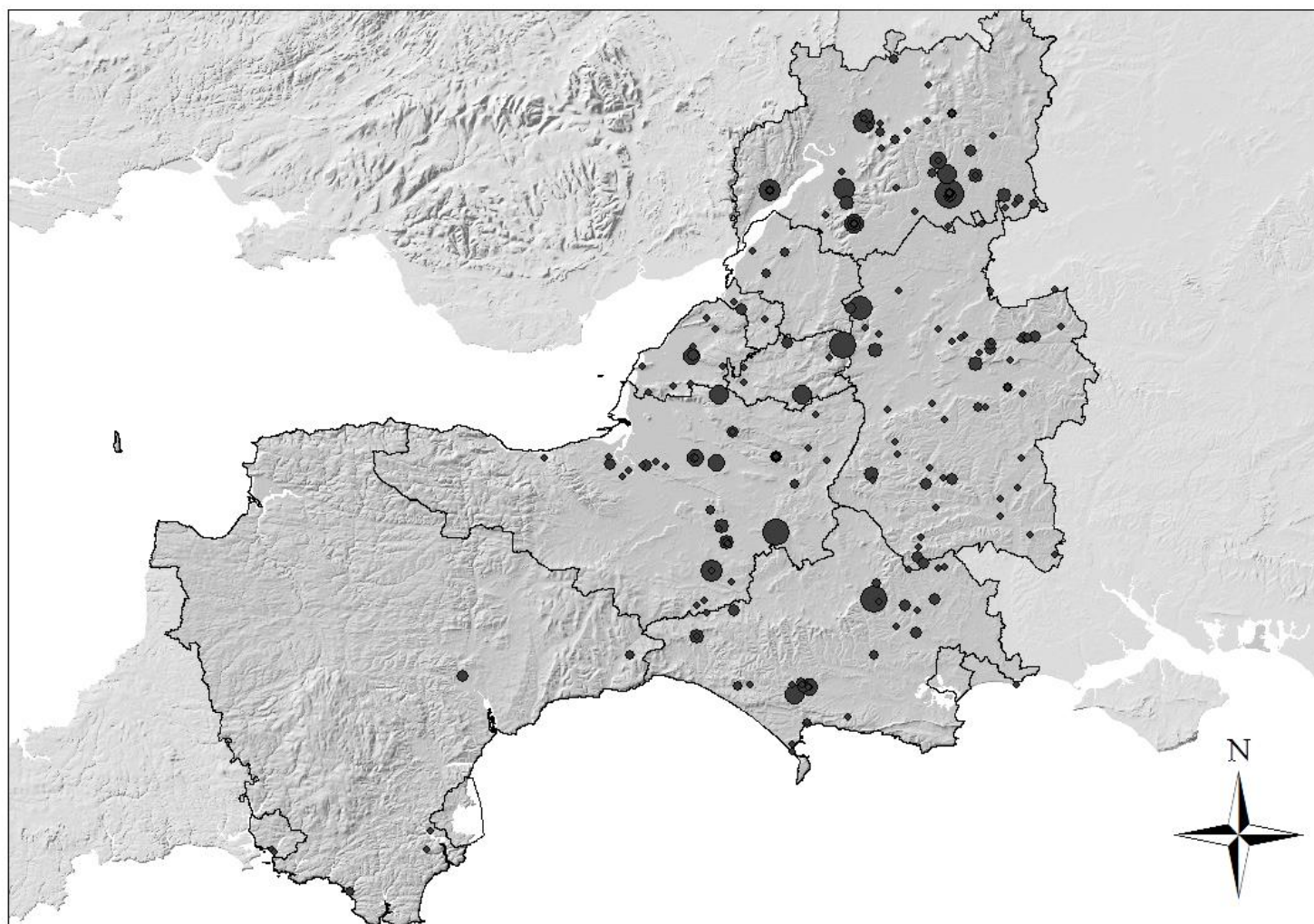


Figure 5.4. Quantity of penannulars per site in south-west England

Dorset and Wiltshire, and Devon has a particularly low number. This bias results from the fact that major settlement sites, particularly hillforts and Roman towns, are concentrated in the east and north of the region. Significant concentrations are found in many of the well excavated areas identified earlier in the chapter. Clusters tend to be located in upland regions, for example on the edges of the Mendip Hills, the Cotswolds, to either side of the Thames Valley and around the edges of Cranbourne Chase and the West Wiltshire Downs, but concentrations also occur on the Somerset Levels and along both coastlines. Large gaps in the distribution include regions of lower ground around Wincanton in South Somerset and Sherbourne in Dorset and the Avon Valley west of Bath. These are possibly explained by a lack of excavation in these area.

5.2.3 Common penannular types – key patterns

Types Aa and B

These are the two forms with the earliest origins found in the region and they share a similar distribution. Type Aa is clustered around the Somerset, Dorset and Wiltshire intersection, with a few outliers in southern Dorset, at Maiden Castle and Weymouth, and to the north at Cirencester. In comparison Type B brooches are fewer in number, more dispersed and display a slight bias towards the north of the region. Both types were found together at a total of only seven sites – Cold Kitchen Hill and Stockton Earthworks in Wiltshire, Glastonbury and Meare Village East in Somerset, and Gussage All Saints, Hod Hill and Maiden Castle in Dorset.

A single undated Type B penannular, found at Mount Batten, Devon (Cunliffe 1988a, fig.34, no.77) stands out from this pattern. Cunliffe (2005, 472) has suggested this site may have been engaged in continental trade during the Iron Age. There is unfortunately little further information about this brooch and so it hardly offers conclusive proof that this form of penannular reached Britain from the continent, but it does perhaps hint at such possibilities.

Types A, C and D

A cluster of Type D is located in the Cotswolds, whereas Types C and A are more dispersed, but overall these three common types have similar regional distributions. Each type occurs on a very different range of sites, however. 92 sites have produced one of the three types alone, but only 46 have produced them in combination with each other

(fig.5.3). Type D occurs most commonly with one of the other two types, but Types A and C rarely occur together. This is perhaps to be expected given their national distribution.

The zoomorphic forms

Type E is clustered in the north of the region, around the Severn estuary, Mendips and Cotswolds. A pair have also been found far from here at Jordans Hill, the Romano-Celtic temple site near Weymouth in Dorset (Salisbury museum cat. no.SBYWM:3M4A.11; Hull cat. no.9009). By comparison only a small number of Type F brooches have been found, mostly in Wiltshire and particularly around the Avon Valley. This is unsurprising given that Type F has a slightly more dispersed and northern distribution than Type E. An un-enamelled Type F brooch found through metal detecting near Cherhill, Wiltshire was recorded with the PAS (ref. WILT-809E32), and three enamelled examples have been excavated elsewhere in the county at Calne (Youngs 1995) and Oldbury in Wiltshire (Kilbride-Jones 1937, no. 86; Kilbride-Jones 1980, 91, fig.23, 21) and further east from the sacred spring at Bath, North Somerset (Cunliffe 1988b, pl. 17, no.48). There is a single Type E/F brooch from Pewsey, Wiltshire (White 1988, fig.8, no.5).

5.2.4 Common site types – key patterns

Three categories of site have produced the highest number of penannulars and the widest range of types – Roman towns, rural settlements and hillforts – closely followed by Romano-Celtic temples and villas. 14 sites have produced more than 10 penannulars, including Hod Hill (27 brooches), Cadbury Castle (41 brooches) and Cirencester (55 brooches). The hoard from Batheaston also contained 32 penannulars.

Iron Age settlements, middens and hillforts

Three penannulars, a Type A, Aa and B, plus two pins have been found at the late Bronze Age/early Iron Age midden site of All Cannings Cross, Wiltshire (Cunnington 1923; Devizes Museum cat. no.1214), but unfortunately there is little information about the context of their discovery. The fact that all three are early types suggests that they are contemporary with other Iron Age material in the deposit rather than intrusive. The majority of penannulars from settlements where occupation was primarily or exclusively of Iron Age date are Types Aa and B, with lesser numbers of Type A, C

and D. All of the latter three types came from sites with some limited post-Conquest activity. Type D is the most common form found on hillfort sites, followed by A, Aa and F. Although the main phases of construction and occupation at every hillfort in the region took place in the Iron Age, many were also in use at various points during the Roman and early medieval periods, which explains this wide variety of types. In addition the high numbers of Type A and O may reflect phases of military occupation.

Multi-period rural settlements

Although a wide range of types have been found on rural sites, few of these occur in any numbers apart from Types D and C. In particular more Type C penannulars are found at multi-period settlement sites than any other category. By contrast far fewer Type A brooches were in use on rural sites. This may indicate a deliberate rejection of the style by the local population because of its associations with Roman military sites and towns, or alternatively the mechanisms through which they were traded and exchanged may have been less accessible to rural communities.

Roman military sites, towns and villas

Roman towns have produced the largest numbers of Type A and Type D. Small towns have produced a fairly similar range of types, but in much smaller numbers. Roman military sites with no later occupation are rare in the region and have produced only three Type A and two Type D brooches. Type D and then Type A are also the most common forms from villas, but more Type E brooches have been found on villa sites than any other penannular type. This probably reflects the fact that most villas date to later in the Roman period.

Roman and early medieval cemeteries

A Type A was apparently found in excavations of a Roman burial at Stamford Hill, Plymouth (Mackreth 1988, fig.50, no.S14); a Type C and three Type Ds during excavations of the Bathgate cemetery, Cirencester (Mackreth 1982b, fig.52, nos.13, 14, 15 & 16) and two Type G penannulars were found in the late and post-Roman cemetery at Cannington, Somerset (Rahtz et al. 2000, fig.3, nos.9&10). The only penannulars directly associated with human remains are two Type Ds found linked with a first century AD Type 17B bow brooch that were apparently discovered by Thomas Hardy on the forehead of an inhumation burial in the grounds of his Dorset home at Max Gate

(Moule 1901; Dorset County mus. no. 1939.9.4). Another pair of penannulars attached to a bow brooch in a similar manner have also recently been discovered in an unknown context at Winterborne Kingston in the same county (Damian Evans, Bournemouth University, pers. comm.), suggesting that this depositional arrangement was a regional tradition.

Early medieval cemeteries have produced mostly Type C and D. Notable amongst these are a Type D suspended between two mid-sixth century saucer brooches from a burial of uncertain type and a Type C from the throat of a female inhumation burial, found at Fairford, Gloucestershire (White 1988, 8&12, fig.4, no.9); a Type C from Basset Down, Wiltshire found with two skeletons (possibly one male and one female) and two sets of grave goods, including two shield bosses, a spindle whorl, brooches and beads (Goddard 1895) and two Type Ds from Pewsey, Wiltshire, one found in a grave of unknown type with another brooch, a pin, amber beads and several iron artefacts (White 1988, fig.8, no.6).

Religious sites

In contrast to other Roman sites the most common forms of penannular found at religious sites are Types D and C. Type E are also relatively common and perhaps related to later phases of activity. Overall this ratio has most in common with rural settlements in the region, which is perhaps explained by the frequent presence of small contemporary settlements on religious sites. Several of these sites were later the locations of early medieval burials or small cemeteries, but no penannulars are explicitly associated with these phases.

5.2.5 Context of deposition

There are 24 major sites in the region. 54% of the penannulars from these come from excavations, 7% can be generally attributed to a specific site or location and 39% had only a vague provenance (table 5.1). The proportions of each type that came from a specific excavated context compared to those that could be attributed to a known site, were similar (fig. 5.5). Those discovered as stray finds comprised a very different ratio of types, however. Those from hoards were overwhelmingly Type B, although this primarily reflects the composition of the Batheaston hoard. Those discovered as stray finds were almost exclusively Type A matching the data at a national level.

Site	Specific Provenance (excavation)	General Provenance (PAS, stray site finds, etc.)	Vague/attribution provenance (antiquarian, etc.)
Cirencester	14	1	49
Cadbury Castle	37	3	0
Batheaston hoard	0	0	32
Hod Hill	17	4	6
Kingscote	16	0	4
Nettleton	13	2	1
Dorchester	4	3	6
Ham Hill	1	3	10
Frocester	13	0	0
Charterhouse-on-Mendip	0	0	12
Maiden Castle	12	0	0
Bagendon	7	0	4
Camerton	7	1	3
Meare	7	0	3
Ditches, North Cerney	8	1	0
Ilchester	5	0	4
Glastonbury	8	0	0
Cadbury Congresbury	4	3	0
Catsgore	6	0	1
Atworth Roman Villa	4	2	0
Cold Kitchen Hill	0	2	4
Fairford	5	0	1
West Hill, Uley	5	1	0

Table 5.1. Major sites that have produced penannulars in the region and accuracy of provenance information.

There was little published contextual information about 38% of the excavated penannulars. Of the remaining 62% the largest number come from general construction, occupation and demolition ‘layers’, which were not associated with any particular structure or activity. 31% of these layers were poorly defined or specific details were lacking in the excavation report. Of the other 69%, 18 penannulars came from the

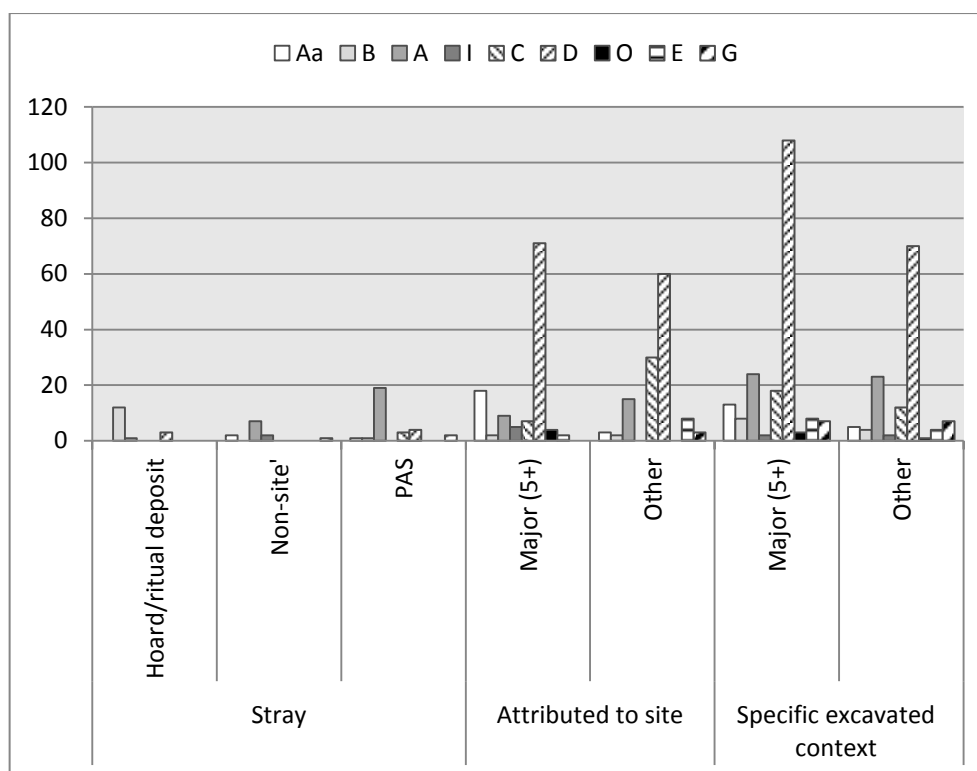


Figure 5.5. Provenances of each penannular type. Showing only types where more than five occur in the region

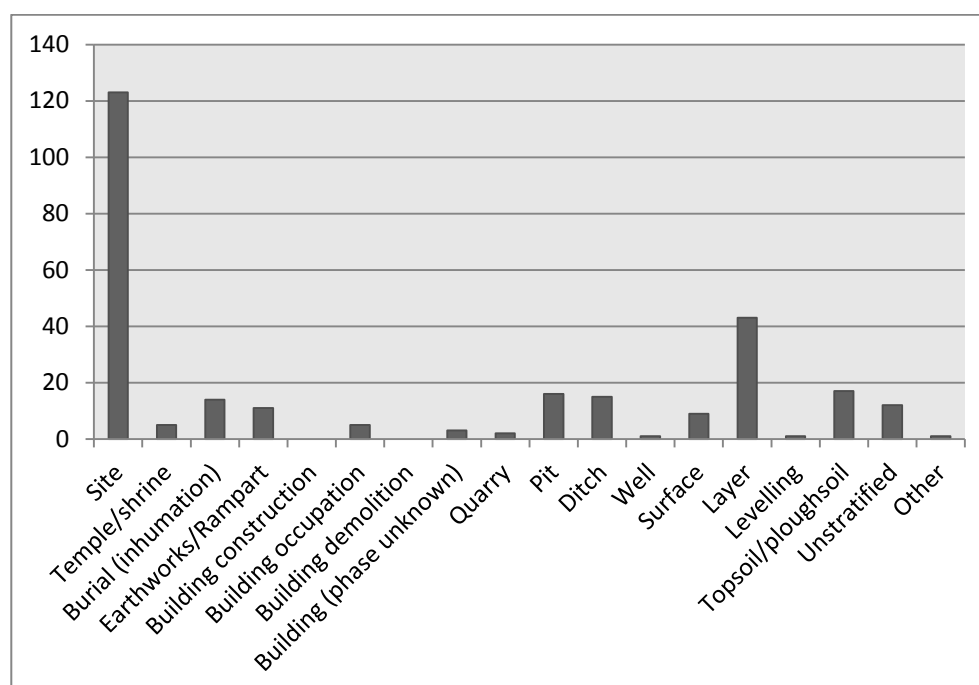


Figure 5.6. Securely provenanced penannulars from excavations – breakdown by context

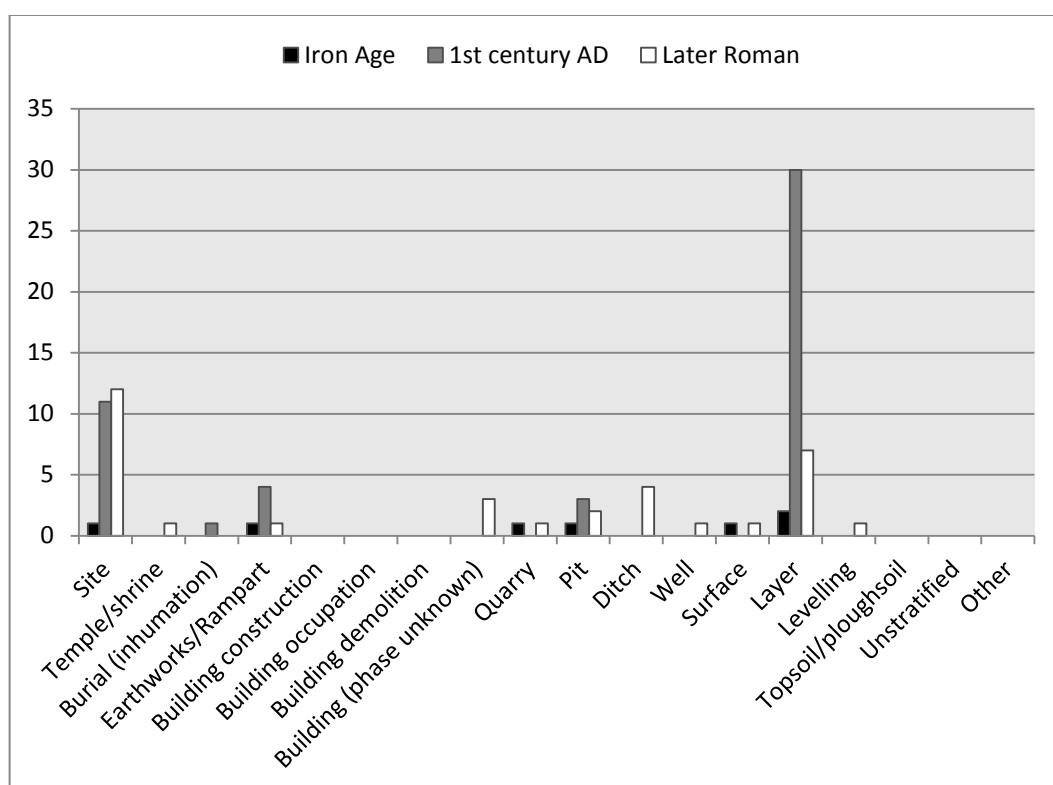


Figure 5.7. Securely provenanced penannulars from excavations – breakdown by context and period

Cadbury Castle ‘massacre deposit’ (discussed in more detail in section 5.3.1.2), three came from the surface of roads, two from agricultural deposits, three from close to defensive earthworks, 15 from general occupation and rubbish disposal deposits, two from the arena of Maumbury Rings early Roman amphitheatre in Dorset and two from general rubble and demolition deposits. A further eight came from specific buildings, five of which were found within general occupation layers. In addition nine were found in primary fills directly above occupation surfaces. In total this makes 32 associated with occupation in some form or another. The rest came from pits (16), ditches (15), earthworks/ramparts (11), inhumation burials of all periods (14) and quarries (2). Finally 29 were unstratified or found in the topsoil.

5.2.5.1 Analysis of stratified finds by period

Very few dated penannulars come from well-defined contexts (fig.5.6). The largest group comes from general ‘layers’. Iron Age penannulars are found in the smallest

range of contexts, exclusively on hillforts (explored more in section 5.3.1) and the domestic/industrial sites of Glastonbury and Meare. Within such sites they appear in a range of both domestic and potentially ritual contexts (although the dividing line between these two categories is arguably blurred).

The range of contexts remains limited during the first century AD, but increases dramatically in the later Roman period. The majority of first century AD penannulars come from general occupation levels, with a large group also coming from the Cadbury Castle massacre deposit (Olivier 1993). One also came from the defensive earthworks at Ditches (Trow 1988, 50, fig.24, no.26), two from general occupation areas at Leaholme fort, Cirencester (Mackreth 1982a, 92, no.17) and Bagendon (Clifford 1961, 184, fig.36.11), and one from an area of rubble at Nettleton (Wedlake 1982, 133, fig.55, no.79). The later Roman 'layers' are not generally well identified apart from an area of general 'suburban occupation' broadly dated to AD 175-400 at Ilchester that produced a single penannular (Broomhead 1999, fig.12, 4). It is only during the later Roman period, however, that penannulars occur in explicitly domestic and religious contexts. A number have also been found in pits, ditches and wells, hinting at an increase in ritual deposition during this period.

5.3 Detailed site case studies

5.3.1 Hillforts

A total of 14 hillforts have produced penannulars. Nine have produced fewer than four penannulars, but the remaining six, all large, developed hillforts, have much higher quantities (fig.5.8). By comparing the ratio of penannular types found at these five sites a high degree of variation is revealed. The types from Cadbury Congresbury show highest levels of divergence from the standard range, but this is to be expected given the nature of occupation here, which was restricted to the Iron Age and late/post Roman period. All of the penannulars from the site were discovered in contexts belonging to the final phase, but the Type B brooch may have been residual from the first phase of occupation. Maiden Castle also stands out because although the range of types found here is similar to those from the other sites, the ratio is very different with far less Type D.

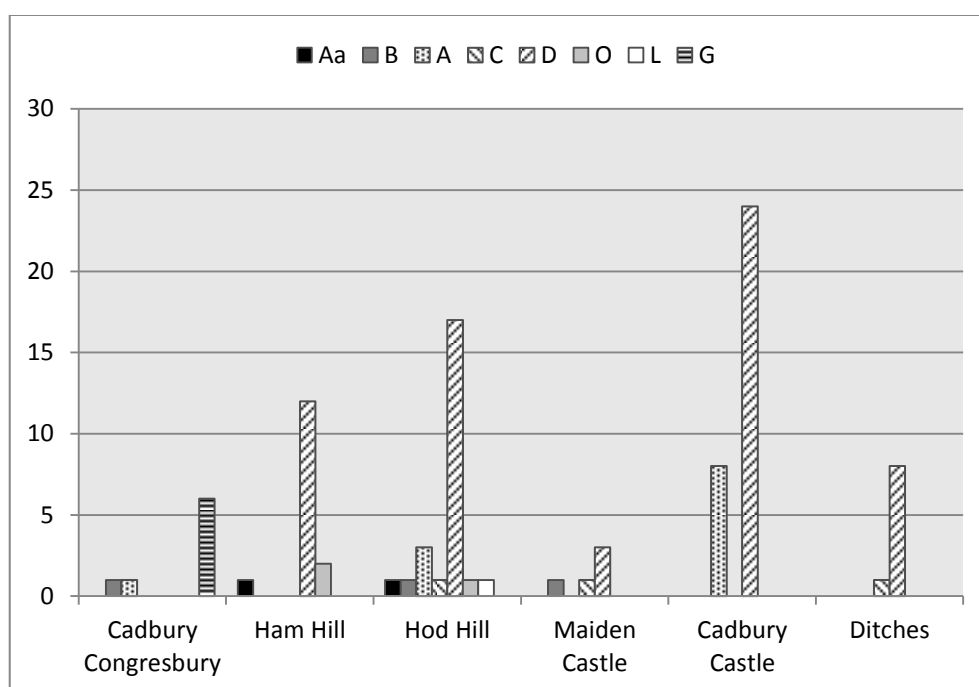


Figure 5.8. Quantities of penannular types from hillfort sites in South-West Britain

The three most similar sites are Hod Hill, Ham Hill and Cadbury Castle. A similar ratio of types is also found at Maiden Castle and Ditches, but in smaller quantities. The latter site is discussed more in section 5.3.2.1. Although Ham Hill has produced fewer types this may be because limited excavations have been carried out here, a problem that will be rectified by the work currently underway (Sharples and Evans 2012). At all three sites Type D dominates and other types only occur in much smaller numbers, but together the five Type Os from Ham Hill and Hod Hill comprise almost half of the total number of this type of brooch from the whole region. Given the high numbers of penannulars found at Cadbury Castle, the range of types – A, D and Aa – seem particularly limited. The most comparable site is Hod Hill, where all three types were found in a similar ratio to one another.

5.3.1.1 Context of deposition

Unfortunately few penannulars were found in verifiable stratified contexts (fig. 5.9) apart from those from Maiden Castle discussed in section 3.6.4.1.1. All from Hod Hill and Ham Hill are antiquarian and chance discoveries. Of the few where contextual information is known, the majority come from entrance and rampart deposits. This

trend is, however, strongly influenced by the findspots of the large assemblage from Cadbury Castle, which occur exclusively in these locations. Few have been found in occupation-related contexts. The few from other contexts come from pits, middens and quarry areas. Because of the extent of the excavations at Cadbury Castle, the amount of published information and the large number of penannulars that this site has produced, it has been chosen for more in-depth analysis here.

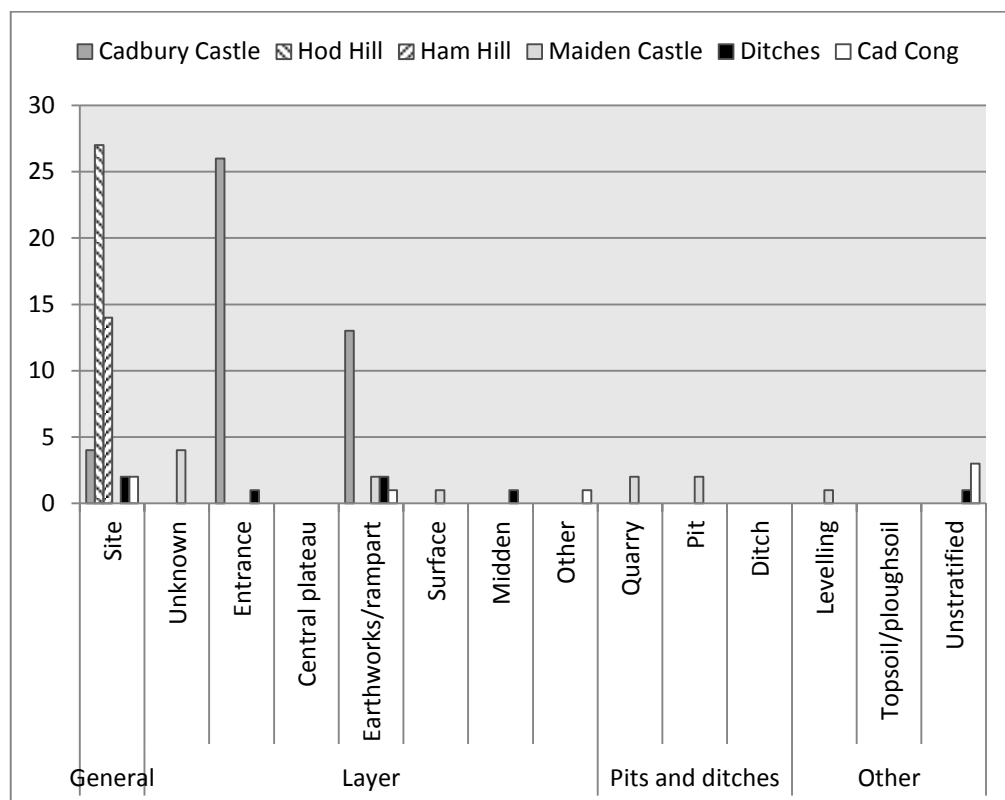


Figure 5.9. Locations of excavated penannulars from the South-Western hillforts

5.3.1.2 Cadbury Castle, Somerset

Cadbury Castle lies on the summit of Cadbury Hill near Somerset's eastern border. Rising from the lowlands on the southern edge of the Somerset Levels, it is a prominent feature of the local landscape (Barrett et al. 2000, 8-9). Together with Ham Hill, located to its South-West, it lies on the western edge of the developed hillfort zone. Its ramparts consist of four banks and three ditches with three entrances – on the south-western and north-eastern corners and the eastern side (*ibid.* 11-12). A programme of excavation led

by Leslie Alcock took place there between 1966-73 following the formation of the Camelot Research Committee (*ibid.*, 3). Post-excavation work began in 1991 and an analysis of the later prehistoric and early historic archaeology of the site was published in 2000 (*ibid.*, 3). The South Cadbury Environs Project (SCEP) conducted further excavations on the site and in the surrounding landscape from 1990s to 2007, but the results of these investigations have yet to be fully disseminated (Tabor 2008).

The brooch assemblage

245 brooches and brooch fragments of all types were uncovered during Alcock's excavations, including 40 penannulars (16.3%). Olivier suggests that these 'form a remarkably consistent group, generally reflecting strong chronological and regional coherence, resulting in an assemblage that with few exceptions typifies brooches current in the South-West during the middle years of the first century AD' (2000, 197). He also comments that 'all the excavated areas have produced a relatively wide range of forms (including typologically later examples), and the on-site distribution of brooches is therefore consistent with the stratigraphic data, reflecting a broadly similar pattern of loss by form over all the excavated areas' (*ibid.* 200). The patterns shown in figures 5.10 and 11 show that this is true neither of the penannulars nor the bow brooches, however:

The northern slope of the interior (Section A): It is possible that Roman activity here continued into the second and third centuries, but the lone Fiddle brooch found here offers no confirmation of this.

The interior plateau: This area produced only early types, which supports the suggestion that Iron Age occupation was centred here (*ibid.* 201). Five penannulars were found in this location – three Type A penannulars, including one from a certain Iron Age context dated c.300-200 BC, two Type D penannulars and a pin.

Rampart: The only part of the ramparts to produce brooches besides section A was section D. Those found here included some early forms, but were largely those current in the mid-first century AD (*ibid.*). Section D was the only part of the rampart to produce a penannular; a Type A, which could potentially be early in date.

The South-West gate (Section K): By far the largest numbers of brooches from the site, around 160, were found here (*ibid.* 197), including 115 directly from the so-called

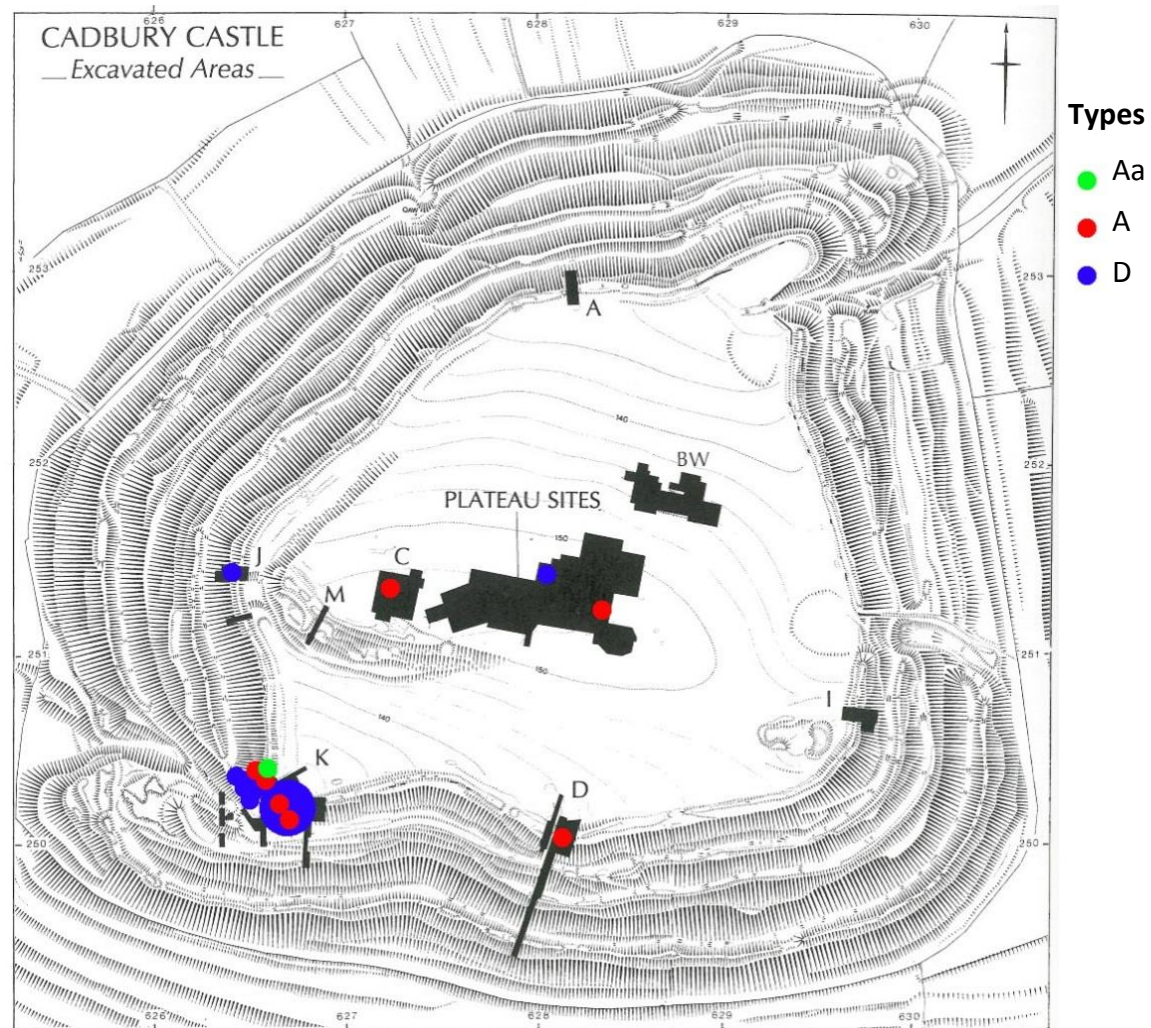


Figure 5.10. Penannulars from excavations at Cadbury Castle (after Barrett et al.2000, 16, fig.7).

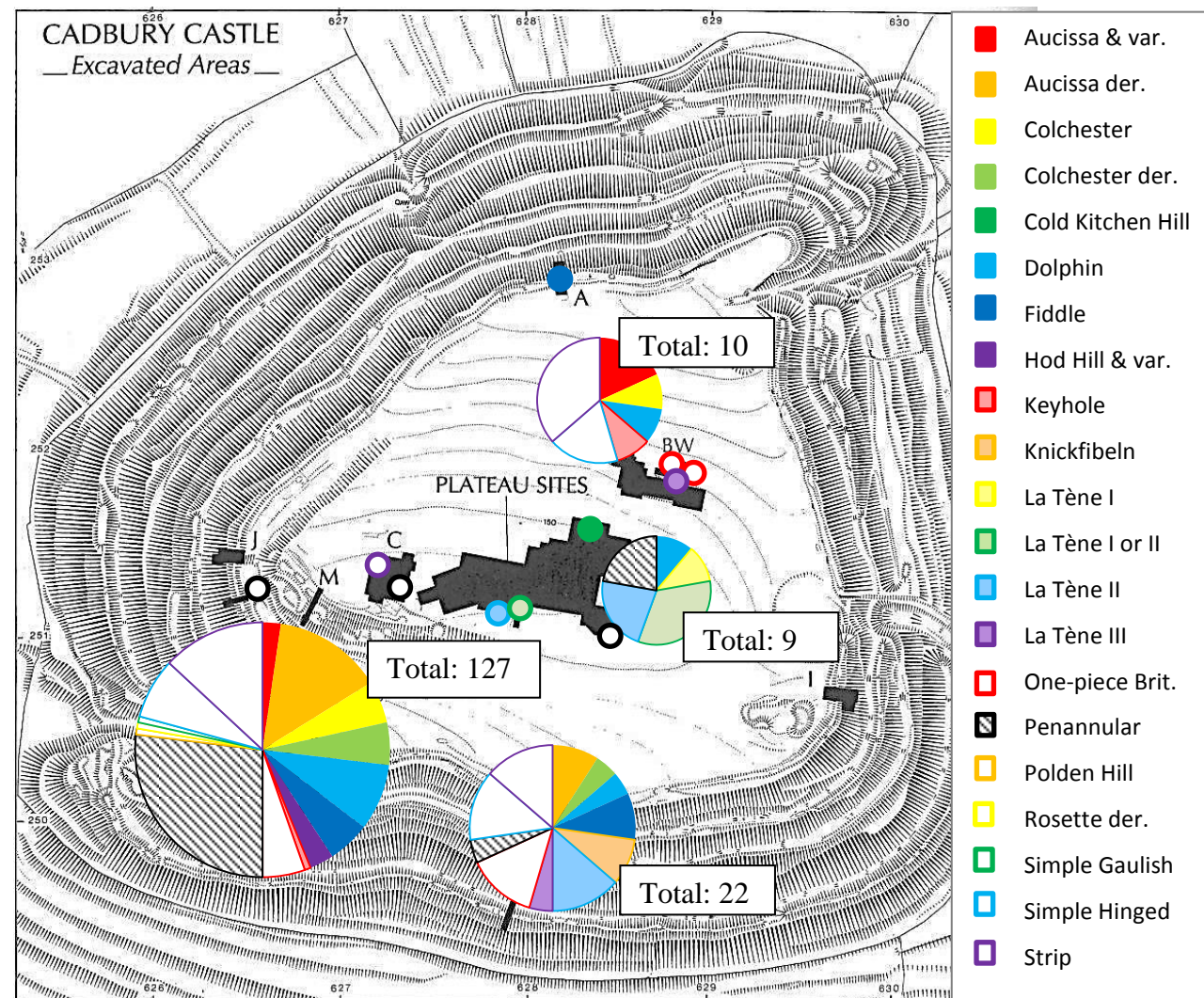


Figure 5.11. All brooches from excavations at Cadbury Castle (after Barrett et al.2000, 16, fig.7).

‘massacre deposits’⁹ (Woodward 2000, 113). The largest range of types were also found here, but largely excluding the early types found on the interior plateau. Penannulars, numbering 23 (including pins), all of which were Type A and D, comprised the largest group of any type.

5.3.1.3 Penannulars from the South-West entrance and the ‘massacre deposits’ (section K)

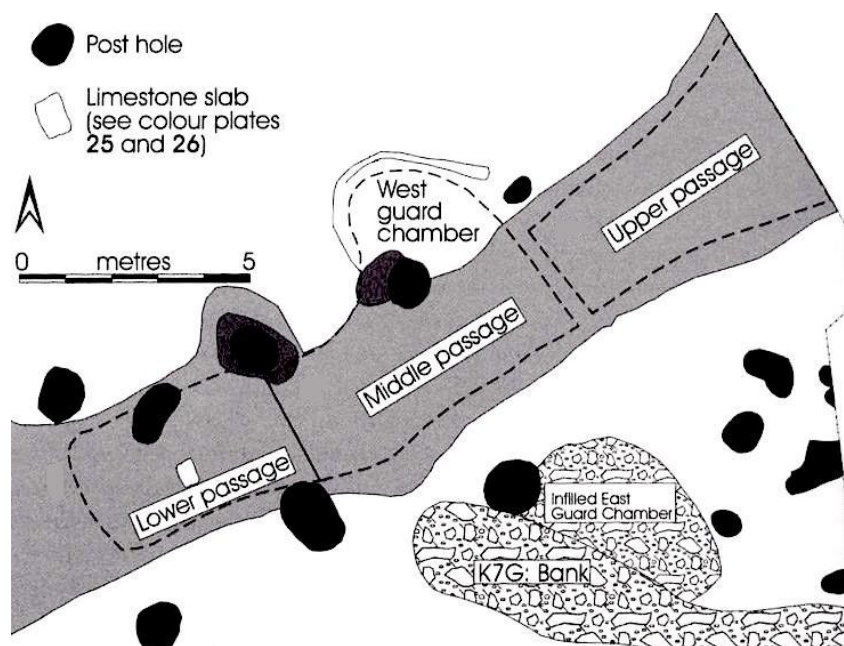


Figure 5.12. The ‘massacre deposits’ found in the South-West entrance to Cadbury Castle (Tabor 2008, 158, fig.90)

A few brooches were found during excavations of the outer earthworks surrounding the South-West entrance, but the majority came from deposits located in the main passageway and a chamber to the west of this (commonly referred to as the ‘guard chamber’), which contained substantial human remains, metalwork and pottery, together with burnt material, all covered by a layer of sealing rubble (fig.5.12). Most of the penannulars were Types A and D, but the two forms were not evenly distributed

⁹ Olivier (2000, 197) quotes this figure as 98 later in the report, but it is not clear why this varies from the earlier one, so the first figure is retained here.

between the outer earthworks and the passageway. Three Type A, one Type Aa and five Type D brooches were recovered from the nearby earthworks, alongside two that could not be identified, whereas 16 Type D brooches, two Type A brooches, three that could not be identified and one pin, were recovered from the massacre deposits.

The nature of the deposits in the passageway led Alcock (1972) to suggest that a violent event had taken place there, most probably a clash between the native inhabitants of the hillfort and the Roman army, resulting in a defeat of the former whose remains were left to rot as they had fallen in battle. As a result these remains have since been commonly termed the ‘massacre deposits’ and theories about their date have been guided by this interpretation. At first Alcock suggested that the event may have occurred just after the invasion, around c. AD 45, but reconsideration of the evidence later led Manning (1976, 37-9) to link it to the suppression of a western extension of the Boudiccan revolt. Subsequently the gateway appears to have undergone a period of neglect before the massacre levels were deliberately sealed with rubble prior to its reconstruction (Alcock 1972, 161-72). This was followed by a final episode of destruction during which the wooden gate was again burnt and the surrounding stone sections pulled down (*ibid.* 170-2).

Most of the brooches from the massacre deposit were types that are usually thought of as Roman in date, although some forms could have arrived pre-Conquest. There was a mix of types generally associated with the Roman military (Aucissa and Hod Hill brooches), British forms (Colchesters, simple one- and two-piece brooches) and locally produced Colchester derivatives showing Roman influence (fig.5.11). Although this points to a diverse range of contacts, most brooches were of a British style and all could have been produced locally (Woodward 2000, 114).

Even if a massacre did create these deposits it seems unlikely that such a large quantity of brooches were worn by individuals who died in the event. Reluctant to abandon his massacre theory Alcock suggested that the brooches may have been spilled by a trader during the violent episode:

It seems likely that traders’ booths and stalls stood just inside the town gate, to catch the attention of rustics and their wives as they brought their goods to market. This, at least, is the most reasonable explanation for the scores of bronze brooches which were scattered down the length of the entrance – that

they had come from a trinket-stall, which had been overthrown in the course of the final struggle at the gate

(Alcock 1972, 163).

Further analysis of the material has brought this idea under scrutiny, however. Olivier (2000) observed that both burnt and unburnt brooches were present in the deposit. Also, while the brooches were all contemporary forms, those found in the threshold and guard chamber may be slightly earlier in date than those from the middle and upper passageway and the sealing rubble layer (Woodward 2000, 113). Few commentators, however, have so far pointed out the obvious flaw in Alcock's argument – the assumption that sellers would necessarily have laid their goods out on a table in the entrance to a hillfort in a style of retail familiar to us today.

There are too few penannulars to make any significant observations about the proportions of types within each context, but the ratio of penannulars to other brooch types does increase substantially along the passageway in the direction of the entrance. The upper passageway has the lowest ratio of penannulars with only 11.1%, but this increases to 18.6% in the middle passageway and then to 33.3% at the threshold itself and 40% for the rubble layer found sealing the deposits (fig.5.13). The downward slope of the passageway could perhaps partially account for this gradual increase, as the penannular's comparatively small size may make them more subject to natural movement than other brooch types as the material settled over time. There is, however, evidence of the deliberate structuring of human remains within the deposit (Jones and Randell 2010) and the same may be true of the brooch assemblage.

Analysis of the human skeletal material by Jones and Randell (2010) revealed that the areas which contained the greatest proportions of burnt timber did not correlate with those containing the most burnt bones, suggesting that the human remains were not burnt at the same time as the gate (*ibid.* 175). Instead, where signs of burning were found on the remains, there were indications that this had taken place elsewhere, before selected parts of the skeleton had been brought to the site (*ibid.*). The unburnt remains in the deposit also showed signs of pre-selection and it was clear that they had not been left to decompose *in situ* as they did not display typical signs of exposure (*ibid.* 173).

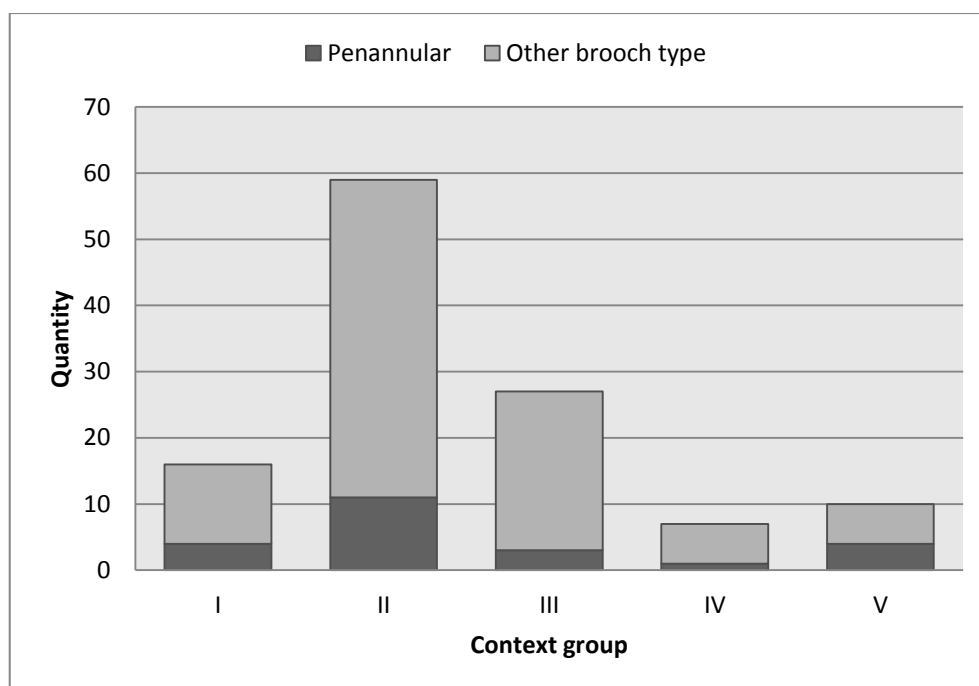


Figure 5.13. The ratio of penannulars to other brooch types in each 'massacre deposit' context

The material also appeared to be subject to spatial variation according to bone type, the age of the individual at death and post-mortem treatment. In particular younger individuals appeared to be concentrated around the threshold, with age increasing along the passageway towards the interior (Jones and Randell 2010, 173). Two individuals showed signs of deliberate decapitation and skulls appeared to be particularly concentrated around the entrance area (*ibid.* 176). Significantly too, although articulated bones were rare, when they were present they often appeared to be associated with brooches, suggesting that they could have been individually wrapped and secured with a brooch (*ibid.* 174). Together this evidence suggests that the remains may have been through considerable processing and curation prior to their deposition and that brooches may have played an important role in this process.

Other factors also suggest that this deposition may have resulted from sustained ritual activity over a number of years. Radiocarbon dating has produced dates spanning a period of several hundred years, from around the first century BC to the fourth century AD, and so failed to support a link with any specific historical event (Campbell et al. 1979, 32). Furthermore, many of the weapons found in the deposits showed deliberate

signs of damage and folding which could maybe relate to long-standing traditions of ritual destruction prior to deposition (Jones and Randell 2010, 178). The location of the deposit at an entranceway, which are often a focus for ritual activity, may also be significant and the structure to one side of the passageway, usually interpreted as a ‘guard chamber’, could alternatively be seen as a shrine or similar (*ibid.*). This does not necessarily mean that none of the individuals represented in the deposits were subject to violent deaths (and perhaps even deaths related to the burning of the wooden gateway), but however they died, most remains appear to have been subject to complex rites both prior to and upon their incorporation into the deposits, making the idea of a single depositional event increasingly unlikely.

The highly structured nature of the deposits could therefore explain why a higher ratio of penannulars was found in certain locations. Although natural shifts in the material over time may have played a part, it does raise the possibility that brooch deposition may have been similarly ordered. If, for example, penannular use during life was associated with certain sections of the population and penannulars were placed with these individuals during cremation, then they could have become concentrated in areas where the remains of these groups were predominantly deposited. This may be an over simplification of the complex processes through which the deposit was created, however, and may actually tell us less about the living identities of the deceased and more about the range of ritual activities carried out at this particular site.

The evidence for prior processing of the human remains suggests that they had already passed through certain funerary rites. It is difficult to see their deposition in this location as unconnected to these, even if it is perhaps not appropriate to class the massacre deposits in their entirety as exclusively funerary deposits. As such it is necessary to examine what these earlier rites may have involved if we are to fully understand this final act of deposition. According to the still popular approaches pioneered by sociologist Robert Hertz (2004 [1907]) and ethnographer Arnold Van Gennep (2004 [1909]) in the early twentieth century, the re-deposition of human remains, conducted as the final stage in a series of phased transformations of the corpse, can be seen as a rite of passage for the dead often associated with de-individualisation. Such rites are often intended to facilitate the soul’s parallel journey from the world of the living, through a liminal transitory stage, to its final incorporation into the sphere of long dead ancestors. A shift in the focus of the funerary rites often takes place alongside this – from the

ritualised mourning of family members during the earlier stages, when social life becomes suspended and emphasis is placed on individual grief, to festive community events surrounding the final act of deposition, when disrupted community life is re-established (Hertz (2004 [1907])).

Although very specific ethnographic comparisons are not always appropriate in an archaeological context, it is still perhaps relevant that physical transformation is also the defining feature of the human remains found in the Cadbury Castle massacre deposit. Not that individual characteristics seem to have become entirely irrelevant – certain age groups predominate and there is spatial organisation according to age and gender. The age bias could perhaps represent selection earlier in the funerary process, as it may have been deemed appropriate only for specific individuals, or individuals who had suffered certain deaths, to undergo these particular rites. The spatial structuring of remains in this way is also paralleled in some ethnographic studies (Metcalf and Huntington 1992). These suggest that although there may be customs governing where certain individuals can be placed, once their individuality becomes diminished and the remains are then incorporated into an ancestral group; thus the collective is ultimately emphasised over the individual. Alternatively the apparently deliberate grouping of remains in the massacre deposit may in fact represent distinct depositional events, with some characteristics of the individuals selected for this treatment perhaps changing over time. It is also possible, as Barry Cunliffe has pointed out with regard to the human remains from Danebury (2003, 155), that the deposits could result from more than one rite. The concentration of skulls in the entrance may perhaps hint at this. Cunliffe (*ibid.*) quotes the Greek historian Diodorus Siculus who suggested that the Celts would take the heads of enemies slain in battle for preservation and display, although there is no further evidence to suggest that this took place at Cadbury.

The location of the deposits within a hillfort may also be significant. The social and ritual functions of hillforts have been increasingly emphasised in a number of studies, leading some to suggest that they may have been locations for specific communal activities, perhaps involving the protection of livestock during reproduction or the processing and storage of crops and craft production (e.g. Downes 1997, 151). The hillfort location may therefore have become strongly associated with concepts of transformation (*ibid.*), with annual festivals and rituals connected to this being carried out while people were gathered together. Such gatherings may have offered an ideal

opportunity to perform the final stages of traditional funerary rites which could only take place when communities were assembled together or at certain times of the year.

The location of the deposit at an entrance is also relevant to wider Iron Age traditions of placing ritual deposits, often including human remains, in boundary locations (Hingley 1990). Leach (1976; 1977) has argued that boundaries are points of separation, marking out the domain of the community and forming a division between the social and the natural, the known and the unknown. An entrance marks the point of transition between these two worlds and so could have been the most ambiguous and taboo-laden point within the hillfort boundary – perhaps a particularly suitable location for rites associated with transformation and incorporation into the world of the ancestors.

The cremation events that created the burnt bones probably took place elsewhere, perhaps with different groups bringing remains to the hillfort for communal deposition events. Some of the brooches within the massacre deposits may have been cremated with the body and brought to the site with its remains. Others could have become associated at the point of deposition. This would explain why both burnt and unburnt brooches were found in the same deposits and why some brooches may be associated with the wrapping of semi-articulated remains. The gateway could also have been the focus for other forms of ritualised activity involving the deposition of brooches that were not directly associated with funerary rites.

Many different and entangled processes could therefore have produced the complex distribution of penannulars seen in the massacre deposits. Although this may never be fully understood the deposits offer further confirmation that penannulars were deemed, like other brooch forms, to be suitable for incorporation into these ritualised activities, but also that they may have had a specific significance or associations, which set them apart from other brooches and made them particularly appropriate for use in certain rituals but not in others. Overall it seems likely that the massacre deposit can tell us little about the living identities of the deceased, but rather sheds light on the final stages of what may have been a complex funerary ritual through which the collective identity of a community was both created and maintained. The presence of such large numbers of brooches in the deposit suggests that they played a key role in these activities and it may therefore be concluded that, in this context at least, their function within such

rituals was part of a dynamic process by which associations with community identity may have been exploited and simultaneously reinforced.

5.3.2 Roman towns

Six Roman towns have produced a total of 90 penannulars - Bath, Cirencester, Dorchester, Exeter, Gloucester and Ilchester (fig.5.14). The vast majority of these are from Cirencester. In part this could reflect the amount of excavation that has taken place here combined with the fact that a large number of penannulars from antiquarian collections were recorded during a visit to the town's museum. By contrast, surprisingly few penannulars have been recovered from the other five towns. Only a single penannular has been found at Bath – the well-known highly decorated, enamelled zoomorphic brooch from the sacred spring (Cunliffe 1988b, 23, no. 48, pl. 17.). Type D predominates at all towns in the region, followed at some distance by Type A.

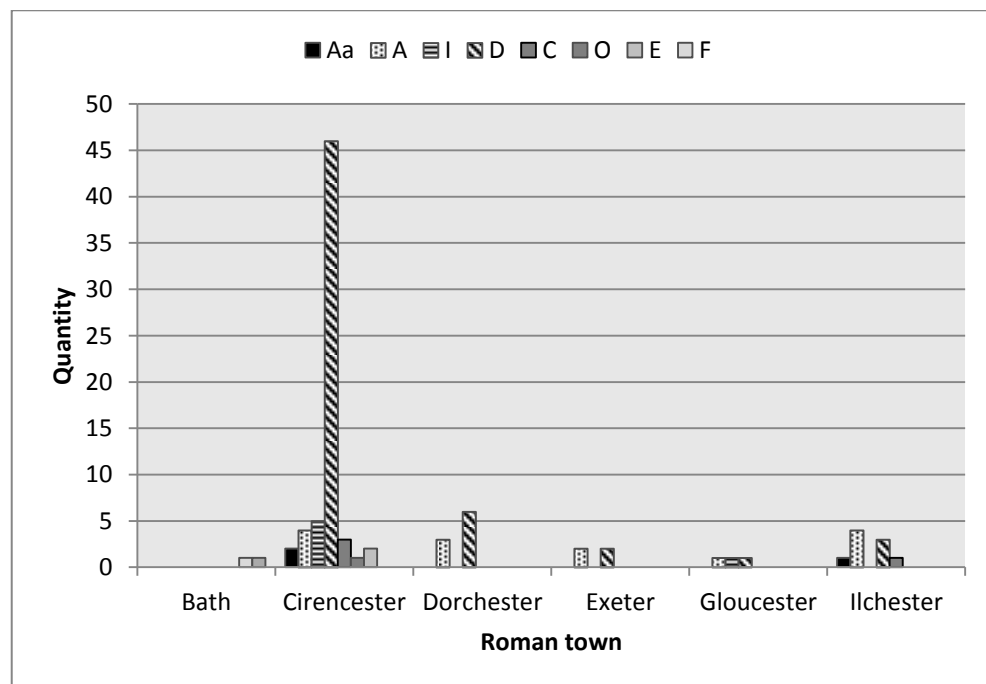


Figure 5.14. Quantity of different penannular types from the Roman towns in the South-West

5.3.2.1 Cirencester and nearby associated sites

To the north-west of Cirencester is situated the late Iron Age occupation complex at Bagendon. This large site, with earthworks on three sides and possibly a wooded area bordering the fourth, may have been a pre-Roman tribal centre. Occupation was thought to have been established around the turn of the first century AD (Clifford 1961), but as mentioned above a middle Iron Age phase has recently been discovered. Just a few kilometres away on the same spur of limestone lies the late Iron Age Ditches enclosure. Initially the site appears to have developed as a facility for the storage of grain and livestock management, but soon after the Conquest the first stone building was erected on the site, gradually developing into a substantial villa complex (Trow et al. 2009).

Occupation at Ditches had apparently ceased by the time Roman military occupation had commenced at Cirencester (Darvill and Holbrook 1994, 49). Here there are few signs of pre-Roman activity apart from traces found beneath the Leaholm Fort (Wacher and McWhirr 1982, 28) and at Kingshill (Reece 1990). To the south of the town, around Siddington, only limited evidence for late Iron Age occupation has been identified (Darvill and Holbrook 1994, 49-51). This appears to conform to the pattern identified by Fulford (1992) elsewhere on the gravels; settlements of early or middle Iron Age date are gradually abandoned, whereas newly formed late Iron Age settlements continued into the Roman period (Darvill and Holbrook 1994, 51).

5.3.2.2 The penannular assemblages

Bagendon

Only 10 penannulars from Bagendon have been published so far. Six Type Ds and one unidentified example came from excavations conducted in the mid-1950s (Clifford 1961, 184, fig.36). Three Type Cs are mentioned by Fowler, as is a possible Type G, but this, which she describes as corroded, is not accepted as genuine here. Details of the four Type C brooches are few and neither these nor the Type G could be located in the collections of the Corinium Museum, so their association with the site (if indeed they exist at all) is highly dubious. For this reason only the seven excavated penannulars are considered here.

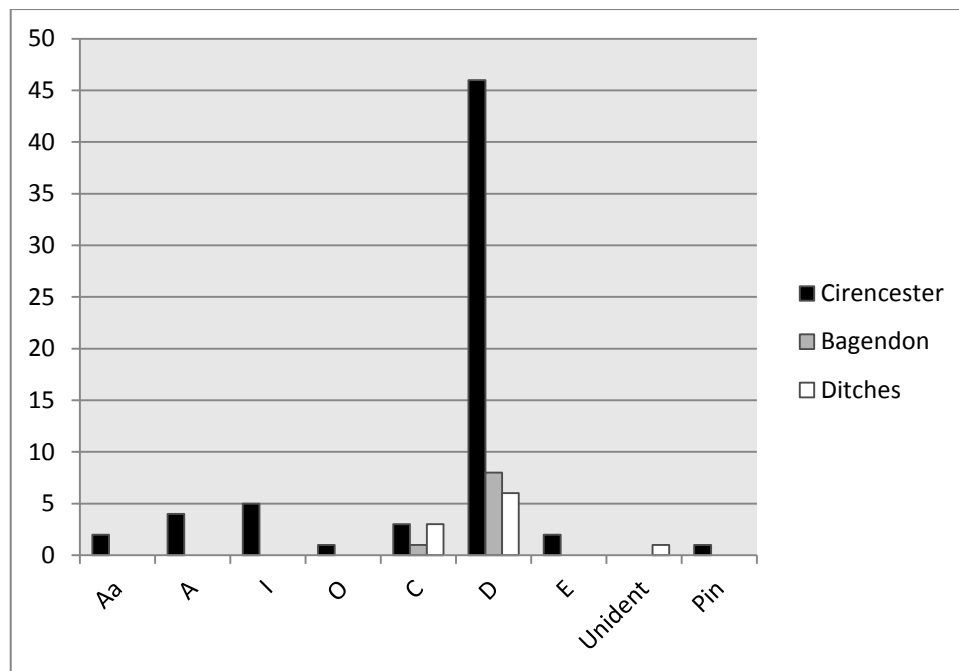


Figure 5.15. Quantities of each penannular type from Cirencester, Bagendon and Ditches

No site distribution of these has been plotted because they are so few in number. Four came from ditches (Clifford 1961 184, nos.63, 65, 66 & 69), one from an unidentified layer (*ibid.* 184, no.64) and two from building occupation layers (*ibid.*, nos.67 & 68). Those from ditches were all found in the secondary fills and silting. Penannulars were present on the site from its second phase until its abandonment. That these are all Type D and several of them come from the earlier phases of occupation is highly significant, as this form has seldom been found in pre-Conquest contexts. Indeed, the only other Type D penannulars from confirmed late Iron Age contexts are from Sheepen, Essex (Hull and Hawkes 1947, 326-7), a site some considerable distance away.

Ditches

Ditches has produced a smaller range of penannular types than other hillforts in the case study region and Type D dominates as it does at Bagendon (fig.5.8). One Type D was unstratified (Mackreth cat. no. 3572) and another two imprecisely located (Corinium mus. no. 1982/20/14; Mackreth cat. no. 3571), so no map has been plotted. Of the remaining a Type C and D were found in a quarry fill (Trow et al. 2009, 142-3, nos.21&22), two Type Ds in the area of the defensive earthworks, one by the north-east

entrance and one in a rubbish deposit (Trow 1988, 50, fig.24, nos.25-27). In contrast to Bagendon all of the dated examples come from immediately post-Conquest phases when the simple stone strip type villa was first erected on the site.

Cirencester

63 penannulars have been recorded from Cirencester. Most come from Fowler and Hull's catalogues and the collections of the Corinium Museum. Many of these are from antiquarian collections and were obtained from both the town and its immediate surroundings. In 1998, Cirencester Excavations V was published summarising all the excavations that had been carried out across the town between 1961 and 1997. A comprehensive report on the brooches was compiled by Donald Mackreth for this, but unfortunately this was not included in the final publication (Viner 1998, 295). Details of some of these brooches can be found in the previous Cirencester excavation volumes and in Mackreth's archive, but others have never been published. A table was included, however, offering a basic breakdown of types and quantities of brooches from seven primary areas (*ibid.* 295, table 14). Penannulars are the fifth most common form of brooch from the town and have been found at all but two sites – Beeches Town House and the amphitheatre – both of which yielded only small number of brooches. Unfortunately information about the brooch sub-types is only available for some of the sites.

From this limited information a clear division between the types found in the vicinity of the Leaholme fort and in other parts of the town can still be observed (fig.5.13). Only Types A and D are found around the former, whereas only Types Aa, C and E are found elsewhere. Such a division could have multiple causes, but chronological factors are strongly implicated given that the fort was occupied some time before the town began to be constructed (Holbrook 1994).

5.3.2.3 Discussion

Bagendon is the only Iron Age settlement site in the Severn-Cotswolds to have produced penannulars. The vast majority have come from villas and hillforts and a few have been found at Roman and multi-period settlement sites located on the edges of the region. Although penannulars have been discovered at Gloucester the number is far

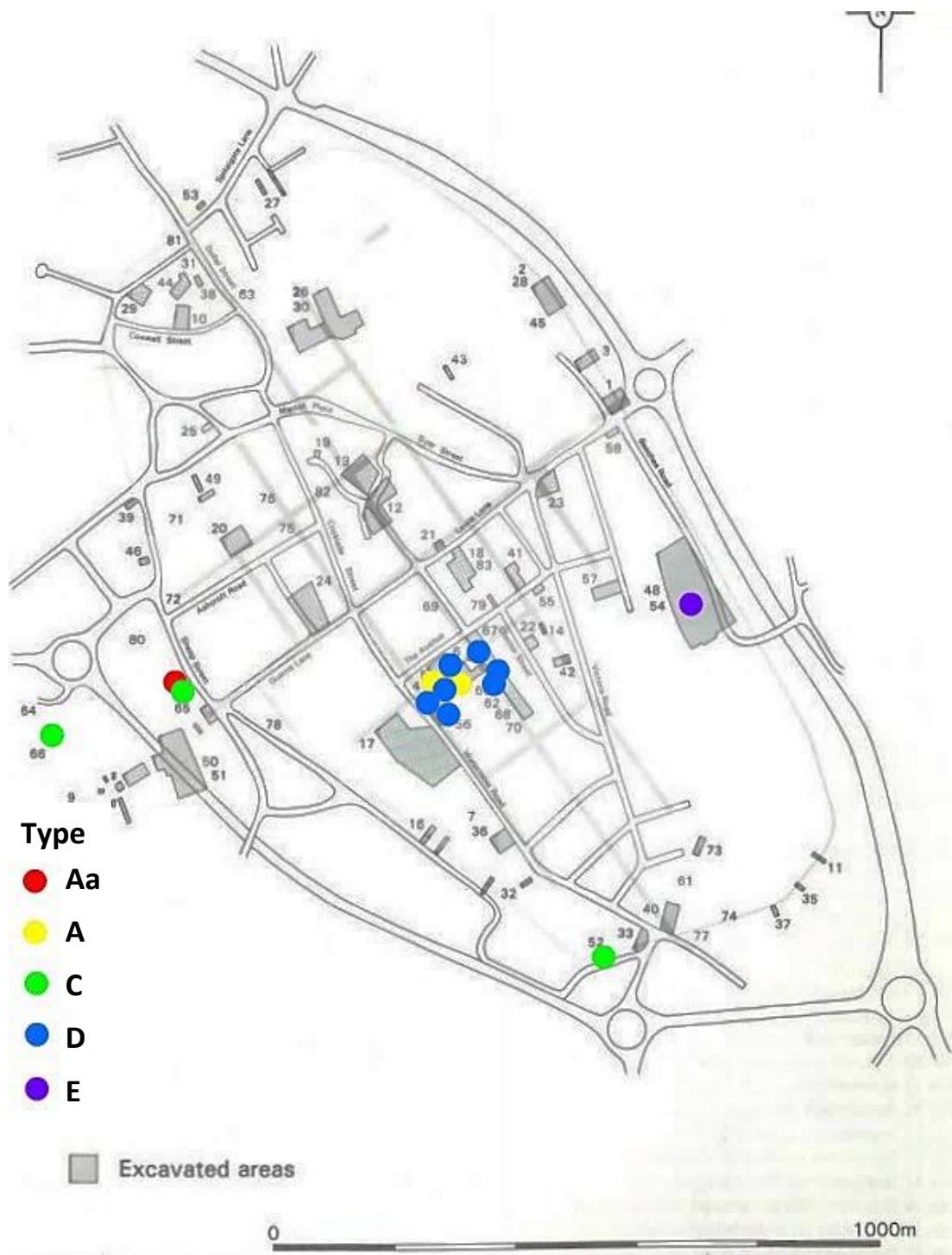


Figure 5.16. Approximate locations of penannulars from excavations in Cirencester (after Holbrook 1998, fig.1).

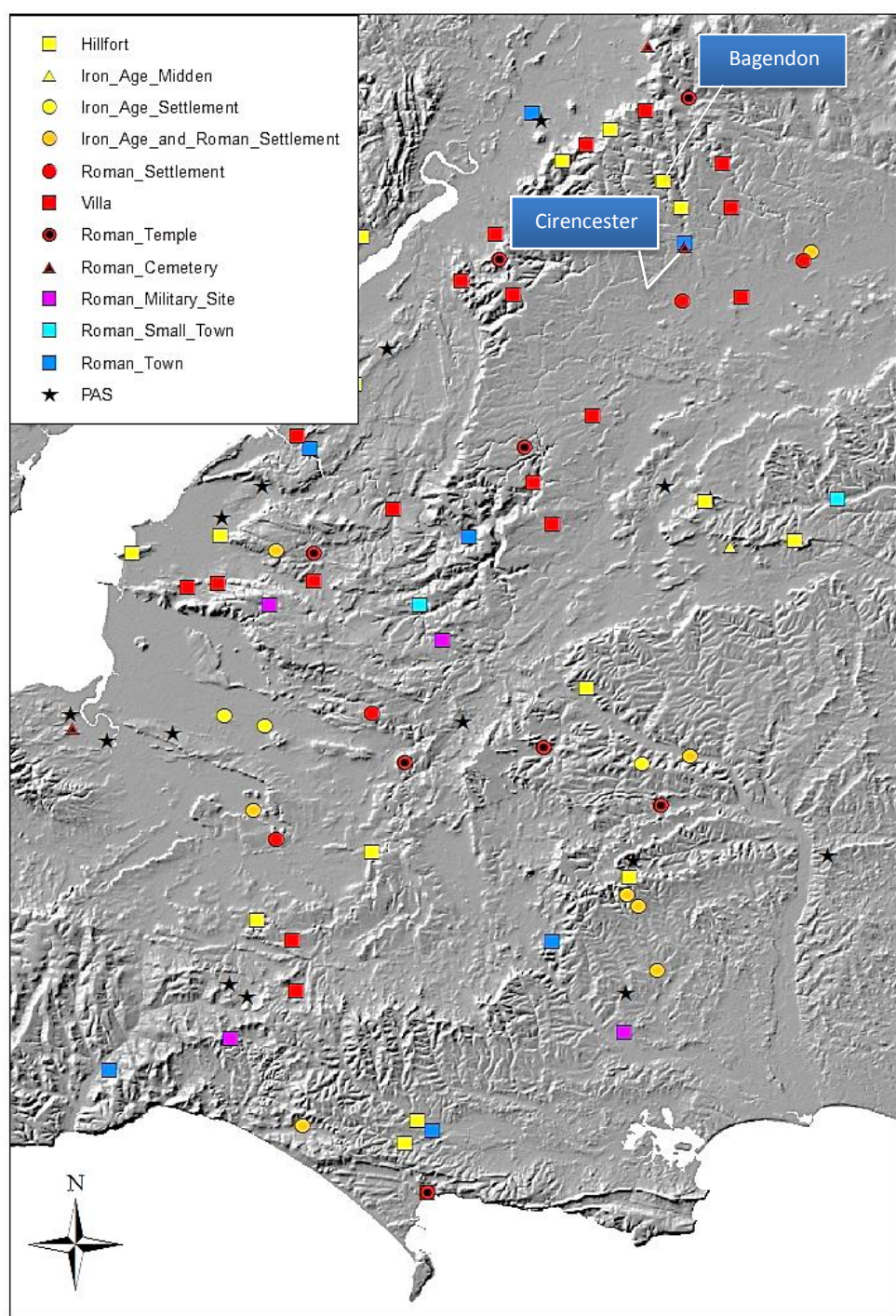


Figure 5.17. Distribution of key sites types that have produced penannulars in South-West England.

fewer than those found at Cirencester. This could be in part due to the limited amount of excavation that has taken place in Gloucester, but the total still seems surprisingly low. As a result Bagendon and Cirencester stand out from the picture, the former because it is the only Iron Age non-hillfort settlement in the region that has produced penannulars and the latter because it has produced them in such high quantities. The assemblage from Ditches, although part of the complex, is later in date and consistent with other villas in the region.

It could be argued that Bagendon, as an ‘oppidum’, may have had more in common with hillforts than other forms of Later Iron Age settlement. The other hillforts that have produced penannulars – Crickley Hill, Kimsbury and Painswick Beacon – form a small cluster together with Ditches in the Cotswolds. Neither of the penannulars from the first two sites have been closely dated. The penannular from Crickley Hill came from a context that was located close to an area of post-Roman occupation (Dixon 1994, 244, no.M1), but it is difficult to draw conclusions from this. The limited amount of excavation at Kimsbury hillfort means that the lack of penannulars from this site may not be significant.

It may be significant that the largest group of penannulars have been found at Ditches and Bagendon, which sit relatively close together on the western side of the Cotswolds. Through a study of the regional distribution of traditional handmade and newer wheel-thrown types of pottery at Later Iron Age settlements in the region Moore (2007) has identified a tendency for settlements on the periphery of existing exchange networks to embrace the products of newly developing networks more rapidly (*ibid.* 53). The settlements at Bagendon, Ditches and others in the surrounding area form one such peripheral group, which developed in a region that appears to have been sparsely populated in the preceding Middle Iron Age (*ibid.*). Similar gaps have been identified elsewhere in southern Britain and can perhaps be seen as liminal zones, regarded by local populations as distinct from, and maybe inappropriate for, settlement, leaving them situated both literally and symbolically between existing spheres of exchange (*ibid.* 55). Hill (2007; 1999) has suggested that these may have been populated by previously marginalised communities, which were less constrained by existing social ties and thus more receptive to new developments.

The communities that settled at Bagendon may have consequently been better placed and more predisposed to tap into new exchange networks. That is not to say that they were isolated from communities in other parts of the region. There is evidence that certain regional traditions persisted at these sites and no doubt responses from different sections of the community varied (Moore 2007, 57). Settlements cannot easily be divided into traditional versus Romanised, but these developments are perhaps best explained, as Moore suggests, as a ‘fracturing’ of late Iron Age society (*ibid.*).

This could explain why penannulars are only found in any quantity at Bagendon. In contrast to elsewhere in the South-West, there appears to have been little or no pre-existing Middle Iron Age tradition of penannular use in the Severn-Cotswolds. Penannulars may therefore have reached the site through new or pre-existing exchange networks that the inhabitants were now better placed and more able to tap into, also facilitating their later adoption at the Ditches villa. Indeed, Moore (2007, 56) also observed that villas were more likely to appear near the Late Iron Age sites in the region where such receptiveness can be best observed. These were not necessarily the same networks through which new products such as wheel-made Gallo-Belgic and early Severn Valley wares, Colchester brooches and imported products were reaching the site, but may instead have been networks that were developing in adjacent parts of the region. The discovery of single penannulars at the two nearby hillforts suggests that other sites in the region were not unaffected by the same processes, but perhaps to a lesser extent and only later in the period.

While very different factors may have led to the development of the settlement at Bagendon, the enclosure and villa at Ditches and the fort and subsequent town at Cirencester, the large number of penannulars found at the latter may perhaps be understood as the outcome of similar processes. There is reason to suppose that the population here continued to exploit the new range of exchange networks that were now available to them. The fact that Type D is most common form of penannular at all three sites supports this idea. The presence of small numbers of other penannular types, particularly at Cirencester, suggests that the range and extent of the exchange networks accessible to and exploited by the inhabitants were continued to increase, however.

5.4 South-East Britain

5.4.1 Regional background

Penannulars are found evenly scattered across much of South-East Britain, with the exception of the Weald in Kent, which, as discussed above, produces few archaeological finds overall. In contrast to South-West and northern Britain, there are, however, no significant concentrations upon which to centre a case study. As a result this region has not been chosen for in-depth analysis. One site has, however, been investigated in more detail to provide a point of comparison for the other case studies. This site, Colchester, requires further attention because it has produced Type A, C and D penannulars all in some quantities, including some of the earliest examples of these types found in Britain.

5.4.2 Colchester

An important settlement complex appears to have been located at Camulodunum by c.25 BC at the latest and possibly as early as 50 BC (Hawkes, Crummy 1995, 178). To the north at Sheepen, on the banks of the River Colne, lay what appears to have been the settlement's industrial and commercial centre. To the south, at Gosbecks a large farmstead defended by a bank and ditch was located (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 10-11), which Philip Crummy suggested may have been the residence of Cunobelin and his predecessors (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 104). Two groups of late Iron Age burials were located between the two sites at Lexden and Stanway.

Construction of the legionary fortress began post-Conquest in an area 0.75km to the south-east of Sheepen (Crummy 1984, 2). The colony was constructed on the same site somewhere between AD 49-55 (Crummy 1984, 9). Most areas of the colonia were affected by the Boudiccan rebellion, but rebuilding began soon after, together with a final phase of dyke construction (Crummy 1984). Destruction at Sheepen, however, was almost total and the site was subsequently abandoned (Niblett 1985, 26), before a small group of four further Romano-Celtic temples were later built here in proximity to the river (Crummy 2006, 55). A town wall was constructed to strengthen the colonia's defences in the early second century AD and at the same time the northern boundary was extended (*ibid.* 11). From the end of the third century onwards the town's defences were strengthened again, one or more of the gates were closed and the suburbs began to

decline, suggesting concern about external attacks (Hawkes and Crummy 1995, 16). All occupation of the site seems to have come to an end by the mid fifth century (*ibid.*).

5.4.2.1 The penannulars

A total of 37 penannulars have been found at Colchester and Sheepen during extensive excavations carried out across the town between the 1930s and 80s. Penannulars have been found at the Balcerne Lane, Lion Walk, Butt Road, Culver Street and Gilberd School sites in Colchester (table 5.2). In addition a number of poorly provenanced antiquarian finds from the area were recorded by Hull. These include one Type I supposedly found in a later first century AD grave (Hull cat no.0691, Colchester mus.B.430), a Type Aa (Hull cat no. 7329; BM cat. no.1870,0402.63); two Type As, one found in Sheepen Road (Hull cat nos. 3050&0690); two Type Os apparently found together in a grave (Hull cat no.0694&5; Fowler 1960, fig.10; Simpson 1979, 326, pl.56, 10); two further Type Os from unknown locations (Hull cat nos.0693&7330; Galliou 1981, 289, fig.2.1); 14 Type Cs (Hull cat nos.0665, 0667, 0669, 0670, 0672, 0673, 0680, 0682, 0684, 0683, 0668, 3051, 7328, 8588) and 2 Type Ds (Hull cat nos.0703&7977; BM mus. no. 1853,0402.37).

Site		Type	Quantity
<i>Sheepen</i>		C	16
		D	7
<i>Colchester</i>	<i>Balcerne Lane</i>	A	1
		C	1
	<i>Lion Walk</i>	A	1
		C	3
	<i>Butt Road</i>	C	2
	<i>Culver Street</i>	A	1
		C	2
	<i>Gilberd School</i>	O	2
		A?	1

Table 5.2. Penannulars from excavations in Colchester and Sheepen

Only penannulars from excavations are considered in this present study because the locations and circumstances of these other finds are too vague. In addition Hull recorded several penannulars from the Sheepen excavations in his catalogue, which cannot be matched to any in the original excavation report. These included four Type Cs (Hull cat. nos.0674-6, 0689) and a Type B (Hull cat. no.0664). These are also not considered here because it is not clear why they were omitted from the report and it is possible that they are accidental duplicates.

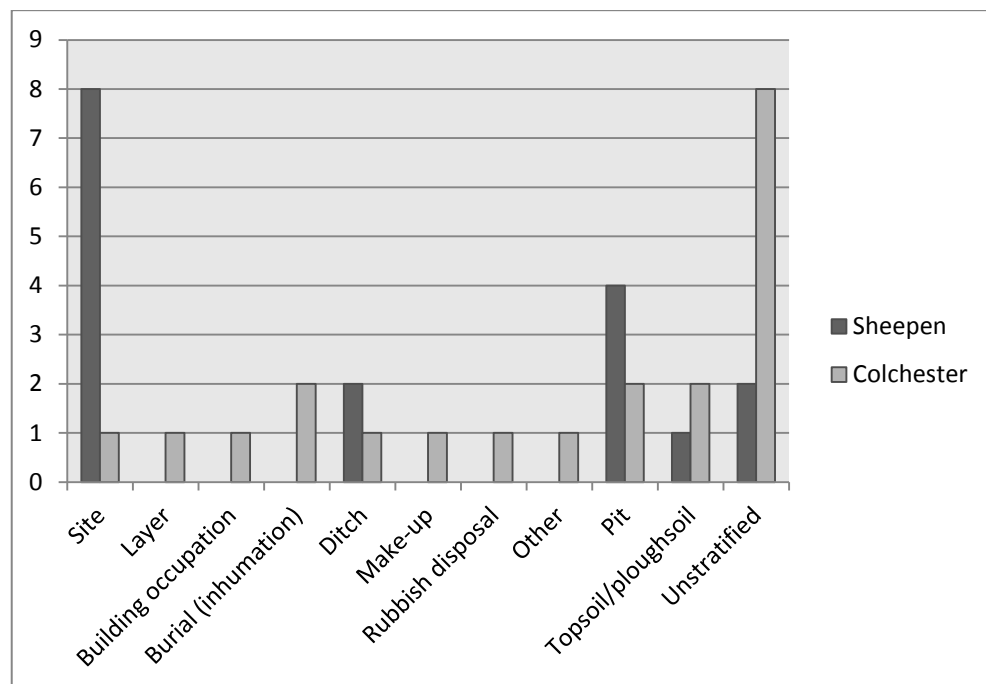


Figure 5.18. Penannular deposition at Sheepen and Colchester

Sheepen

Only Type C and D penannulars have been recovered from Sheepen, but the former are more common. All of the securely dated Type Cs appear to have been deposited soon after the Conquest (Niblett 1985, 51). The earliest penannular from the site is a Type D, found in a context dated to between c.10-43 AD, whilst another was found in a later context dating to c.49-61 (Hawkes and Hull 1947, 326-7). It is difficult to comment on the relative proportions of Types D and C as most were unstratified, although this limited evidence may hint that D was in use here earlier than Type C.

There is little information about the location of discovery of most excavated penannulars and so they have not been mapped here. Where contextual information is available it suggests that they were deposited in a limited range of contexts, primarily pits and ditches (fig.5.18). As discussed in section 3.6 this may be the result of deliberate activity with ritual significance, although some could have been washed into these contexts from other parts of the site.

The fort and colonia

Type C was also most common at all but one of the other sites in Colchester. No Type D brooches have yet been excavated here and instead Type A is second most common. There is also some variation in the types of penannular found at different sites. The Gilbert School site stands out as the only site to produce Type O, which may be because a specific sub-group of the military community were resident here. The absence of other types may be related to the fact that it soon became ‘...an open area... with sporadic pit digging and possibly cultivation taking place’ (Shimmin 1992, 127).

Overall penannulars were found in a slightly wider range of contexts than at Sheepen, but they continue to be found in ditches and pits suggesting a degree of continuity. Penannulars are found in similar numbers at sites across the town, in contrast with most other brooch types, which occur in higher numbers at sites in the north and west. This means that penannulars form a greater percentage of the assemblages from sites in the east and south of the town (fig.5.20). The only other type that displays similar patterns is the plate brooch.

In her report on the Colchester small finds Nina Crummy (1983, 7) divided the brooch assemblage into three periods:

1. AD 43-100 – 75 brooches
2. Second century – 20 brooches
3. Third and fourth century – 7 brooches

She suggested that initially high numbers were probably linked to the presence of the fortress and subsequent *colonia* on the site, as many of these brooches had military associations (*ibid.*). There is a change in the types of brooches used during the second century AD, primarily to the plate brooch, which she suggests was a type that was more popular with the middle classes (*ibid.*).

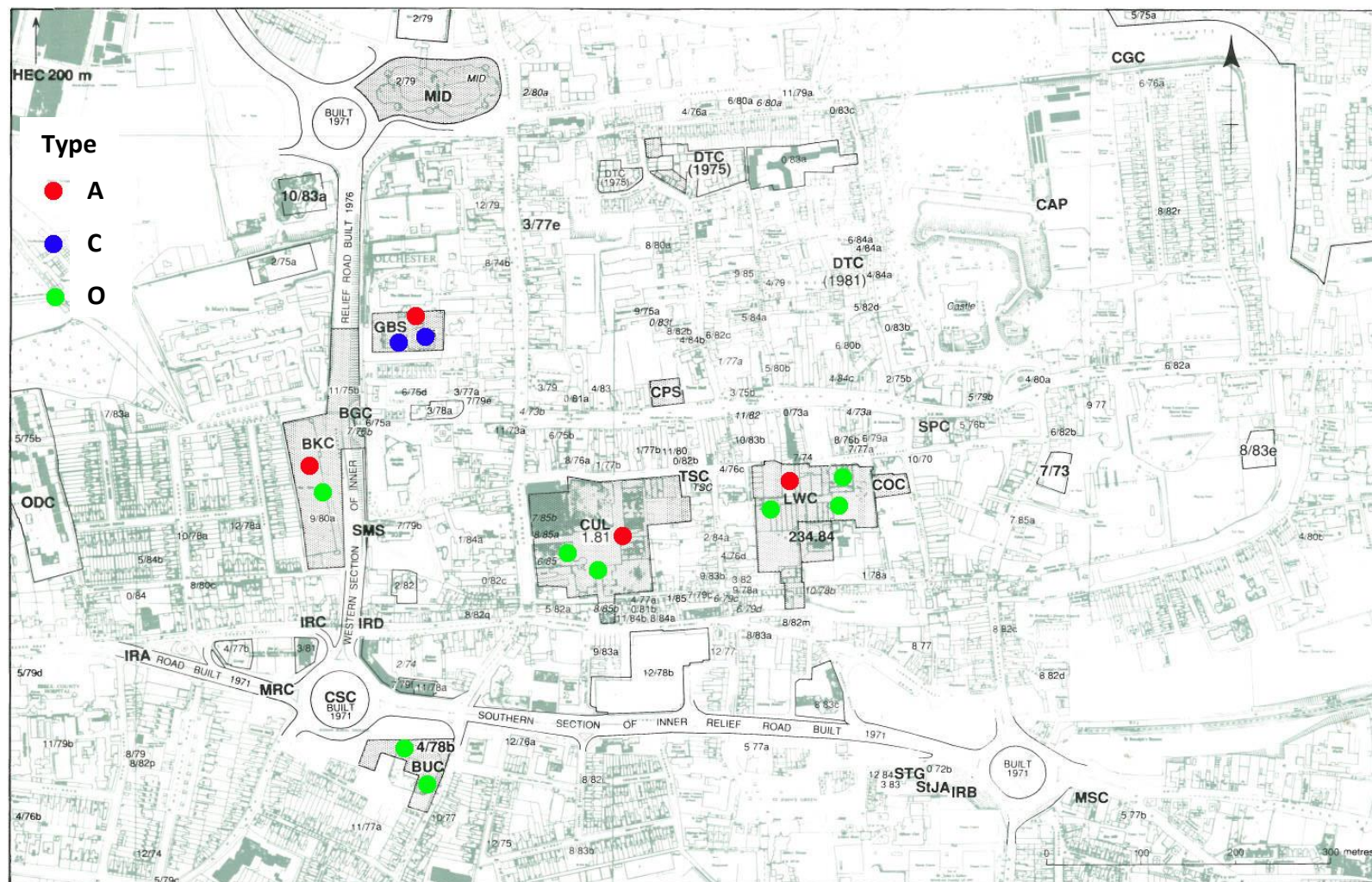


Figure 5.19. Penannulars from excavations in Colchester (after Crummy 1992, 2, fig.1.1).

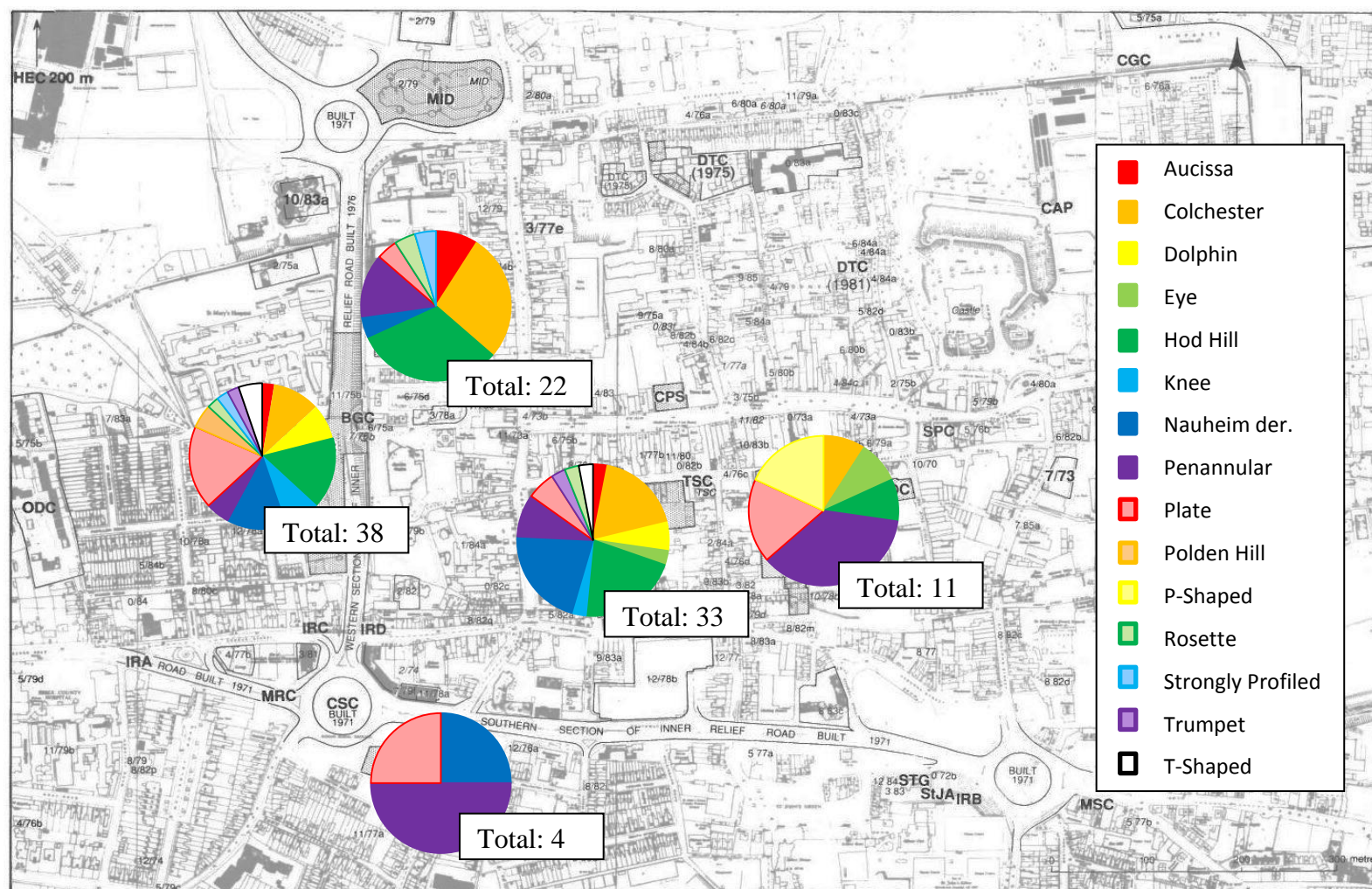


Figure 5.20. Ratios of brooch types from different areas of Colchester (after Crummy 1992, 2, fig.1.1).

No penannulars are known to pre-date the construction of the fort and the date of most lie across Crummy's first, second and sometimes third period. The two Type Os from the Gibberd School site are the only known to have been deposited while the site was in use as a fort (Crummy 1992b, 209). All others dated examples come from the colonia phase. At Balke Lane a Type C was found unstratified, but a Type A came from an infill deposit dated to between AD c.75/80-c.80/85 within the large defensive ditch that was constructed following the revolt (Crummy 1983b, 18, no.95). This infilling of the ditch occurred when a new phase of construction was commencing on the site, which included three new public buildings and a series of houses (Crummy 1984, 111). The age of the brooch when deposited is therefore unclear, but it clearly predated this new development.

Another Type A was discovered at Culver Street in a context dated c.65/80-c.225 (Crummy 1992a, 143-4). A fragmentary iron brooch from a later first or very early second century deposit at the same site may also be of Type A. At Lion Walk, yet another Type A was discovered, but in a loosely dated deposit (Crummy 1983b, 18). Three Type C brooches from Lion Walk were all from modern or medieval deposits (*ibid.*, nos.100-102).

Two Type C brooches were found at the Butt Lane cemetery – a copper alloy example loose in a grave fill and a silver example with a transversely grooved hoop positioned on the right shoulder of an adult burial (Crummy 1983b, 18, nos.99&103). The first has been dated to the initial phase of use, between the second century and c. 320; the second after AD 367 on the basis of a coin of Valens found in the same deposit (*ibid.*). The latter was the only brooch found as a grave good in the whole cemetery and is therefore of some significance. The burial within which it was discovered was sexed as female, but only on the basis of accompanying armlets (Crossan and Crummy 1993, 135). Fowler (1983, 18-19) believed that this brooch, together with three others from the Lion Walk site, might be representative of a new style of Type C brooch with flattened and decorated hoops that developed in the late Roman period. As discussed in section 4.4.1.5 such late origins can now be discounted as these details of decoration and form was clearly in use across the Type C chronological range. They do, however, appear to have become more popular in the later Roman period and so Fowler's dating of the three from Colchester may be correct nonetheless.

5.4.2.2 Summary

Penannulars came into use first at Sheepen in the early first century AD. It is possible that some were even produced at this thriving industrial site. When the neighbouring fort was constructed, however, its residents seem to have been less receptive to the penannular, with the exception of the couple of Type Os from the Gilbert School site, which may have arrived from the continent. It would seem likely, therefore, that penannulars were not amongst the products supplied to the fort by Sheepen and were instead reserved only for use by the latter's residents.

The inhabitants of the colonia did use penannulars, but only after the Boudiccan rebellion. It seems unlikely that this change was due to the relocation of Sheepen's inhabitants, however, since Type D is completely absent at Colchester. Instead the colonia's population used only the Type A and C penannulars that were more common in the wider region. This sudden adoption of penannulars may have been due to a change in the composition of the population in the colonia and/or changes to the networks of supply and exchange.

As Nina Crummy (1983) pointed out, brooch use overall began to decline rapidly after the end of the first century. If Fowler's theory is correct, however, Type C may have come back into fashion for a brief period during the fourth century. Crummy has suggested that the resurgence in penannular use represented by these brooches 'might be seen as being indicative of a renewed interest in native British styles' (*ibid.*, 7). The correlating distributions of penannulars and plate brooches would therefore make sense given that the latter also underwent a revival according to Crummy.

Chapter 6: Northern Britain

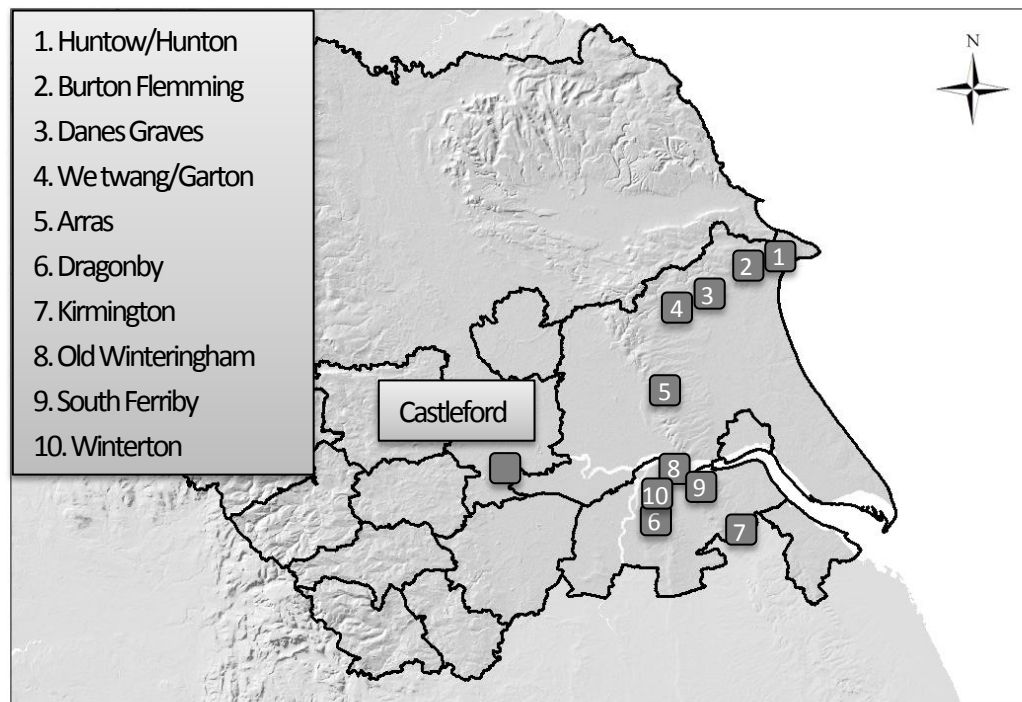


Figure 6.1 The study region and key sites discussed in more detail

This chapter primarily focuses on the counties of Yorkshire and North Lincolnshire where, particularly in the east of the region, a significant concentration of penannulars are located. Although defined here by modern county boundaries, geologically and topographically Yorkshire is relatively unified, consisting of a central lowland zone bordered on each side by upland. North Lincolnshire is separated from the rest of the region by the Humber estuary and its archaeology has its own distinctive character as a result. Contacts across the Humber were clearly important throughout most of the period considered here, however, and so the inclusion of North Lincolnshire provides a useful opportunity to understand the movement of penannular styles and penannulars themselves between different areas of Britain. In the final part of the chapter Scotland is briefly discussed. Although penannulars were never as common here as in other parts

of Britain debates about the origins of the penannulars found here require some consideration.

6.1. Yorkshire and North Lincolnshire

6.1.1 Regional background

In the north the region's boundary skirts the edge of the North York Moors, tracking the River Tees before curving round to follow the line of the Pennines in the west. To the South-East lie the Yorkshire Wolds, separated from the North York Moors by the Vale of Pickering and the Howardian Hills. On the south side of the Humber estuary the Wolds continue into Lincolnshire, surrounded on both sides by low ground. These primary upland blocks are drained by the three principal rivers of the region – the Ouse, Derwent and Hull. Together these provide a sense of geographical unity, all three converging to meet the Humber, which itself bisects the region. To the south of the Humber the river Trent drains the area of low ground between the Pennines and Lincolnshire Wolds and, although its course has been subject to change, it has long offered a major source of contact with central England. The Foss Dyke, which connects the river Witham to the Trent is thought to have had Roman origins and so would have offered a further method of transport from the Wash to the Humber (Bennett 2006, 3). Finally the far eastern edge of the region is bordered by the North Sea, offering an easy means of communication both with other areas of Britain and with the continent. This combination of sea coast, a major estuary and a wide variety of upland and lowland zones connected by major rivers, offers a diversity of resources which together contribute a unique character to this region's archaeology.

The region has seen a long tradition of archaeological research and excavation, which developed rapidly in the 20th century drawing on the emergence of new techniques, particularly aerial photography (Addyman 2003, 14). Several seminal large-scale excavations have been carried out including those at Stanwick, the extensive urban excavations at York, and the landscape surveys at West Heslerton. A number of general regional and sub-regional surveys have also been published in recent decades, drawing much of this work together. These include the three-volume assessment of the region's archaeological resources published by the West Yorkshire Archaeological Service

(Faull and Moorhouse 1981), Stoertz's (1997) survey of the Yorkshire Wolds landscape, and the collection of papers that was produced as a result of the Yorkshire Archaeological Research Framework Forum held in 1998 (Manby et al. 2003). Most recently a resource assessment and research framework for Yorkshire was commissioned and published online by English Heritage (Roskams and Whyman 2005). In Lincolnshire regional summaries have tended to focus on other parts of the region, particularly the Fens. One exception is the East Midlands archaeological resource assessment and agenda that was the outcome of a series of seminars held in Leicester during the late 1990s (Cooper 2006). Yet there are still many gaps, deficiencies and imbalances in our understanding of the archaeology of this region that have yet to be fully addressed. Its topography and geology, combined with subsequent settlement and agricultural practices have no doubt influenced the visibility of the region's archaeology. Numerous regional research traditions have also developed as a result both of national and regional trends and agendas, alongside the interests of local researchers.

6.1.2 The later Iron Age

Early excavations of Iron Age sites in the region focused on the rich square-ditched inhumation cemeteries of the Yorkshire Wolds. Later excavations of these were conducted in the 1960s and 70s by T. C. M. Bewster, John Dent and Ian Stead and were interpreted by the latter as evidence of a distinctive local 'Arras culture', named after a large cemetery located near Market Weighton (Stead 1979). Stead suggested that this culture emerged in the fourth century BC and came to an end in the first century BC (Stead 1991). There is little evidence for formal inhumation burial elsewhere in the region, although some Arras burials have now been discovered outside the primary concentration and occasionally inhumations occur within settlement pits and ditches (Roskams and Whyman 2005, 62-4).

Understanding of the relationship between these cemeteries and the wider landscape is still developing. No direct association between a cemetery and domestic settlement has yet been discovered, although the extensive excavations at Garton/Wetwang Slack did reveal a partially contemporary landscape of largely open settlement (Dent 1978; 1982). The cemeteries suggest that society here may have been more hierarchically structured than in the south and west of the region (Chadwick 2009, 105), but how such structure emerged and functioned has been much debated. Did social stratification in other parts

of Yorkshire decline during the late Iron Age, when the hillforts and long linear earthworks of the earlier periods went out of use or did these structures actually imply a social hierarchy in the first place (*ibid.*)? Giles (2012, 90) has suggested that a landscape of open settlement and very visible cemeteries may have bound communities together and to the landscape, while also allowing families and households to maintain a sense of independence. The Arras cemeteries fell out of use around the first century BC, perhaps as social structures began to shift and become broader (Roskams and Whyman 2005, 65).

Elsewhere in Yorkshire aerial photography has played a particularly important role in revealing Iron Age landscape organisation and settlement patterns. Late in the period there was shift towards permanent ditched field systems (walled in the Pennine limestone uplands) on a larger scale than previously (Roskams and Whyman 2005, 63). The broadening distribution of quernstones together with paleo-environmental evidence, which reveals an improving climate, increasing deforestation and management of woodland and expansion of arable land (Dinnin 1997, 38-41; Lamb 1981, 62-63; Simmons 2001, 53), together paints a picture of intensifying agricultural production almost everywhere in the region.

Again the Yorkshire Wolds have received particular attention. Extensive fieldwork around Garton and Wetwang has revealed that land division, centred upon a trackway, increased towards the end of the Iron Age, as did the number of settlements (Brewster 1980; Dent 1983a; 1983b; 1988b; 1998). A particularly high number of landscape surveys have also focused on the Yorkshire Dales National Park (e.g. Moorhouse 2003, Flemming and Laurie 1985-1994; Flemming 1998a; Coggins 1986, 33-41; Horne and Macleoad 1995) where the remains of stone boundaries and settlements are more visible and have been less affected by later intensive farming (Manby et al. 2003, 122). The expansion of land under arable cultivation into marginal upland areas here, combined with the availability of rich pasture and a variety of mineral resources, provided the basis for a complex mixed economy (White 1997, 33). Not all upland areas in this part of the region show signs of such extensive enclosure, however. To the south of the Dales on the coal measures and millstone grit of the West Yorkshire uplands the remains of enclosures are less common, but as Chadwick (2009, 20) points out, this does not mean that intensified land use did not occur here or that land was not claimed

by specific groups. Settlement on the highest ground in North York Moors was also limited and instead concentrated lower down in the valley mouths (Ottaway 2003, 141).

Although such features are typically less visible through aerial photography in the region's lowlands, excavation has revealed similarly changing and diverse landscapes here. Large scale networks of co-axial fields have been identified in South Yorkshire and on a smaller scale in West Yorkshire (Chadwick 2009, 19). Linear 'ladder' enclosures, consisting of enclosures organized along a trackway, occur in East Yorkshire and may have been used both for stock corralling and small scale arable agriculture (Stoertz 1997; Haselgrove 1984, 18). Extensive enclosed landscapes have also been recorded in the Vale of York by an English Heritage mapping programme (Riley 1980). Construction of the A19 bypass around Easingwold exposed a mid to late Iron Age landscape of roundhouses and fields enclosed by ditches (York Archaeological Trust 1993, 17). To the south of the region where several rivers drain into the Humberhead Levels the higher water table led to the presence of wide areas of peat bog that would have offered rich natural resources (Chadwick 2009, 15). Settlement here was concentrated on the areas of free-draining soil suggesting that the importance of arable agriculture was increasing (Van de Noort and Ellis 1997, 458).

This landscape of dispersed farmsteads and small nucleated settlements also included a few larger settlements and hillforts. Most northern hillforts appear to have passed out of use by the late Iron Age, but some show signs of occupation. Ingleborough in North Yorkshire, thought to date to the pre-Roman Iron Age, is the largest of these and at 722m is one of the highest hillforts in England (Bowden et al. 1989). Its exposed location, however, suggests that it was only ever seasonally occupied. To the North East of here lies the large defended settlement variously described as an oppidum or hillfort at Stanwick. Here a landscape of fields and roundhouses developed from the early first century BC before impressive earthworks were imposed on top during the mid-first century AD (Haselgrove et al. 1991). Debate has taken place about Stanwick's historical context, but its size and scale suggests that it may possibly have been the original tribal capital of the Brigantes (*ibid.*).

The discovery of an Iron Age dug-out boat complete with a cargo of timber and meat at Hasholme, East Yorkshire, and excavation of the port site at Redcliffe on the northern shore of the Humber, reveal that trade across the Humber took place in the pre-Roman

period (Muir 1997, 62). Many tracks and droveways in the region also appear to have Iron Age, and possibly even earlier, origins. Some of the Roman roads in the region may also have had earlier origins, but the extent to which this occurred is not clear.

6.1.3 Roman

The appearance of historical accounts provides a framework within which the pre-Roman Iron Age and Romano-British archaeology of the region has traditionally been understood. According to these narratives Yorkshire was divided into two tribal areas – the Parisi occupied the area roughly corresponding with modern East Yorkshire and the Brigantes the rest of the region and beyond, whereas North Lincolnshire was the domain of the Corieltauvi. Whether such unified groups actually existed or whether they instead represent oversimplifications by the classical scholars is difficult to assess and evidence of clear tribal boundaries can be hard to recognize in the archaeological record (Moore 2011). These tribes, their rulers and their supposed primary settlements at *Petuaria* (Brough), *Isurium Brigantum* (Aldborough), and *Ratae Corieltauvorum* (Leicester) respectively, no doubt have a basis in historical reality, but the extent to which the average inhabitant of each region identified with a tribal, rather than local or family identity, may have been limited. The increasing influence of Rome may, however, have contributed to the unification of previously fragmented control and allegiances under a single tribal identity in response.

According to one reading of Tacitus the Roman army's first incursions into Yorkshire were to suppress a rebellion (Chadwick 2009, 40). Fortifications were constructed at Chesterfield, Templeborough, Rossington Bridge and Lincoln from AD 55-65 along the frontier zone between the Severn and the Humber. Then the Roman army crossed this frontier to begin its conquest of northern Britain, advancing northwards from Lincoln across the Humber and then to Malton and Newton Kyme and also perhaps from Rossington Bridge to Castleford and Roecliffe, apparently establishing early forts at each of these locations, although these have not all been located (Bennet 2006, 1). Subsequently a road network was established accompanied by further forts and stations at Brough-on-Noe, Burghwallis, Doncaster, York, Adel Slack, Elslack, Castleshaw, Tadcaster and Ilkley (Chadwick 2009, 76). Then from AD 78 the army moved further north for a brief time into Scotland and some of these forts may have taken the additional role of supply bases (*ibid.*).

Although the archaeology of the region is no longer understood exclusively within the context of large-scale political events, their influence continues to be seen in recent work. In addition assumptions rooted in older culture-historical narratives of ‘Romanisation’ and military/civilian interaction continue to affect research agendas and interpretations (Roskams and Whyman 2005, 67). This may partially explain why the more ‘Romanised’ sites in the region – towns, villas and forts – have become particular foci for research. Knowledge of the rural landscape has increased rapidly since the 1970s, however, thanks again to the impact of aerial photography and PPG 16 (Ottaway 2003, 34), but the relationship between ‘Romanised’ and rural sites remains to be fully understood.

Debates about the rural landscape continue to focus on the extent to which the political, social and economic changes of the first century AD affected landscape organisation and settlement in the region. How did urban centres and their elites exercise control over population movement and the production and consumption of goods and resources (Chadwick 2009, 45)? The basic structure of the rural landscape was established by the later first millennium BC and persisted well into the following centuries. Social organisation in these areas may have continued much as it had done in the late Iron Age, with Roman authorities exploiting existing systems of tribute to support the developing infrastructure (Roskams and Whyman 2005, 68; Bennett 2006, 4).

Changes to the settlement pattern began to occur more rapidly during the third century with the appearance of new small towns, roadside settlements and some villas (Roskams and Whyman 2005, 70), whereas other towns, like Brough, appear to have been abandoned altogether (Wacher 1969, 26-7; Whitwell 1988, 70). Reorganisation of some of the region’s larger towns suggests that their role was also beginning to change. Civitas capitals like York and other walled towns appear to have begun to take on the role of administrative centres with a focus on the collection of taxes (Reece 1980).

In rural areas new industries began to appear in this period, some smaller settlements shifted or were abandoned and there are signs of increasing landscape reorganization. The declining importance of towns also appears to have coincided with a rise in the number of wealthy country estates. The villa at Welton Wold, East Yorkshire established in the early second century, was one of the earliest in the region (Ottaway 2003, 142), but the majority date from the later third century onwards. In Lincolnshire

Winterton is one of the few villas to have been extensively excavated (Bennet 2006, 4). It is difficult to know who was constructing these villas – existing regional elites, whose wealth had increased (Stead 1980), immigrant, retired soldiers (Branigan 1980, 1982, 1984) or perhaps a mixture of both (Chadwick 2009, 54).

Together the changes that occurred from the third century onwards have often been attributed to the replacement of ‘military’ by ‘civil’ society, which further stimulated the development of a market economy, but this interpretation has been questioned by Roskams and Whyman (2005, 70) who suggest that it is based on a modern understanding of economic development. Changing relationships between the state and its institutions, urban and rural areas, and new social hierarchies may in fact have been so complex and nuanced that they have yet to be fully understood.

6.1.4 Early medieval

Our knowledge of post-Roman and early medieval landscape organisation and settlement patterns is less certain than that of preceding periods. This is due to a combination of factors such as a decline in the quantity of artefacts being produced and deposited and the archaeological visibility of settlements, together with various research biases and problems of chronology that have yet to be fully resolved. Cemeteries, which tend to be more archaeologically visible than other sites, have long been a focus for excavation. By contrast our knowledge of settlement is still developing and it seems likely that many late Roman and Medieval sites incorporate post-Roman phases of occupation that have yet to be properly identified (Roskams and Whyman 2005, 32). The lack of closely dated artefact types has long presented an obstacle to achieving this as the amount of coinage entering Britain and the mass production of pottery declined rapidly after AD 402 (Loveluck 2003, 151). Due to the variability of the archaeological evidence, historical sources (often of a later date and of variable quality) have played a greater role in our understanding of the period, together with place-name and epigraphic evidence. This has contributed to the particular focus on ethnicity and cultural change that characterises the study of this period and the archaeological evidence has often been interpreted accordingly.

The archaeological evidence that does exist reveals a complex mix of both continuity and change. Although all towns underwent rapid decline, the point at which this began and the rate at which it occurred can be variable. In York this process seems to have

begun during the later fourth century and 'dark earth' layers have been interpreted as signs that cultivation soon began to occur within the city walls (Hall 1996, 31-4). At Kirmington in Lincolnshire, occupation appears to have continued into the fifth century (Bennet 2006, 2). Military occupation of the signal stations at Huntcliff, Filey and Goldsborough came to a sudden conclusion during the reign of Honorius, but at many fort sites it appears to have continued into the fifth century (Casey 1994, 264-6). Defences appear to have been maintained and even further modified at Malton, Piercebridge, Birdoswald and South Shields (Loveluck 2003, 152), but whether these sites retained their previous degree of control over local populations is less clear (*ibid.* 153). The evolution of systems of military control in the post-Roman period and their interaction with those of the native elites may have played an important role in the development of new social structures (*ibid.*).

A similar pattern of change and continuity occurred in rural areas. Towards the end of the fourth century modifications and improvements to villas were no longer being made. There are signs that some villas were occupied into the fifth century, but before long these were abandoned although remaining a focus for subsequent settlement (Loveluck 2003, 154). This has often been interpreted as part of a process of gradual 'de-Romanisation' and a growing assertion of a provincial identity (*ibid.*; Millett 1990, 163). Elsewhere occupation of, or in the proximity of, later Roman nucleated 'ladder' settlements and individual farmsteads often appears to have continued into the fifth century, while gradually shifting towards an un-enclosed form (*ibid.* 163).

Pollen evidence does, however, suggest a gradual decline in the arable cultivation of marginal areas (Loveluck 2003, 163; White 1997, 48), particularly in western and upland parts of the region. Dark (1996, 45&50) has blamed a withdrawal of Roman troops from northern Britain and the resulting collapse of infrastructure, but such an explanation relies on the idea that withdrawal was quick. Loveluck (2003, 154) has suggested that the centralised taxation system disintegrated rapidly, removing the need for surplus production. Alternatively climatic deterioration in the 530s due to a volcanic eruption or comet strike may have reduced the productivity of marginal lands (Keys 1999, 254-72; Baillie 1999, 85-8). A combination of all of these causes (and perhaps others as yet unknown) seems most probable.

These general trends can be witnessed across much of the region, but some key differences can also be seen between eastern and western parts. This has led Loveluck (2003), in an approach supported by Roskams and Whyman (Roskams and Whyman 2005, 33-4), to structure his regional account of this period along this basic geographical division. Accordingly, in the east (and to this can be added north Lincolnshire), a new 'Anglo-Saxon' culture began to emerge from the fifth century onwards, whilst in the west, post-Roman British culture survived much longer, perhaps until the seventh century, although the inhabitants of this region were receptive to certain new cultural influences (Loveluck 2003).

The rarity of material culture and the practice of burial without grave goods restricts the archaeological visibility of societies living in western parts of the region (Loveluck 2003, 155). Here place-name and historical evidence has often been relied upon to fill the gap, although this tends to paint a rather general picture and offers only long-term chronologies. It would seem that the region was divided into a number of small independent territories of varying size (*ibid.*). Elmet, comprising parts of south and west Yorkshire, appears to have been one of the longest surviving of these (*ibid.*). A memorial stone bearing the inscription *Aliortus Elmetiaco Hic Iacet* ('here lies Aliortus of Elmet'; Westwood 1876-79, 179, fig.38) found in Gwynedd, North Wales has been dated to the mid-fifth century AD based on the form of the inscription (Knight 1996, 111), suggesting that the territory was already in existence by this point. Its discovery also suggests that Elmet's inhabitants had wide ranging links with other areas of western Britain and were likely to have been exposed to continental influences as a result (Loveluck 2003, 156-7).

On the other hand, the visibility of post-Roman archaeological remains, and particularly burial evidence, tends to be more pronounced in the east and South-East of the region. The first Germanic metalwork reached Lincolnshire in small quantities during the fourth century (Leahy 1993, 29-44). It was only during the first half of the fifth century though that Germanic material culture and probably migrants seem to have arrived in any quantities. The first large cremation cemeteries in the region are located to the south of the Humber at Cleatham and Elsham Wold (*ibid.*, 33-6; Leahy in prep) and it has been suggested that these may each have served several early tribal groupings (Leahy 1998). Soon after cemeteries were constructed in Yorkshire at Sancton (Eagles 1979; fig.40) the Mount and Heworth (Loveluck 2003, 158). No settlements of a certain

contemporary date associated with these have yet been identified (*ibid.*). These early cremation burials contain a wide variety of Anglo-Saxon and Romano-British grave goods (*ibid.*), suggesting a complex intermingling of populations and cultures was occurring, no doubt facilitated by the Humber. The mechanisms of this process and its association with population movement have been fiercely debated and the only consensus reached so far is that they are likely to have been highly complex.

In the later fifth century inhumation began to replace cremation as the dominant rite. There new inhumation cemeteries were typically smaller, perhaps only serving one community or extended family, and sometimes focused on ancient prehistoric monuments (Loveluck 2003, 159). Occasionally single rich inhumation burials beneath barrows also occurred (Everson 1993, 94-98). Only certain graves contained goods. For women items include certain dress accessories, buckles, knives, beads and sometimes vessels and food products, and for men weapons, shields and vessels (Loveluck 2003, 160). The character of these goods demonstrates that this part of the region had links with areas of Europe stretching from southern Scandinavia to the Mediterranean (*ibid.*).

6.2 Regional data overview

6.2.1 Quantities

A total of 330 penannulars are located in this region. Type A is by far the most common as over 25% of the British total are located here (fig.6.2). Although Type D is the second most common type at a national level, the region contains only 4% of the national total. Type C appears more frequently – 11% of the national total. A significant percentage of national totals of Type A, B and E are also found in the region – 12%, 12% and 16% respectively. All other types either do not occur at all or are found only in very low numbers.

6.2.2 Distribution

The majority are concentrated in the east, with few in West and South Yorkshire (fig.6.3). The largest group is situated in the Yorkshire Wolds and immediately south of the Humber estuary, with the Vale of Pickering as the eastern boundary. A scattering of sites lies along the eastern edges of the Pennines, but very few are found in the Pennines

themselves apart from a small group from cave sites in North Yorkshire between Settle and Grassington. A small number are also found in the central lowlands, but few sites here apart from York have produced more than single brooches.

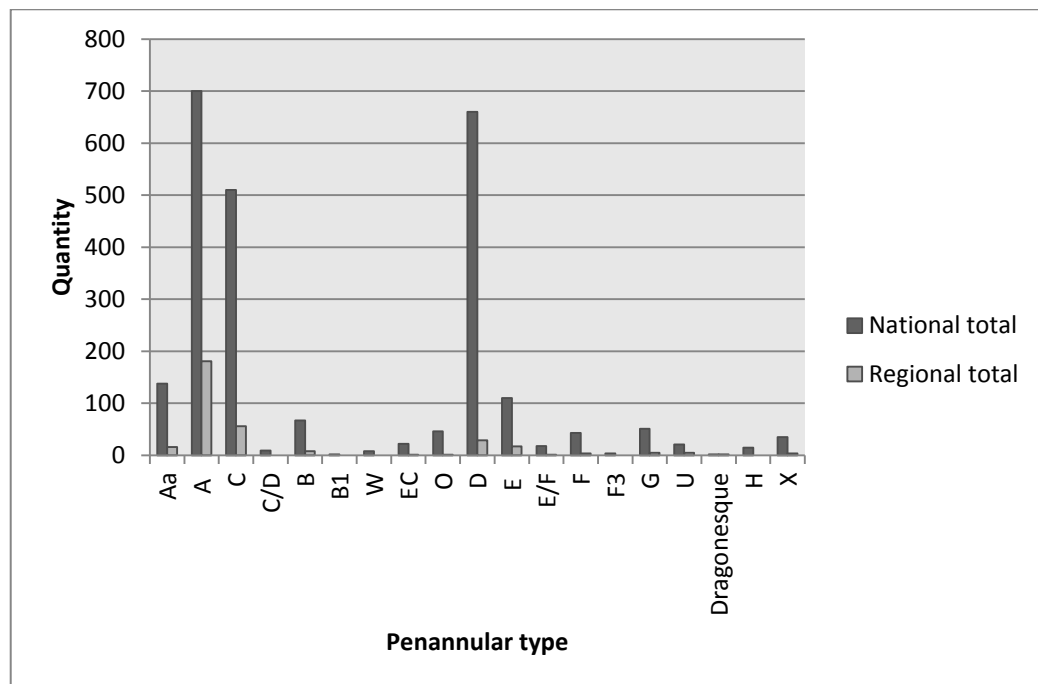


Figure 6.2. Total quantity of each penannular type in Yorkshire and North Lincolnshire

6.2.3 Common penannular types – key patterns

6.2.3.1 Types Aa and B

Both of these types are concentrated in South-West England, but a cluster of each is also found in East Yorkshire and North Lincolnshire. In particular a significant number of Type Aa brooches occur in this region. A potentially early Roman brooch has been found in the vicus excavation at Castleford, West Yorkshire (Cool 1998b, 55, no.146), but the majority of the others are of confirmed or presumed Iron Age date (see section 4.1). It therefore seems likely that the type was only popular in this region during the Iron Age in contrast to the South-West where it had a longer lifespan. Conversely Type B brooches from the region come exclusively from Roman and early medieval sites.

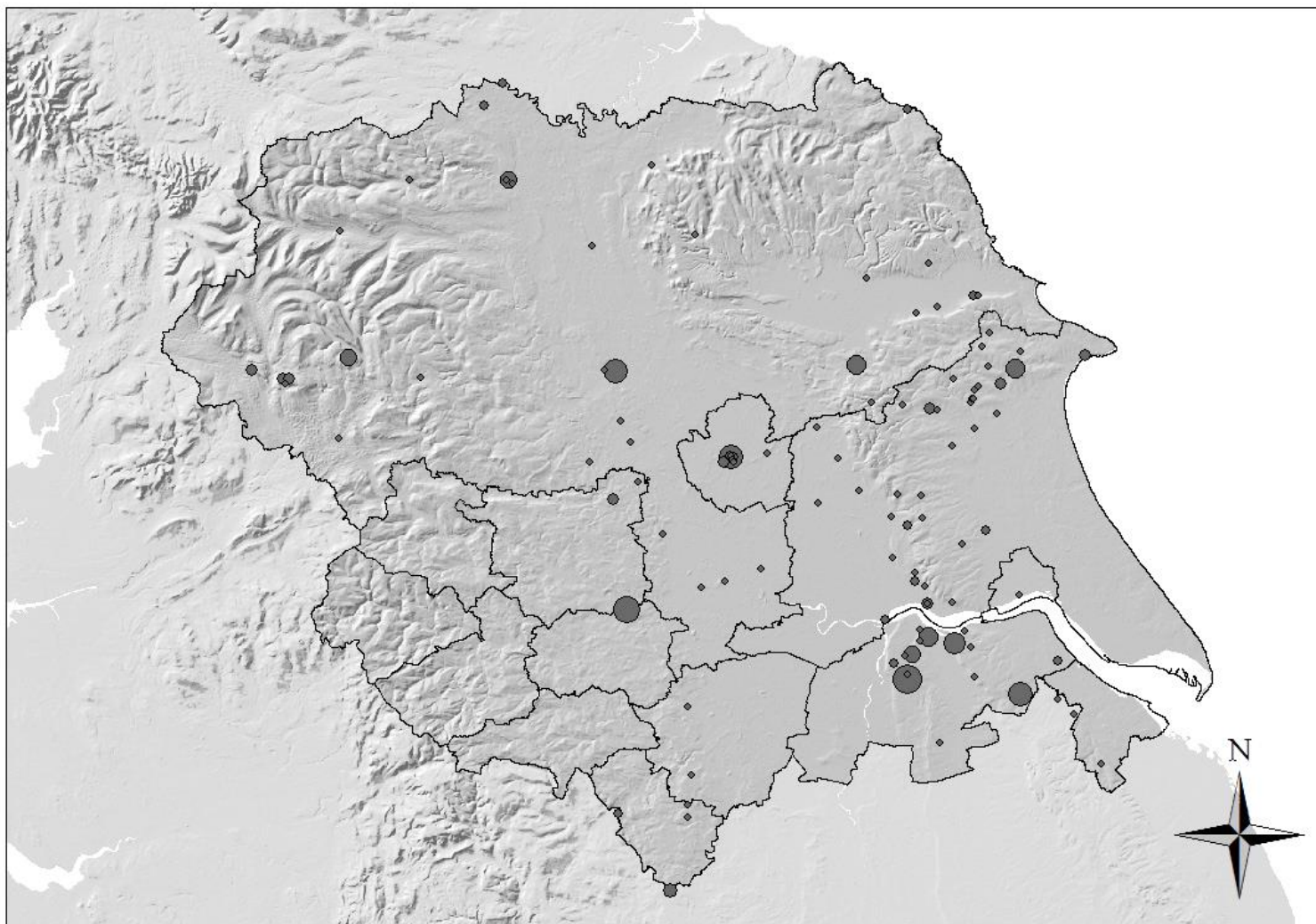


Figure 6.3. Distribution of all penannulars in Yorkshire and North Lincolnshire

6.2.3.2 Types A, C and D

Type A is by far the most common type in the region, with C and D occurring in much smaller numbers (fig.6.2). This contrasts with South-West England where, despite the dominance of Type D, the other two types are still found in some numbers. As in the South-West the three types seldom appear in combination with one another on the same site (fig.6.4). When this does occur Type A is much more likely to be found with Type D than C despite the fact that D is only slightly more common than C in the region.

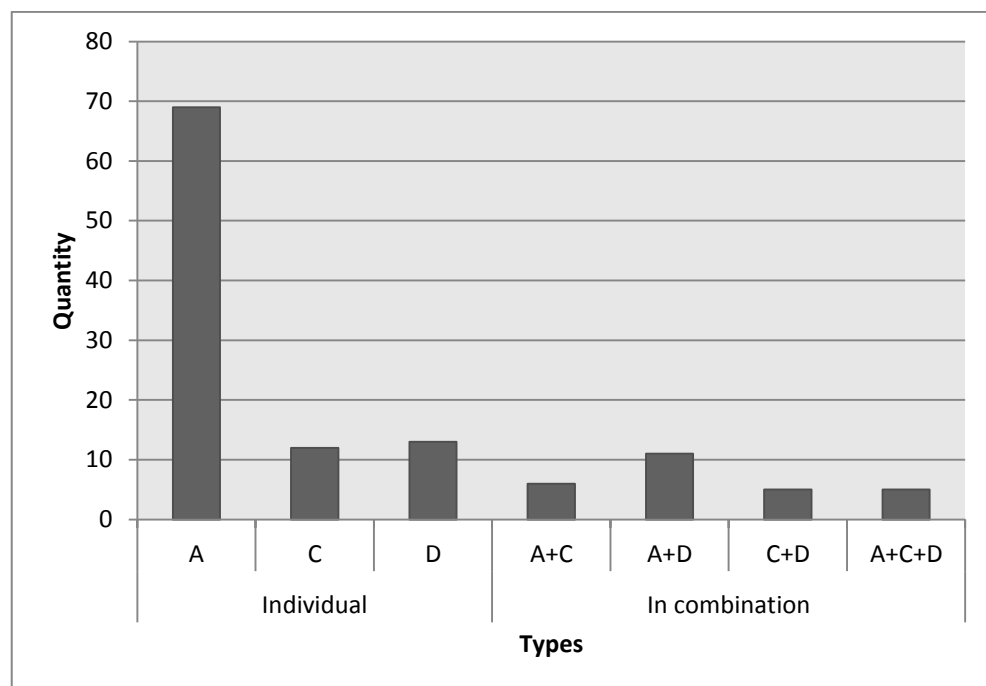


Figure 6.4. Combinations of Types A, C and D penannulars on individual sites in the study region

6.2.3.3 The zoomorphic types

There is a small group of Type E brooches widely dispersed across the region. These come from a range of sites, the majority Roman, but one was found in an undated cremation at the early medieval cemetery of Sancton, East Yorkshire (White 1988, 16, fig.7,2). Type F, however, is only found in North Lincolnshire where a significant group is located, the majority of which have been recorded with the PAS (refs: LIN-C445A4; LIN-13A030; LIN-1AB297; NLM-A0DEB5; NCL-A31A61). The fact that

metal-detected penannulars are well-distributed across the case study region more generally suggests that this cluster is of genuine significance. It may either be the result of the popularity of the style in this particular area or represents a fashion for depositing them in burials.

6.2.4 Common site types – key patterns

The ratio of penannular types from each category of site closely matches the national data, with only a few exceptions (fig.6.5). A particularly high number of brooches come from sites of unknown type. Most of these are PAS finds or were recorded during museum visits. The highest number come from nucleated settlements, most of which are located in North Lincolnshire. The majority of others come from Roman towns, military sites and villas and early medieval cemeteries.

Only six sites have produced 10 or more brooches. These include the Iron Age and Roman nucleated settlements at Dragonby, Lincolnshire (43 brooches) and Kirmington, Lincolnshire (21 brooches), the Roman military site at Castleford, West Yorkshire (30 brooches), the Roman towns of Aldborough (21 brooches) and York (13 brooches), North Yorkshire, and the Roman villa at Rudston, East Yorkshire (10 brooches). Some of these sites are investigated in more detail below.

6.2.4.1 Rural nucleated settlements

Although Type D is not common in the region, it appears surprisingly frequently on rural settlements in North Lincolnshire. Indeed here it is found in even higher numbers than the national average for this type of site. Found in much smaller numbers are Type A and then C, E and Aa. This correlates well with data from the South-West where Type D was also the most common type on rural sites. Rural sites in North Lincolnshire therefore form the focus of detailed examination in section 6.3.2

6.2.4.2 Roman towns, military sites and villas

By comparison Type A is dominant at Roman military sites, towns and villas in the region. Type E is the second most common type from towns, but only one has been found at an exclusively military site – Birdoswold (Richmond 1931, 132). Instead Types C and then D are more common on military sites. Interestingly York has produced relatively few brooches compared to other British towns, something also

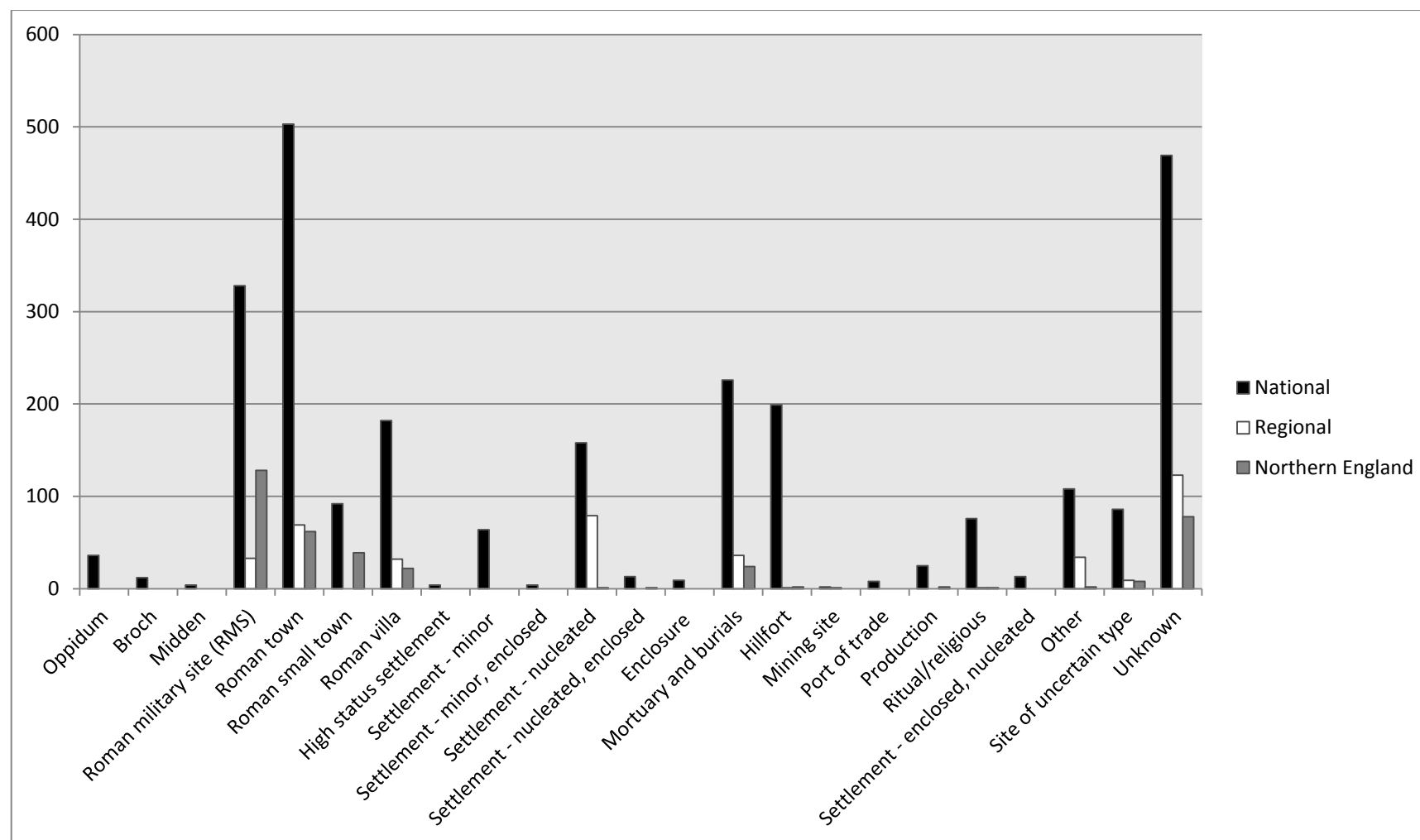


Figure 6.5. Types of sites producing penannulars in the study region, compared with data nationally and from the rest of Northern England (Cumbria, Northumberland, Durham, Lancashire and Yorkshire)

noted by Collins (2010). The reasons for this are not clear, but surprising given the town's central position within the region during the Roman period.

6.2.4.3 Early medieval cemeteries

Penannulars have been found in medieval graves across the region. Type C, followed by Type G, are the most common, but as noted above several Type F brooches from Lincolnshire recorded by the PAS are probably from unexcavated cemeteries. A few penannulars are clearly associated with burials and other grave goods, giving some insight into their role in the burial ritual. A pair of Type C penannulars were discovered with a late fifth to sixth century child inhumation at Sewerby, East Yorkshire, which also contained an annular brooch, pottery and beads (White 1988, 12). At the late fifth to early seventh century cemetery at West Haslerton, North Yorkshire another Type C was found on the left shoulder of an adult female aged 25 or younger, together with a variety of other grave-goods including an annular brooch on the right shoulder and a square-headed brooch at an unknown location on the body (Haughton and Powlesland 1999, 254). A Type C came from an unknown position in a male inhumation grave at Ruskington, Lincolnshire (White 1988, fig.6, no.3). Two graves of unknown type each produced a Type C at Sleaford, Lincolnshire, one together with two annular brooches and the other a large cruciform brooch and necklace (*ibid.* fig1. no.4 & fig.4., no.6). From the same cemetery two Type Gs were found in a single grave together with an annular brooch (Dickinson fig.3, no.25 & fig.4, no.26; White 1988 fig.12, nos.2&3) and a Type E in a cremation burial with no further associations (White 1988, 16, fig.7/2). In East Yorkshire a Type G accompanied an inhumation burial in a re-used Bronze Age barrow at Driffield (Dickinson 1982, fig.5, no.12; White 1988, fig.11, no.7) and an inhumation burial in the cemetery at Londesborough (Dickinson 1982, fig.5, no.17; White 1988, fig.11, no.7), together with an Aberg group IV brooch. At Sancton a Type B was found in a cremation burial together with five annular brooches (White 1988, 9). It is clear, therefore, that penannulars were deemed to be appropriate for inclusion in a range of burial practices for a wide variety of individuals. Indeed this variety is such that few patterns can be identified apart from the fact that penannulars often formed part of a set of brooches and in particular were often accompanied by annular brooches

6.2.5 Context of deposition

There are 16 major sites located in the region (table 6.1). Compared to the other case study region more penannulars had specific provenances (47.5%), reflecting differing sources of information and perhaps standards of publication in the two regions. Type A again made up by far the highest number of stray PAS and non-site finds, but there are no penannulars from hoards in this region (fig.6.6). The proportions of each type from specific excavated contexts compared to those simply attributed to sites were typically very similar, apart from Type B which occurred only in the former. This suggests that the type may have been subject to practices of deliberate deposition specific to this region.

Contextual information has been recorded for 52.9% of the excavated penannulars. The quantity from each context type is similar to the South-West, although the range of contexts is smaller (fig.6.6). Again those from general non-specific 'layers' comprise the largest group. Seven of these came from layers whose precise nature was not identified. The remainder came from Roman forts, of which Castleford produced the majority (see section 6.3.3). Ten came from the fort itself and seven from associated *vici*. An additional three came from general layers in the *praetentura* at York (Cool et al. 1995, 1544, fig.721, nos.6335 & 6334; 1603, fig.760, no.6507). As in the South-West pits, ditches and inhumation burials were the only others to produce significant numbers. In contrast to the South-West, however, virtually none came from contexts directly associated with domestic, non-military occupation. The only possible exceptions were one from Dragonby found in a layer adjacent to surviving part of floor of a rectangular building (Olivier 1996, 231-263, fig.11.12, no.144) and one from Catterick found unstratified in the South-West corner of 'building one' (Kilbride-Jones 1980, 150, fig.52.14).

6.2.5.1 Analysis of stratified finds by period

Iron Age penannulars in this region are found primarily in burials within the inhumation cemeteries of East Yorkshire (fig.6.8), although one has also been found in a potential settlement nearby. This contrasts directly with the South-West where they are found in a wider range of contexts, which differ little from later periods. In the present region there is a significant distinction between practices of deposition in the Iron Age and the first century AD onwards. During the latter period penannulars are

Site	Specific Provenance (excavation)	General Provenance (PAS, stray site finds, etc.)	Vague/attributed provenance (antiquarian, etc.)
Aldborough	10	0	12
Attermire Cave	0	0	14
Castleford	28	0	0
Catterick	9	0	0
Dowkerbottom Cave	0	0	7
Dragonby	29	0	16
Garton Slack	6	0	0
Kirmington	0	0	27
Langton Villa, Malton	7	0	0
Old Winteringham	8	0	2
Rudston	8	0	3
Sleaford	9	3	1
South Ferriby	0	0	19
Victoria and Albert Caves	0	0	8
Winterton	9	0	0
York	9	0	19

Table 6.1. Major sites (that have produced 5+ penannulars) in the study region

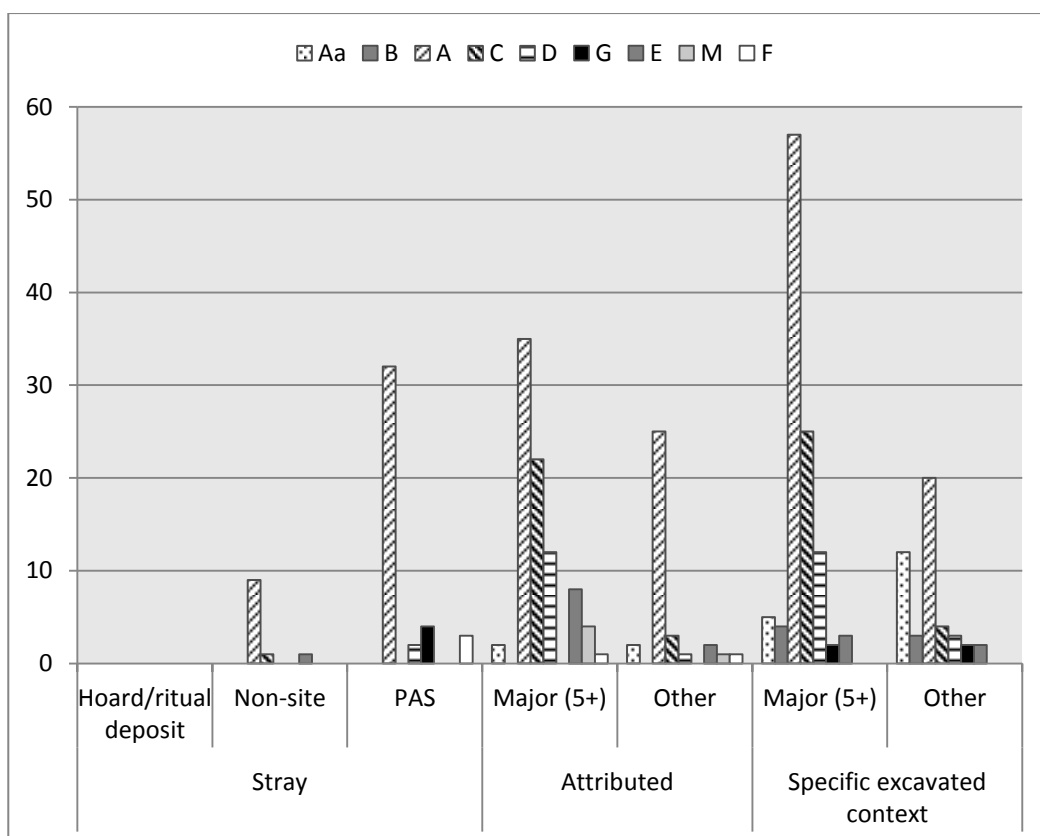


Figure 6.6. Provenances of common penannular types

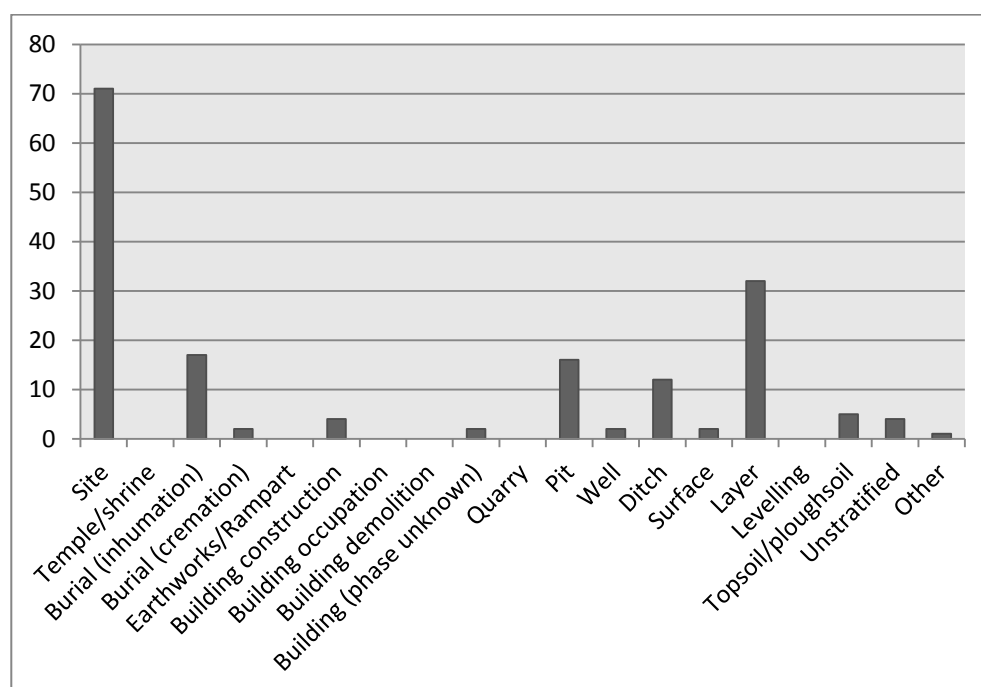


Figure 6.7. Securely provenanced penannulars from excavations – breakdown by context

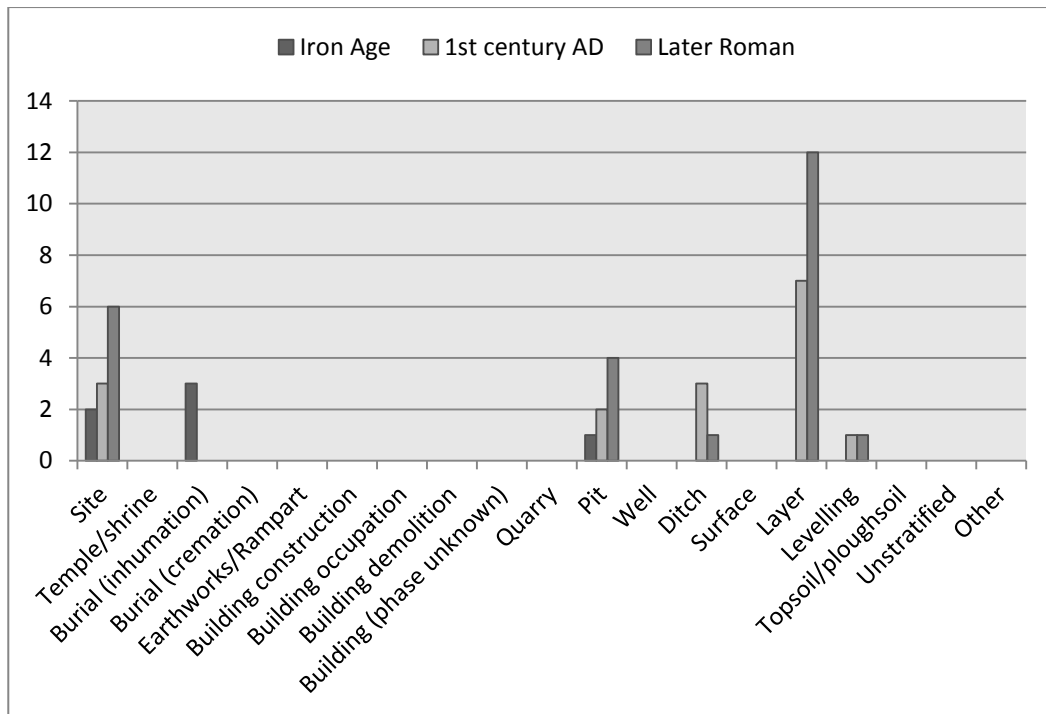


Figure 6.8. Securely provenanced penannulars from excavations – breakdown by context and period

restricted to general layers, pits and ditches, usually in forts, and practices of deposition changed little across the Roman period. This range is more limited than in the South-West, but this reflects the fact that well-dated penannulars come from a smaller range of sites in this region.

Most of the first century AD penannulars come from the fort and vicus at Castleford. All but one of the penannulars from non-specific layers are from this site (Cool 1998b, 55, no.131, 132, 136, 141, 144, 151); the remaining one was found in a layer in the *praetentura* of the fort at York (Cool et al. 1995, 1544, fig.721, 6335). The two from pits also come from the Castleford fort (Cool 1998b, 55, no.134, 142), as does one from levelling in a building of the vicus (*ibid.* 145). The three from ditches all come from Dragonby (Olivier 1996, 231-263, fig.11.12, no.141, 142 & 152), however, suggesting that the future discovery of more penannulars dating to this period may reveal differences in patterns of deposition across the region and between different types of site.

A large proportion of the penannulars from the later Roman period also come from Castleford, but a wider range of sites are additionally represented. Again most from non-specific layers come from the Castleford fort and vicus (Cool 1998b, 55, no.125, 126, 127, 128, 137, 140, 146, 148, 150), with two from layers of an unspecified location at Catterick (Wilson 2002, 161, fig.307, nos.19 & 34) and two from the *praetentura* of the fortress at York again (Cool et al. 1995, 1544, fig.721, 6334; 1603, fig.760, 6507). Three were also found in pits at Catterick (Wilson 2002, 161, fig. 305, nos. 15, 17 & 19).

6.3. Detailed site case studies

6.3.1 Penannulars from Iron Age mortuary contexts in East Yorkshire

As noted above, some of the earliest known British penannulars have been found in the square-ditched barrow burials of the East Yorkshire Wolds, which have been a focus for excavation since the nineteenth century. Overall a total of 10 penannulars have been found in certain or possible Iron Age contexts in East Yorkshire. An unusually high number of these, 40%, are manufactured in iron. All are Type Aa apart from single Type A brooches found at Wetwang (Hull Museum: 1991.74.1060) and Arras (1979). The majority come from burials with only a few exceptions. The penannular from Arras was a stray find with no specific burial association. A brooch said to have been found on an old farm at Sawdon (Stead 1979, 71, fig.26,8) together with a La Tène 2Ab brooch has also often been included within the group, but there seems to be little evidence other than hearsay to suggest that it came from a burial. Sophia Adams (pers. com.) confirms that this bow brooch is likely to date to the late third to early second century BC, but the association between it and the penannular is uncertain so it cannot offer a reliable date. The Sawdon penannular is unique in form, with large, globular terminals and a further globular moulding on the hoop opposite, and so offers no typological hints about its date. Finally at Garton Slack a copper alloy Type Aa penannular was found in the bottom of an undated ditch (Challis and Harding 1975).

The remaining 8 brooches are all directly associated with burials. At Wetwang two iron type Aa penannulars were found, one in Burial 66, containing the burial of a female

aged between 20-25 years and another in Burial 230, containing an older female aged between 30-40 years. As discussed above the latter burial pre-dated other burials containing H&H Type 2Ca involuted brooches and so is likely to be of third century BC date. The former were dated by Dent (1984) to between 150-50 BC, but this can now be re-dated via radiocarbon dates from nearby burials to (Jay et al. 2012) the first half of the second century BC. The latter brooch was identified as Type D by Stead (1991, 89), but the effect of turned back terminals has been produced by corrosion and the brooch is in fact a Type Aa. To the north-east at Huntow/Hunton two copper alloy penannulars were found in a barrow excavated in 1857 by Edward Tindall together with some animal bone, but no human remains, and a H&H Type 2Aa/b straight bow brooch (Wright 1861) suggesting a probable third century date (Colin Haselgrove pers. com.). Just to the west of this site at Rudston another copper alloy penannular with a strongly humped pin was found in a possibly female inhumation. Initially Stead (1971, 38, fig. 7, 1) listed this as a find from the Burton Fleming portion of the site as does Hull (cat. no.8150), but Stead's later work makes it clear that the grave is located at Rudston. In the south of the region at Arras a copper alloy penannular with an iron pin was found within what has sometimes been referred to as the 'Queen's Barrow'. This contained a skeleton in contracted position with its head to the north and glass beads, a copper alloy and coral bow brooch, a pendant, tweezers, various rings, bracelets and armlets. The penannular from this burial is unusual because it has a particularly long pin and it is not clear from the illustration whether it is certainly a penannular¹⁰. Stead (1979, 71) also lists an iron penannular from barrow W.45 on the same site, which is described as having 'circular terminals' only visible on X-rays, suggesting that it is a Type A. Finally at Dane's Graves an iron penannular was found in a burial that seems likely to date to between the second or third century BC on basis of main phase of East Yorkshire cemetery use (Colin Haselgrove pers. com.). In summary then the majority of penannulars from dated burial contexts in East Yorkshire appear to be of third century BC date, but most are from undated contexts.

¹⁰ It was the unusual form of this brooch that led Fowler to suggest that it might represent an intermediary stage of development between the involuted pin and the penannular (Fowler 1961).

Stead (1991) has identified three types of burial ritual practiced in the East Yorkshire cemeteries. Only his 'Type A burials' have produced any penannulars. These are usually oriented north-south with the head to the north facing east, are typically crouched or contracted and often contain a single La Tene II brooch in the area of the shoulder or occasionally a bracelet or bead (*ibid.*). Many are also accompanied by a joint of meat, sometimes in a complete or incomplete pot (*ibid.*, 179). At Rudston a burial containing a type Aa penannular was oriented south-north and contracted, but facing west in contrast to the usual arrangement (Stead 1991, 89, fig.101, RH.2). It is thought to be that of a female aged between 35-45 and was placed in a coffin and accompanied by a pot containing a sheep bone (*ibid.*). Interestingly the penannular was located near the back of the skull suggesting that it may not have been positioned as it was worn during life and instead could have been used to secure a burial shroud. At Wetwang the basic structure of the burial tends to follow the usual Stead Type A formula, but there is only one pot from the cemetery, glass beads are common and one burial contained a sword.

Some features of the East Yorkshire burials, in particular the square barrow form and cart burial tradition, are paralleled in the Aisne–Marne and Hunsrück–Eifel regions on the continent, which has led to speculation about whether they reached Britain from here via migration or cultural contact. Thanks to new radiocarbon dating of eight cart burials from six different locations in East Yorkshire (Jay et al. 2012) it is now clear that these burials in fact belong to a much later period than their continental counterparts. On the continent vehicle burials reached their peak in La Tène A, around the mid-late fifth century BC, whereas in Yorkshire they occupy a relatively short period of a few decades around 200 BC, towards the end of the East Yorkshire burial chronology (*ibid.* 183). This seems to correlate with the fact that most of the East Yorkshire carts, with their un-nailed tyres, occupy a late phase within continental typologies (*ibid.*). Type A burials also show limited evidence of continental influence. In Britain the contracted, crouched or flexed position is most common, even in the few Iron Age inhumations found outside Yorkshire, in contrast to the extended position more common on the continent. Some Stead's (1991) East Yorkshire 'Type B', are typically extended or flexed, but he has suggested that they are later than Type A and none contain any penannulars. The square shape of the barrow also indicates a link, but given that there are limited options for barrow shape anyway then this may be

coincidental. Penannulars are perhaps the only form of evidence that do offer a genuine, if tentative link to the continental evidence.

As noted in chapter one Rowlett (1966) pointed out that penannulars had on occasion been found in Iron Age graves in the Aisne-Marne region of France. Rowlett (*ibid.*) suggested an early fourth century BC date for the Pernant, Aisne penannular, but Simpson (1979, 319) later referred to it as fifth century BC. Either date could be correct as in their report on work at the Pernant cemetery during the 1980s Ancien and Debord (1982, 91) suggest that the site was in use from the Hallstatt/La Tène transition to the beginning of La Tène period IIa. Like the majority of the East Yorkshire brooches, both are of a simple Type Aa form with plain terminals and straight pins, and interestingly the Pernant example is also manufactured in iron like almost half of all those from Yorkshire.

A link between the penannulars from both regions does seem plausible then and Stead points out that it would have taken the arrival of only one brooch to inspire the British metalworkers (Stead 1979, 73). If this was indeed the case, how the penannular arrived is impossible to determine given the current paucity of continental evidence. The only possible remaining evidence for a continental link may be the fact that East Yorkshire is one of only two regions in Britain where the earliest penannulars are found and their distribution does not correlate with that of any single type of contemporary bow brooch (Sophia Adams pers. com.). There are also some differences between the early penannulars found in the East Yorkshire burials and those from South-West Britain. The South-Western group are less likely to be made from iron compared to those from the East Yorkshire (25% versus 40%) and are more varied in form incorporating Type B and more Type A. This may suggest that the two groups had different origins, but alternatively it may simply point to different regional traditions.

6.3.2 Rural and coastal settlements in North Lincolnshire

There is a small, but significant concentration of penannulars in North Lincolnshire. Most occur on rural settlements and the shore of the Humber estuary. What makes these particularly notable, however, is the inclusion of a particularly high percentage of Type C and D (fig. 6.9). Although the distribution of Type C does extend into north-east

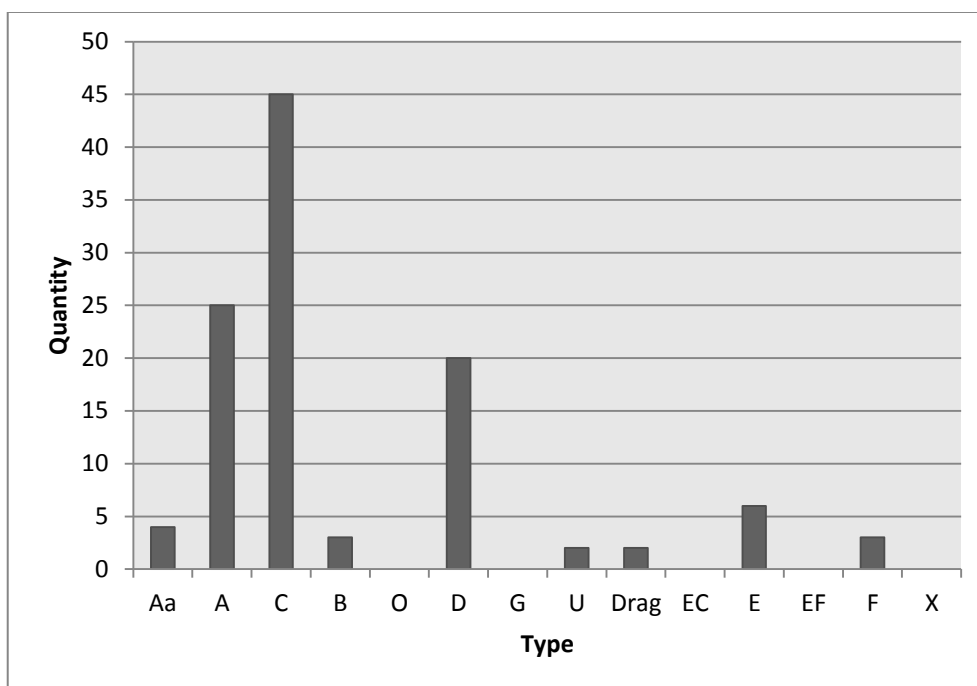


Figure 6.9. Quantities of each penannular type from all sites in North Lincolnshire

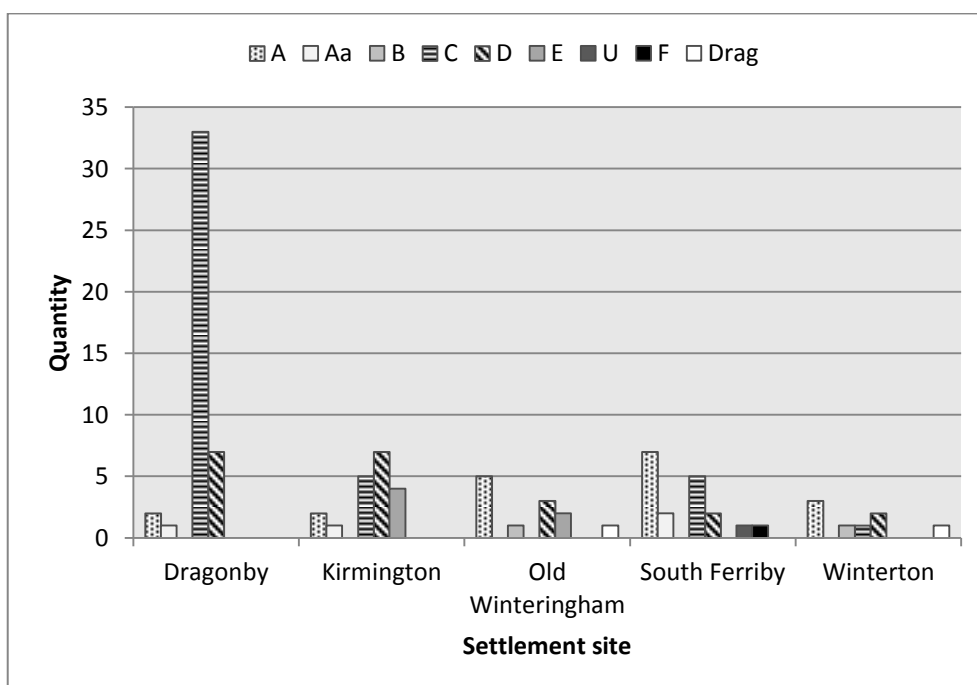


Figure 6.10. Quantities of each penannular type from individual sites in North Lincolnshire

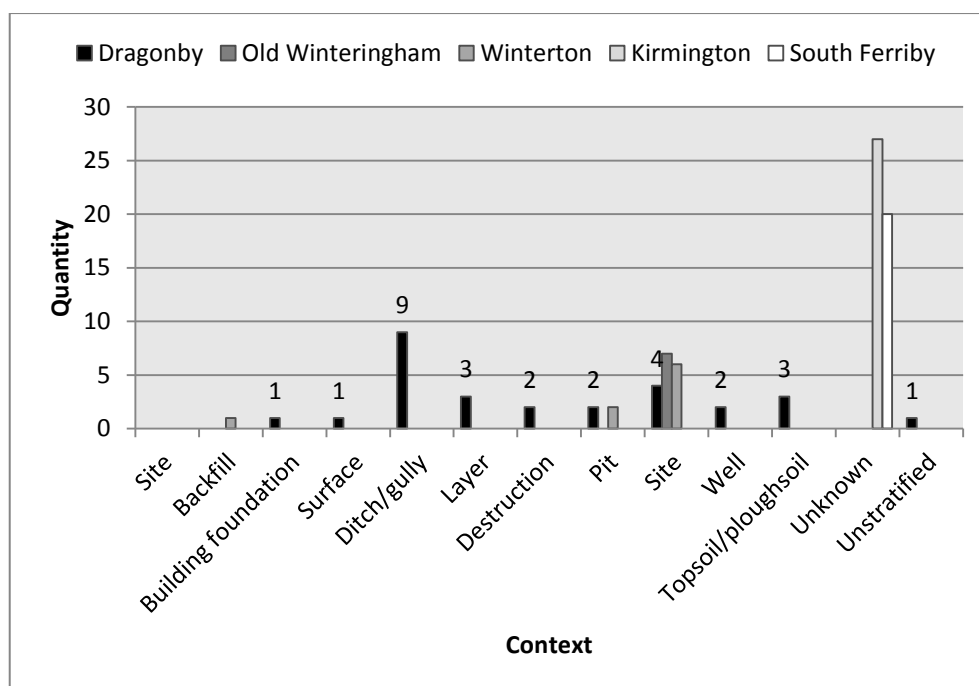


Figure 6.11. Contexts of deposition at major sites in the region

England it becomes sparser here, apart from this outlying group. The appearance of Type D is even more unexpected given the small numbers that occur in northern England overall. PAS data does not display a corresponding concentration of Type D here, but this may be because few penannulars have been recorded by the Scheme in this region generally. This section therefore tackles two questions. Firstly, why are penannulars such frequent finds in the region? And secondly, why are concentrations of penannular types not usually found in this region of England located here?

6.3.2.1 Context of deposition

49% of the penannulars from this region come from excavated contexts (fig.6.11). The rest are largely from antiquarian collections in Hull and Scunthorpe museums, with a few stray finds. The South Ferriby assemblage is particularly poorly documented and with the exception of Dragonby (below), even at excavated sites contextual information tends to be limited, preventing analysis of deposition patterns on a regional level.

6.3.2.2 Major sites

Dragonby

All but one of the penannulars are from Site 1 (fig. 6.12), which produced higher numbers of artefacts overall. The sequence here began with an Iron Age rectilinear ditched enclosure, which was later expanded and added to, forming a regular sequence of enclosures (May 1998, 70). At the end of the Iron Age a new sequence of ditches were dug, which deviated from this earlier pattern (*ibid.*). During the early Roman period there was a decline in occupation, although pottery production appears to have been taking place (*ibid.*). From the first century AD onwards the site was re-occupied and new aisled buildings were constructed alongside metalled roads and new ditches, which largely respected the older Iron Age layout of the site, but from the third century AD onwards occupation rapidly declined again (*ibid.*). May (*ibid.* 634) has attributed these patterns of decline to Dragonby's position in the landscape, distanced as it was from the Humber, which increased in importance from c.AD 45 as the Roman army advanced further north, and bypassed by the newly constructed Ermine Street.

Penannulars of all types are fairly evenly distributed across the site with a slight bias towards the north-eastern half and the area around the Roman road (fig.6.14). Unusually this distribution correlates well with that of other brooch types (fig.6.15). Overall few types of brooch show evidence of clustering and there is little chronological variation, further supporting the evidence for long-term consistency in patterns of occupation. Most of the penannulars from identified contexts came from boundary ditches, drainage gullies, pits and wells (fig.6.13). This also compares well with the rest of the brooch assemblage, although penannulars are the only type to have been recovered from wells. Six penannulars came from general, poorly defined 'layers', two of which consisted of rubble (Olivier 1996, 260, fig.11.12, nos.150&151) and one of which was directly adjacent to a rectangular building (*ibid.* no.144). The most common contexts of deposition for all brooch types were gullies and ditches. This is unsurprising given that the site is criss-crossed by dozens of boundary and drainage ditches and many brooches could have been washed into these from other areas. Deliberate deposition in these key boundary locations cannot be discounted entirely, however, especially given that most brooches were found together with other artefacts and pottery sherds. A Type Aa found in a wicker-lined pit together with sherds of Iron Age pottery displays the strongest

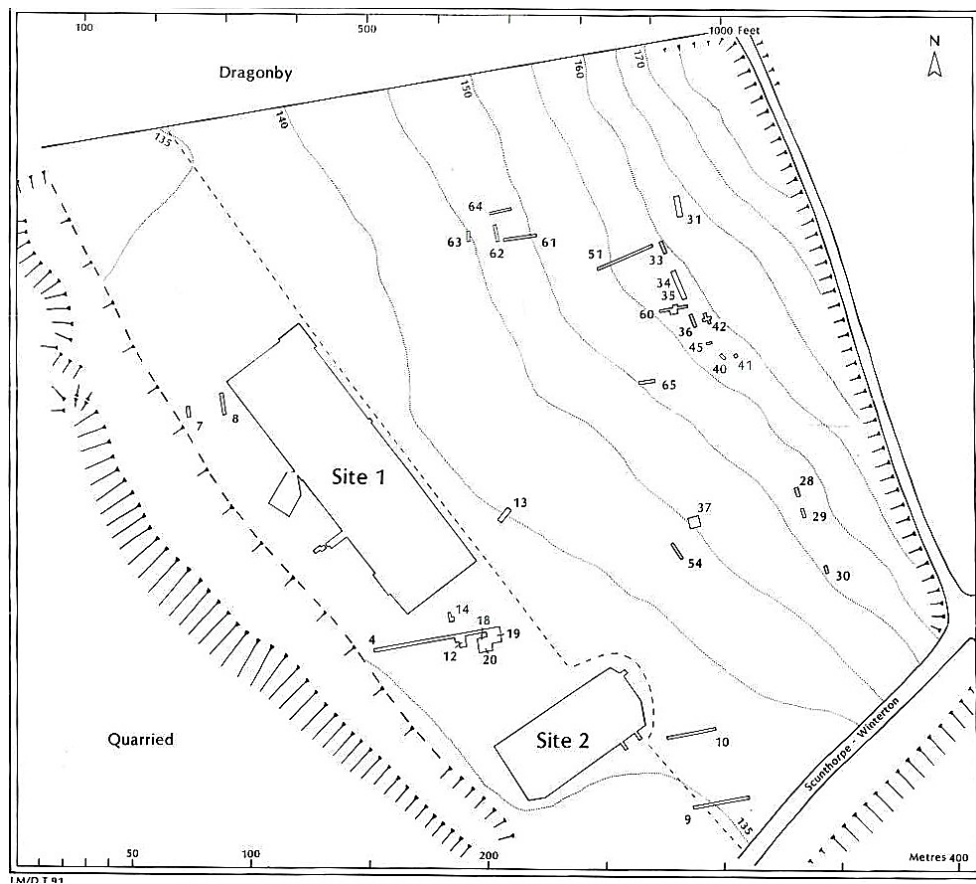


Figure 6.12. Excavated sites and cuttings at Dragonby (May 1996, 9, fig.1.3)

evidence that deliberate deposition of penannulars was occurring on the site (*ibid.*, fig.11.12, no.152). The two Type Cs found in contexts associated with wells, another potentially symbolically charged location, may also have been placed deliberately, but here evidence is less clear cut. One was found in a post-second century AD pit at the top of a well, but this also contained residual Iron Age material (*ibid.*, no.147) and the other was found in the filling of the well itself (*ibid.* no.139). A particularly high percentage of pre-Conquest penannulars, particularly in iron, have been found. The example from the wicker lined pit, attributed a broadly Iron Age date, is potentially the earliest found on the site. The only closely dated Type D brooch came from a late Iron Age ditch dated to the first half of the first century, up to and including the Conquest (*ibid.*, fig.11.12, no.129). None of the 33 Type C brooches from the site were from

closely dated contexts apart from one from a late Iron Age ditch¹¹ (*ibid.*, fig.11.12, no.1410). Another came from a cutting across a ditch complex that may be late Iron Age, but was not stratigraphically well understood (*ibid.* fig.11.12, no.143). The others were typically found in contexts containing a mixture of late Iron Age and early Roman material. It is likely therefore that all three types of penannular were in use at Dragonby prior to the Conquest and that most were deposited during the first century AD, although the form continued to be used well into the Roman period.

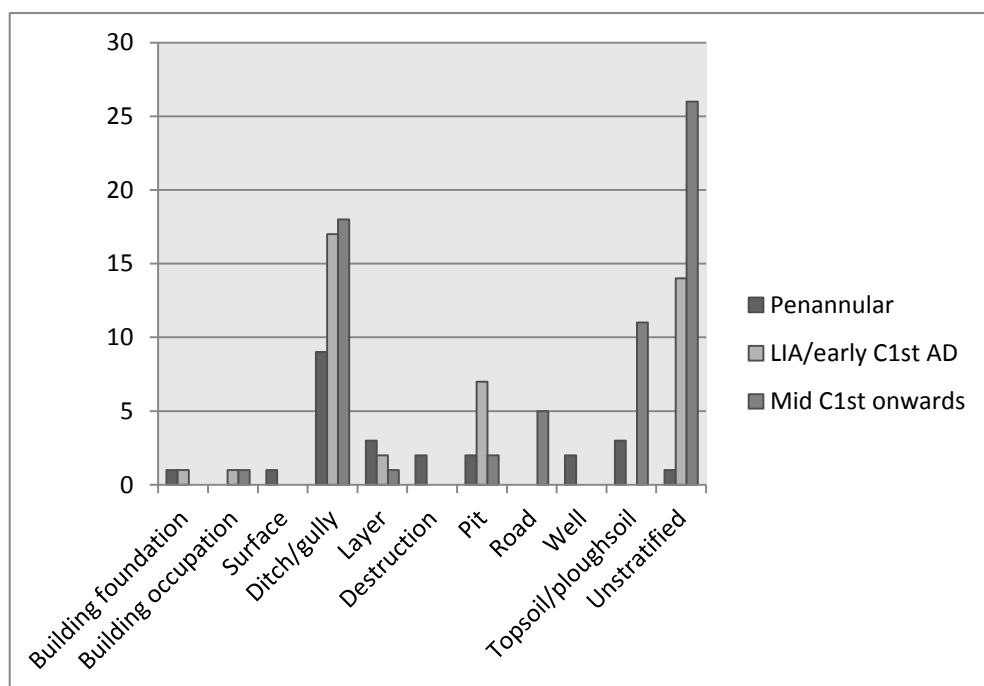


Figure 6.13. Contexts of penannular deposition at Dragonby

¹¹ This is described in the excavation report as a Type C, but upon examination at Scunthorpe Museum both terminals were observed to be missing.

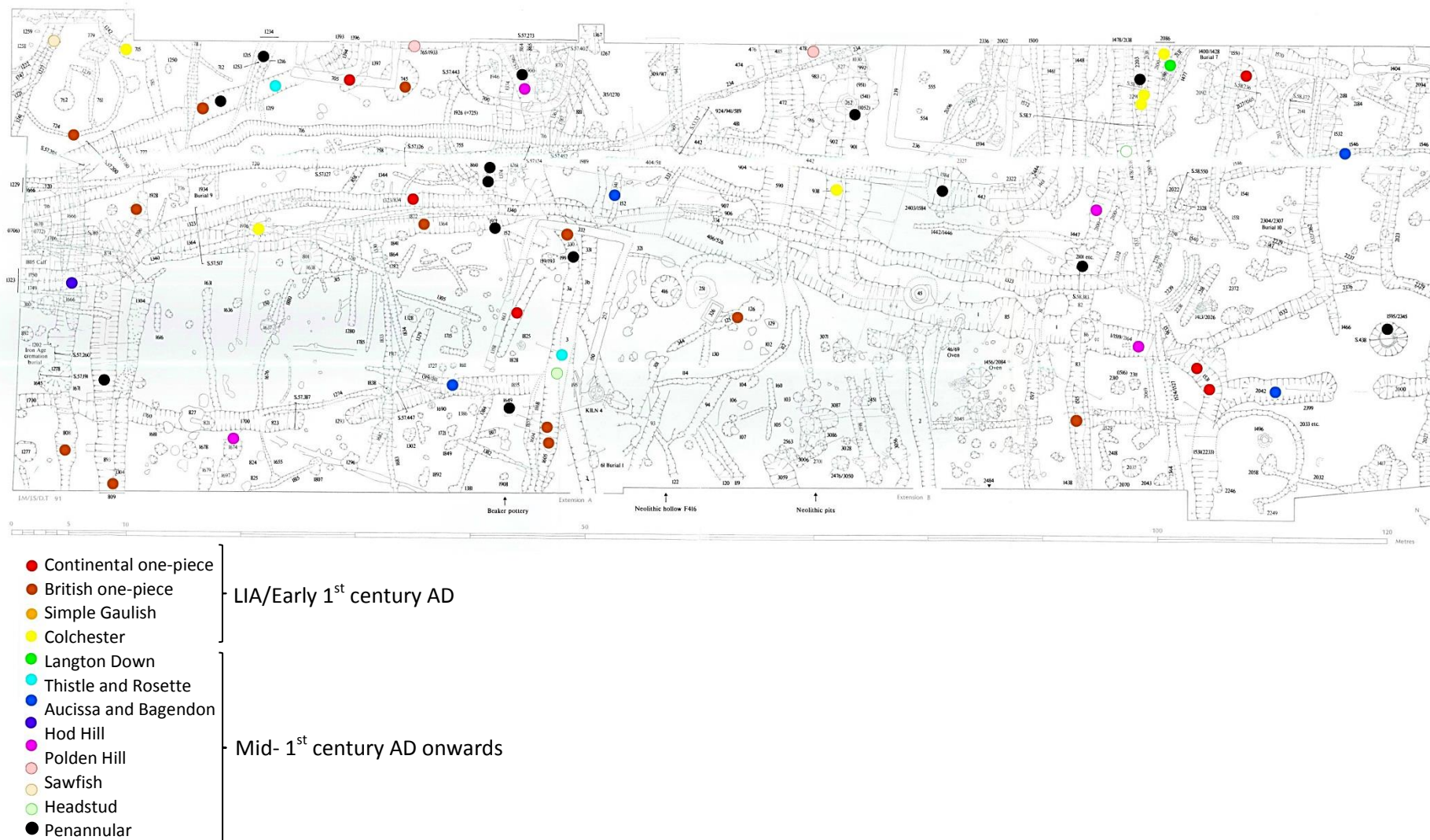


Figure 6.15. Distribution of all brooch types at Site 1, Dragonby (after May 1996, fig.5.2.).

Kirmington

The settlement at Kirmington was discovered in the 1940s when a large quantity of pottery and other small finds were found (Jones and Whitwell 1991, 57). The site was surveyed by air in the 1970s, revealing evidence of a small late Iron Age settlement, which was replaced by a fort during the later first century AD and subsequently a sprawling civilian settlement where occupation may have continued into the fifth or even sixth century AD (*ibid.*). As yet the site remains unexcavated and so, although a number of penannulars were found in the 1940s, none come from identified or dated contexts. As a result no detailed analysis can be carried out, but the site has produced more Type D and E than any of the others considered here; the high number of the latter is perhaps unsurprising given the site's long chronology.

Old Winteringham

Despite Stead's assertion that Old Winteringham occupied a virgin site (1976, 18), the coin finds suggest a settlement here by the later first century BC, although there is little structural evidence to confirm this (May 1998, 634). The main phase of occupation commenced in the mid-first century AD (Stead 1976, 18-19). Subsequently occupation intensified until around 80 AD, no doubt due to the temporary location of the site on the northern military frontier, after which development levelled off (*ibid.*). The point at which the possible military occupation of the site ceased to be replaced by the civilian settlement is unclear (*ibid.* 19). Once this had occurred the site then probably began to function as a market for the numerous villas, including Winterton, that lie in its hinterland (*ibid.* xviii, fig.1) and became a key local crossing-point of the Humber to Brough.

Unusually for this region Old Winteringham has produced no Type C penannulars and instead a particularly high percentage of Type A. One of the only two Dragon-esque penannulars found in Britain so far was also found on the site. Little information has been published about the excavated penannulars from the site and so their contexts of deposition are unclear. Mackreth has suggested dates for a few (cat. no. 3020, 3481 & 3538), all occurring in the third and fourth century AD, within the later phase of civilian occupation.

South Ferriby

There are several penannulars from this area in the collections of Hull Museum. Details about their provenance are sparse, but they may belong to the group of artefacts collected in the early 20th century by the former curator, Thomas Sheppard, from a coastal site that was suffering erosion (May 1998, 30). May (*ibid.*) has suggested that this site may have functioned as a ferry crossing in the Roman period with its northern terminal at North Ferriby.

Winterton

The earliest buildings appeared during the early second century AD and were accompanied by a field system (Stead 1976, 80). There are few signs of any earlier occupation on the site apart from some mid-first century AD pottery (*ibid.*). It has been suggested that, due to their shape, the two circular buildings were in fact temples, although this seems unlikely given the subsequent domestic occupation of the site and the absence of ritual material (*ibid.*). By the end of the second century both buildings had been completely demolished and replaced by much more typical rectangular structures (*ibid.* 83). Stead has suggested that this shift represents the replacement of buildings belonging to a 'developed native tradition (albeit with plenty of Roman influence – the concrete floor, quarter-round moulding, and mortared masonry) ...by buildings of alien and developed plan' (*ibid.*). Further buildings were constructed during the Antonine period and second aisled house was constructed in the earlier third century, following the plan of the first (*ibid.* 84-88).

Little is known about which parts of the site and phases the penannulars came from. Mackreth reports (via the excavator R. Goodburn) that a Type C and D excavated in the 1950s came from pits (cat. nos. 3169 & 3302), but the location of these are unclear. It does, however, suggest that a tradition of deliberate deposition in such contexts may have continued for a long period throughout the region. Potentially the earliest was a Type D found in an unidentified Severan context (Stead 1976, 202, fig. 102, 36). Two Type As and a Type B were also found in third and fourth century contexts (*ibid.* 1976, 202, fig. 102, 33, 34&35). The latter would therefore be associated with the later aisled building phase of occupation.

6.3.2.3 Analysis

Despite the overall preponderance of Type A penannulars in the region, the form dominates at only three of the sites considered here – Winteringham, South Ferriby and Winterton – and only then by a slight percentage. Winteringham and South Ferriby are both located on the coast and seem likely to have functioned as ferry crossings in the Roman period and possibly earlier. Winterton also lies within easy reach of the estuary coast. All three, and particularly Winteringham, are also located close to the point at which Ermine Street crosses the Humber.

Kirmington and Dragonby, on the other hand, the two sites furthest inland, have quite different ratios of penannular types. Both sites have similar numbers of Type A, Aa and D, including more Type D than the other three sites. Dragonby, however, has a very high number of Type C brooches, whereas Kirmington has the highest number of Type E in the region. This difference probably reflects the contrasting chronologies of these two sites. At Kirmington occupation seems to have intensified in the late fourth century and continued into the post-Roman period when Type E was developing, whereas occupation was in decline at Dragonby during this period.

A combination of chronological and geographical factors therefore appears to be influencing the ratios of penannular types found at each site. At Dragonby, and probably Kirmington, where phases of late Iron Age occupation seem more certain, a tradition of using Type C and D penannulars developed early in each site's chronology. These traditions appear to pre-date the major Roman roads that would later connect the region to other area of Britain, but they may nonetheless reflect earlier connections and the differing proportions of types at each site suggest links with different regions. At Kirmington, which has a longer chronology than Dragonby, the tradition of using Type D brooches may have then predisposed the population to the use of its descendant, Type E, when it later developed.

Evidence of pre-Roman activity is far more limited at the first three sites and a tradition of using penannulars appears to have developed much later in their chronology. Each has a wider range of penannular types, dominated by Type A. Type A is strongly concentrated in East Yorkshire and so these sites may have been more influenced by traditions spreading from across the estuary once regular ferry crossings had become more firmly established. On the opposite shore at Brough, which functioned as the

northern terminal for the ferry crossing from Winteringham, Type A also predominates. The only penannular from North Ferriby was a Type C, interesting given that Type C is the second most common form at South Ferriby.

There are, therefore, no easy answers to the questions posed at the start of this section. The single Type Aa brooch in a late Iron Age context at Dragonby (Olivier 1996, fig.11.12, no.152) suggests that the tradition of using penannulars in Yorkshire may have had some influence prior to the first century AD even if they never became popular in Lincolnshire. In the first century AD, when penannulars first came into common use it was forms more common elsewhere in Britain that became popular, however. Even prior to the construction of the Fosse Way and Ermine Street, links with other areas of Britain seem likely to have existed, exploiting the region's location at an important point of access to the North Sea for commodities such as cattle that could only be moved by land (Kevin Leahy pers. com.). At Winteringham, South Ferriby and Winterton, where occupation (or at least that which has been excavated so far) is primarily post-Conquest, links with the region north of the Humber became more important as new roads were constructed, relationships between settlements changed and patterns of trade and exchange shifted.

6.3.3 Roman military sites – Castleford, West Yorkshire

The Roman fort identified as Lagentium lies beneath modern Castleford, West Yorkshire, beside a potential crossing point of the Aire, to the south of its confluence with the Calder. The site was excavated between the mid-1970s and 80s, revealing two successive Roman forts and an associated *vicus* (Cool 1998a). The first fort was probably established towards the earlier end of the period AD 71-78/9 and abandoned around AD 86/7 (*ibid.* 3). The defences of this fort have not been located and therefore its size remains unknown. After a short gap the second fort appears to have been established in the late 80s before being itself abandoned around AD 95. The line of its northern, western and southern defences have been established, revealing that the fort was unusually large in size (*ibid.*). After its final abandonment the site appears to have been used for rubbish disposal until the late Roman period when it was briefly reoccupied and refortified (*ibid.*). The neighbouring *vicus* appears to have had two

phases of occupation broadly contemporary the forts, but continuing into the second century until around AD 135-40 with sporadic later activity (*ibid.*).

6.3.3.1 The brooch assemblage

30 complete and fragmentary penannulars were recovered during excavations at Castleford. The vast majority are Type A, with small numbers of Type C and D. A wide variety of Type A terminal variants occur and almost all of these are from clearly defined sites and phases so the group offers a means of assessing the development of Type A in particular. 90 bow brooches were also recovered offering a useful source of comparative evidence. Small numbers of bow brooch types more common in western and southern Britain have been found on both the fort and *vicus*. Two, or possibly three, Colchester derivatives use the Polden Hill method of spring fixing, which is more typical in western areas of Britain (Cool 1998b, 29). A further Colchester derivative has enamelled detailing, which is more typical of brooches found in the Severn region (*ibid.*). Almost all of these brooches come from the *vicus*, from second century contexts or are unstratified, and so they are not necessarily indicative of troop movements (*ibid.*). Several brooches of types that predominate in southern Britain also occur, again primarily in the *vicus* rather than the fort. Hilary Cool has suggested that ‘though the association is not clear-cut, one possible explanation for the presence of the southern and western brooch types at Castleford is that they represent losses by travellers making use of the *mansio* facilities’ (*ibid.*).

6.3.3.2 Site distribution and contexts of deposition

The majority of penannulars come from the fort as opposed to the *vicus* (table 6.2 & fig.6.16). The quantity from both fort phases remains relatively consistent, but lower numbers are associated with the final phase, although these are all types used on the fort site from the earliest stages of occupation, suggesting a degree of continuity. A wider range of Type A variants occur in the fort. The less common of these tend to be restricted to one phase only, although this may be coincidental as each only occurs in low numbers anyway. Type A8 is the most common overall, followed by A3. One Type D was associated with the earliest phase of the fort, but all other Type C and Ds are found in the middle phases of each site.

Pennannular Type	Site and phase										
	I	1	II	2	III	3	IV	4	U/S	Med	Total
A3					2	1		1	1		5
A8	1			1	1	1	1		1		6
A5	1		1								2
A9			1								1
A (other) Flattened knobs with 1 grooved collar	1		1			1	1				4
A (other) Flattened knobs, 1 collar and two grooved knobs behind		1									1
A (other) Flattened knobs with 4 collars			1								1
A (other) Disk			1								1
A (Other) Two round knobs										1	1
D	1					1					2
C				1	1				1		3
Unclassified						1			2		3
Total	4	1	5	2	4	5	2	1	5	1	30

Fort	Vicus
Phase I: c. AD 71/4 – c. AD 86 (Fort I)	Phase 1: c. AD 71/4 – c. AD 86 (Vicus)
Phase II: c. AD 85-90 – c. AD 95-100 (Fort II)	Phase 2: c. AD 85-90 – c. AD 135-40 (Vicus)
Phase III: c. AD 100-250 (Abandoned/rubbish disposal)	Phase 3: c. AD 140 – c. AD 180 (Vicus)
Phase IV: c. AD 250-400 (Late Roman occupation)	Phase 4: c. AD 180+ - c. 400 (Abandoned)

Table 6.2. Penannular types from different phases of the Castleford fort and vicus

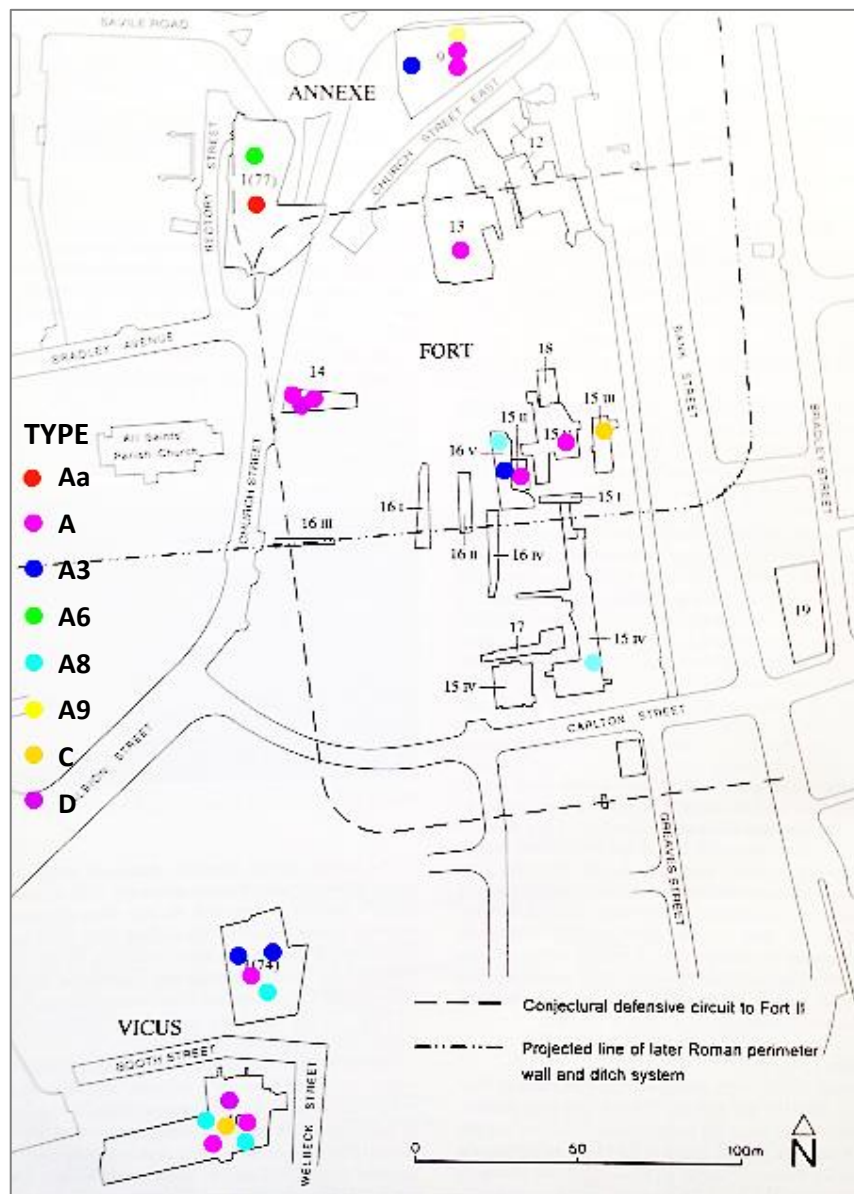


Figure 6.16. Distribution of penannular types in fort and vicus at Castleford (after Abramson et al. 1999)

Contexts that have produced penannulars within the fort show few similarities with those from other military sites (fig.3.20). The largest group (4) came from the bath house area (particularly the road outside) within the annexe. This area appears to have been an addition to the main fort constructed specifically to enclose the bath house, warehouse facilities and perhaps a landing point for goods on the nearby riverbank (Abramson et al. 1999, 295). Only Newstead and South Shields have produced single brooches from similar areas. Penannulars were concentrated around the area of one of the bath houses at Segontium, but all came from earlier phases. At Newstead only one penannular was found in the bath house annexe and bow brooches were much more common here instead.

Few from the main fort are associated with specific buildings. Most from the central excavated section came from the final abandonment/rubbish disposal phases, one came from the granary, one from an unidentified layer and one from a later robber trench. Two were also found in a large midden deposit, a common form of deposition on forts generally, but for some reason not occurring on any of the other four major fort sites. None were found in contexts specifically associated with military occupation, however, in contrast to some sites.

In contrast the quantity from the *vicus* steadily increases from one occupation phase to the next, with the highest number coming from Phase 3. A wider variety of types have been found in both the *vicus* and the fort annexe. In the *vicus* three penannulars were found on the surface of a street lined with buildings some of which appear to have had a commercial function. Three came from the area of the *mansio*, one from a wall and one from a floor within the building itself, and one from a possible market/trading area attached. Others single brooches came from the gravel area next to the bye-road and an area with little evidence for occupation that may have had an agricultural function at times.

A split between the types of bow brooch in use in the fort and *vicus* is also evident. These are primarily Flavian to Antonine (AD 69-193) (Cool 1998b) reflecting the main occupation of the fort, but there are a smaller number of Claudio-Neronian brooches too. These latter are found primarily in the fort's first phase, but also occur in the later phases of the *vicus* (*ibid.* 29-30). Overall fantail brooches predominate in the *vicus*, trumpet brooches in the fort, and the most common form of Headstud brooch is only

found in the *vicus*, although other forms of headstud were in use in the fort at the same time (*ibid.*).

6.3.3.3 Who was wearing penannulars at military sites?

There are clear similarities between the quantities, types and ratios of penannular in use on both the fort and *vicus*, whereas those found in the annexe include three types found nowhere else on the site. The latter difference may relate to the postulated trade activities that were taking place in this location. A simple interpretation of the gradual increase in numbers of penannulars deposited at the *vicus* site and their decline at the fort site following the fort's abandonment would be that initially penannulars were more commonly used by soldiers and later by the civilian population. This would rely on the assumption that there was a strong division between the communities living in the fort and *vicus*, however, whereas recent research suggests that this may not have been the case.

The primary purpose of the fort was to house the army and it was designed and organised explicitly to facilitate this purpose. This community could not exist in isolation, however, but relied on a retinue of support personnel including freedman servants and slaves, accountable either to individual soldiers or the fort community as a whole (Phang 2005, 205). Many soldiers were also accompanied by dependents such as wives, children (despite the official position on families) and relatives. In addition to this, outside most forts an associated settlement often developed - *canabae*, *vici* or annexes depending on the nature of the fort - housing a mixed population of traders and manufacturers to entertainers and prostitutes. Exactly how these different factions of the fort and *vicus* community interacted and utilised space has been the subject of much debate.

Informed in part by modern military ideals the worlds of the fort and *vicus* have often been perceived as very separate military and civilian domains (James 2002, 11). The former an enclosed world of masculinity, where, at least prior to the end of the attested marriage ban (Watson 1969, 133-4), the ranks lived almost as monks, while the latter was a marginal community of hangers-on and parasites, who lived as '...carrion birds following the military herd, kept at arm's length by the officers' (James 2001, 80). It has often been suggested that access to the fort was restricted with the servants and their

families living outside the walls and only those of the commanding officers being permitted to reside within.

Studies have begun to take an increasingly 'bottom-up' approach to the military in recent decades with a greater focus on daily life of the average soldier and their relationships outside the military sphere (James 2002, 27 & 42-44). This has led to a growing awareness that the relationship between fort, vicus and neighbouring communities is likely to have been rather more complex and inter-dependent than has been thought previously. The military community was complex and varied with soldiers coming from diverse ethnic origins, but with units remaining stable over long periods of time, allowing a sense of community and connections within and beyond the fort to form (James 2001, 79; 2002, 42).

As a result the division between soldier and non-combatant no longer seems as clear as it once did (James 2001, 80; Hassall 1999, 39). This in turn has led some to re-assess the spatial organisation and relationships between different parts of the fort. James (2001, 83) has argued that the idea that civilians were banned within the walls of the fort is based more on modern military organisation than archaeological or historical evidence. In fact servants and grooms must at least have been allowed into the fort during daylight and at forts without an associated settlement these sections of the community must have been accommodated within its walls (*ibid.*). The relationship between servant and soldier may be even closer than often imagined, with some of the former taking on additional paramilitary duties (Speidel 1992, Maxfield 1995, 9-11). Allison (2013, 348-9) has also presented some limited evidence for industries such as metal-, wood-, cloth- and leather-working, agriculture and commercial activities being carried out within most military bases by non-soldiers.

Not only was there much movement between the fort and *vicus*, but there is some evidence to suggest that the families, servants and slaves of soldiers were actually living alongside them within the walls of the fort, whatever the official policy on this may have been. This was certainly the case for commanding officers and probably also those of the centurions, decurions and even the ordinary men (Hassall 1999, 37). Analysis of the spatial organisation of forts has often led to the conclusion that there was little space for the families of the lower ranks to live with them inside the walls of the fort and this practice appears to have been officially forbidden anyway. It has traditionally been

assumed that the families of the lower ranks lived alongside the fort in extramural settlements, which has often in turn influenced the way that these sites have been interpreted (Allison 2013, 23). There is, however, some limited evidence to suggest that women and children were living inside the camp itself, particularly from the second century onwards after the ban on soldiers marrying was lifted (Hassall 1999). Hassall (*ibid.* 37) suggests that some of the ‘chalets’ that replaced the larger barrack blocks at Housesteads in the fourth century may have been occupied by soldiers with families. And at Vindolanda the range of shoe sizes found inside the barracks appears to have increased during the early second century hinting at the presence of women and children (van Driel-Murray 1995, 8-19; 1997, 56-7). Allison has concluded that women were often an integral feature of life in fort communities, comprising as much as 14% of the population and their presence was ‘normal military practice’ (2012, 343&353).

This evidence would explain the similarity between the penannular assemblages found in the fort and the *vicus* and make it difficult to associate their use, or the use of a particular type, with any one single group. Unfortunately the limited contextual information from the fort makes it difficult to determine patterns of use and deposition here, but in the *vicus* and annexe penannulars were deposited primarily in public spaces, a pattern also apparent at many other military sites and towns. As such we gain a picture of different sections of the community moving between, and interacting within, shared spaces and facilities across all areas of the site, sitting in stark contrast to the traditional image of fixed segregation. As such the chronological shift in distribution from the fort to *vicus* is likely to simply relate to patterns of occupation rather than a shift in use from one section of the community to another.

6.3.3.4 The wider context

Castleford lies on the eastern edge of the Pennines, beside a postulated Roman road, along which further forts, towns and villas were located. Many of these have also produced penannulars, but none have been discovered at any site in the surrounding region. The situation is much the same in the neighbouring Pennine and lowland zones. The picture, however, is quite different in the far east of the region where a large group of penannulars are scattered across the Yorkshire Wolds. Many of these are stray finds found by metal detectorists or from the collections of antiquarians (who worked intensively in this region) and so the nature of the sites is seldom clear.

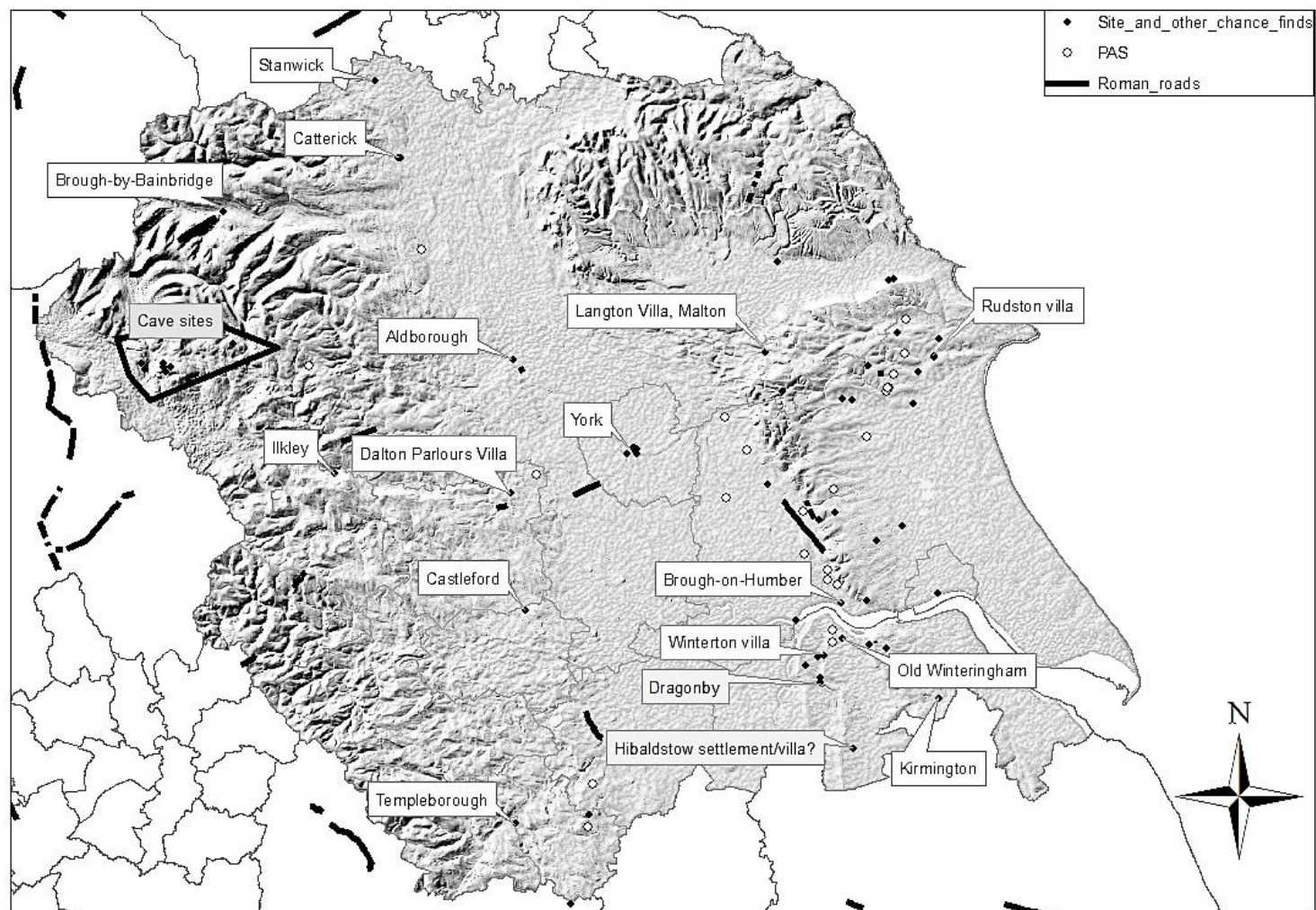


Figure 6.17. All Roman and potentially Roman penannulars

There is also a particular concentration of penannulars recorded with the PAS in the study region and these data appear indirectly to support these patterns. The majority are Type A, the form most commonly recorded by the PAS overall. The greatest number is again concentrated in the East Yorkshire Wolds, but a few are scattered further west. In particular a line of stray penannulars runs along the edge of the Wolds and another along the eastern edge of the Pennines, the two joined by a further line running east-west with York at its centre. These lines all seem to correspond with potential or known Roman routeways, suggesting that rather than shedding light on hitherto unexcavated rural settlement in the region the brooches were actually lost by road users, the majority of who would have been the military.

These patterns suggest that penannulars, and particularly Type A, were primarily used by the occupants of 'Romanised' sites in the region, with the concentration in the Wolds providing the only exception. Rebecca Griffiths (pers. com.) the PAS Finds Liaison Officer for North and East Yorkshire comments that there is a concentration of metal detecting in the Wolds with less in the neighbouring lowlands, which may in part explain the preponderance of metal detected penannulars and indeed other types of brooch here (fig.6.17). In addition the area has also been the focus of a long tradition of archaeological survey and fieldwork. An increase in the intensity of metal detecting and archaeological activity elsewhere in the study region might therefore reveal similar patterns. PAS data perhaps offer some opposition to this argument as metal detecting does still occur elsewhere in the region, but these finds all follow the line of Roman roads (fig.6.17). In addition relatively few penannulars have been found in excavations at York compared to other Roman towns of a similar size, suggesting that even here they were not so common.

6.4 Scotland

Scotland is defined here by its modern boundary for convenience, but the Roman military frontier was fluid during the first two centuries AD and Scotland did not become totally isolated from the Empire in later periods. The Hadrianic and Antonine walls may provide what to modern eyes look like solid and impenetrable boundaries, but they are unlikely to have functioned in such a fashion. Indeed there has been an

increasing move away from the idea of frontiers as boundaries in recent decades towards the concept of a dynamic ‘zone of interaction’ characterised by movements of both people and objects (e.g. Gardner 2007). Within and beyond this zone there may have been many different highly localised reactions to the impact of new cultural contacts.

6.4.1 Quantities, types and distribution

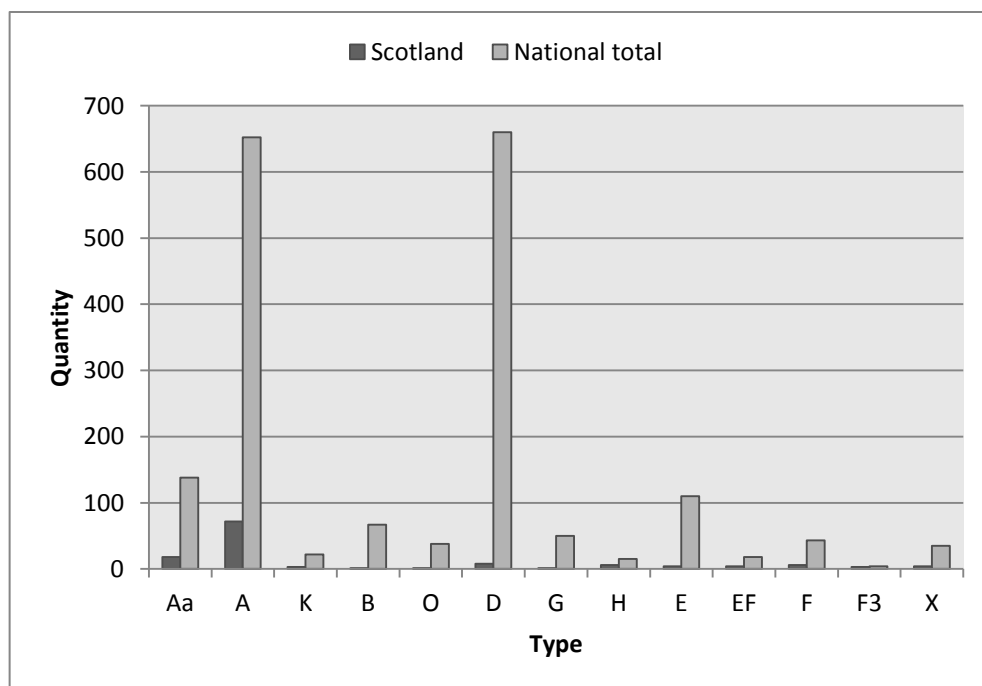


Figure 6.18. Quantity of each penannular type from Scotland compared with the national data

Penannulars are not found as commonly in Scotland as England. As in Ireland the Iron Age population of Scotland preferred to fasten their clothing with pins (Hunter 2009). Once established in Scotland, however, several regional traditions of penannular use appear to have emerged and these are examined briefly here.

A total of only 136 penannulars (and fragments) of all periods have been recorded from Scotland. Type A is commonest, followed by Type Aa. Several types do not appear at all, most notably Type C. Proportionally the percentage of penannulars increases in the post-Roman period. A significant number of all recorded Type H are found in Scotland,

which has led to the claims that the type developed here. All but one of the Type F3 penannulars recorded are found here, but as noted above they may have arrived from Ireland.

Type Aa has the widest distribution (fig.6.19), occurring across most of the mainland, with the exception of the far north and the islands. Type A is also widespread, but with a bias towards the south. The zoomorphic types and their relations, Types D, E, F and E/F, are all largely restricted to the periphery of these areas – East Lothian, the far South-West, North Uist and Orkney. Type H has a widespread distribution unconnected to that of the earlier types.

6.4.2 Site Types and contexts of deposition

Site	Quantity
Balmuirdy, Lanarkshire	1
Barburgh Mill, Dumfriesshire	2
Camelon, Stirling	1
Cappuck, Borders	1
Castlehaven Fort, Kirkcudbrightshire	1
Inveresk, East Lothian	3
Longfaugh, Crichton, Midlothian	1
Mumrills, Stirlingshire	2
Newstead, Borders	24
Old Kilpatrick, Dunbartonshire	2

Table 6.3. Scottish Roman Military Sites that have produced penannulars

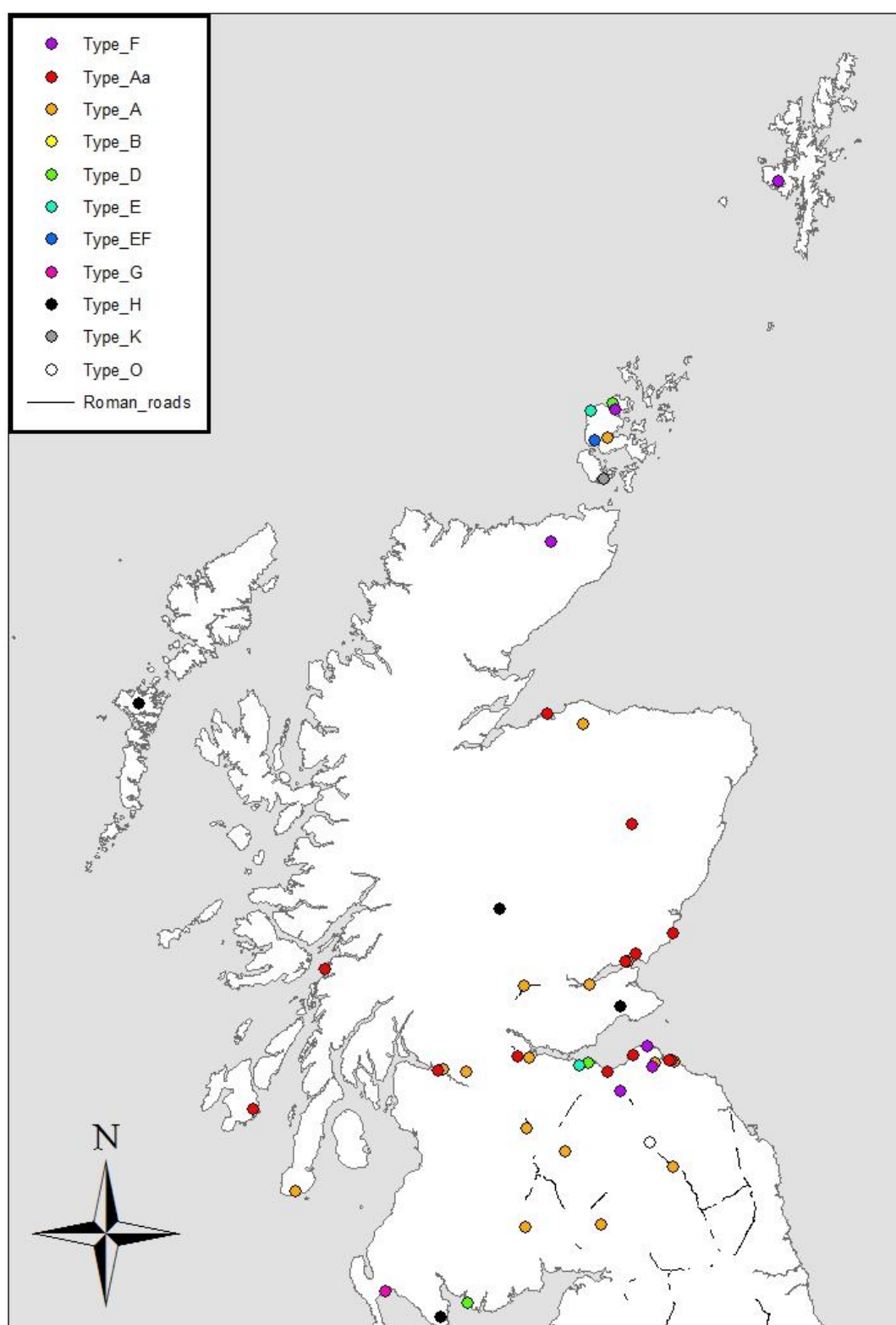


Figure 6.19. Distribution of different penannular types in Scotland

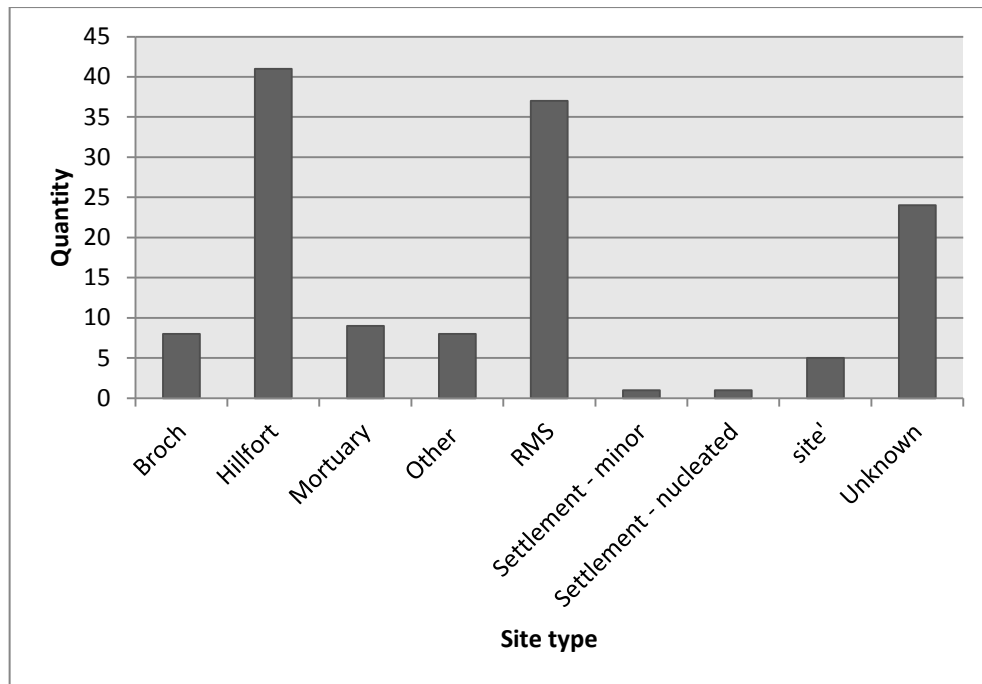


Figure 6.20. Types of site that have produced penannulars in Scotland

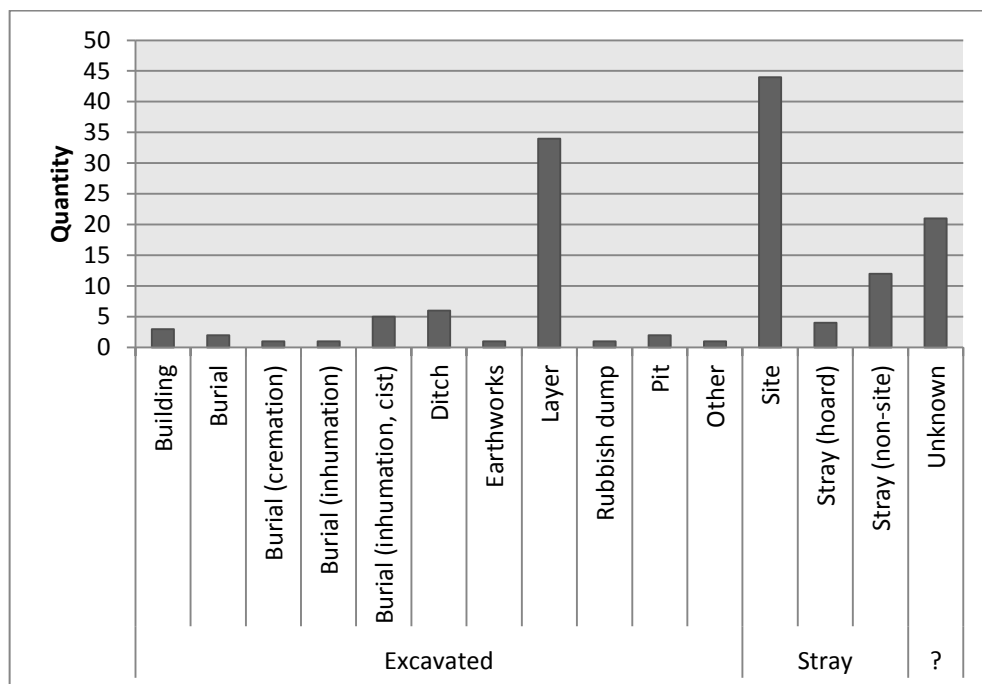


Figure 6.21. Patterns of penannular deposition in Scotland

73% of Scottish penannulars come from excavated sites, mostly large settlements such as hillforts (mostly Traprain Law), brochs, and Roman military sites (figs.6.20&21). Most burials are cists, reflecting the regional tradition and a number have been found potentially associated with cists. Published finds with specific contexts are largely restricted to Roman forts (see table 6.3) and Traprain Law. The quantity of stray finds is lower than for England and Wales partly due to the absence of the PAS in Scotland.

6.4.3 Chronology

No certain pre-Roman penannulars have yet been found in Scotland. Fowler lists a single potentially pre-Roman Iron Age Type Aa1 from Dun Fheurain, Argyll, which was found with a ring-headed pin, a possible La Tène I brooch and Iron Age pottery, but Graham Ritchie (1970, fig.2, no.7) dates the deposit to the first two centuries AD. The other Scottish examples listed by Fowler (1960, fig.8) are all post-Conquest.

Current evidence places the arrival of the penannular in Scotland in the mid to late first century AD, possibly just before the Roman military. At Inveresk a possible iron Type Aa2 penannular was found in an inhumation cist burial radiocarbon dated to 45 cal BC to AD cal 81 (95%) (National Museum of Scotland record, no number assigned), although this latter date is questionable as a knee brooch was found in the same burial (Fraser Hunter *pers. com.*). A similar example was found in an inhumation burial at the same site radiocarbon dated to 45 cal BC to AD cal 112 (95%) (National Museum of Scotland record, no number assigned yet). If this date is correct then the brooch belongs to a pre-Roman phase, as occupation of the fort began in AD 140. Type A may have reached Scotland in the late first century AD, but the second century AD seems more likely. The only Scottish Type B was found at the medieval monastery of Whithorn in a rubbish spread of earlier seventh century AD date (Hill 1997, 419, fig.10.99, no.42.1), although it may have been residual from earlier activity on the site. The majority of both Type A and Aa penannulars date to the second century and none are securely dated to later than the third century.

The other types generally appear to date to the late and post-Roman periods. The only dated Type Ds were found in late third century levels at Traprain (Burley 1958, nos.86, 88 & 138). A Type E was also found at Traprain and dated to the first or second century AD on the basis of coins from the same level, but this material may have been earlier (*ibid.*, no.85). Two E/F penannulars were found at Howe Broch, Orkney, in contexts

dated to the fifth to sixth and fourth to seventh century respectively (Ballin Smith 1994, fig.133). Unfortunately none of the Scottish Type F penannulars are closely dated. The potentially earliest Type H was the example from Tummel Bridge, Perthshire found with early fifth century hanging bowl fragments, but as discussed in section 4.6.8.4, these seem to have been old when deposited. A late date for all the Type H penannulars seems likely.

6.4.4 Penannular use across a frontier

Although La Tène types of bow brooch apparently reached Scotland during the pre-Roman Iron Age, the penannular does not seem to have accompanied them. This is perhaps unsurprising given that the penannular was never a common form in Iron Age northern England either. If it did reach Scotland, this is likely to have been in small numbers so most of the population would not have been familiar with the form. Local decorative metalwork traditions were rare in Scotland during the pre-Roman Iron Age (Hunter 2007, 288-9, 293), but southern British and continental exotica was used by high status sections of society. During the first century AD this situation changed rapidly with a sudden increase in deposition of southern British Iron Age metalwork, Roman material and the development of new local metalworking traditions (*ibid.*). Within this context the penannular's arrival during the first century AD seems unsurprising. Penannulars are found in greatest numbers on Roman military sites, but also occur at native settlements. Clearly these communities were already receptive to imported metalwork, which had always been highly valued, but this material did not have to arrive with a fixed set of practices and values attached to it. Indeed it is clear that the native population were not adopting new styles of metalwork indiscriminately or necessarily using them in the same ways as the inhabitants of Roman sites. Further variation can also be seen in the styles that were chosen by different communities in different areas.

It would seem that brooches found a ready market amongst the native communities of Scotland, despite the lack of a pre-existing tradition of use. Hunter (2013, 274) has noted that brooches are more common than beads and rings on native sites, whereas beads outnumber brooches on Roman sites where rings are also more common. Although this hints at corresponding changes in dress and the presentation of the body more generally, this does not have to be interpreted simply as the adoption of

Romanised lifestyles among the Scottish native elites. Certain styles of brooch, particularly those featuring British decorative styles such as the trumpet, headstud, dragonesque and penannular, seem to have been preferred on native sites, high quality gold, gilt and silver and particularly unusual brooches being especially privileged (*ibid.*). The lack of penannular pairs in Scottish cist burials suggests that they were, however, typically worn singly, perhaps to fasten a cloak and that the female Roman practice of using pairs of brooches to fasten *peplos* style dresses was not frequently adopted. As such it is possible that native population were not only selecting specific styles of brooch, but were also wearing them in their own ways.

	Iron Age	Traprain	Roman	Stray
<i>Aa</i>	8		4	4
<i>A1 (Fowler's A2)</i>			1	
<i>A2</i>		1		
<i>A3 (Fowler's A2)</i>		9	9	
<i>A5</i>		3	1	
<i>A6</i>	1	2	2	
<i>A7</i>		2		
<i>A8</i>	1	1	2	1
<i>A9</i>			2	
<i>A other</i>	7	12	12	3
<i>K</i>	1		1	1
<i>B</i>				1
<i>O</i>			1	
<i>D</i>	2	4	2	
Totals	20	34	37	10

Table 6.4. Roman Iron Age brooches from Scotland (adapted from Hunter 2002, table 1.)

Type A9 (part of Fowler's A2) was most common on the Roman sites, reflecting its popularity on military sites in northern England (table 6.4). By contrast non-standard terminal variants were most common on other native sites, perhaps reflecting deliberate selection, local manufacture, or a combination of both. Traprain, an unusual site in many respects, which seems to have been a hub of contact with the Roman world,

shares greatest similarities with Roman sites (Hunter 2013; 2009). Type A is far less common north of the Forth where Type Aa was used instead. The adoption of penannulars alongside other types of brooch throughout Scotland suggests widespread acceptance of new ways of fastening clothing and decorating the body, but this distributional variation may reflect different interpretations of these practices according to regional context.

6.4.5 Late and post-Roman penannulars

There appears to have been a gap in penannular use in Scotland during the late Roman period, although this may reflect problems of dating. Type E does not appear in any quantity and Type M remained restricted to northern England. In the post-Roman period Types E/F, F, G, H and F3 appear. All appear to be imports from southern Britain and Ireland. Although Fowler (1963, 110) suggested that Type H developed in Scotland an Irish origin is preferred here (see section 4.6.8). These new types are primarily found in the Northern Isles, at a few coastal locations and in East Lothian, whereas few occur in the north-east and in other parts of southern Scotland. To a certain extent this reflects the distribution of other late Roman finds in Scotland (Hunter 2010, fig.11.1) and so may be the product of the continuation of trade links established in the late Roman period. Overall these late imports are less dispersed, focused on coastal and riverine areas and concentrated at a smaller number of sites. Most notable among the latter is Traprain, whose central role appears to have continued (*ibid.* 96). Indeed Traprain is the only site in Scotland where Type E, E/F and F are all found together, although Type H does not occur there. Hunter suggests that these patterns may reflect the flourishing of key power centres, whose elites were the only sections of society now with access to imported material (*ibid.*). It seems likely that the role of these centres continued into later periods. Links with Ireland also seem to have become important again in the late Roman Iron Age for the first time since the late Bronze Age (*ibid.* 103). The appearance of the later penannular types in Scotland therefore appears to be unconnected to earlier traditions of penannular use here and emphasises the development of new long-ranging inter-regional contacts throughout the British Isles. Their restricted distribution, however, suggests limited movement beyond their points of arrival. Perhaps they were only actively sought after by certain sections of certain communities with others arriving as the by-products of trade in other commodities.

Chapter 7:

Change and continuity – understanding the long chronology of the penannular in Britain

7.1 Introduction

One of the primary aims of this study was to reassess the development of the penannular in Britain using new methodology which takes a more holistic approach to the form. This chapter begins by addressing the outcomes of this approach in detail, before moving on to summarise and examine penannular development on the basis of the results presented in the previous four chapters. The long chronology of the penannular has proved to be both a challenge and an asset to understanding its long term development. Because previous work has tended to focus on later development and particularly the zoomorphic forms (which form only a tiny percentage of all the penannulars from Britain), the primary aim has been to redress this balance by looking in depth its origins and first century AD development. This chapter therefore focuses on these periods, tackling each of the research questions outlined in chapter one, before looking more briefly at the late and post-Roman part of the penannular chronology.

7.2 Beyond terminal design

A key aim was to move beyond traditional modes of classification by assessing the significance of multiple features as well as basic terminal design. Analysis of terminal sub-type, hoop decoration and section, pin shape and overall brooch size has revealed many sub-patterns that had not been considered previously and enhances an emerging picture of great regional and chronological diversity. Terminal design ultimately shows the greatest amount of chronological and geographical variation and therefore continues to provide the most suitable basis for broad classification. It has been demonstrated, however, that analysis of other features can offer insights into relationships between types, centres of production and regional decorative traditions, amongst other things.

This study has taken a less constrained approach to terminal sub-type than Fowler by focusing on variation rather than aiming for a comprehensive classificatory system. It would appear that the terminals of some types, for example C and D, are subject to little chronological and geographical variation when compared to others, for example Type A, whose variants can be divided into two geographically distinct groups. These two groupings are probably the product of separate, but linked networks of production and/or exchange as there does not appear to be much logic behind which terminal designs fall into which group. Even where sub-types seem to be of greater significance then, this remains secondary to the overall design of the terminals and there therefore seems to be little reason for attempting to comprehensively sub-divide every type.

Analysis in appendix one demonstrates that other features such as hoop section and decoration are no more subject to straightforward spatial or temporal variation. Such features, unlike terminal design, do not appear to be the products of specific regional traditions or centres of production, particularly in the Roman period, but instead often appear across multiple regions and are even shared between different penannular types. The hoops of Type C and Type D brooches offer a good example, because they show so many similarities in hoop section and decoration. Brooches with moulded decoration, continuous grooving and oval sections are all highly concentrated in the core zones for each type – eastern England for Type C and the South-West for Type D – producing a distinct gap in the central Midlands where hoops are decorated with various bands of grooving. While terminal design was strongly regionalised, traditions of hoop design were shared across much of southern and eastern Britain, apart from a distinct tradition of decoration being established in the central region where the two core zones overlap. Likewise Type D2 are more likely to have non-circular sectioned hoops than most of the other terminal forms, but the specific cross-section is subject to much regional variation. There appears then to have been a general cross-regional consensus that it was more appropriate for brooches with D2 terminals to have non-circular sectioned hoops, but the specific shape was down to the taste and/or ability of the producer. Specific types of terminal may therefore have been used across relatively wide areas of Britain, but analysis of additional brooch features can therefore shed light on the development of such specific sub-regional decorative traditions. The stimuli for these separate traditions are difficult to understand, but again they may be linked to modes of production and exchange together, perhaps, with the development of specific sub-regional traditions

and fashions. The fact that a separate Type C/D tradition occurred in an area some distance from the core zone for each type suggests that producers and consumers here may have felt less constrained by the typical standards for each type due to their peripheral location.

7.3 Patterns of deposition

From the Iron Age to late Roman period penannulars rarely come from contexts directly associated with occupation or demolition phases of domestic buildings. At all types of site they are most likely to be found within pits and ditches, by roads, entrances and site defences. In Roman forts, the ancillary settlements of forts and towns they are also typically found in public spaces such as the forum, commercial areas, theatres, amphitheatres and particularly bath houses. Penannulars were obviously deposited in a huge variety of ways, but seldom accidentally lost within the home. When accidental loss did occur this was during travel, whilst bathing, using public conveniences, visiting commercial areas and markets or attending public events. This makes sense as a brooch lost under such circumstances would be much harder to retrieve than one lost in the home.

The frequency of penannular brooches from pits, ditches, gullies, quarries and wells from the Iron Age to late Roman period and their relatively paucity as stray finds implies that many of them were deliberately placed, not that the practices and the reasons behind them were necessarily the same in all periods. There was certainly chronological variation and from the first century AD onward the range of contexts within which they were deposited increased. Either they began to be deemed suitable for incorporation within an even wider range of depositional practices later in the period or the practices themselves were changing.

Across all periods and types of site penannulars are often found in different areas to other types of brooch. The reasons for this undoubtedly vary between sites, but suggest that penannulars were not always used at the same time or in the same manner or by the same groups as bow brooches, or deposited in the same way.

7.4 Reassessing the penannular's origins and early development

Two concentrations of Iron Age penannulars, each displaying slight differences in form and decoration, have been identified, one in South-West Britain and one in East Yorkshire. These results raise several further questions. Most importantly, are these concentrations of genuine significance or are they simply the product of depositional and archaeological bias? If the former then why did a penannular tradition develop only in these two regions and what prevented the inhabitants of other parts of Britain adopting this style? And finally what significance did penannulars hold within the regions in which they were used?

7.4.1 Problems of archaeological validity

East Yorkshire is one of the few regions with a late Iron Age inhumation tradition (see section 6.3.1) and burials are the source of most of the penannulars from this area. Similarly a group of Iron Age hillforts have produced the majority of early penannulars in the South-West. It is possible that these two groups of unusually well-researched and dated sites have created artificial concentrations of early penannulars in both regions. The two groups seem quite distinct from one another, however, with several stylistic and compositional differences between them. Those in the South-Western group are less likely to be made from iron compared to those from East Yorkshire (25% versus 40%) and are more varied in form incorporating Type B and more Type A. Concentrations of several types of Early and Middle Iron Age bow brooches in the same regions have also been noted by Sophia Adams (2013), although few are found exclusively in these regions¹². Of course bow brooches can be typologically dated unlike penannulars, filling in some of the gaps. Many of the non-contextualised Type A, Aa and B penannulars could potentially be of Iron Age date, but it is interesting that pronounced concentrations of these occur in both regions. Indeed these concentrations are apparent in the distribution of almost every penannular type throughout their chronological range,

¹² The middle Iron Age H&H Type 2Bb, which is concentrated in South-West Britain (particularly in Berkshire, Wiltshire, Somerset and Gloucestershire), with single examples in East Yorkshire, the East Midlands, East Anglia and Kent, has perhaps the most similar distribution, but is still more dispersed (Adams 2013, 265, map 6.24).

suggesting that these regional associations were firmly established early in their development.

Even if penannulars use was largely restricted to these two regions, it cannot be assumed that they were never used in other parts of Britain. The recent discovery of a large assemblage of penannulars at Grandcourt Farm, North Norfolk, hints strongly at this possibility (Adams et al., in prep.; see section 4.3.1.6), although the ease with which East Yorkshire can be accessed from this part of East Anglia via sea routes may offer some explanation for their presence here. It is also possible that the brooches from East Yorkshire burials offer only a snapshot of a slightly more widespread regional tradition. Although a concentration of Type Aa penannulars occur in this county during all periods, this extends across much of Yorkshire and North Lincolnshire. Perhaps the same was also true during the Iron Age? The limited use of penannulars by the Iron Age population of North Lincolnshire (Olivier 1996), may have occurred only due to the region's proximity to Yorkshire rather than the population's active desire for this type of brooch. Penannulars only seem to have become popular in this region during the first century AD and on sites away from the coast where the most frequently occurring types were those more common in the east, south and South-West of Britain than Yorkshire. It is possible then that prior to the first century AD penannulars were largely restricted to the north of the Humber although their distribution may well have extended beyond the modern boundary of East Yorkshire.

7.4.2 The early development of regional and sub-regional penannular traditions

If we accept that these groupings are of genuine archaeological significance then a further question arises - why did penannulars become popular here and nowhere else during the Iron Age? To answer this it is firstly worth re-examining the origins of this distinctive brooch type on the basis of the evidence presented in this study, although it seems increasingly unlikely that a definitive answer to this question will ever be found. As discussed in section 6.3.1 Iron Age Type Aa penannulars could have reached East Yorkshire from the Aisne–Marne and Hunsrück–Eifel regions, but there are many issues of chronology preventing such a link from being definitively confirmed. If there was indeed a link then the mechanisms through which penannulars reached East Yorkshire and whether they certainly arrived there from the continent rather than vice versa are

difficult to determine given the current paucity of continental evidence. All that can be said is that a link remains a strong possibility, with the similarities between the penannulars in both regions difficult to ignore. Although the British examples vary in the shape of the pin and size of hoop, the basic style is the same as the French examples. Could this have been a functional adaptation to suit the new brooch form to different styles of dress?

It is more difficult to speculate about the possible continental origins of the South-Western group because evidence here is even more limited. Two of the South-Western types, Aa and B, existed in contemporary Iberia (see section 1.4) and may have arrived from here as a long tradition of contact between southern and western Britain and the north and west of the Iberian peninsula facilitated by Atlantic seaways has been suggested by Cunliffe and Koch (2010) in particular. Fowler argued against such an origin, wondering why the contemporary Iberian omega brooch did not arrive at the same time. This could be due to issues of chronology, but the omega brooch was clearly in use in Iberia during the Iron Age alongside the other two types. According to Stewart (1972, 216) the discovery of seven at Castro de Sabroso, Braga, which Hawkes believed was abandoned prior to c.30 BC, indicates that the type in fact predates the Conquest and she also cited an unspecified Numantian example dating to 133 BC. There are hints, however, that the omega form was never as well established in Iberia during the Iron Age as the other penannular types. At Citania de Briteiros, Braga, of all the penannulars found 20 were Type B, whereas only four were omega brooches (*ibid.* 216). It is clear that the omega brooch would later become the most common penannular form in continental Europe during the Roman period, perhaps spread by Iberian soldiers, but in earlier periods it may have been relatively uncommon. During the late Iron Age several continental forms of bow brooch, but not others, also reached Britain and so selective uptake is not unheard of.

The arrival of only a small number of Iberian brooches may have been enough to stimulate an insular British tradition. The undated Type B penannular from Mount Batten, Devon (Cunliffe 1988a, fig.34, no.77), a site that Cunliffe (2005, 472) has suggested may have been engaged in continental trade during the Iron Age, does hint at this possibility. Interestingly two potentially Iberian bow brooches of Middle Iron Age date have also been found here, Adams Type 2K (H&H late Hallstatt ‘Atlantic Type’), although Adams (2013, 72) has concluded that they are insular products. The

appearance of three brooches of Iberian character on this site must surely reinforce Cunliffe's theory though. Since the makers of the two bow brooches appear to have been familiar with the Iberian counterparts, this may represent another example of British adoption and reinterpretation of continental styles.

7.4.3 Who used Iron Age penannulars, how and why?

Only those from inhumation burials offer direct associations with individuals, but these occur only in East Yorkshire. The fact that they tended to be positioned on the upper body of older females in the 20-25 age group or above accords well with Jundi's research [no date]. It might therefore be suggested that penannulars, like other brooches, tended to be worn by older women, but as they were never a common type of brooch they perhaps expressed kinship ties or individual taste rather than group membership. The fact that one was found in the so-called 'Queen's barrow' at Arras together with an array of rich grave goods (Fowler 1960, 155) also suggests that on occasion they may even have played a role in expressing status.

Unfortunately the link between grave goods and living identity is never clear-cut and so it is also possible that these associations occurred during the burial process only and that penannulars were in fact worn by a wider cross section of the living population, but seldom included in the burial ritual for reasons unknown to us today. But that is not to say that penannulars can tell us nothing about the societies that were using them. Jundi's [no date, 9] observation that there was variation in the range and placement of grave goods between different 'cemeteries' and 'districts' may be significant, but the East Yorkshire penannulars are too few in number to say whether they conform to this pattern or not. The fact that even in the regions in which they are found they were never a common type of brooch suggests that they were never related to broad regional or tribal identity categories. Instead their use may have set groups apart from each other within regions or even individuals apart from the rest of the community (as they only ever form a small part of overall brooch assemblages), or perhaps they emphasised kinship ties between members of different communities. This accords well with Moore's view of society during the later Iron Age, where regional identity did not consist of '...rigid, ethnic identities, as suggested in cultural historical approaches, but fluid sets of social relationships that tied communities together and provided bonds between households, kin groups and more distant communities' (2003, 305).

7.4.4 Conclusions

Rather than being badges of broad cultural or even tribal identities then, the earlier penannulars played a complex role in the formation of multiple overlapping and perhaps sometimes conflicting sub-regional identities. That their distribution was so regionalised perhaps contributed to the concentrations in South-West Britain and East Yorkshire apparent throughout the rest of the penannular chronology. That is not to say, however, that associations established in the Iron Age became fixed. Use of penannulars in these two regions may have predisposed their populations to adopt them more widely in the first century AD, but their meaning undoubtedly developed as brooch wearing became much more common and a wider range of styles became available.

7.5 The first century AD

7.5.1 Why the first century AD?

The first century AD was a key period in the development of the penannular in Britain. Their numbers increased dramatically, many new types rapidly developed, all with very distinctive distributions and they began to be deposited in a wider range of contexts. On a general level this explosion in penannular use appears to have been part of a broader phenomenon stimulated by changes in attitudes to the human body (section 2.2.2). Approaches that interpret these changes simply as an aspect of Romanisation making it easy to position them, like the subsequent revival in Celtic art and changes in the nature of hoarding, as the product of a resurgence of native British culture deliberately re-asserted in the face of rapid change. Such an interpretation seems overly simplistic, however, when we remember that penannulars were never a particularly 'British' form of brooch to start with, but rather one with existing regional associations.

Approaching penannulars from an alternative perspective, however, as active agents within processes of change makes greater sense of the huge amount of variation seen in their distribution and chronology. That is not to say that practical factors did not play a huge role in their development. Stimulated by the rising popularity of brooches more generally, this form may have undergone a surge in popularity more because they were so easy and cheap to manufacture than anything else. It is through objects like brooches, with their intimate relationship with the human body, however, that a dynamic

relationship between these factors and the processes of identity construction was established. The specific mechanisms through which this occurred, however, are difficult to determine as they were no doubt highly complex, but elements can be uncovered by questioning who was wearing the new penannulars and why they were choosing specific types rather than others.

7.5.2 The development of new penannular types

Not only did penannulars increase in numbers during the first century AD, but the range of types also increased substantially. Each of the three most common (A, C and D) is concentrated in a specific part of Britain and is found at a different range of sites. The peripheries of these primary concentrations do show considerable overlap and some brooches were clearly travelling further afield for a variety of reasons. For example, the occurrence of an unusual mixture of penannular types in North Lincolnshire is perhaps due to a convergence of several different trade networks here due to the region's proximity to the coast. Brooches attached to traders, travellers, and pilgrims may also explain the position of many peripheral finds, as is evidenced by the different types found in the annexe at Castleford. A significant number of Type D brooches found at coastal locations all around Britain far away from others of this type has also been noted, perhaps suggesting that these were being worn by sea traders, but not traded in any quantity.

But despite this overlap each type has a remarkably distinctive distribution. Stimulated by the general interest in new styles of brooch each may have been the innovation of a particular workshop or centre, which was then copied by others in the same region. Every first century penannular style is simple to make and may subsequently have been produced on different scales. The appearance of new types around the Humber and Severn estuaries is unsurprising given the pre-existing tradition of penannular use in these regions. Type C occurred in a region where penannulars had not been worn previously, but its southern and eastern distribution follows that of many other contemporary artefact types, suggesting that workshops here were also keen to adopt and adapt the style under a prevailing spirit of innovation. Each type's distinctive distribution, which persisted throughout its chronology, can therefore be understood as a product of location of manufacture (which remained centred on a particular region)

together with the different networks and mechanisms via which the products were distributed.

7.5.3 Why particular types were chosen

The meaning and associations around each type are likely to have been highly variable and as much a product as a cause of these other factors. Rather than individuals consciously choosing penannulars or specific types of penannular simply to demonstrate allegiance to a specific social or cultural group, instead their meaning is likely to have developed and changed over time due to a combination of the styles of brooch available in that area, together with the attitudes and perceptions of groups and individuals. The case studies considered in chapters five and six provide some insight into the varied ways in which the meaning of penannulars developed and changed according to context.

7.5.3.1 The southern and eastern Britain – town and country

In southern and eastern Britain, where Type C and D predominate, penannulars were found on a wide range of sites in an array of contexts throughout the first century and most of the second century. Although most common in towns they also appear on a variety of rural sites, from small farmsteads to larger villa estates. This suggests that they were used by a broad cross-section of the population, although not universally; in some areas only some settlements adopted them, and their significance and meaning appears to have varied considerably from site to site.

The Cadbury Castle ‘massacre deposit’ dates from the middle decades of the first century AD, just as new penannular types were starting to gain in popularity. It contained a variety of other brooch types suggesting that the occupants had wide ranging contacts, although British styles were the most popular. The deposit may therefore be interpreted as a means of negotiating change by incorporating new brooch styles within traditional ritual activity. Whether the higher number of British brooches was a deliberately conservative choice or a matter of availability is difficult to assess. By using new brooches, but favouring British styles during a funerary ritual designed to reinforce communal identities, the process of cultural change was not just being controlled, but actively manipulated to suit the traditions, lifestyles and social structure of a specific community. In addition, their uneven distribution may not simply have been a result of associations with the deceased, a result of only being considered

suitable for use in certain rituals or aspects of these rituals. This was a two way process, however, with the penannular's meaning being created through these rituals as much as determining them.

By contrast, at Bagendon-Ditches, penannulars became popular during this period for different reasons. They are less common on other local late Iron Age sites, perhaps because the complex lies just outside the area where penannulars were used in earlier periods or perhaps because these communities were less receptive to new styles and types of object. The Bagendon-Ditches complex was established on the periphery of these communities, both geographically and socially, in a region that had not been intensively occupied previously, a location that may have been particularly appealing to previously marginalised communities. Newly established exchange networks may have exploited these receptive consumers, which were more open to new styles than those in the central Cotswolds region. Using penannulars and other new styles of brooch and artefact further distanced these communities from others in the region, but again assisted in the process of forging community identities. These identities are likely to have been far more nuanced than 'Romanised' versus 'conservative, traditional, native', however, as it is clear that other communities were using penannulars, just in lower numbers. These communities may not have been deliberately rejecting penannulars, but rather their dependence on and preference for the goods of existing networks may have made them less receptive to such innovations. Over time, as trade changed and developed, perhaps such decisions became more conscious, with the adoption or rejection of objects like penannulars taking on more significance.

Moving east to Colchester, where the processes of change were fast and extensive, we also see the meaning of penannulars gradually changing over time. At Sheepen Type C and D penannulars were used simultaneously until its destruction. Type D is rare in this region, appearing in quantity only at sites with proximity to the coast like Colchester and Richborough in Kent. Those from Sheepen, however, are some of the earliest found anywhere in Britain. Given that their production appears to have been centred on South-West Britain, this suggests that they were being traded over long distances from the very earliest stages of their chronology. In subsequent decades at Colchester, however, only Type A and C were used, alongside a few Type O brooches arriving with soldiers from the continent. The appearance of Type A may be explained chronologically, since it seems to have taken slightly longer to become popular, but the disappearance of Type

D is harder to explain. It continued to appear occasionally in this region, however. One was found to the north at Spong Hill, Norfolk in a context dated to the early to mid-second century AD (Mackreth 1995, 70-1, fig. 95, no.6).

Their absence at Colchester may be a consequence of the Boudican revolt and Sheepen's destruction which led to social, political and economic upheaval and the disappearance earlier trade links, but it does not explain why the population, some of whom seem likely to have relocated to Colchester, did not take their Type D penannulars with them. Perhaps those sections of the population or individuals that wore Type Ds did not relocate or perhaps they abandoned this style in favour of those more popular in the town. Whatever the true reason, the clear-cut distinction between the types of penannular in use at the two sites suggests a conscious process. Over time penannulars were increasingly imbued with context-specific meaning, affecting which types were chosen.

7.5.3.2 Northern Britain – penannular use in a frontier zone

The situation is quite different again in central and northern Britain. Below Hadrian's Wall penannulars are predominantly found on military sites, to a lesser extent in towns (usually with phases of military activity), occasionally at villas, but rarely on any other site type. In southern Scotland, however, penannulars appear on a wider range of sites and were particularly popular on high status native sites. These regional trends raise questions about why some communities were choosing penannulars and what associations were motivating/being produced as a result of this choice, whether the inhabitants of other sites were consciously or unconsciously rejecting them, and whether these patterns are primarily the product of archaeological bias? The variation seen in these patterns also demonstrates the complexity and unpredictability of cultural interaction in a frontier context.

Northern England

Type A, the most common form in the region, is particularly common on military sites and has often been referred to as a 'military' type as a result. It has been argued here, however, that this term is not sufficient in itself as it tells us little about who was actually wearing these brooches. Perhaps it would be more appropriate to describe it as a 'type typically found on military sites' if any such term is needed. Evidence from

Castleford may indicate a concentration of penannulars in the fort rather than the *vicus*, but as discussed in section 6.3.3.3 a wide range of individuals are likely to have been using and even inhabiting this space and so we can draw few conclusions from this observation. Because there is such limited evidence to indicate whether there was a gender division in who wore penannulars, those found on forts and military sites could easily have been worn by soldiers, their families and other inhabitants.

Use of British styles of brooch by military personnel was clearly not uncommon (Bishop 2005, 193-4). Britons were serving with the Roman army in some capacity by the early AD 80s (*ibid.*), but even so such brooches were undoubtedly worn by non-British soldiers too. James (2001, 86) has suggested that the military often selectively adopted local styles of dress and dress accessories as part of a process described as ‘de-Italianisation’ or ‘provincialisation’, through which the multi-ethnic soldiery sought to create new context-specific ‘military’ identities. Other non-local members of the fort community are also likely to have adopted similar practices, contributing to the creating of a unique communal fort identity.

With penannulars, however, this process may have been even more complex. There is some evidence that they were not commonly used by the rural population in northern England (with the possible exception of East Yorkshire). The proliferation of Type A penannulars here was, at least in part, due to demand from the inhabitants of military sites. Type A was not an existing style that was adopted by military communities, instead they were using these brooches from the earliest stages of their chronology. This may simply have been due to their availability or perhaps because they were introduced to this part of Britain by the military in the first place. Interestingly the only securely dated Iron Age Type A penannulars come from South-West Britain. It is here that the earliest first century AD examples appear, whereas later Type As all come from eastern and northern Britain and primarily from forts and towns. But whatever the reason for its adoption by military communities these communities soon began to drive demand for Type A and this contributed heavily to its subsequent proliferation.

Because penannulars are found on such a limited range of sites in northern England it is tempting to suggest that associations with the Roman military led the rural population to reject them. This may have been the case in some regions, although this may not have been a straightforward act of resistance to the encroachment of Roman culture. Clarke

(1999), noting the distinction between the architecture and material culture at Newstead and the surrounding rural settlements, has suggested that this was not because of a lack of contact between the inhabitants of the fort and the indigenous population, or because the latter lacked the resources to adopt a Romanised way of life. Instead it may have been the product of very different *habitus* or world view, which made the lifestyle of the fort community seem simply alien and unappealing to the native population. The military zone of northern England comprises a wide area, however, and it is likely that interactions between military and indigenous communities varied greatly across it.

Data from East Yorkshire imply that the present picture of penannular use in northern Britain may not be a complete one. Here penannulars found by antiquarians and metal detectorists are scattered across the landscape, perhaps suggesting that similar patterns are waiting to be discovered elsewhere. East Yorkshire is potentially the only region in northern Britain with an earlier tradition of penannular use, which may have predisposed the general population to their use when Type A appeared. In addition, the PAS data indicate that stray finds of penannulars in neighbouring regions tend to be aligned with known or postulated Roman roads, which is unlikely to be solely due to patterns of metal detecting. Finally several late first and early second century bow brooch types primarily associated with military sites in northern Britain, for example the classic undecorated trumpet brooch, the enamelled fan-tail and the disc brooch with an applied triskele-decorated plate, do not have any significant concentrations in East Yorkshire (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 190, figs.173 & 174). At this stage, therefore, the evidence suggests that throughout much of northern England penannulars were not as commonly used by the rural population as in the south and east, but this picture may alter as our understanding of this part of Britain during the Roman period develops.

Scotland

Scotland displays a rough division between the types of penannular in use in the south and the north in the first two centuries AD. Type A is most common in southern Scotland as in the rest of the frontier zone, whereas Type Aa is more popular in the north. The Forth appears to mark a key dividing line in the distribution of several other artefact types too. Glass bangles, common in southern Scotland and northern Britain are rare to the north, whereas the opposite is true of stone lamps and discs, and variations can be seen in quern types in both regions (Hunter 2007, 288). New metalworking

styles also follow a similar pattern, with the 'massive' tradition restricted largely to north-east Scotland and the 'central British' tradition concentrated in the area between the Forth and the Humber (*ibid.* fig.2). Beyond these broad trends there is much additional intra- and sub-variation and so they cannot be simply related to broad cultural boundaries like the ones devised by Piggott (1966), but they do indicate the impact of direct and indirect contact with the Roman military.

The material culture of southern Scotland during the Roman Iron Age, like that of the rest of central Britain managed to be varied, traditional and innovative all at the same time, reflecting the diversity and fluidity of frontier society. This complexity is observed in the emergence of a new regional tradition of metalworking, which frequently drew on older decorative styles, but applied them to a much wider range of objects (Hunter 2007, 291-2). This so-called resurgence in 'Celtic' art has often been interpreted in a straightforward way, as the assimilation of native traditions by Roman patrons. Many studies written from an art-historical perspective were particularly dismissive of what they saw as the reduction of a proud native artistic tradition to the status of 'tourist art' (Megaw and Megaw 1989, 228) applied to Roman trinkets instead of the impressive metalwork of previous periods. At the other end of the spectrum they have sometimes been interpreted as evidence of the burgeoning of native culture as an act of resistance to the encroaching Roman world (e.g. Davis and Gwilt 2008). Hunter (2013, 271) points out that the central British metalworking tradition was not simply traditional, however, but just as innovative as any that had gone before. Instead it is better understood within the context of the creation of hybridised frontier identities in response to rapid social change, where objects could have had a multiplicity of meanings as they moved through different contexts.

Type A penannulars provide another good example of this phenomenon. They appear to have been a development of central Britain (even if they had South-Western origins), drawing on a native tradition in East Yorkshire, but becoming most popular on Roman military sites and in towns. In northern England they were apparently rare on rural sites, but in southern Scotland certain variants were particularly prized by the native population. If the evidence from northern England is indeed correct, then Type A may have had different associations here, stemming from its potential arrival with the military. Alternatively native communities may have been less interested in brooches generally. In southern Scotland perhaps their military connections were deemed less

significant and they were viewed more generally as a provincial or frontier style. Perhaps simply the use of different types, possibly worn in different ways, distinguished them enough from those worn by military communities. Clearly there was an element of temporal variation too, with penannulars going out of use in southern Scotland after the Roman withdrawal, when their associations may have changed again. Such interpretations are hypothetical and should be approached with caution due to the gaps in the archaeological evidence, but nonetheless demonstrate how objects like brooches functioned as active agents, rather than static symbols, within the complex and ongoing negotiations of identity in a frontier context.

The impact of the Roman military presence further south was clearly felt in northern Scotland, but less directly so. Here the distribution of material culture shows even greater levels of regionality and responses to the Roman world appear to have been particularly varied. In north-east Scotland the ‘massive’ metalwork style appears to have drawn on a range of different influences, interpreted in a distinctively local fashion (Hunter 2007, 291). Roman styles appear to have played only a peripheral role in its development and it is seldom found on Roman sites in its core area (*ibid.*). Hunter sees this as an act of direct ‘opposition to external forces’ (*ibid.*, 294), but it may not have been a conscious distancing from the Roman world. Instead the answer may lie in less familiarity with Roman material culture and a preference for emphasising local identities and links with other areas. Within this context the use of Type Aa penannulars might be seen either as the deliberate selection of a non-frontier style, or as evidence of contacts with other parts of Britain. The latter seems plausible given the regular occurrence of Type Aa at coastal sites in both the east and the west. Their appearance as grave goods suggests that they were prized possessions here too, however, and not simply the by-products of trade.

7.5.4 Conclusions

Penannulars were never simply adopted as symbols of broad cultural affinities, even in central and northern Britain where their use was more restricted, but instead due to a huge variety of, often very practical, reasons - because local workshops or itinerant smiths decided to start making them, because a community was located within certain networks of exchange, because of the degree of prior familiarity with this style of brooch (or perhaps with brooch wearing more generally) or because of an existing

receptiveness to new styles of metalwork. As such it is impossible to associate any particular type or sub-type of penannular with a specific identity category. The similarities between Type D and C suggest that they were not simply badges of South-Western and South-Eastern identity respectively. Type A may have been used by military communities, but was not a universal symbol of a military identity. Instead the use of penannulars contributed to a highly context-dependent process of creating regional, sub-regional and individual diversity and commonality, that was inextricably linked to the various practical factors discussed above.

7.6 The Late Roman period

Most penannular styles show a decrease in numbers during the third century AD followed by an increase during the fourth century. Type C shows this pattern most strongly as virtually none can be closely dated to the late second or third century. The same is true of Type D although its popularity appears to have continued further into the second century and its subsequent chronology lacks such a dramatic fall in numbers during the third century. Type A proves the only major exception to this pattern with high numbers continuing until the end of the second century followed by a sustained decline until the end of the fourth with no subsequent recovery. Type E and K appear to have become popular for only a short period during the fourth century, whereas Types G and F may have developed during the late fourth century, but peaked in popularity in the post-Roman period. As such the fourth century appears to mark another key period in the development of the penannular.

As discussed in Chapter three, brooch use in Britain declined from the third century onwards (Croom 2004, 294) with their use becoming more associated with the military (2004, 207), but the picture with regards to penannulars is more complex. During the later Roman period the numbers of the predominantly southern British Types C and D dwindled rapidly on military sites. They were much more likely to be found in towns and, to a lesser extent, villas (see figs. 5.13 and 5.19). This no doubt reflects the demilitarisation of southern Britain. Interestingly, the range of sites on which they occur also reduced at this time, with far fewer from hillforts and rural settlements. Types E and K prove the only exceptions to this picture. Although found in much smaller

numbers overall, they both appear on a wider range of sites in southern Britain, including rural settlements. In the northern frontier zone penannulars continued to be used at military sites, but here Type A, although still present, was largely replaced by Types E and K. Both occur in North Lincolnshire and are found at forts along the line of Hadrian's Wall with a scattering between these two points. These patterns broadly match that of Type A, but with the conspicuous absence of any from East Yorkshire.

In southern Britain brooch use may have been declining then, but Types C and D penannulars continued to be used in much the same numbers as previously by the inhabitants of towns and rural estates. The rest of the rural population was far less likely to use penannulars, but if they did then these were most likely to be the new Type E brooches (or occasionally the new Type K brooches in eastern regions only). In northern Britain these new types dominated, but here penannulars continued to be mainly restricted to military sites much as they had been in previous periods. These patterns point both to changing attitudes towards brooches and shifting patterns of production and exchange during the late Roman period. In southern Britain use of Types A and D apparently became more exclusive, perhaps restricted to certain social groups within urban populations. The sudden decline in all types in East Yorkshire suggests that this region may previously have played a key role in supplying northern Britain. The replacement of Type A by Type E here in the late Roman period suggests that these military communities were now using different supply networks to obtain penannulars. Whether this change was a cause or a product of the decline in production in East Yorkshire is difficult to assess, but it may have been the former if routes into northern Britain were now bypassing the Humber estuary.

7.6.1 A change in meaning?

The revival in penannular use during the fourth century may well have been accompanied by changes in their meaning given their new predominance in towns and on military sites. Rob Collins has suggested that their revival may have been part of a deliberate and conscious shift '...away from objects with Roman symbolism to objects with a 'British' association' (Collins 2010, 73), which in turn may have been part of the growing regionality in dress accessories that was in evidence in the late Roman western empire (Swift 2000). During the fourth century only the penannular and the developed or 'onion-knobbed' crossbow brooches were commonly used in Britain (Bayley and

Butcher 2004, 183) and both the crossbow and the Type E penannular share very similar distributions (Swift 2000, 27).

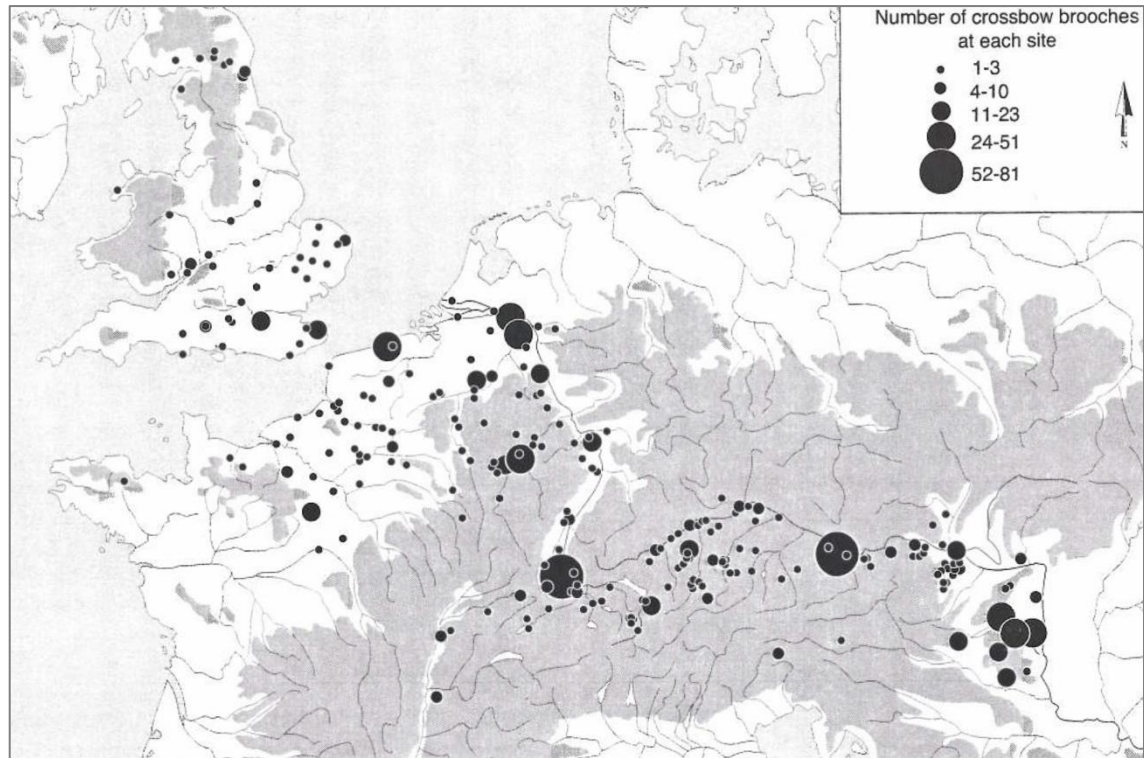


Figure. 7.1. Numbers of crossbow brooches at each site (Swift 2000, 28, fig.13)

Crossbows were used across the empire, primarily by males of a certain military and civil standing (Heurgon 1958, 23, Jobst 1975, 93, Swift 2000, 3). Penannulars occur on the continent in lower numbers during this period, but have also been found in male graves, singly on the shoulder together with military equipment (Keller 1971, 55-6). Ninth century Irish law codes which refer to the use of penannulars as badges of office have also often been quoted, with the suggestion that this practice was adopted from the late Roman period (Nieke 1993).

That crossbows were primarily used in a similar way in Britain is suggested by burial evidence from the Lankhills cemetery, Winchester (Booth et al. 2010), but similar evidence is lacking for penannulars. Only their sudden revival during this period, continental burial evidence and similarities between the distributions of Type E and crossbow brooches hint that penannulars may have had a similar function. The Irish

sources are less convincing given their date and the fact that later Irish penannulars were much larger and spectacular, making them more suitable for indicating rank and status. Late Roman penannulars are, however, much smaller in size and less visible than crossbows, seemingly making them less appropriate for such purposes. The fact that Type E penannulars are found on rural sites in southern Britain suggests that they may also have been worn by other sections of the population. It seems plausible to suggest, therefore, that the sudden revival of the penannular at a time when general brooch use was much less common may have been linked to the growing use of brooches as badges or insignia of military and civil office, but that they were not used exclusively in this way and perhaps did not fulfil exactly the same function as crossbow brooches.

The popularity of Type E in Britain, a provincial style of an uncommon form of brooch initially appears unusual given the growing restriction and standardisation of brooch use across the late Roman western empire. Swift (2000, 10) has, however, pointed out that such standardisation does not mean that all brooches had a single, rigid, state-sanctioned meaning. Instead regional variation in crossbow styles and the adoption of a provincial style like the Type E penannular suggests that their meaning was complex and continued to vary according to context. Wearing brooches in a certain way appears to have become an officially authorised and commonly recognised way of assuming particular titles, positions or ranks, but these were all held within a local, regional and provincial context, where varying degrees of contact may have been kept with the central empire. Both civil and military uniforms were subject to changing fashions just as general styles of dress and so continued to develop within a local context, perhaps taking on additional meanings only understood here. In addition military styles appear to have become generally fashionable with those of higher social status (Brown 1971, 27-8) and so wearing a brooch may have been one way of emulating high status fashion

7.7 The post-Roman period

In the post-Roman period penannular use continued across most of Britain, but almost disappeared from the South-East where penannulars had never been popular. Their absence here may also have had some connection with the early fifth century development of the quoit brooch style, for which penannulars were unsuitable because

of their narrow hoops (Suzuki 2000, 86). Elsewhere, alongside new Types F, G and probably H, some of the existing styles continued to be used before undergoing a further revival in popularity during the sixth century. Of these Type C became the most common with Type D appearing in lower numbers and Type A, Aa and B only occasionally. Fowler (1963, 114) suggested that Type C was likely to have been produced by Anglo-Saxon craftsmen in the post-Roman period, but slight changes in the form of the other types suggest that the same was probably also true of these. In the post-Roman period Type B and C are more likely to have single rather than multiple coils, the hoops of Type C become larger and the simple Type D variants D and D1 became the most popular. Humped pins also almost totally disappeared from the late Roman period onwards (see appendix 1.8) and a higher proportion of penannulars were manufactured in iron, almost equalling the numbers of copper alloy for the first time (fig.4.11). In fact, given issues of preservation in the archaeological record, the proportion of iron penannulars during this period was probably far higher.

As discussed in chapter 2, there has been much debate about who was producing penannulars in the post-Roman period. Studies have often attributed a passive role to the native population, whose metalworking styles were thought to have been taken either forcibly or through trade, before being reinterpreted by the invading Anglo-Saxons. This view does not deal adequately with the fact that broad distributions typically changed little from the late Roman period onwards. Type C retains its existing southern and eastern distribution and the distribution of Type F is similar to that of the late Roman Type E to which it appears to be indirectly related. There is an apparent break in the production of all types in the fifth century, but this may be due to problems of recognising and dating evidence from this period. As such it seems quite likely that the production and use of existing types continued beyond the end of the Roman period on some scale and that the new types were also developing at this time.

A degree of re-use was probably also occurring as White suggested (1988, 25). Although production of Type E seems to have tailed off rapidly in the post-Roman period, a very small number have been found in Anglo-Saxon graves, which show no obvious differences to earlier types. White concluded that the antiquity and other associations of such objects would have been of little consequence to those who were reusing them (*ibid.*). Such a conclusion is becoming more difficult to sustain as our understanding of the significance of the reuse of ancient objects in the past is beginning

to develop. Eckhardt and Williams (2003) have recently argued that the appearance of re-used penannulars in mortuary contexts may signify that they were playing a role in the construction and reproduction of social memories to which their perceived antiquity was central. The past that was being appropriated, however, did not have to be specifically Romano-British, but instead was more likely to have been an imagined, mythical one (*ibid.* 146). If this was the case the reuse of Romano-British penannulars in Anglo-Saxon contexts is best seen as part of the complex process of cultural negotiation that was undoubtedly taking place in a period of great population shifts, a practice that allowed newly formed groups to create a common past.

White's (1990) suggestion that Type C originated on the continent, developing in Gaul before spreading into Lower Germany, and was therefore never a British type in the first place, can be refuted on the basis of chronological evidence from the continent. Instead this type developed in Britain, although it certainly spread into Europe from the later first century AD onwards, probably spread by the military and so we can at least say that Anglo-Saxon migrants may have already have been familiar with it. The suggestion by White (*ibid.*) and Laing (2007) that renewed penannular production in the sixth century was actually a continuation of a tradition long established in the Germanic homelands is therefore inadequate, although some may have arrived from the continent. Instead insular production and use probably continued beyond the end of the Roman period, but that the arrival of Anglo-Saxon migrants stimulated a final wave of stylistic hybridisation. In addition the appearance of Type C in Anglo-Saxon male graves suggests that the penannular's late Roman function as a badge of status may have continued into succeeding periods, but become associated with this particular type.

The chronology of Types F and G remain relatively unclear, but Type G probably developed during the late fourth or early fifth century in the Severn basin before spreading eastward. This corresponds with Laing's (1993, 2) suggestion that this part of Britain remained a centre for the production of metalwork and enamelled metalwork in the fifth and sixth century. Type F probably developed around the same time, but its origins are less clear. Whereas Type G is found primarily on hillforts in South-West England and Anglo-Saxon graves in eastern England, Type F is found on a much wider range, but primarily Roman Military sites. Together with their very different distributions, suggests that the two types had very different origins and developments and were worn by different sections of the population.

The characteristic distribution of Type G indicates a complex relationship between two areas of Britain that are often thought to have become quite culturally distinct from one another during this period. The two concentrations, one in western and one in eastern England (interestingly the core regions for penannular use since the Iron Age), suggest that there were two regionalised traditions of use and/or production, but that these overlapped with certain stylistic features being shared between the two. These patterns speak less about emphasising a distinctive regional or ethnic identity then, but more about inter-regional connectivity, shared production traditions and social and cultural exchange.

Type E and F brooches are occasionally found together, have similar distributions and are found at a similar range of sites, but Type F appears to have developed as Type E was going out of use. If we accept that late Roman penannulars may have been used as indicators of civil and military status and rank, as discussed above, then this function may have continued into the fifth century and might explain the larger size and visibility of Type F brooches. Thomas Green has suggested that Type F brooches were used by British elites in the ‘country of *Lindēs*’ located in modern Lincolnshire, which he postulates remained a British enclave in the fifth century, in order to ‘signal and reinforce their ethnic identity and status in response, and in opposition, to the very visible material culture of competing Anglo-Saxon groups’ (2012, 71). His evidence for this, the fact that the brooches cluster around the periphery of the territory, is somewhat problematic given that there could be many different explanations for this distribution including the positive influence of cross-cultural interaction. His point, however, that the use of penannulars may have continued to be restricted to certain groups, is a valid one, notwithstanding the fact that their specific meaning and associations are likely to have changed and developed together with the roles of the civil and military elites in the post-Roman period.

Final thoughts

1. Regionality, continental connections and diverse meanings

This study has built upon foundations laid by Elizabeth Fowler more than half a century ago. The essence of her typology has been retained, although several types have been modified and added. The penannular, a form that was used in Britain for more than a millennium, has proved to have much to tell us about how the production, distribution, deposition and meaning of a single form of metalwork can develop and vary within multiple different spatial and temporal contexts. Through the use of broad scale analysis coupled with detailed case studies its development has been examined within a wider social, political, technological and economic background in order to understand who was wearing them, how they were worn, how they were made, exchanged and deposited and how they were understood by both wearers and non-wearers alike.

The detailed understanding of the penannular that has emerged from this study has wider implications beyond simply creating a chronological framework for its development. At the broadest scale it can help us to further understand insular metalworking traditions and the impact of contacts with the continent on these over a long period of time. Although debates about the origins of the penannular in Britain have not been fully resolved, it is clear that even from the earliest stages its development followed an insular trajectory, but one that retained a reciprocal association with the continental penannulars. Above all penannulars were highly personal objects, both decorative and functional. They offer a direct physical connection to past individuals, informing us about changing dress styles and offering insight into the role of objects of adornment in the everyday acts of creating identities through appearance. The development of the penannular is inextricably linked with processes of social change in Britain from the late Iron Age to early medieval period, the development of regional metalworking traditions, the creation of regional and sub-regional identities and trade, exchange and inter-regional knowledge-transfer.

Type Aa has been confirmed as the earliest form. It came into use in the third century BC or possibly even earlier. Type A and B developed soon after during the second or first century BC. The penannular subsequently underwent several lulls and surges in its

popularity, during each of which new types tended to emerge. The first century AD marked the first of these, when numerous new types developed or arrived in Britain and began to be used much more widely. This can be linked to a wider explosion in the use of brooches and other objects of bodily adornment and modification as people sought to express changing identities in new ways. Another lesser rise in popularity has also been noted during the fourth century AD, perhaps linked to the use of brooches as badges of office or status. It has been suggested that Types F, G and H are all post-Roman developments and based on chronological and distribution evidence Fowler's theory that Type F share a developmental relationship with the earlier Types D and E has been reinforced.

Analysis of various features beyond just terminal design has helped to build up a nuanced picture of just how complex the penannular's development was. Factors that may have seemed obvious or been taken for granted by those who produced, exchanged and used penannulars are often lost to us today. It is easy to assume that analysis of individual design elements holds the key to understanding distributions and development, for example, that Type A brooches with collars behind the terminals, or all Type C and D brooches with certain hoop designs date to a specific period and have a distinctive distribution. Such features may indeed have had some significance to the producers and wearers of these brooches, but this significance was not always clear and straightforward. It is better to view the development of the penannular as a complex process with different combinations of hoop, pin and terminals developing as the result of a mixture of factors such as the location of manufacture, networks of exchange, movement of people and the conscious and unconscious choices of individuals about which style of brooch to wear. This incredibly complex network of regional and sub-regional patterns may resist traditional culture-historical interpretations, but becomes much easier to understand when we allow objects like brooches to take an active role in the processes of identity formation.

Above all a picture of the penannular's mutable meaning emerges from the analysis carried out here. The huge range of contexts within which it has been found and ways in which it was produced, exchanged and used means that even when direct developmental relationships exist between types this cannot not be equated with the transmission of static forms of cultural identity. The Type D penannular used by a rural inhabitant of the South-West during the first century AD will have been understood in

quite a different way to the Type F penannular used by an Anglo-Saxon migrant several centuries later.

Whenever the penannular rose in popularity this tended to coincide with a broader intensification in insular metalworking and a decline or shift in the importation of objects like brooches from the continent. Such intensifications often brought with them new innovations of form and decoration, which frequently references older ‘Celtic’ styles. These periods of innovation have often been interpreted simply as responses by the indigenous British population to cultural contact with invaders or migrants, but the new styles are often far from backwards-looking and conservative, instead incorporating new elements from the continent and developing traditional techniques in new and inventive ways. The complex development of the penannular is far easier to understand from this perspective. It was a very British style, which tended to reassert itself at the times when insular metalwork was most popular, but equally every rise in popularity cannot simply be explained as a return to ‘traditional’ or ‘Celtic’ styles. Penannular users varied hugely across time and space, reflecting the hugely complex constitution of British society during the period considered. The rises in the penannular’s popularity, as with other forms of insular metalwork and decorative styles, are better understood as part of different context-dependent processes of negotiating rapid social change rather than simply a native reaction or challenge to this change. This has been particularly demonstrated through the northern British case study, where cultural contact within this frontier context was complex and intense during both the Roman and post-Roman period.

2. Future directions

Due to the size of the subject, several potential avenues of future research remain unexplored. These need to be pursued if we are to further develop our understanding of the penannular in Britain. My decision to focus on the earlier end of the penannular chronology was done to restore some sort of balance to a topic heavily weighted in favour of the early medieval material, but consequently the later types now require further attention. As these often remain poorly dated we await the discovery of more well-contextualised examples before issues of chronology can be firmly resolved.

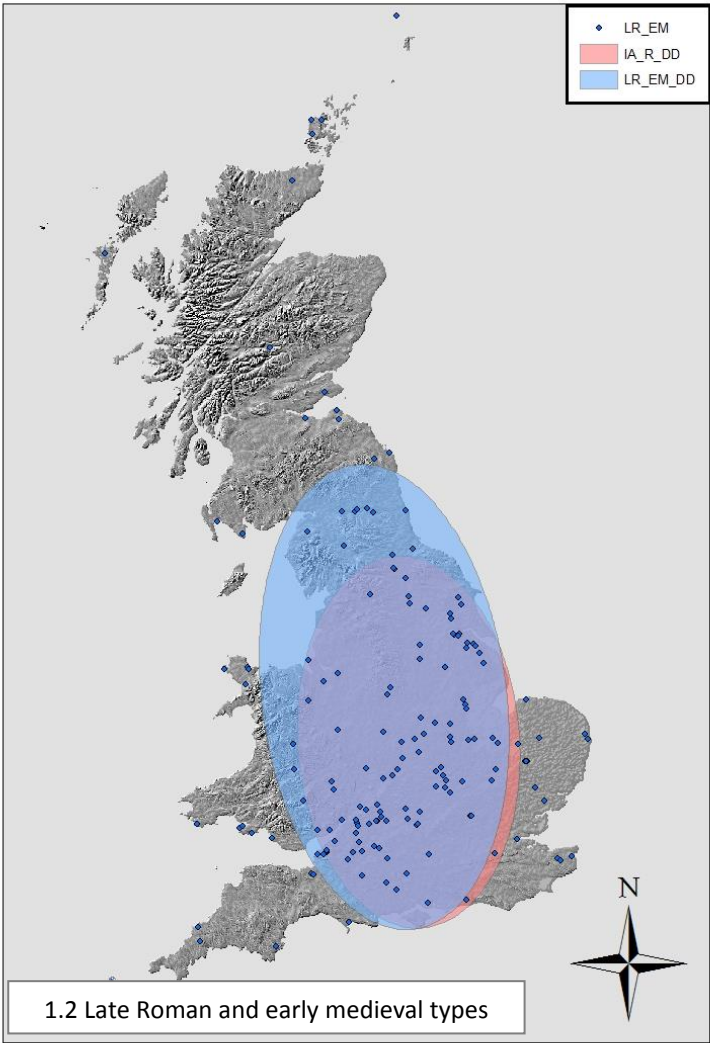
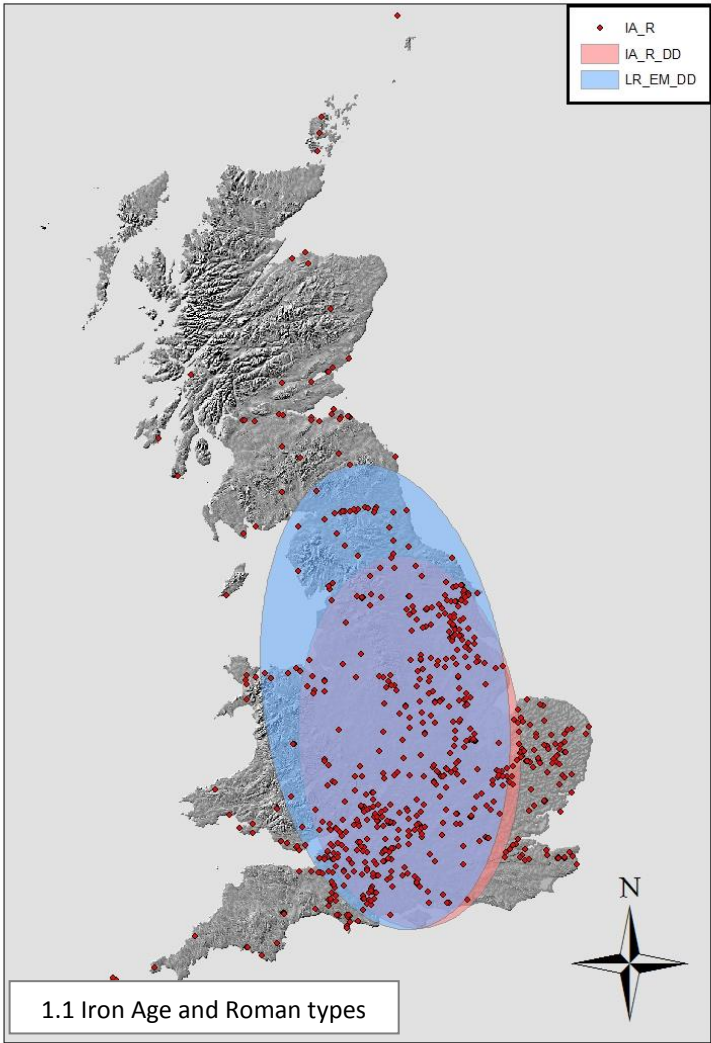
Better recording of contextual data for penannulars of all periods would also be beneficial and enable further discussion of practices of structured deposition, particularly in Iron Age contexts. It is hoped that as more in-depth studies of small finds such as this one are produced, the importance of providing easily accessible, in-depth contextual data in excavation reports and archaeological databases will be recognised.

This study did not stray into the territory of art-historical analysis, preferring to focus on the archaeological evidence given the time available, but these debates also require attention. The Irish material was only considered peripherally, again due to constraints of space, but a thorough up to date study of this is required if we are fully to understand the development of Type F and H. Doctoral research currently underway by Alexandra Guglielmi at University College Dublin looking at Roman personal items in Ireland will no doubt contribute much in this regard.

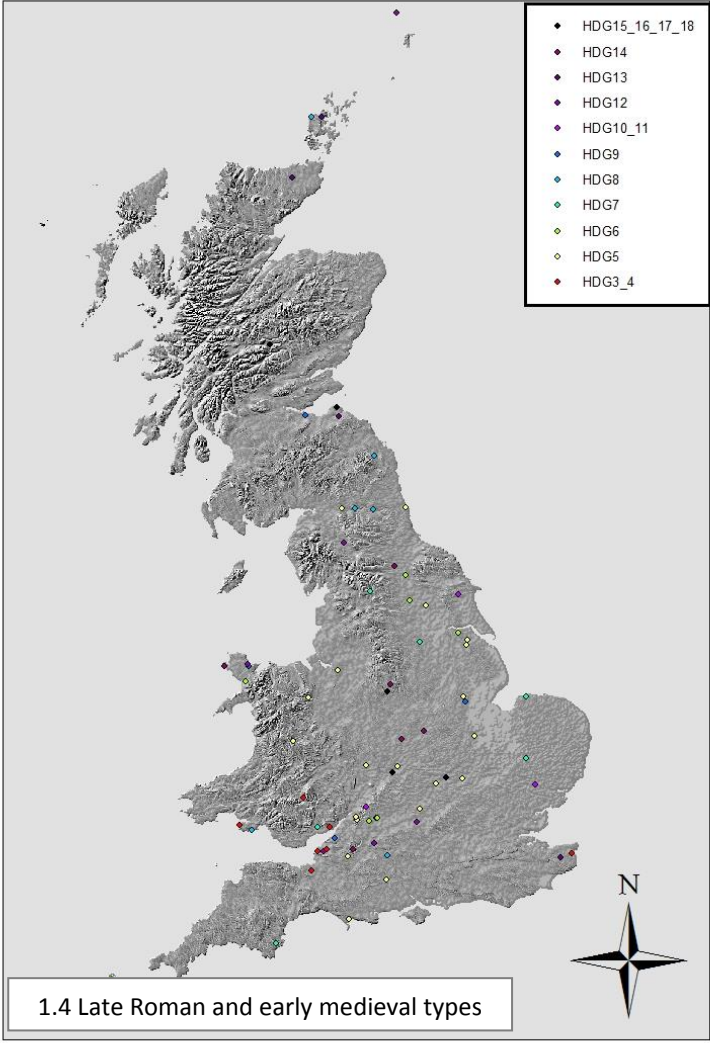
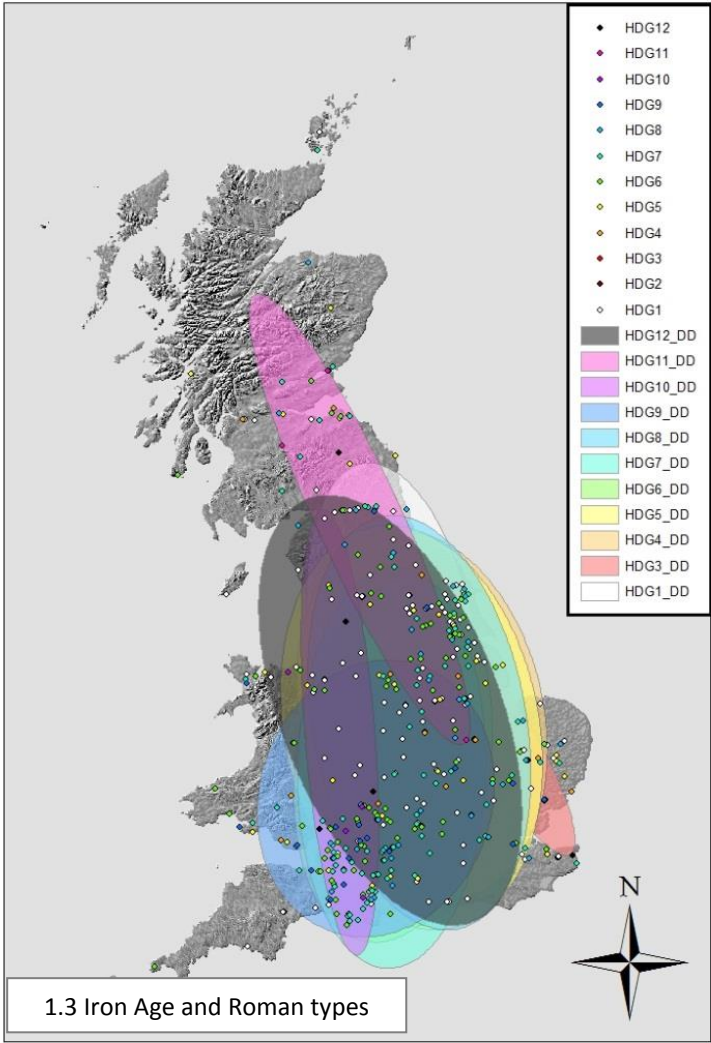
Some questions also remain about the penannular's earlier development. The lack of well-dated Iron Age penannulars means that the form's origins remain hazy. More light may be shed on this matter by a detailed study of the continental material, which was only briefly surveyed here. Similarly developmental connections with other Iron Age metalwork such as the ring-headed and swan-neck pins may be worth exploring. Metallurgical analysis may also enhance our understanding of the full penannular chronology and particularly those types that remain poorly dated. Analysis by Justine Bayley of the brooches from Richborough has demonstrated how much we can learn about the chronology, manufacture and movement of brooches by analysing their metallic composition (Bayley and Butcher 2004). There remain many avenues to be pursued then, but this study has helped to move the study of the penannular in Britain from a fragmented to an integrated position once again.

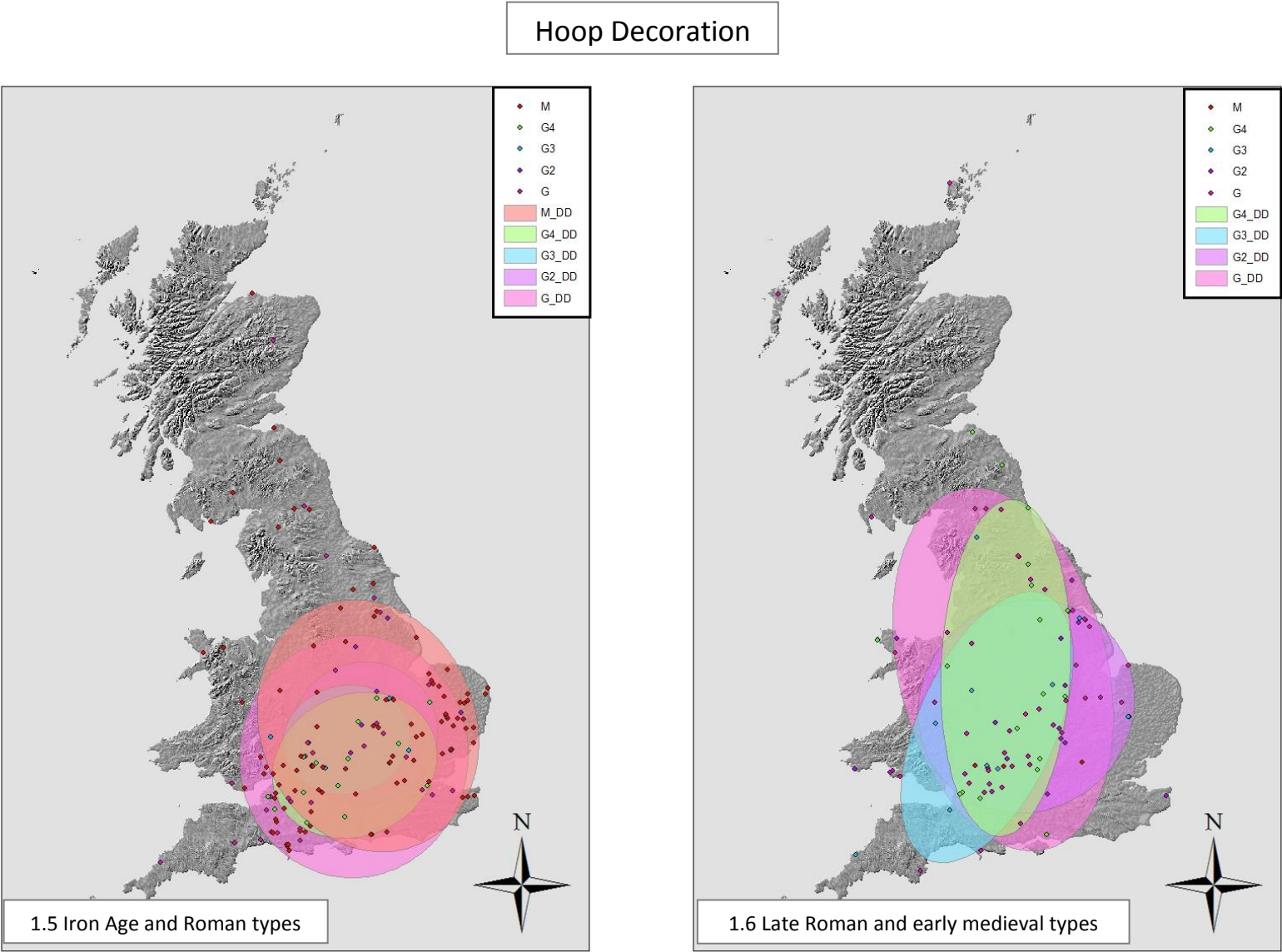
Appendices

Appendix 1: General distributions of all types

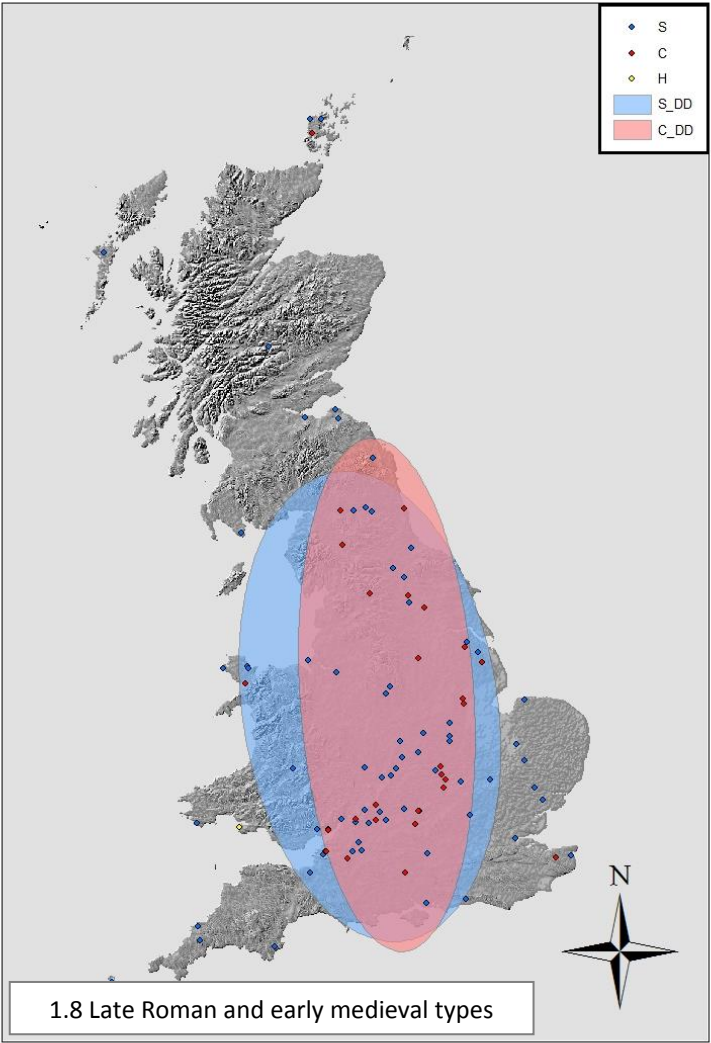
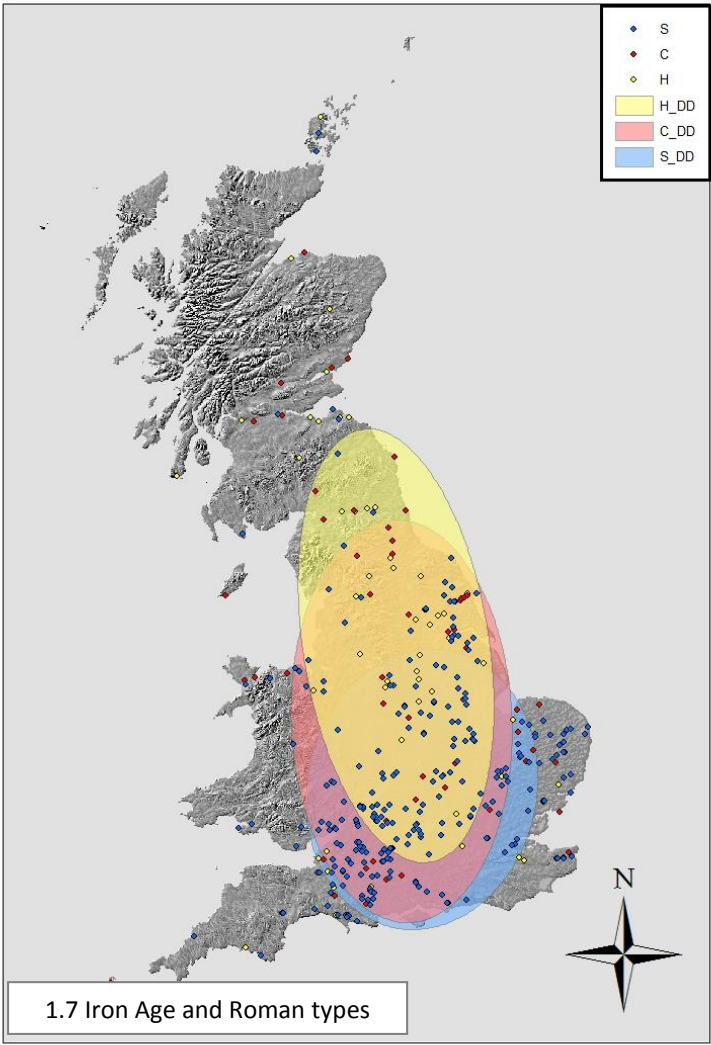


Hoop Diameter

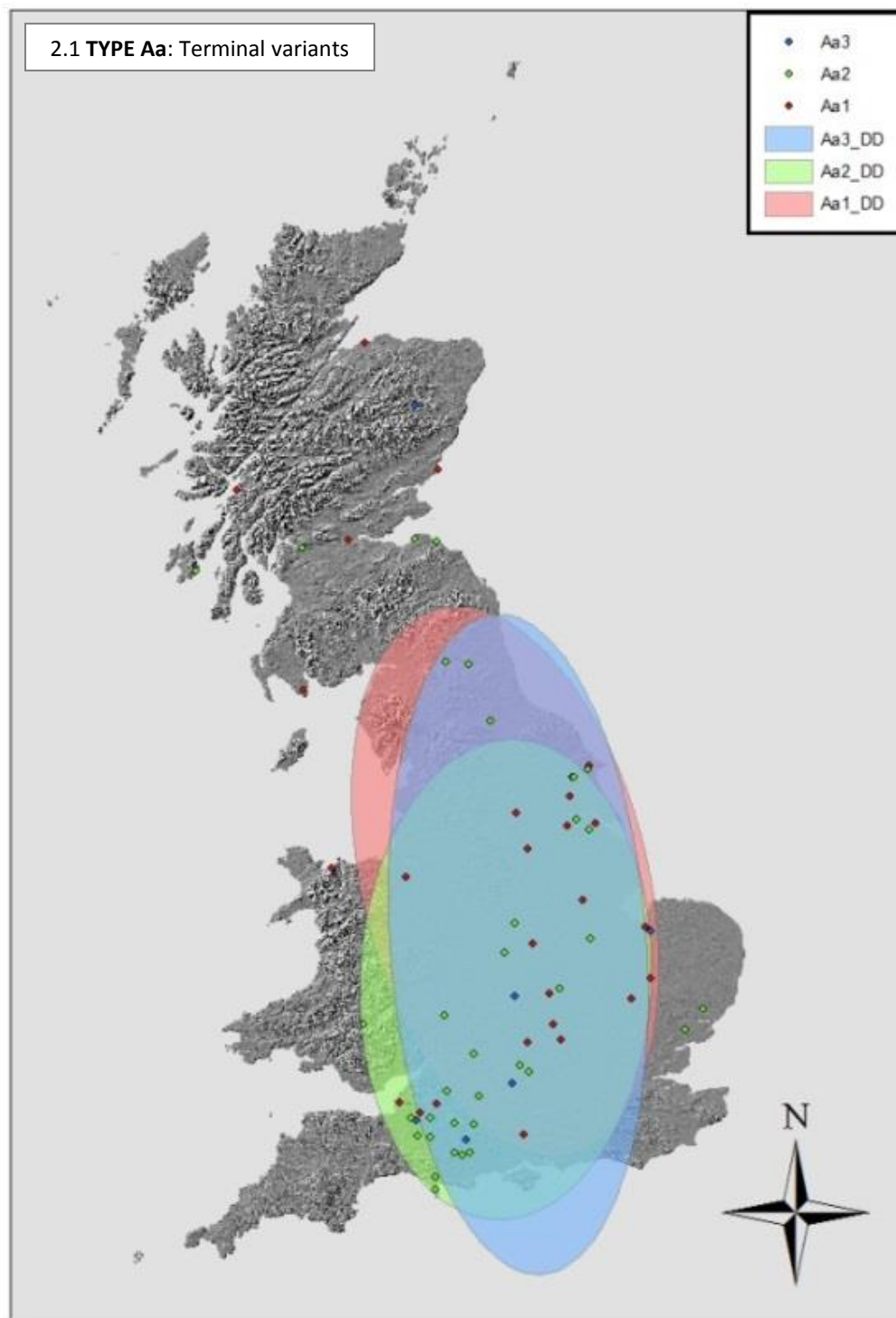




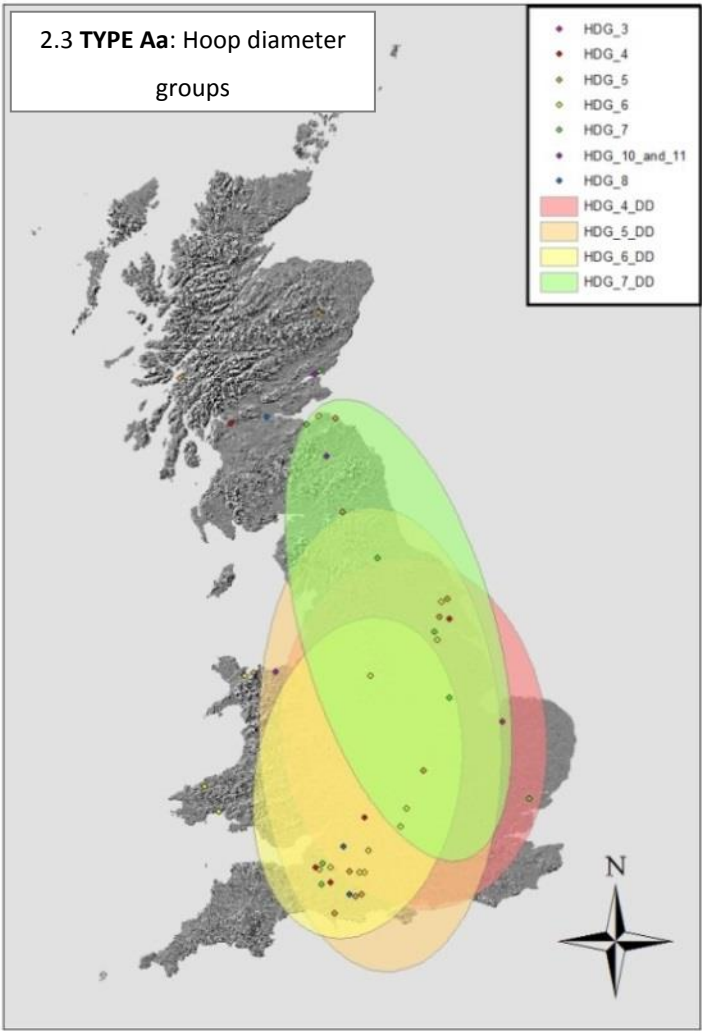
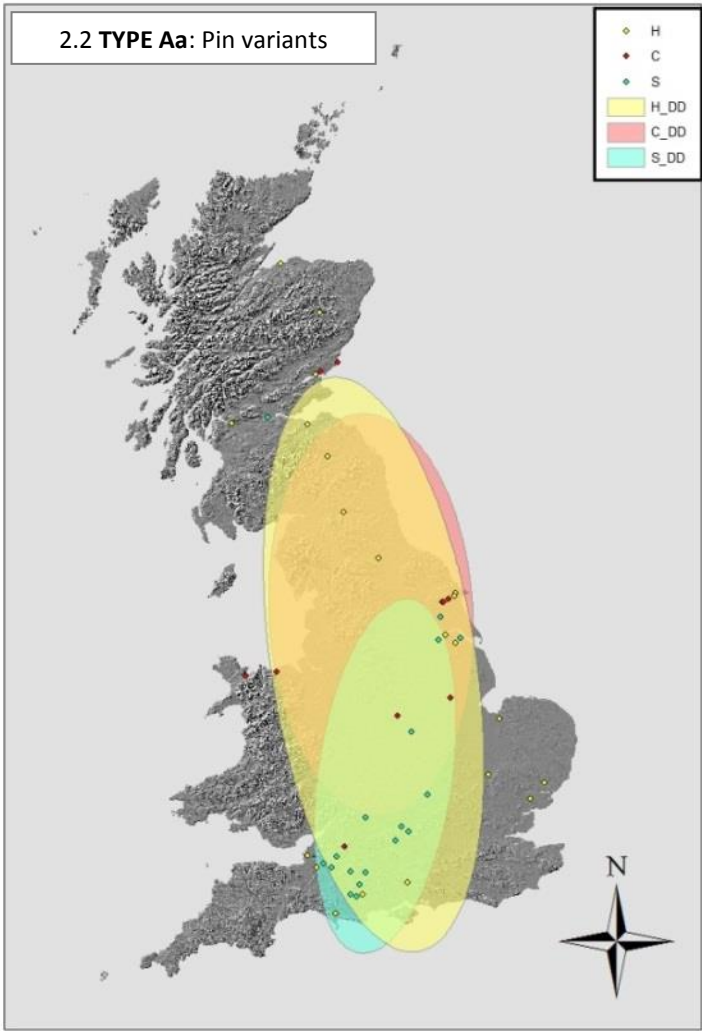
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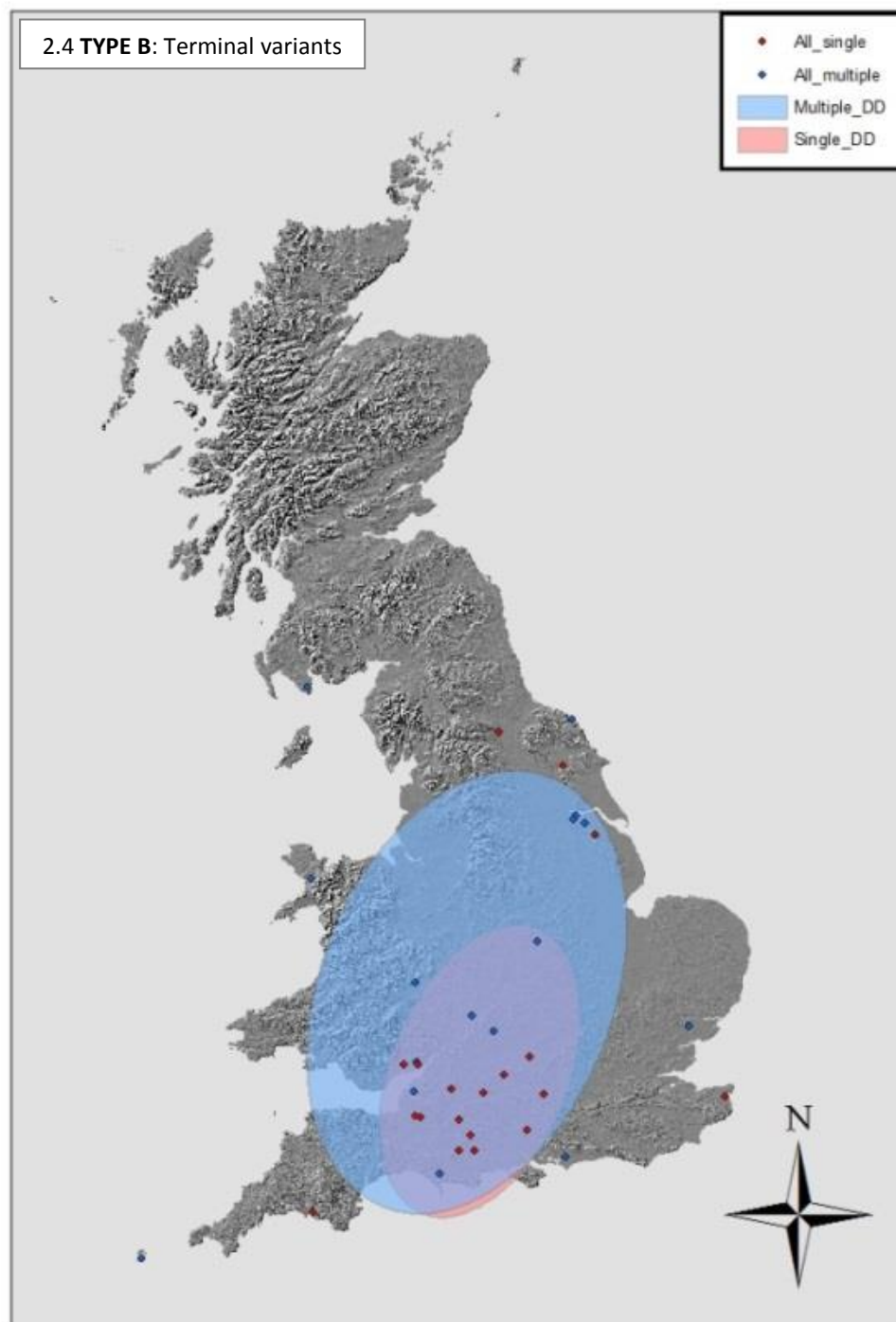
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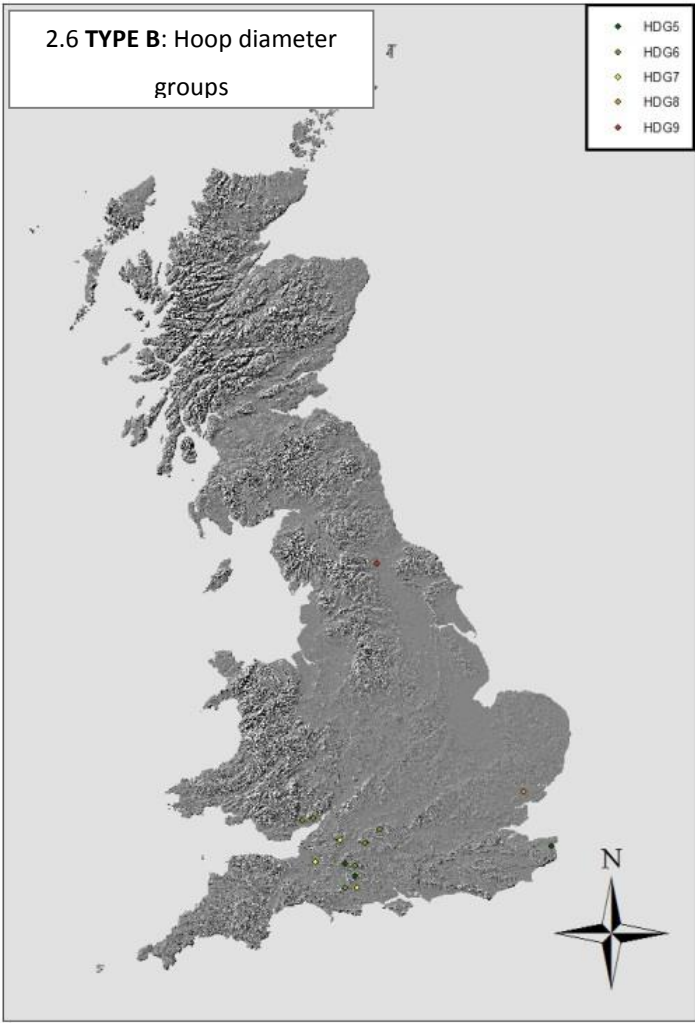
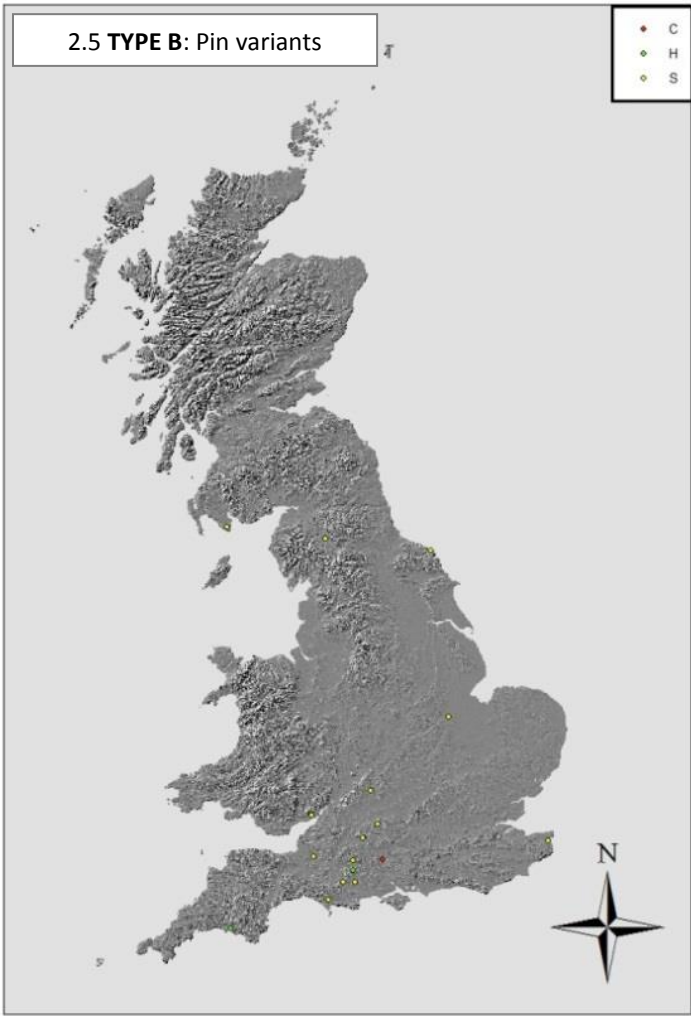


Appendix 2: Distributions of individual types

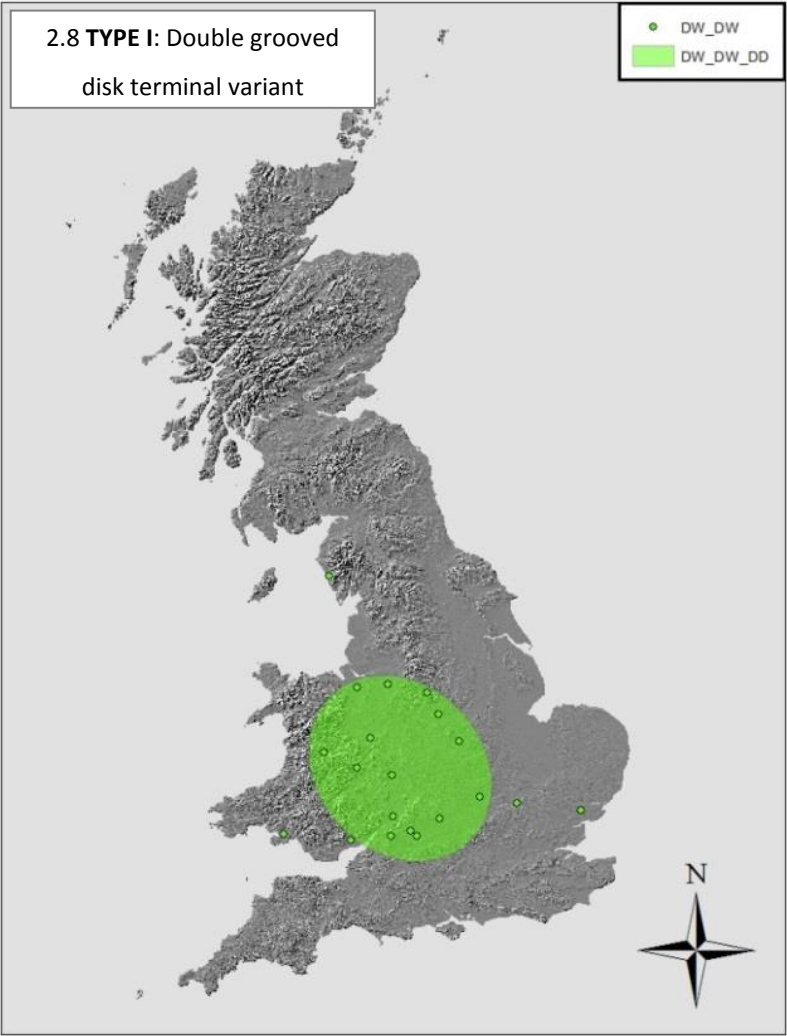


TYPE B

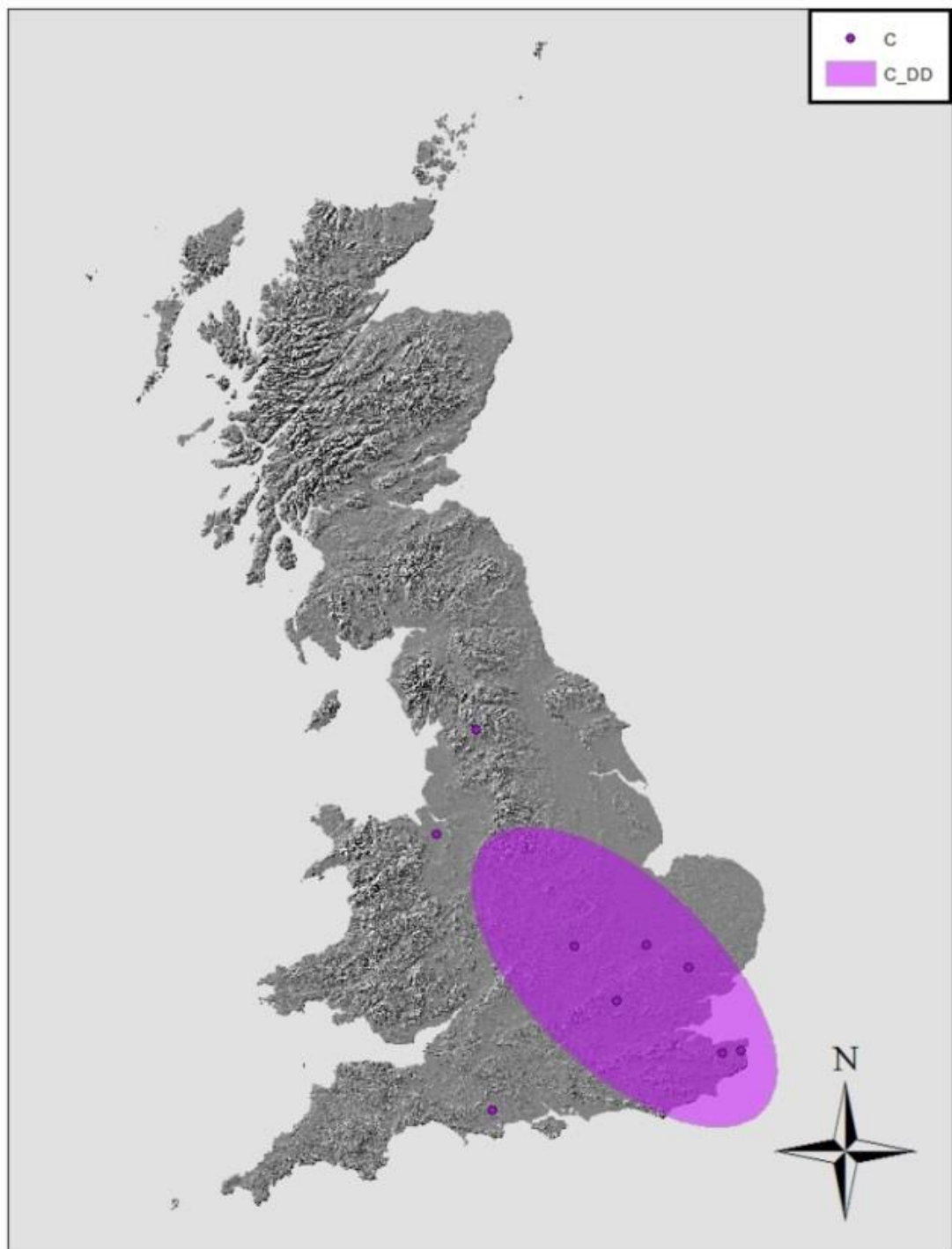




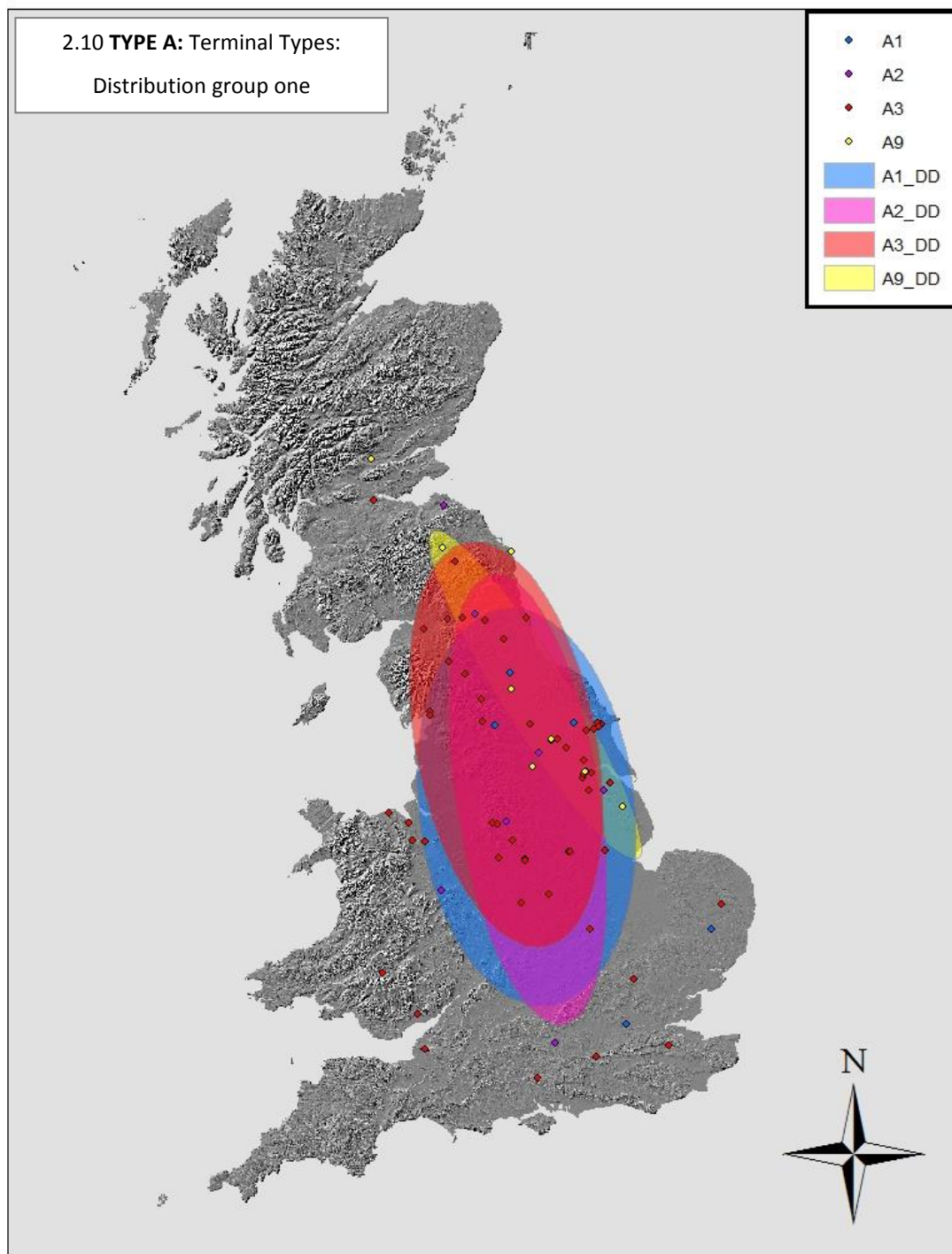
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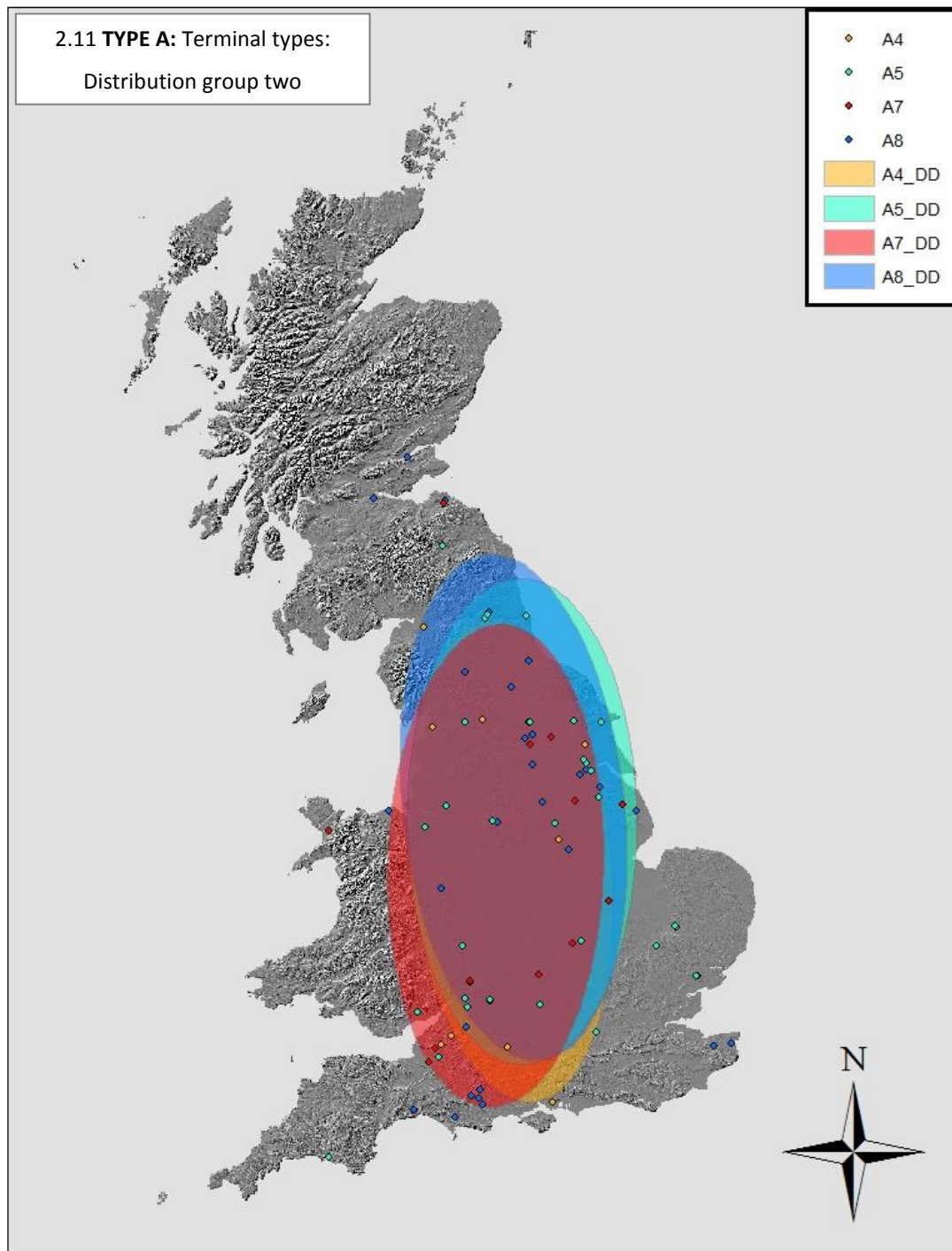


TYPE J

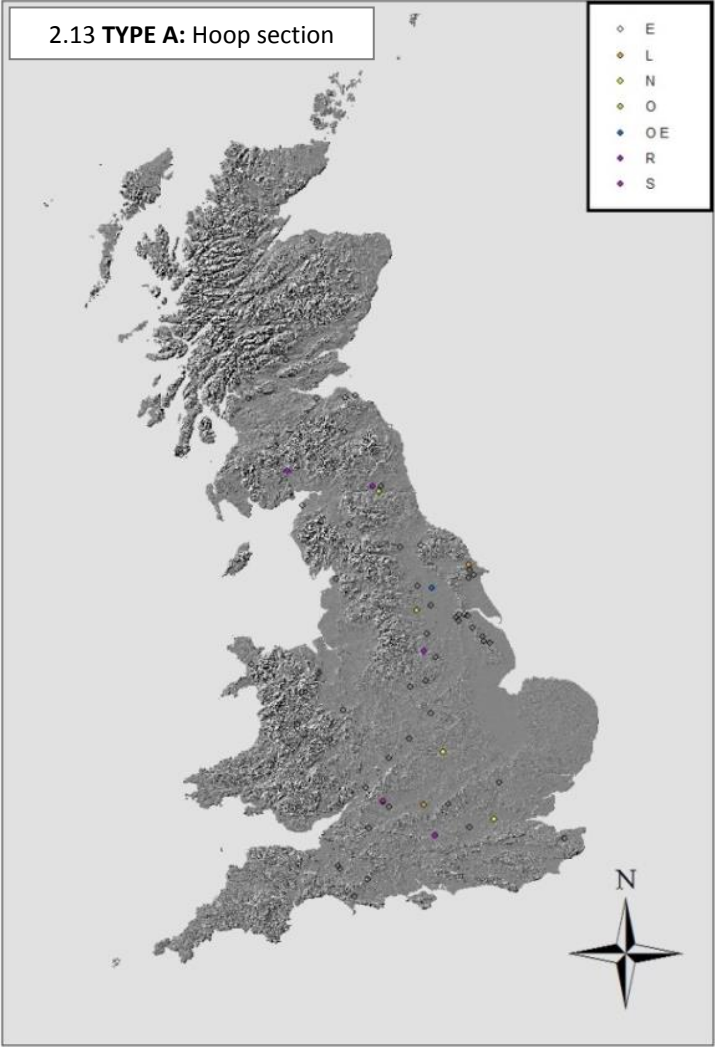
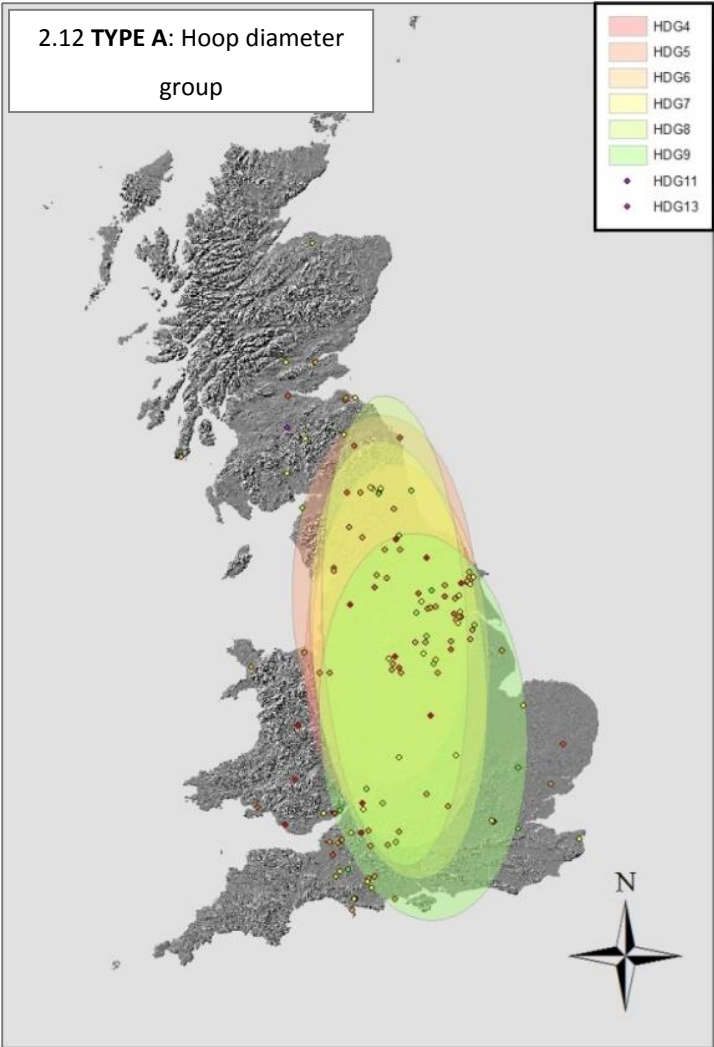


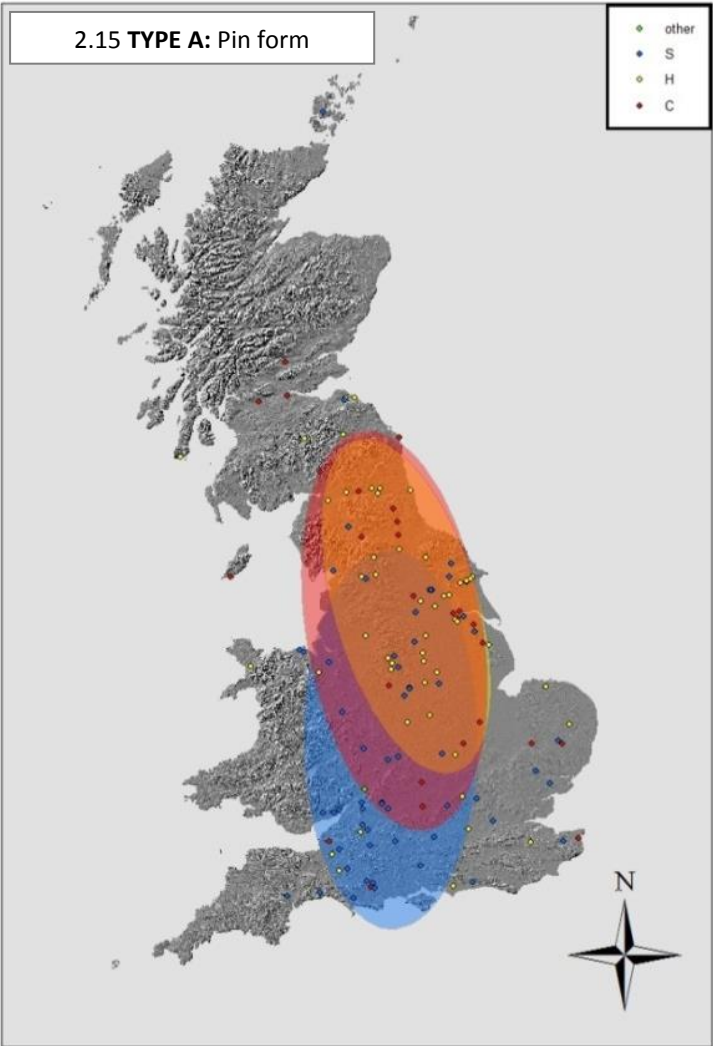
TYPE A



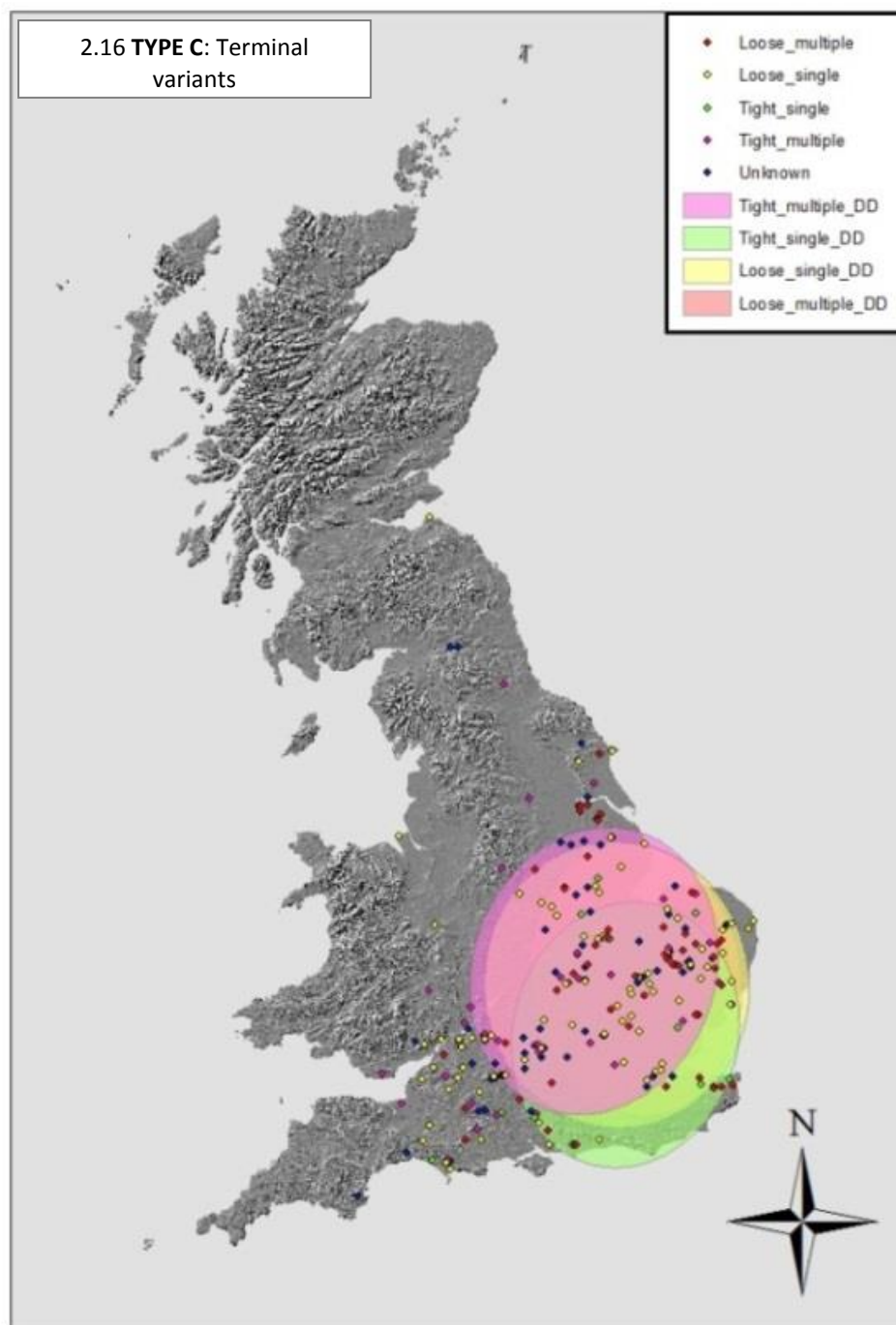


Appendix 2: Distributions of individual types

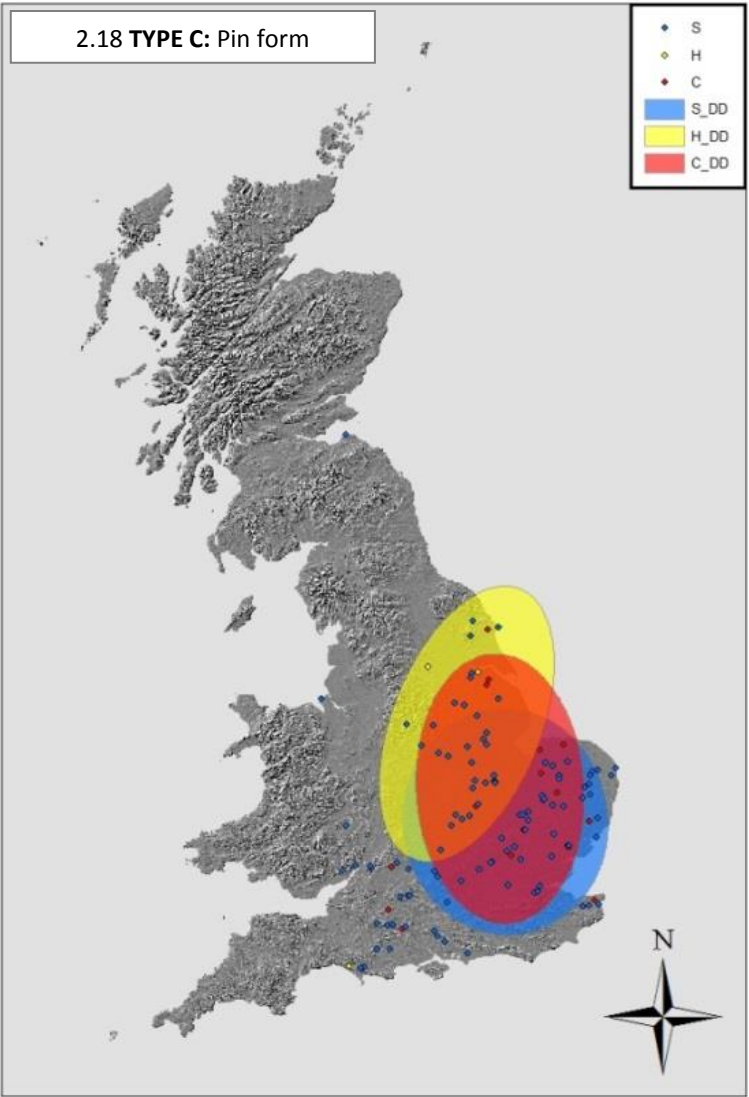
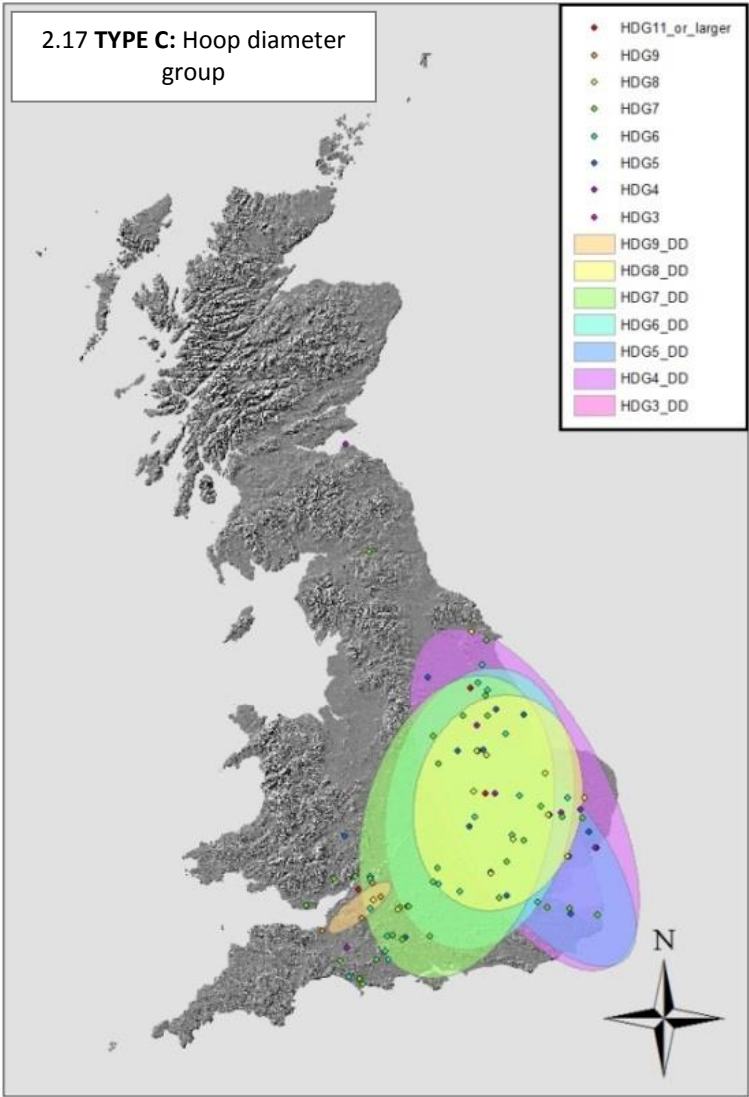


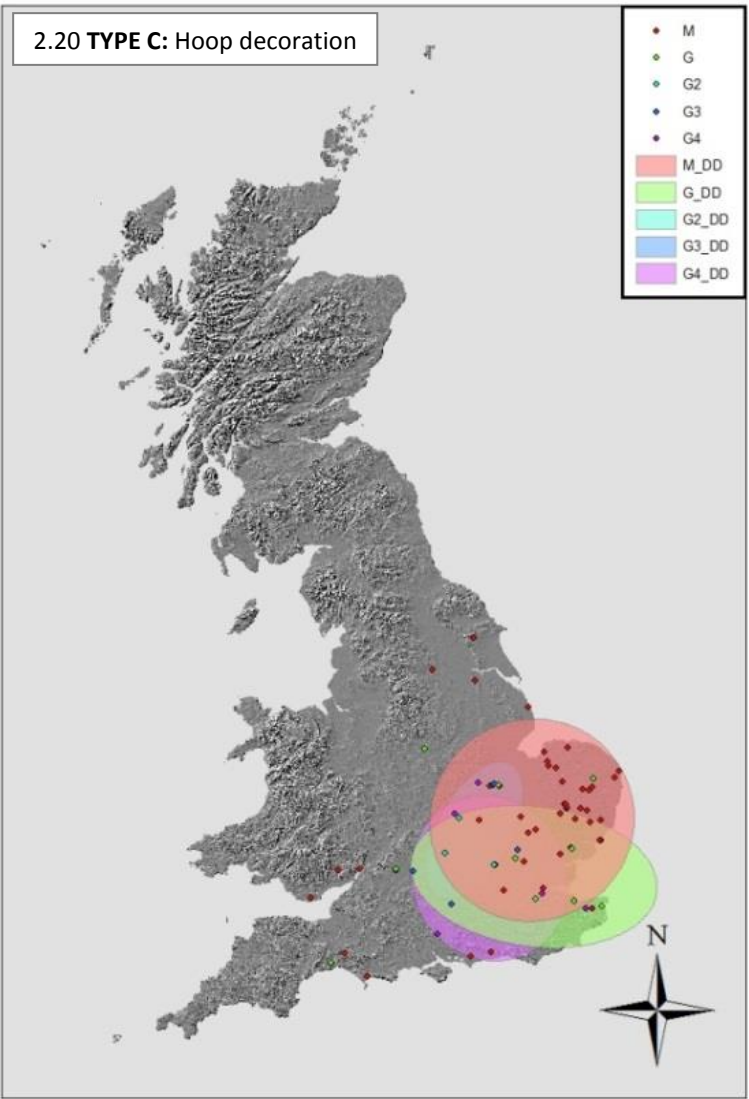
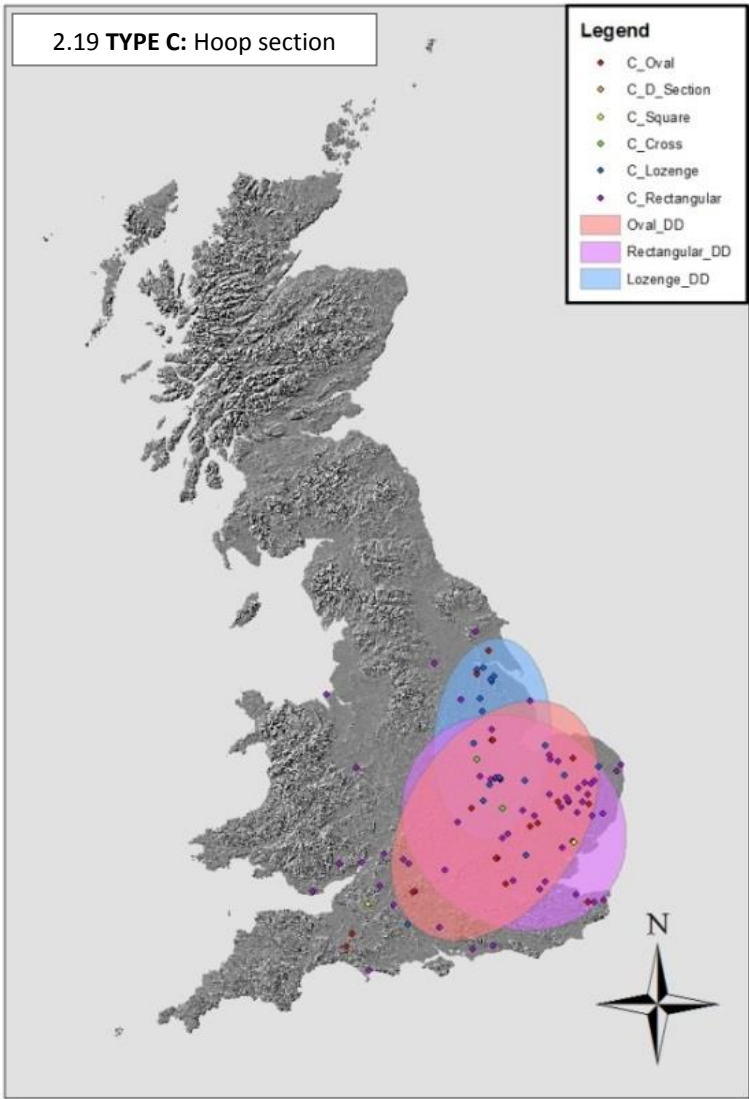


TYPE C



Appendix 2: Distributions of individual types

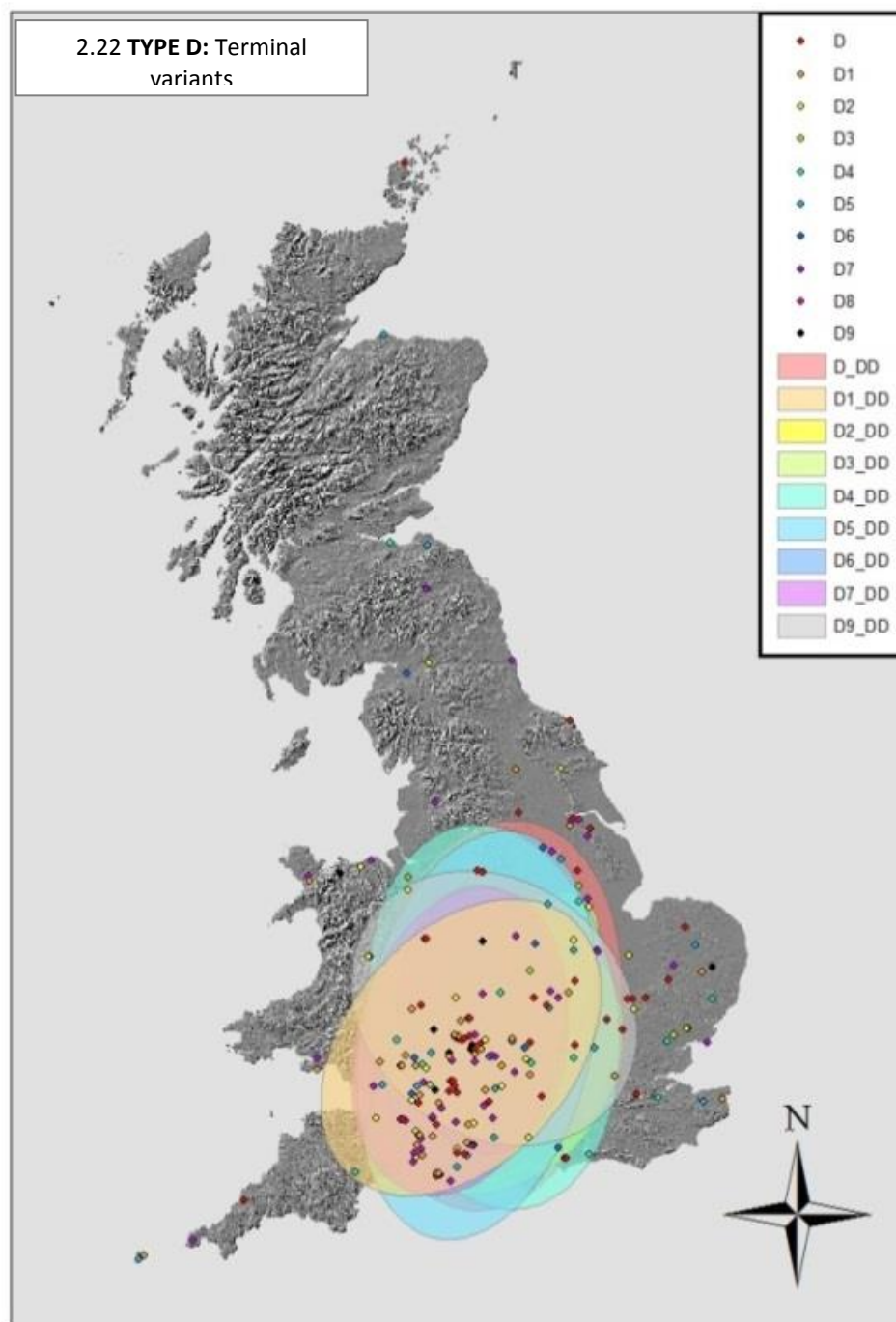


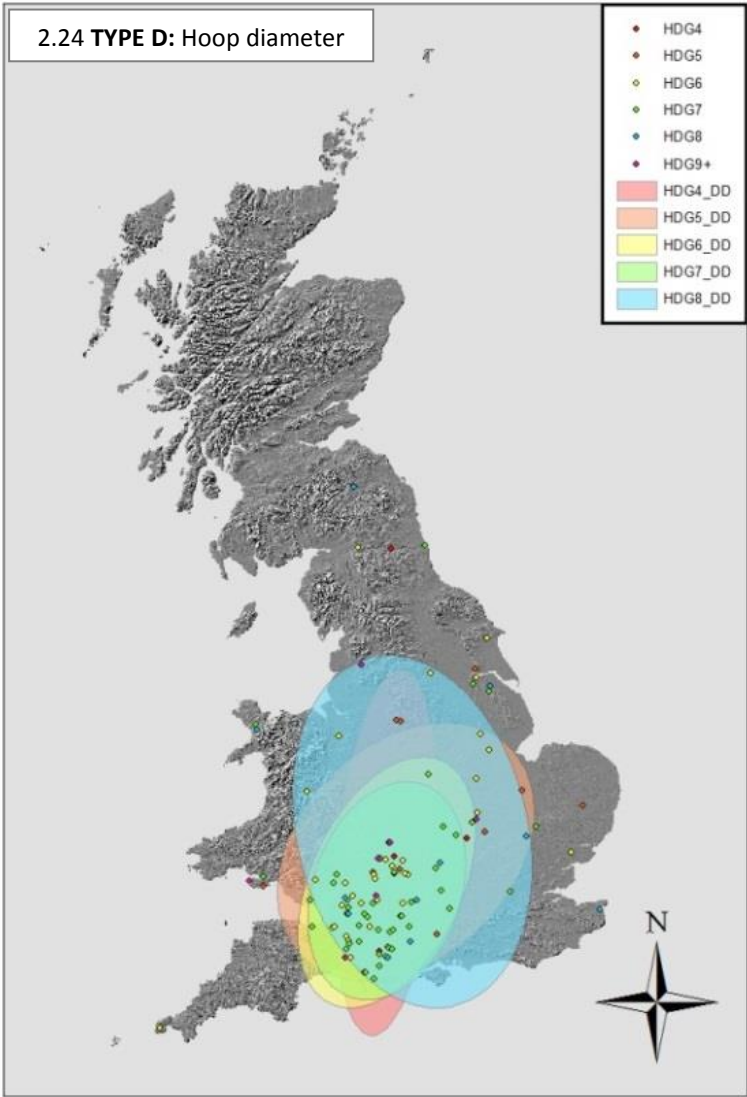
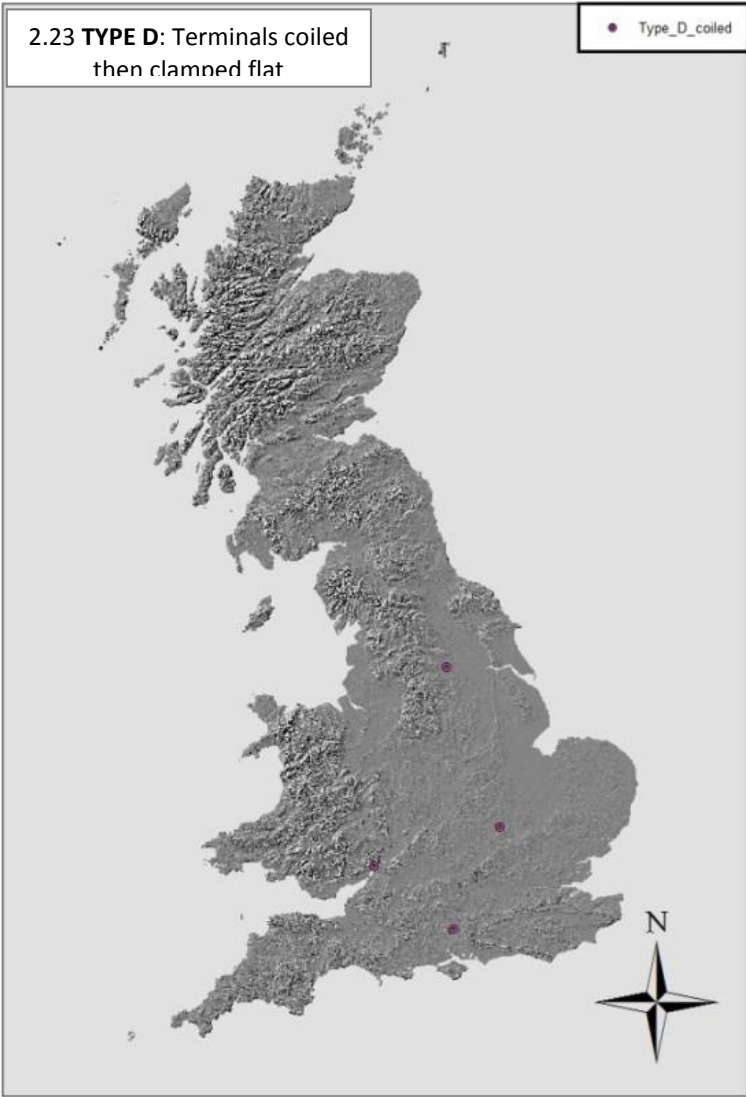


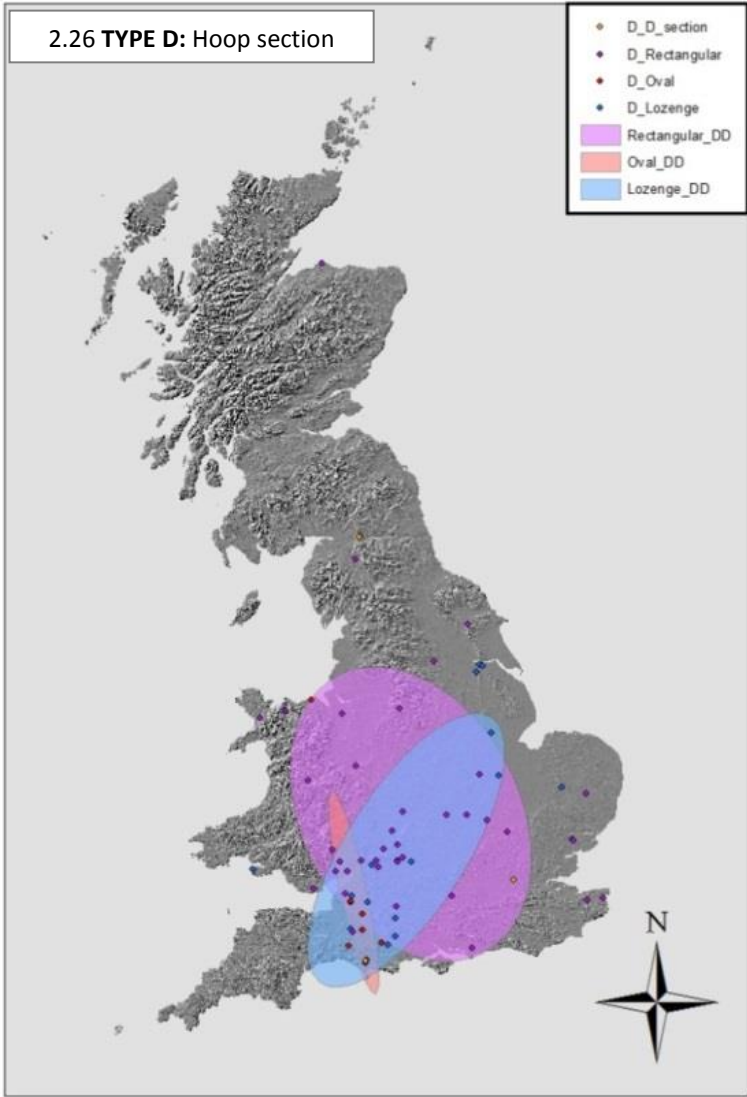
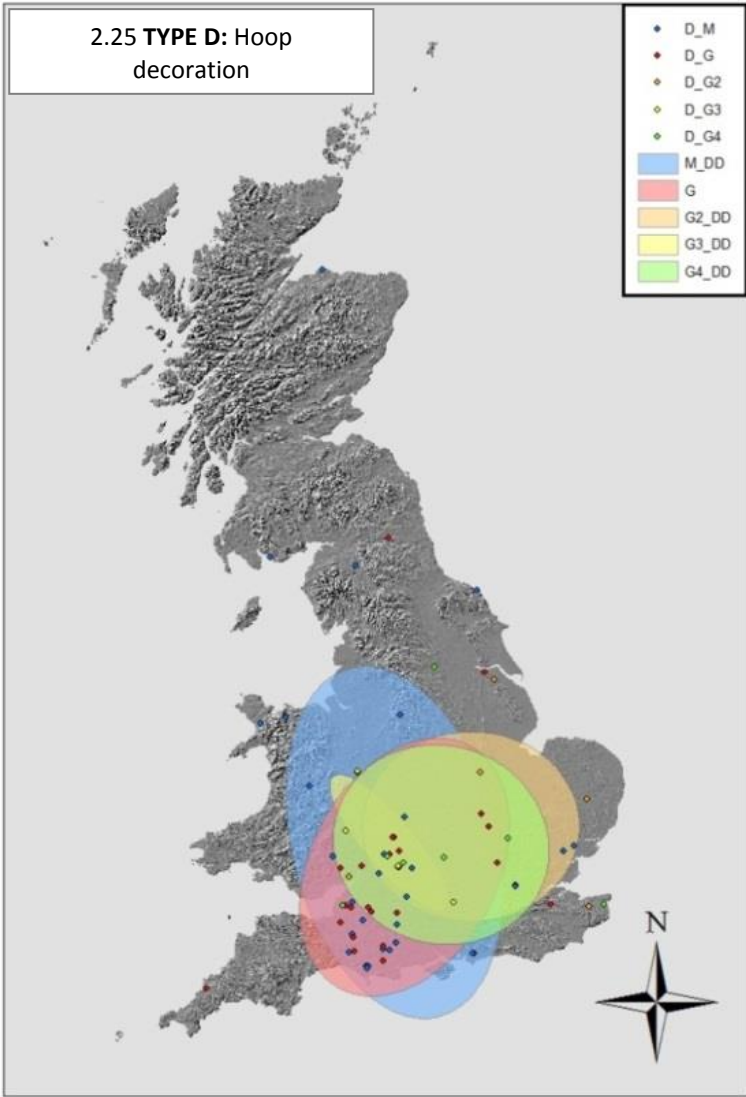
TYPE C/D

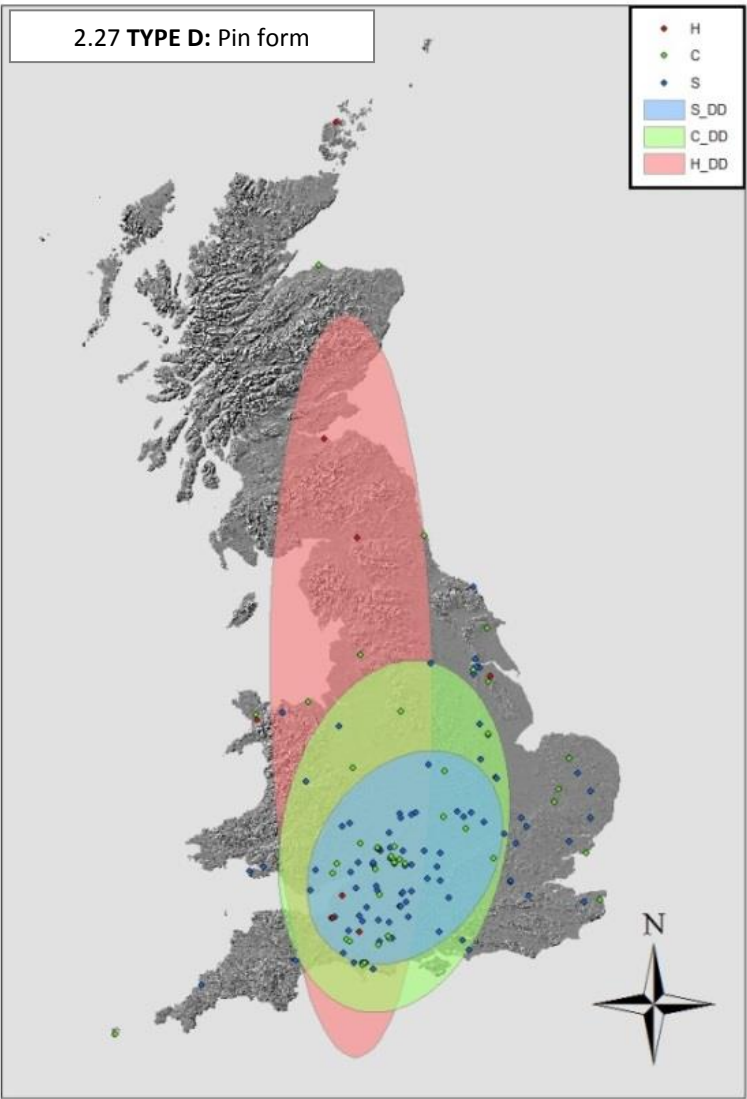


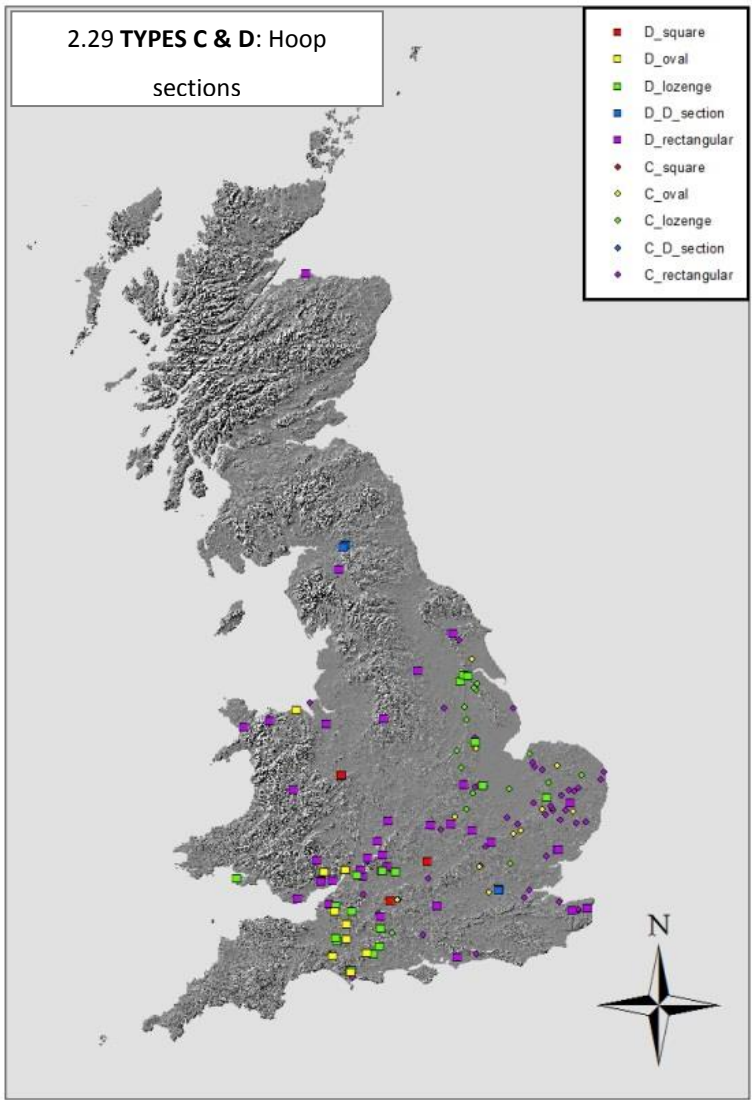
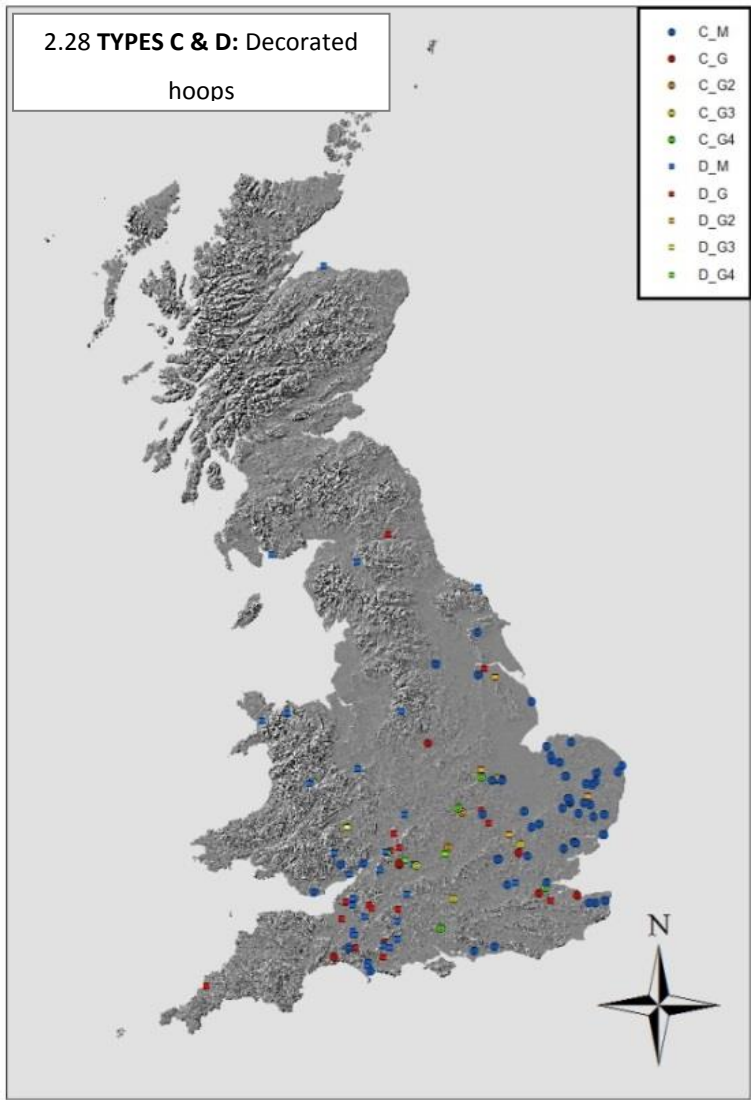
TYPE D



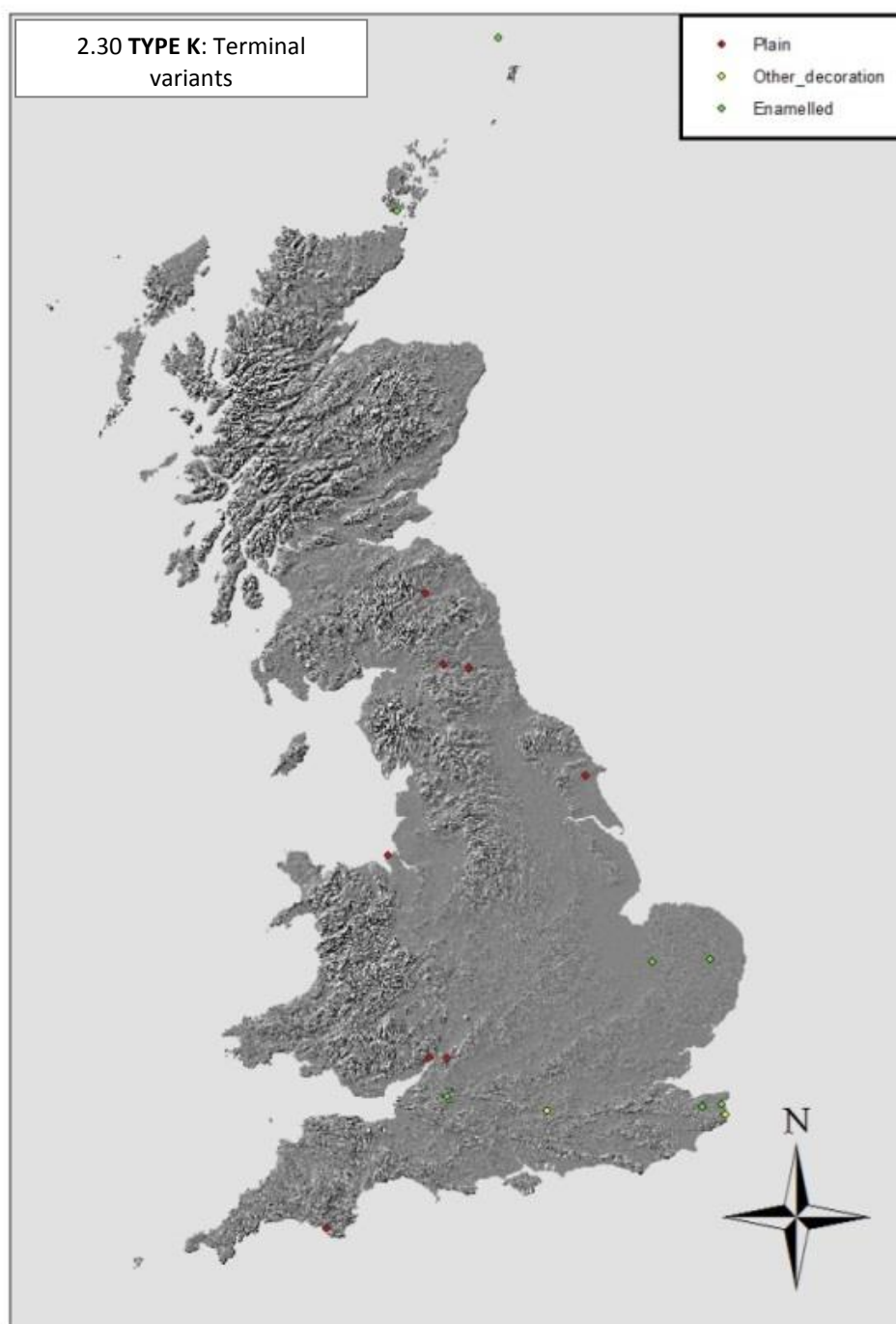




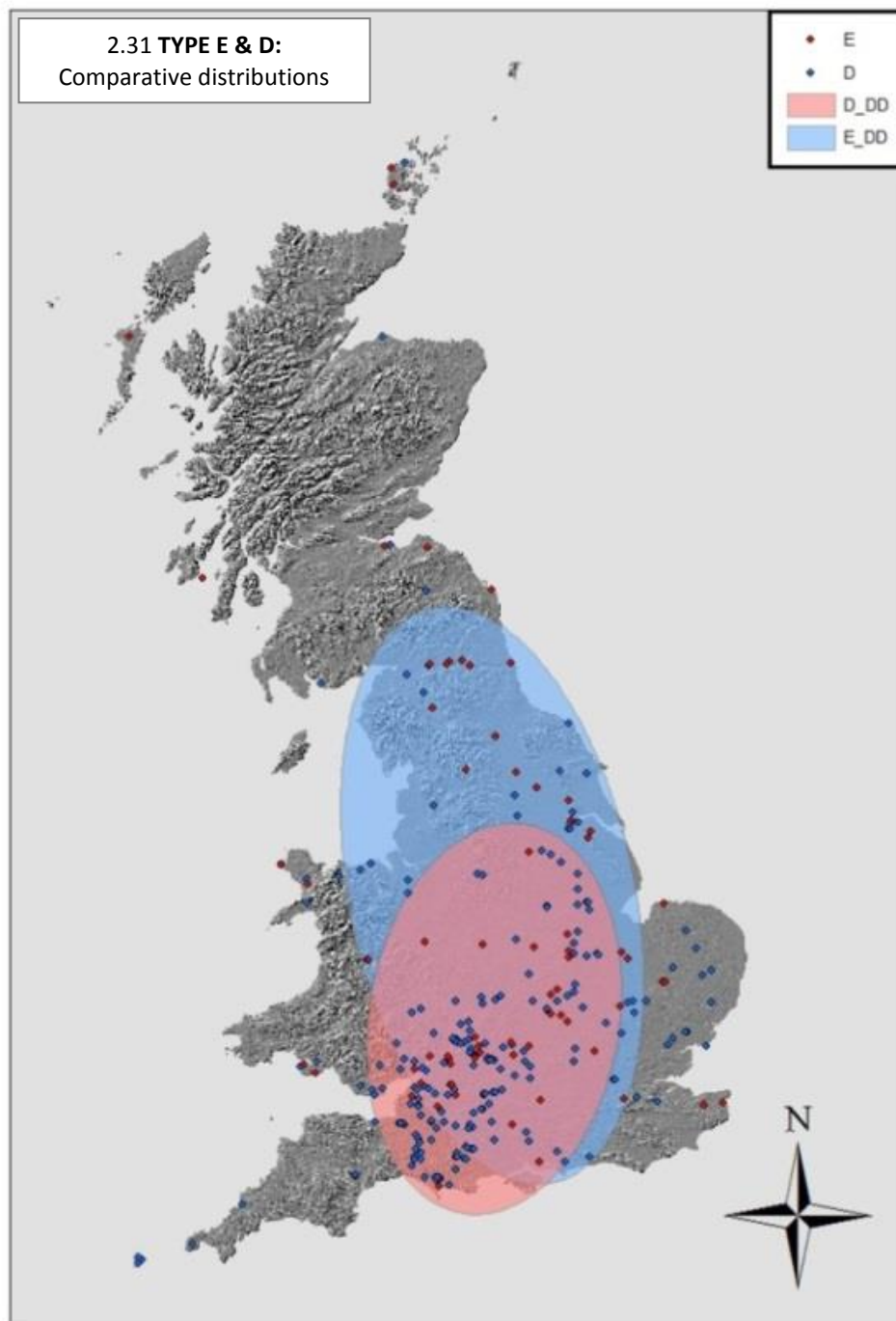


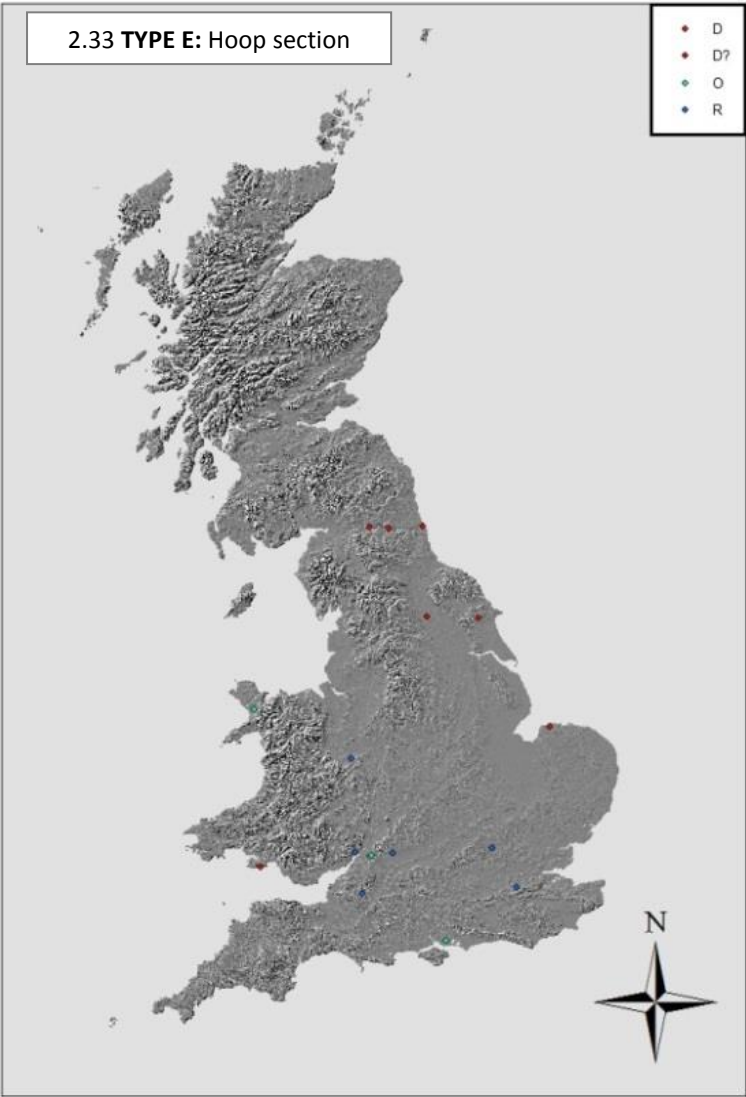
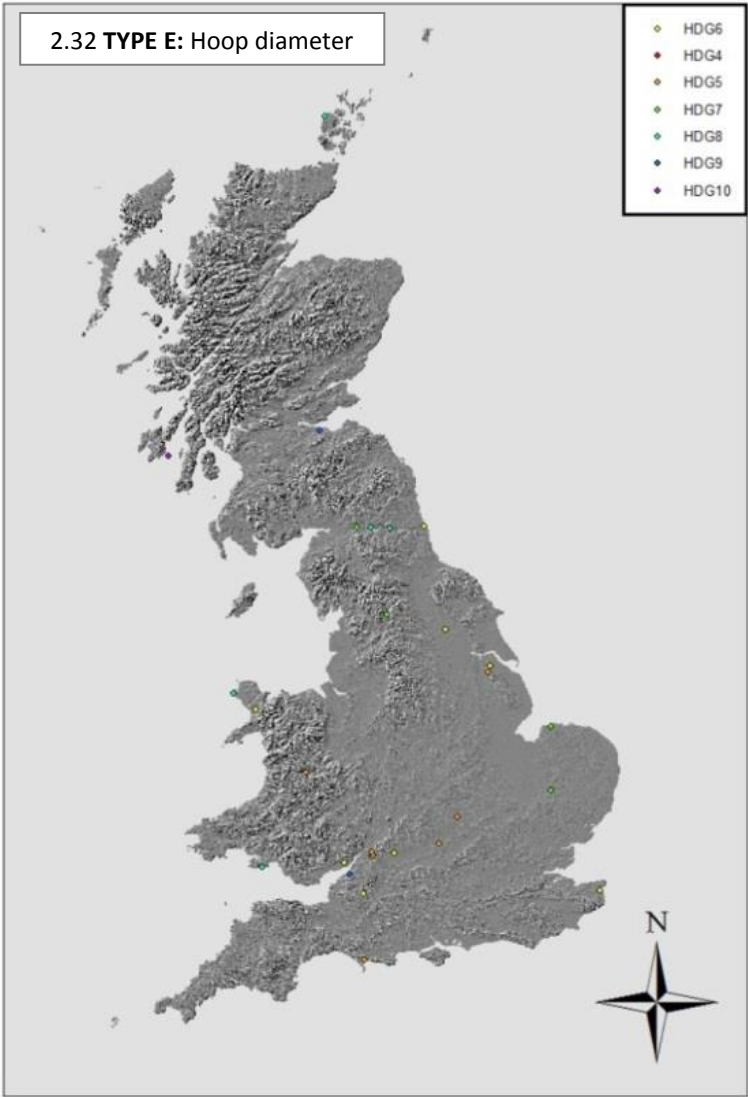


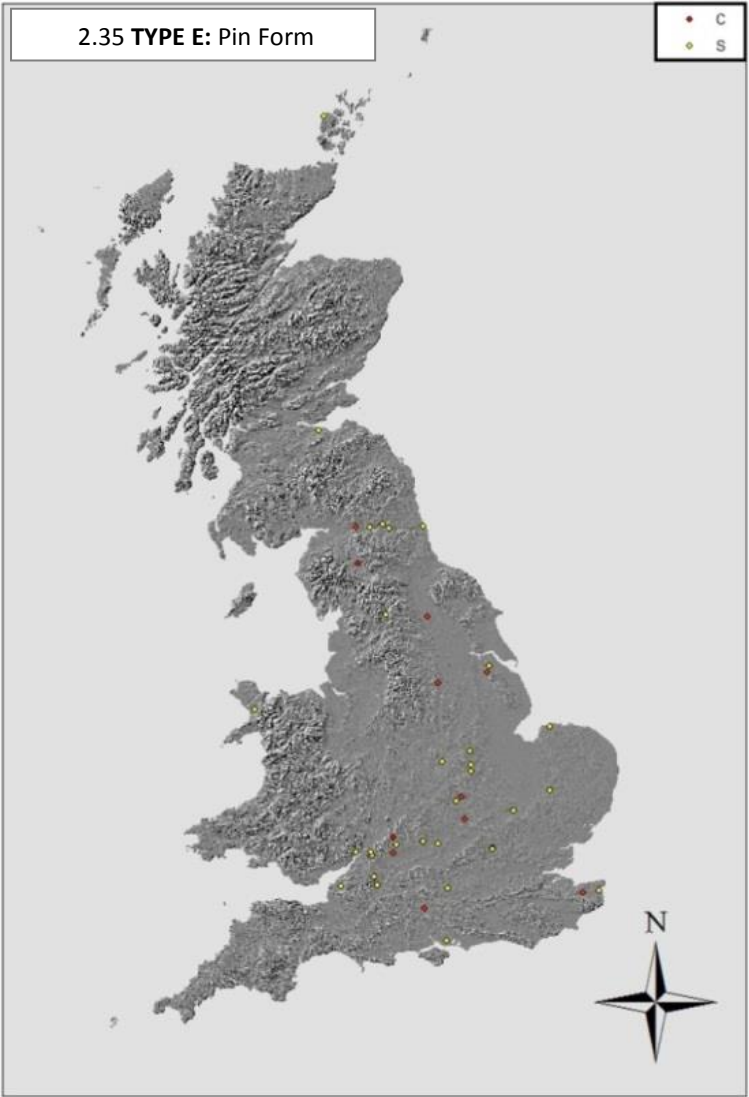
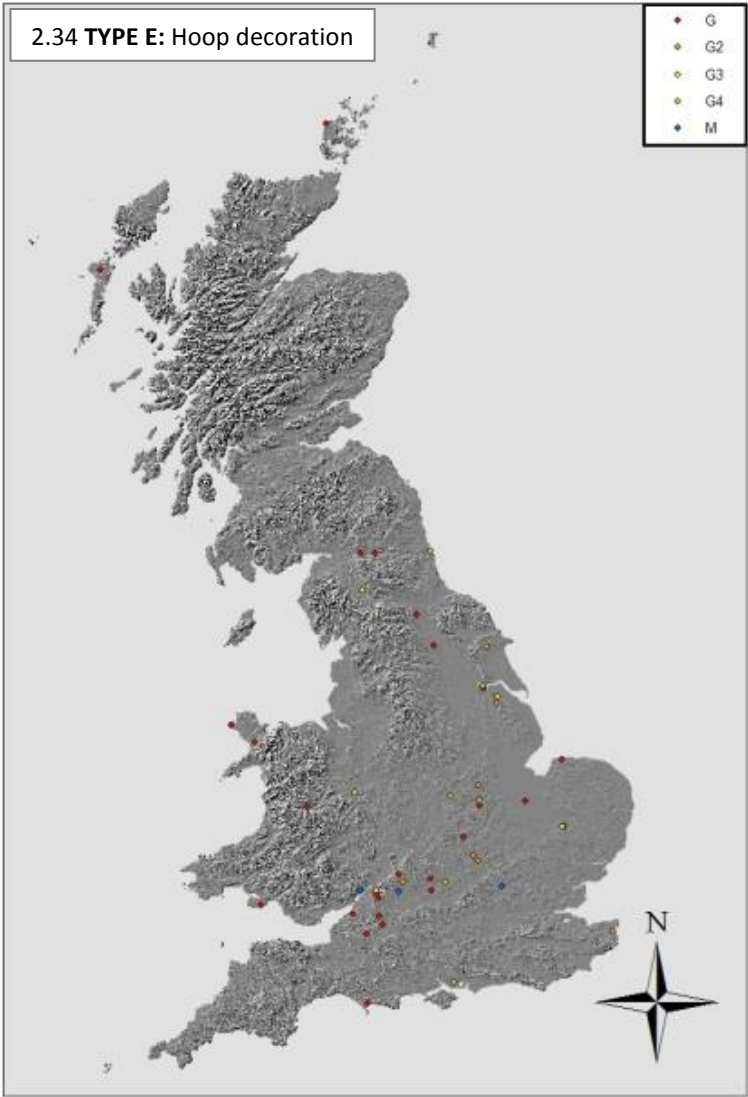
TYPE K

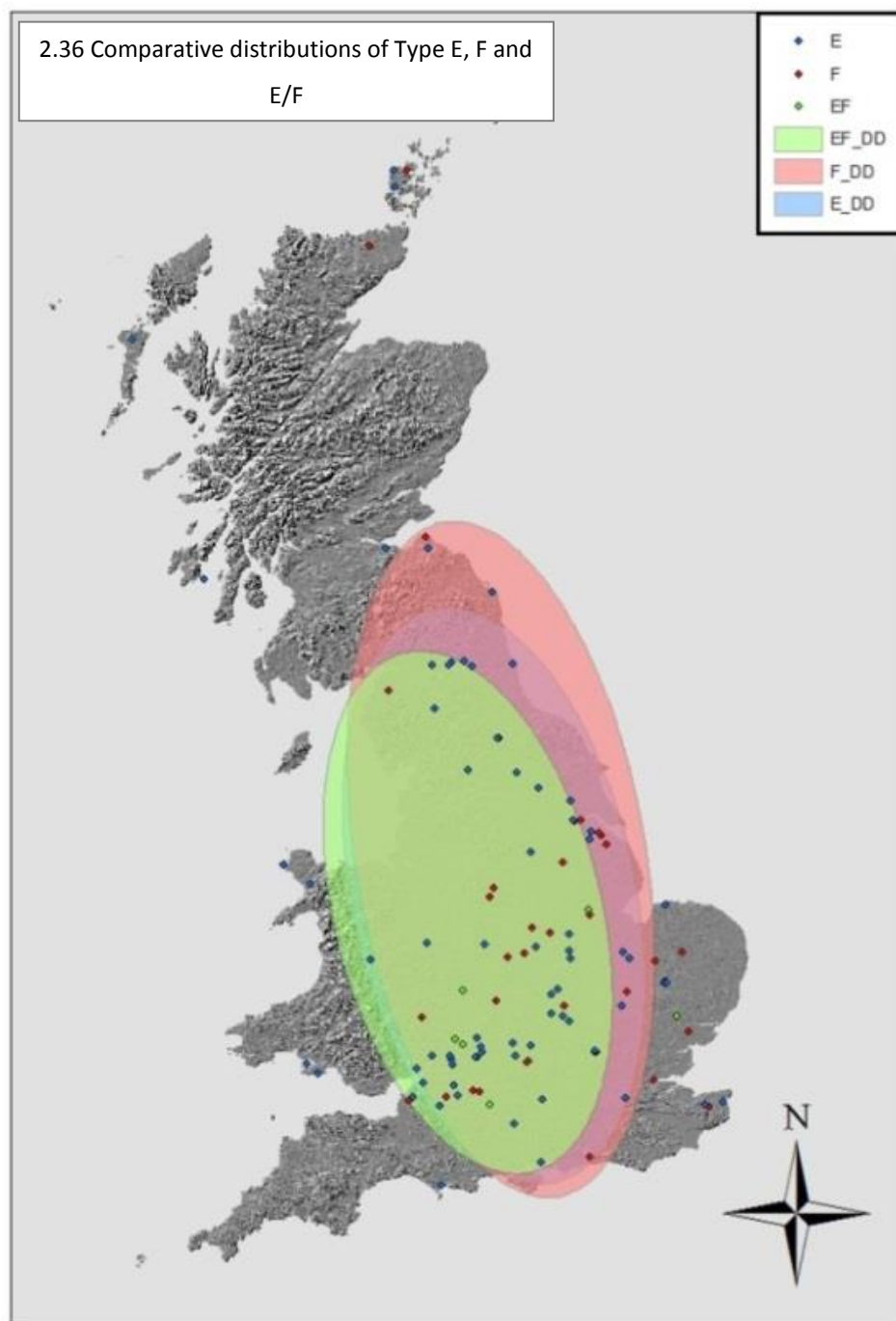


TYPE E

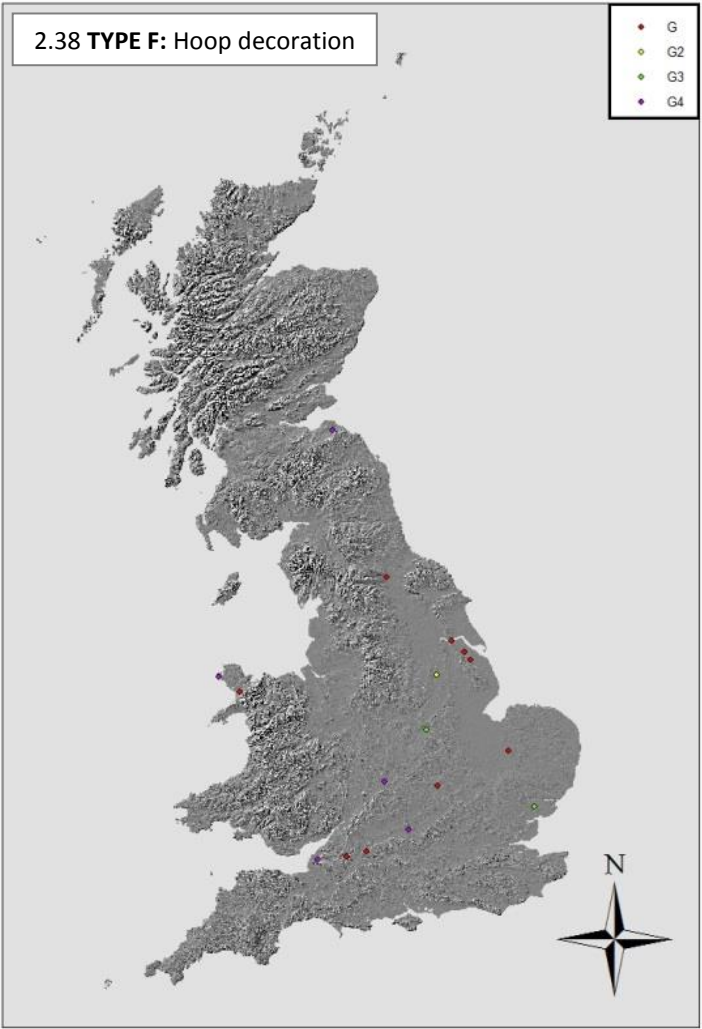
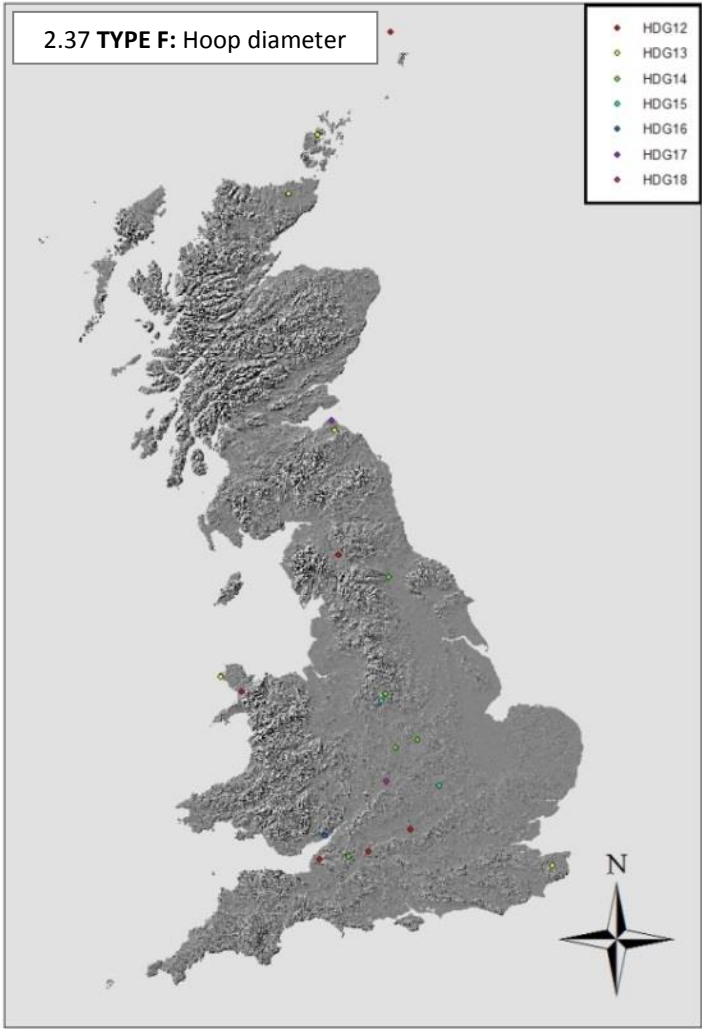


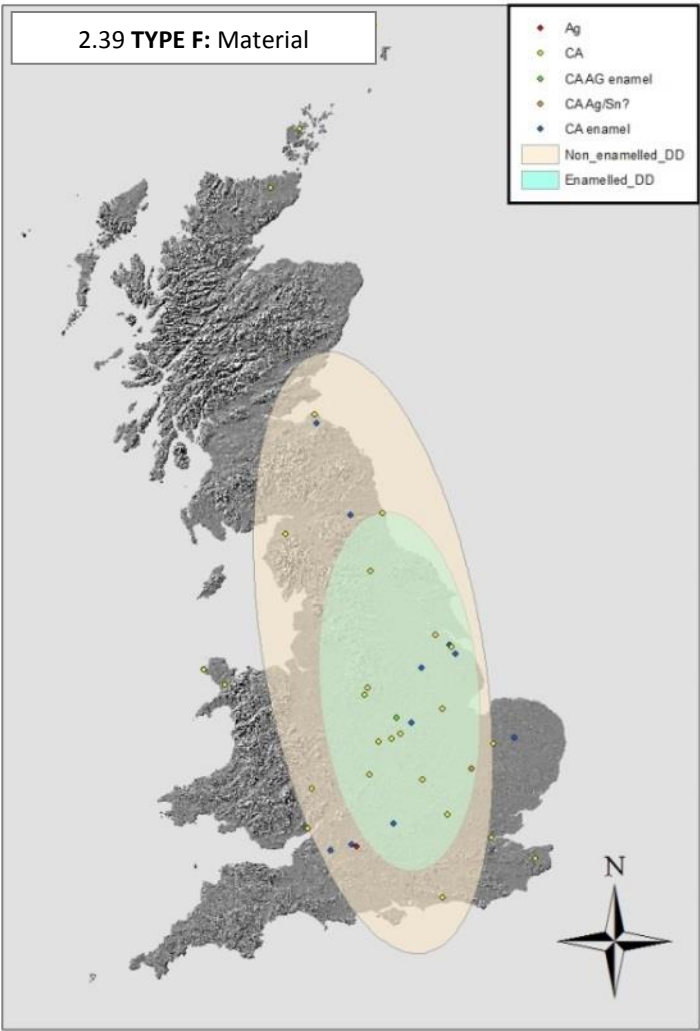




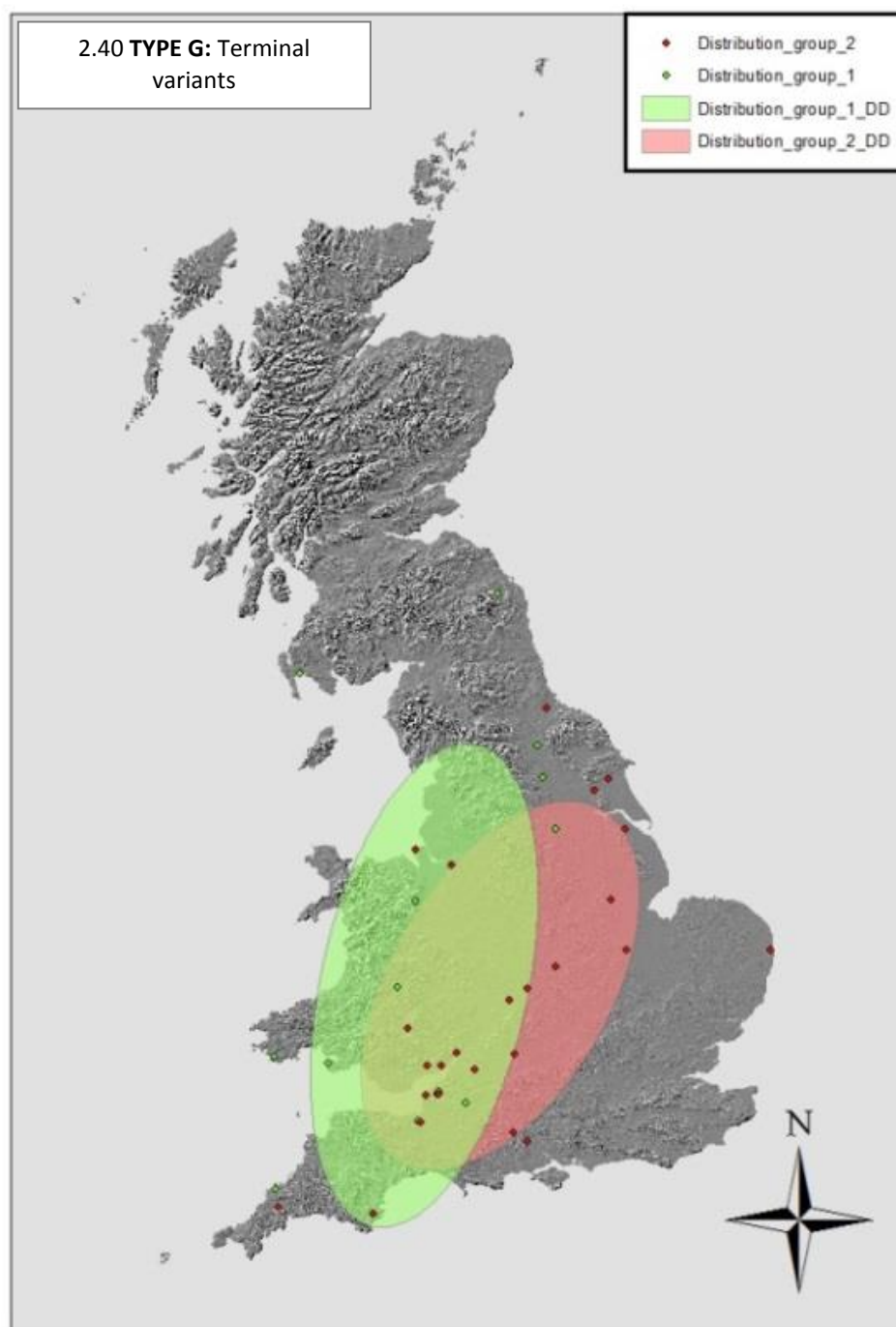


TYPE F

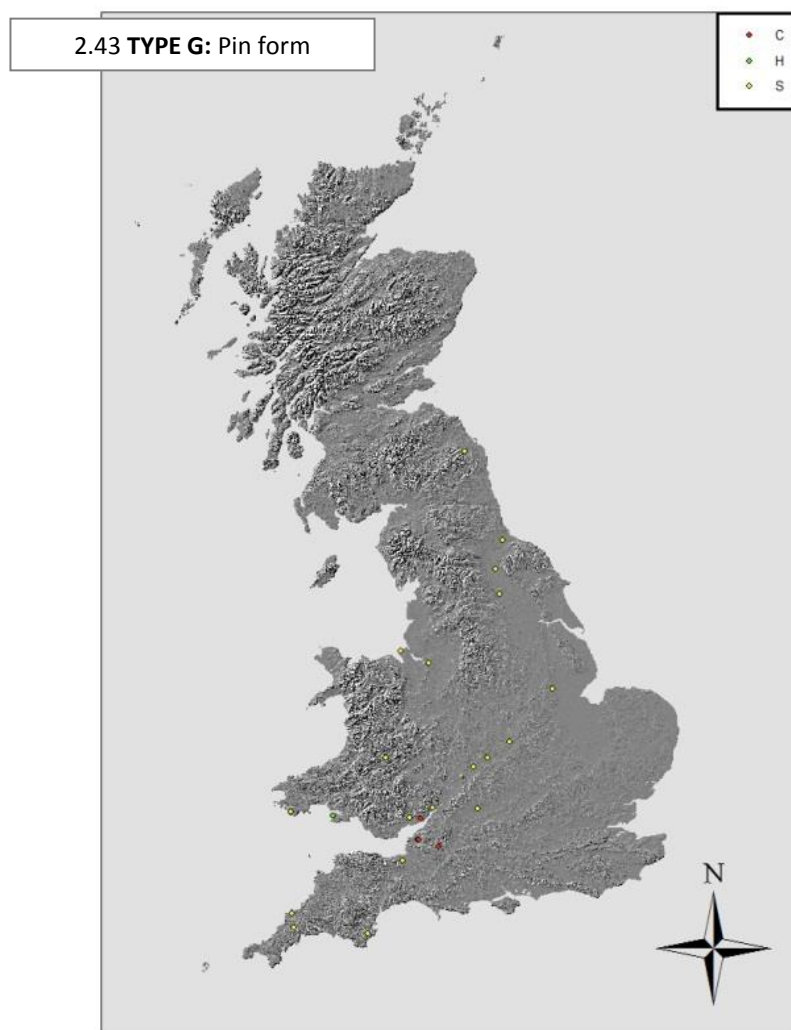




TYPE G

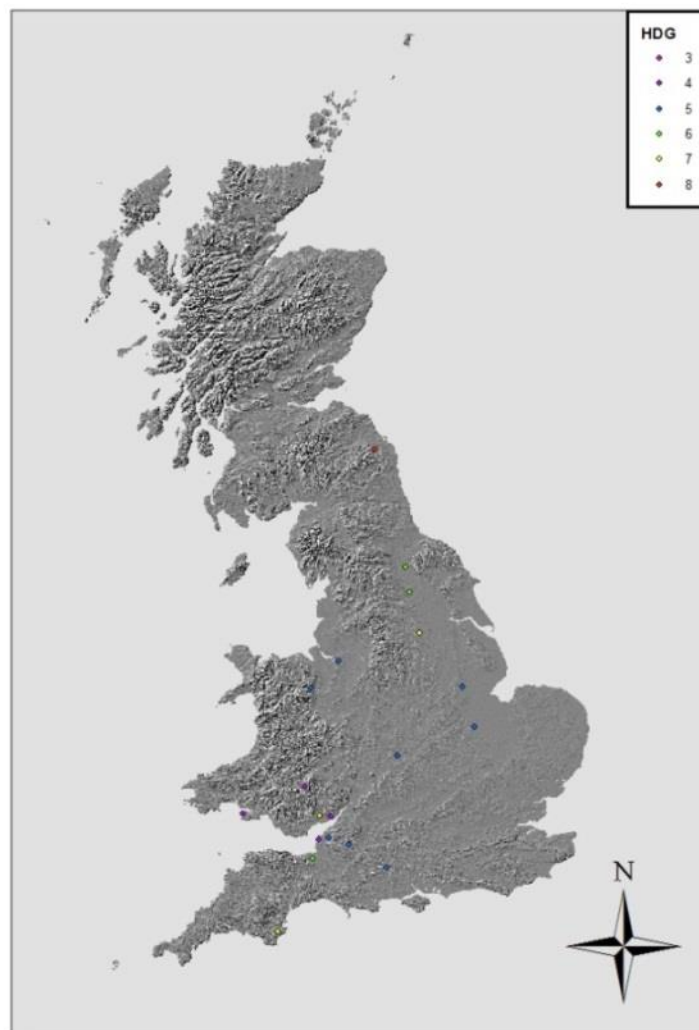


Appendix 2. Distribution of individual types

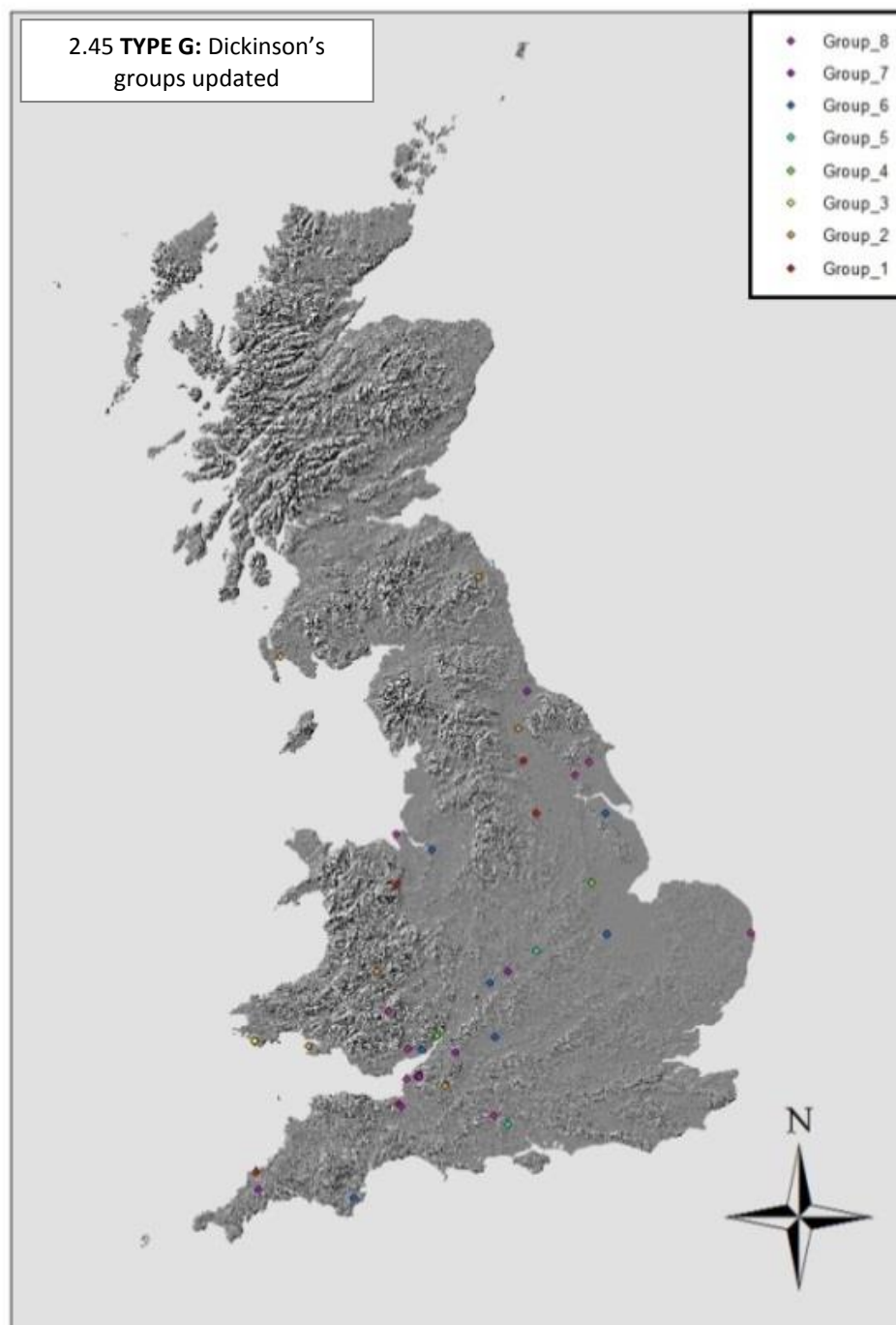


2.44 **TYPE G:** Hoop diameter

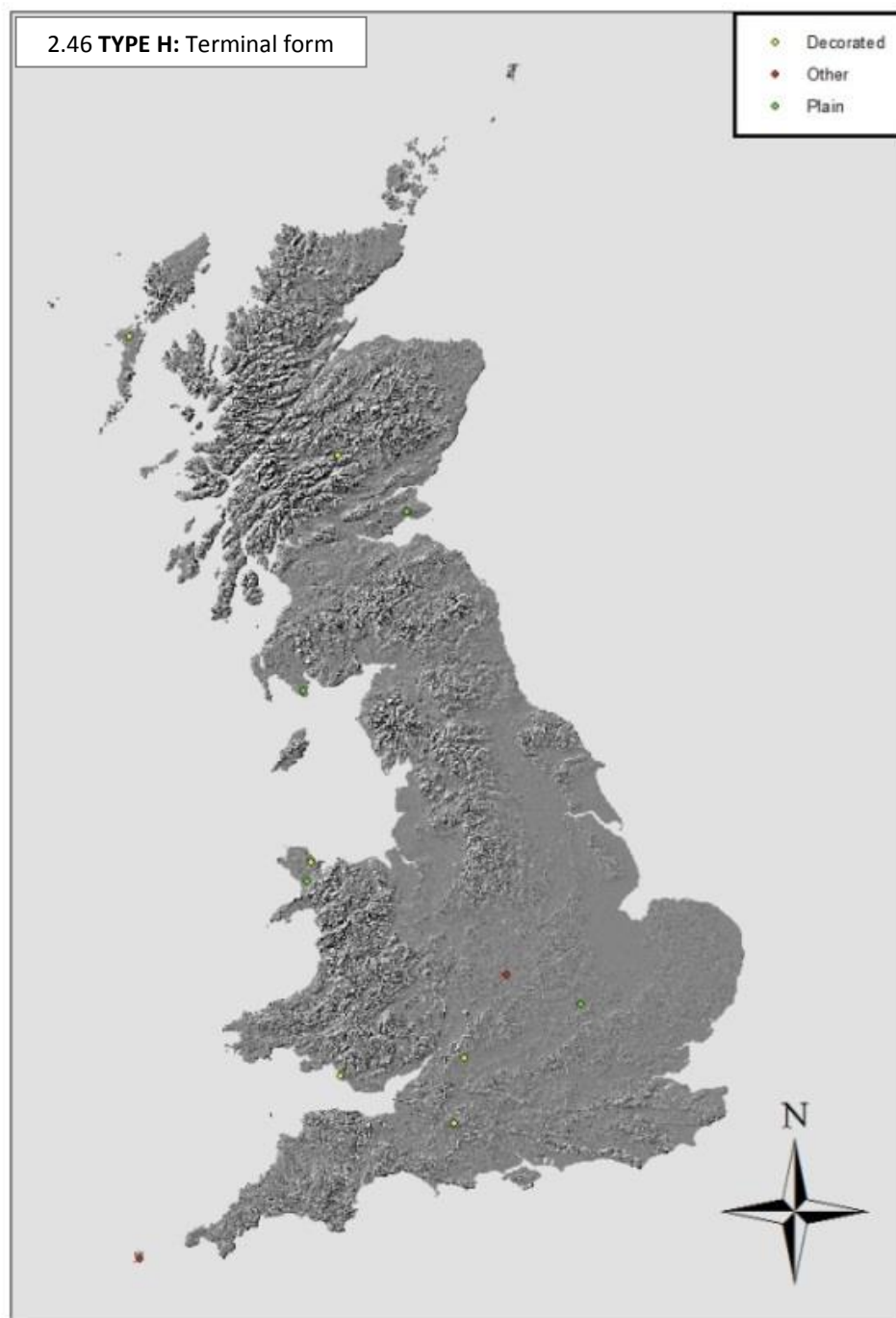
Appendix 2. Distribution of individual types



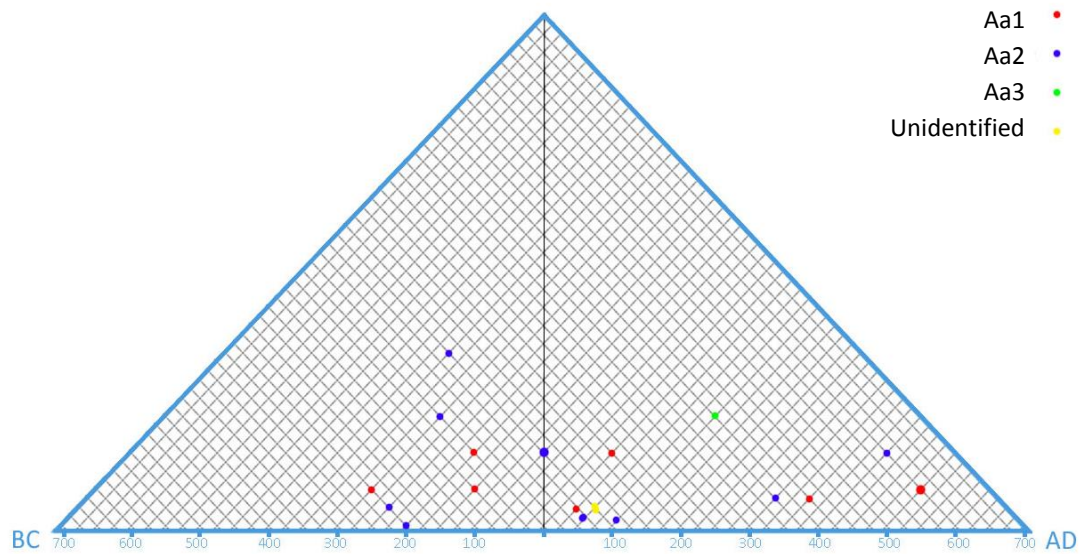
Appendix 2. Distribution of individual types



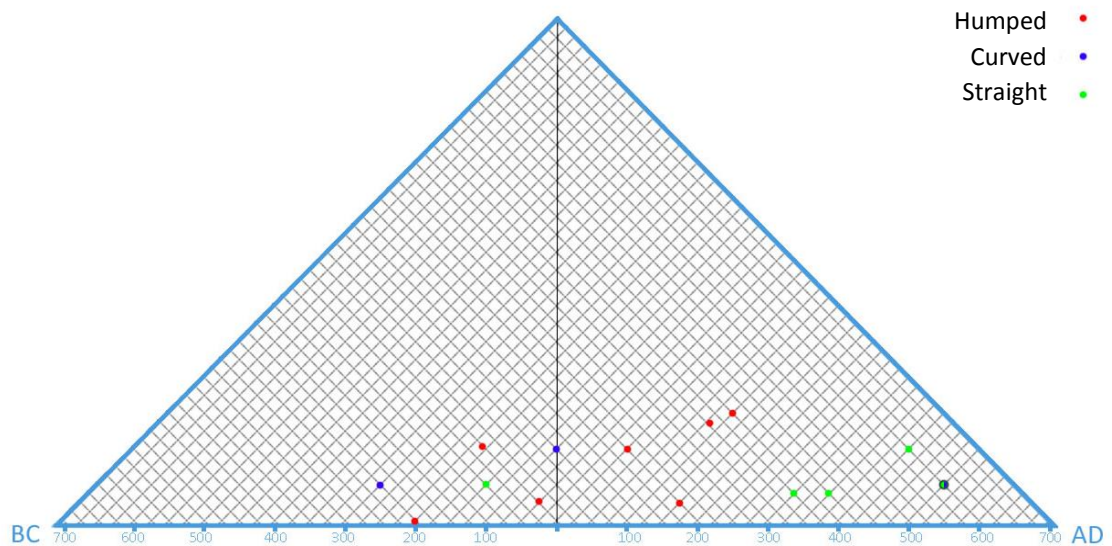
TYPE H



3.1 Type Aa

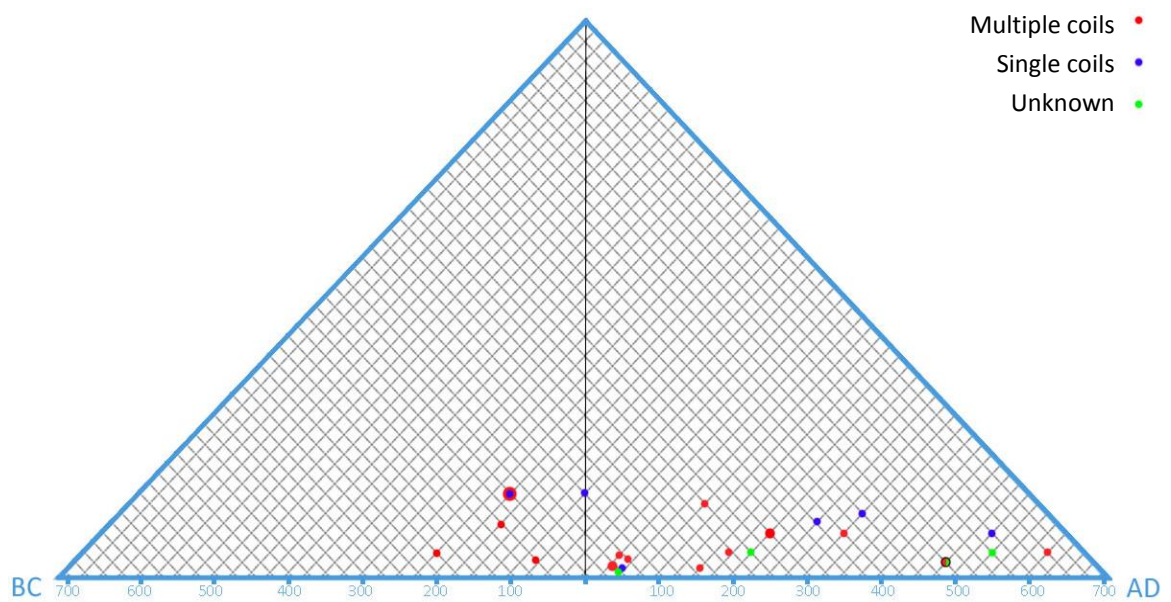


3.1.1. Terminal form



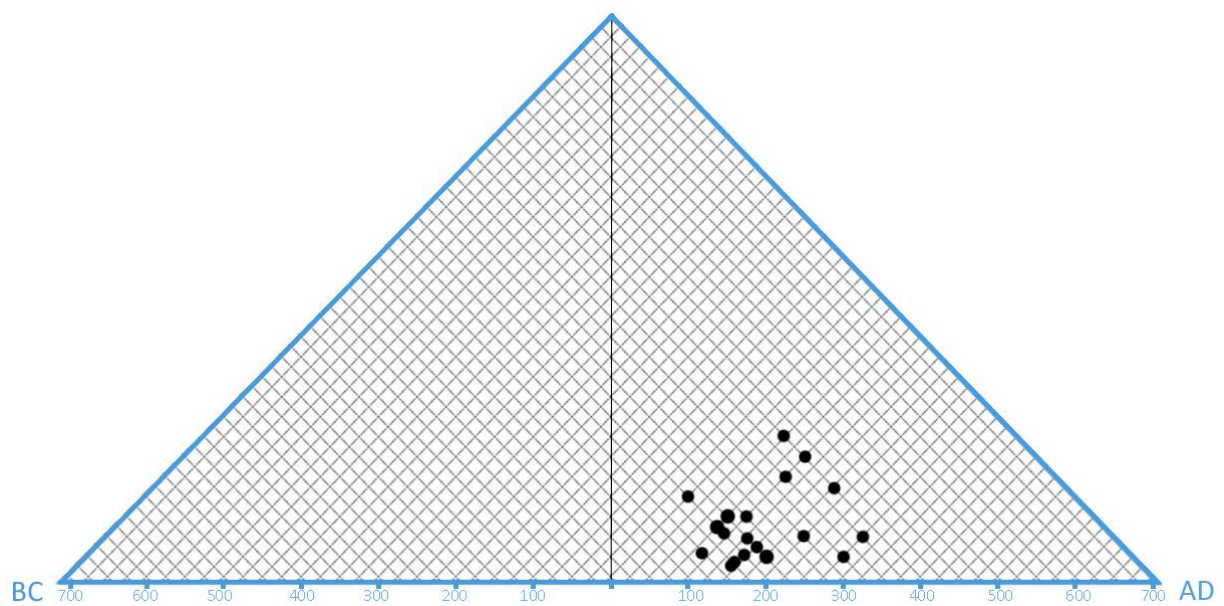
3.1.2 Pin form

3.2 Type B



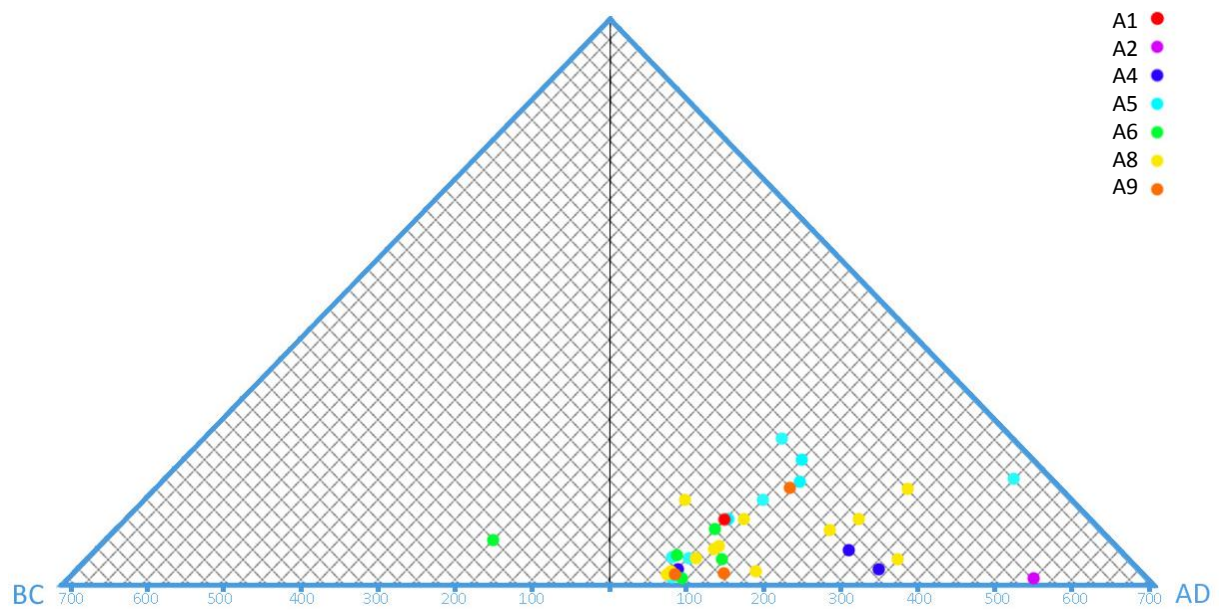
3.2.1 Terminal form

3.3 Type A

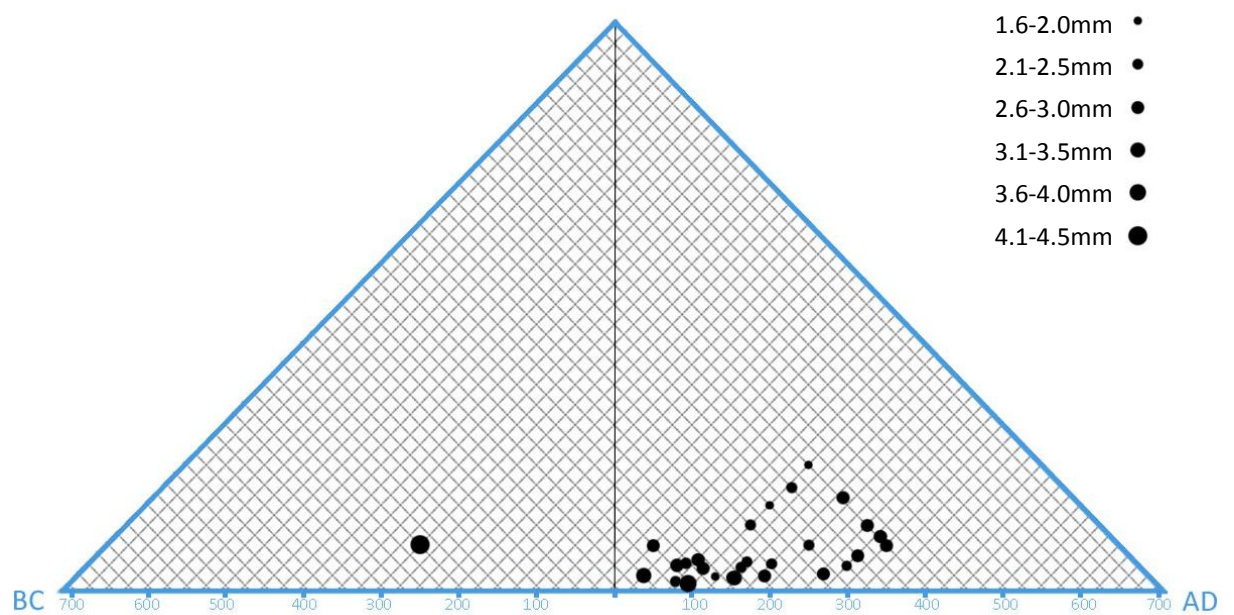


3.3.1 Type A3

Appendix 3. Chronology charts

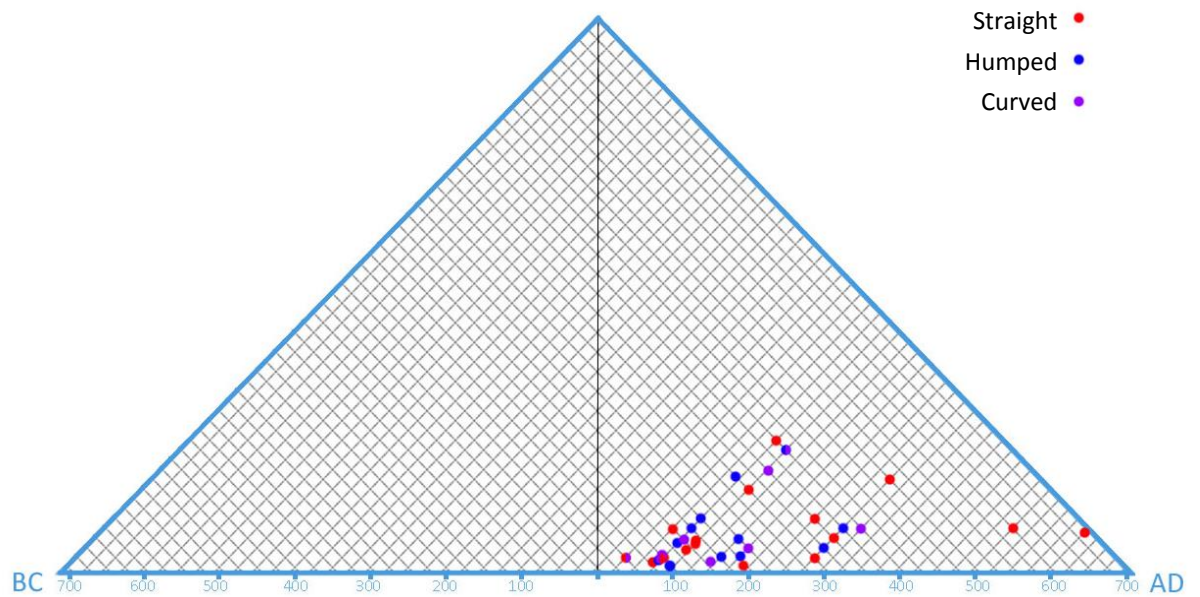


3.3.2 Other Type A terminal forms



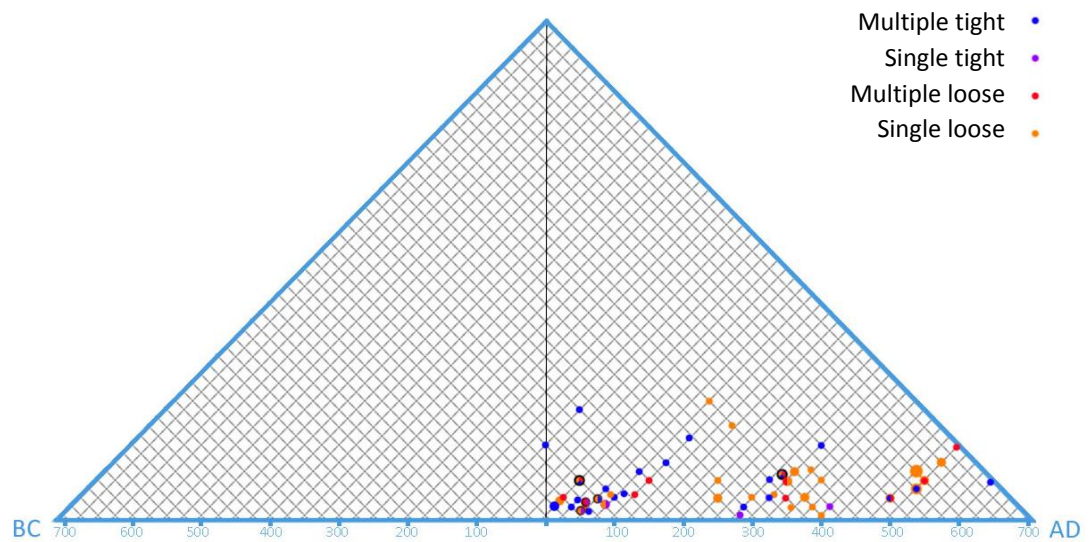
3.3.3 Hoop diameter

Appendix 3. Chronology charts



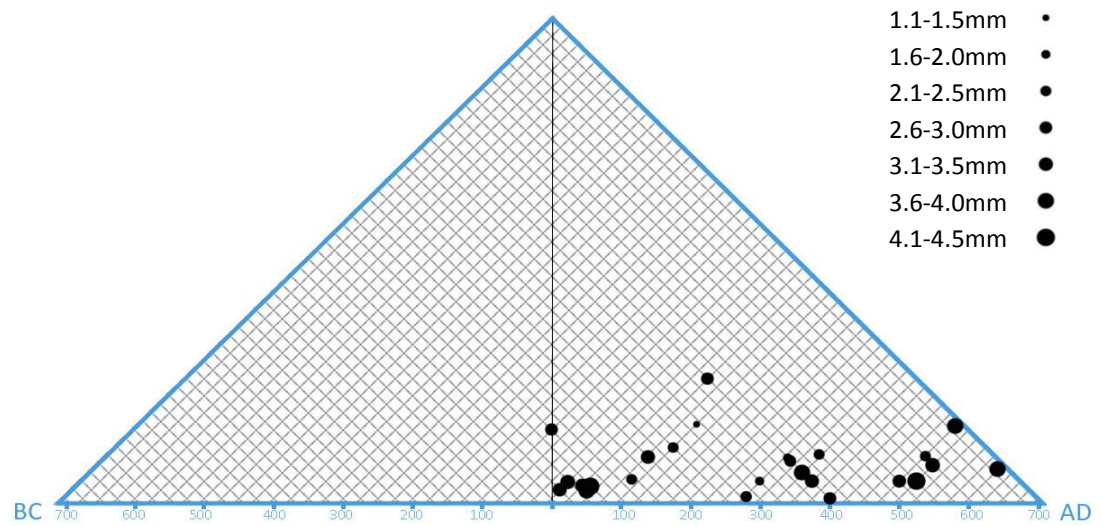
3.3.4 Pin form

3.4 Type C

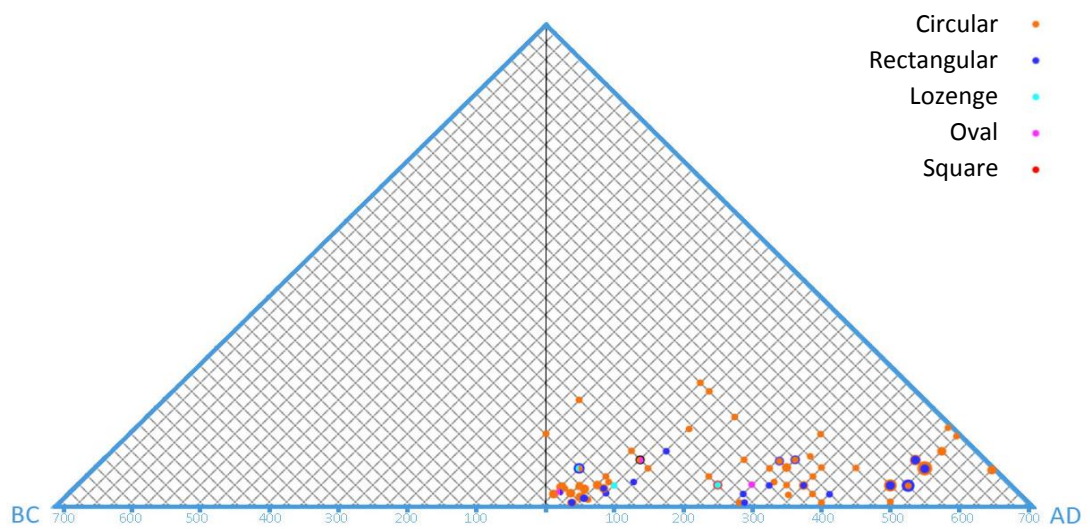


3.4.1 Terminal form

Appendix 3. Chronology charts

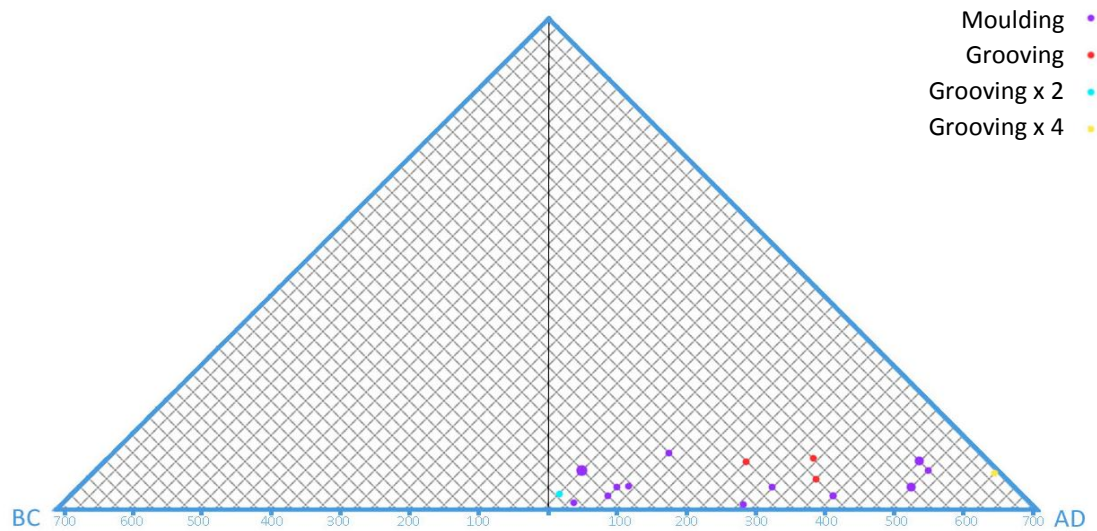


3.4.2 Hoop diameter



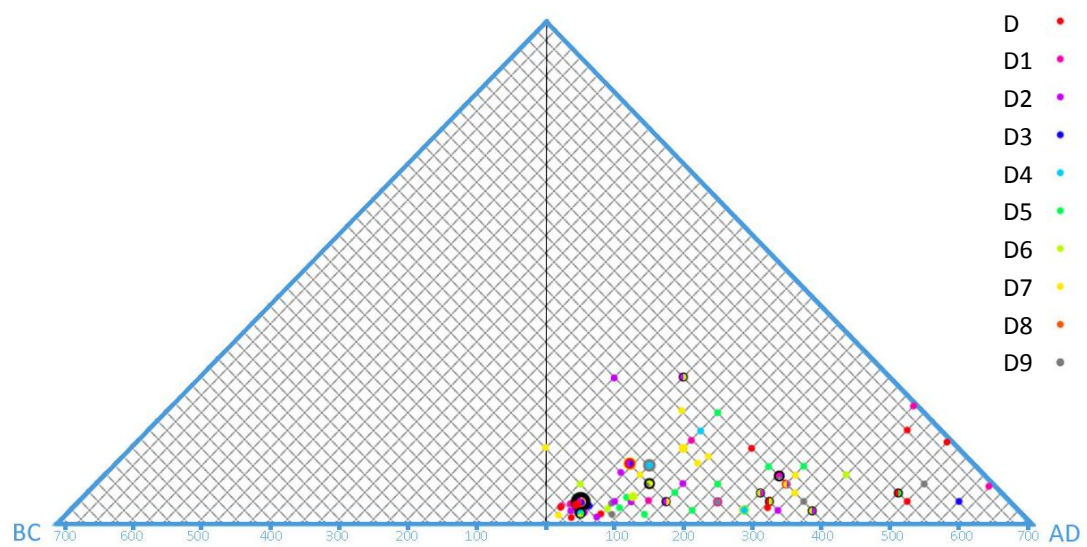
3.4.3 Hoop section

Appendix 3. Chronology charts



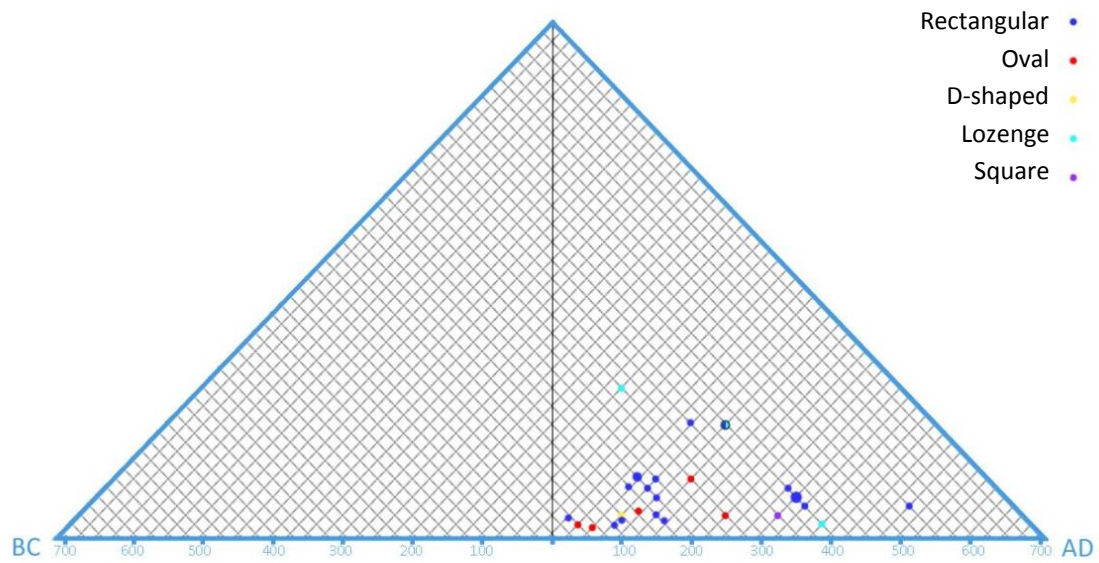
3.4.4 Hoop decoration

3.5 Type D

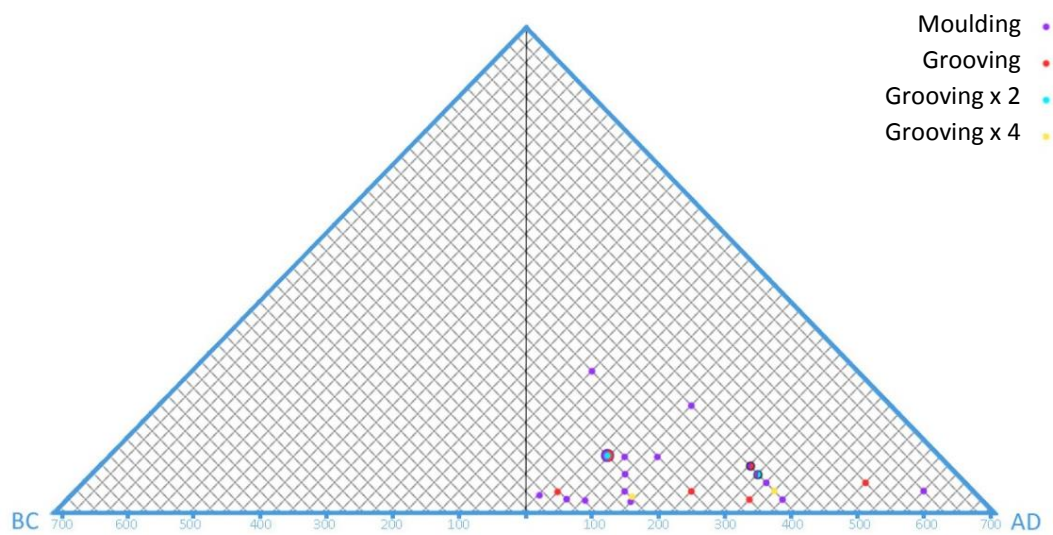


3.5.1 Terminal form

Appendix 3. Chronology charts

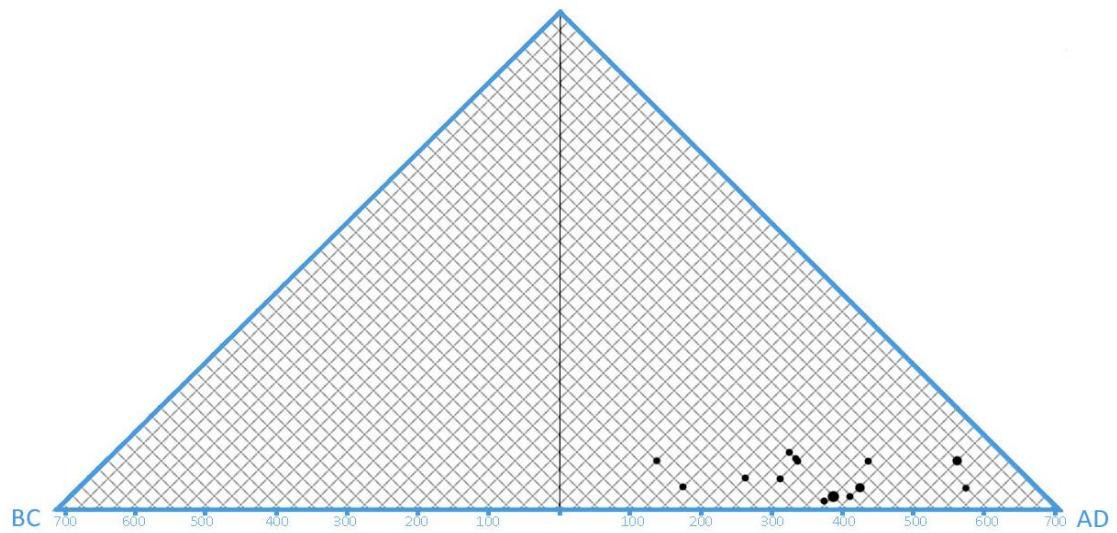


3.5.2 Hoop section

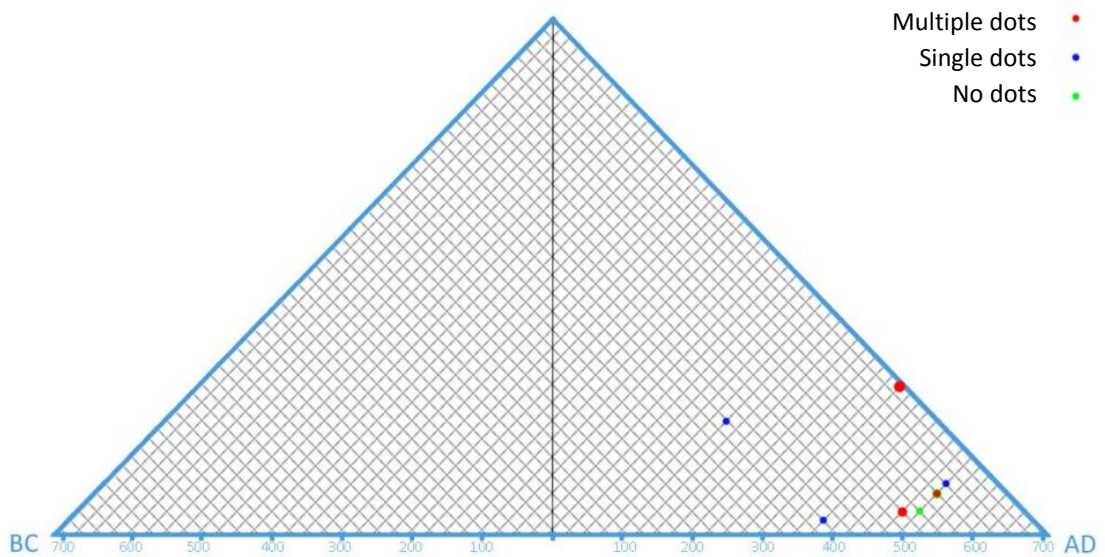


3.5.3 Hoop decoration

3.6 Type E



3.7 Type G



3.7 Terminal design

Appendix 4: Major sites that have produced more than five penannulars

Locality	Quantity
Cirencester	64
Wroxeter	63
Richborough	46
Dragonby	45
Colchester	44
South Cadbury	41
Traprain Law	41
Corbridge	39
Grandcourt Farm, Norfolk	36
Batheaston	32
Leicester	32
Silchester	31
Castleford	28
Hod Hill	27
Kirmington	27
South Shields	27
Colchester (Sheepen)	25
Newstead	25
Aldborough	22
York	22
Caernarfon	21
Kingscote	20
South Ferriby	19
Woodeaton	18
Verulamium	17
Greater London area	17
Caerwent	16
Canterbury	16
Chester	16
Nettleton	16
Caerleon	15
Owmby	15
Attermire Cave	14
Dorchester	14
Ham Hill	14
Lydney	14
Chesters	13
Frocester	13
Gloucester	13
Poole's Cavern	13
Charterhouse-on-Mendip	12
Maiden Castle	12
Sleaford	12

Thirst House Cave, nr Buxton	12
Bagendon	11
Brough-on-Humber	11
Camerton	11
Rudston	11
Usk	11
Kirkby Thore	10
Meare	10
Old Winteringham	10
Catterick	9
Ditches Hillfort	9
Ilchester	9
Morningthorpe	9
Winterton	9
Birdoswald	8
Glastonbury	8
Great Chesterford	8
Icklingham	8
Lincoln	8
Piddington, Northamptonshire	8
Victoria and Albert Caves	8
Wakerley	8
Wall, Staffordshire	8
Abingdon	7
Beckford, Worcestershire	7
Cadbury Congresbury	7
Catsgore	7
Chichester	7
Derby	7
Dowkerbottom Cave	7
Easton Maudit Villa	7
Hacheston	7
Langton Villa, Malton	7
Piercebridge	7
Thistleton	7
Vindolanda	7
Welton Le Wold, Lincolnshire	7
Atworth Roman Villa	6
Baldock	6
Cold Kitchen Hill	6
Duston	6
Fairford	6
Garton Slack	6
Highdown	6

Appendix 4: Major sites that have produced more than five penannulars

Minchin Hole, Glamorgan	6
West Hill, Uley	6
West Stow	6
Whitton, Norfolk	6
Winchester	6
Woodcock Hall, Norfolk	6
York area	6
All Cannings Cross	5
Barnsley Park	5
Caistor St. Edmund	5
Canterbury, Longmarket	5
Carlisle Castle	5
Ixworth	5
King Harry Lane, Verulamium	5
Kingsholm	5
Longthorpe, Cambridgeshire	5
Meols	5
Mucking	5
Nassington	5
Odell	5
Orton Longueville/Orton Meadows	5
Prestatyn	5
Sheffield/Rotherham area	5
Stanwick	5
Thetford, Fison Way	5
Waddon Hill	5
Wilcote, Oxfordshire	5

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