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Britons abroad : the mobility of Britons and the circulation of British-made objects in the Roman Empire

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Citation

Ivleva, T. A. (2012, November 20). *Britons abroad : the mobility of Britons and the circulation of British-made objects in the Roman Empire*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/20136>

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Issue Date: 2012-11-20

5 – British-made objects as indicators of the presence of migrants from Britain

This chapter aims to establish a method that can be used to find migrants from Britain abroad through the means of material culture. Particular British-made objects are the focus of the present chapter, namely British-made brooches, though other British objects reported from various sites in the Empire will also be covered.

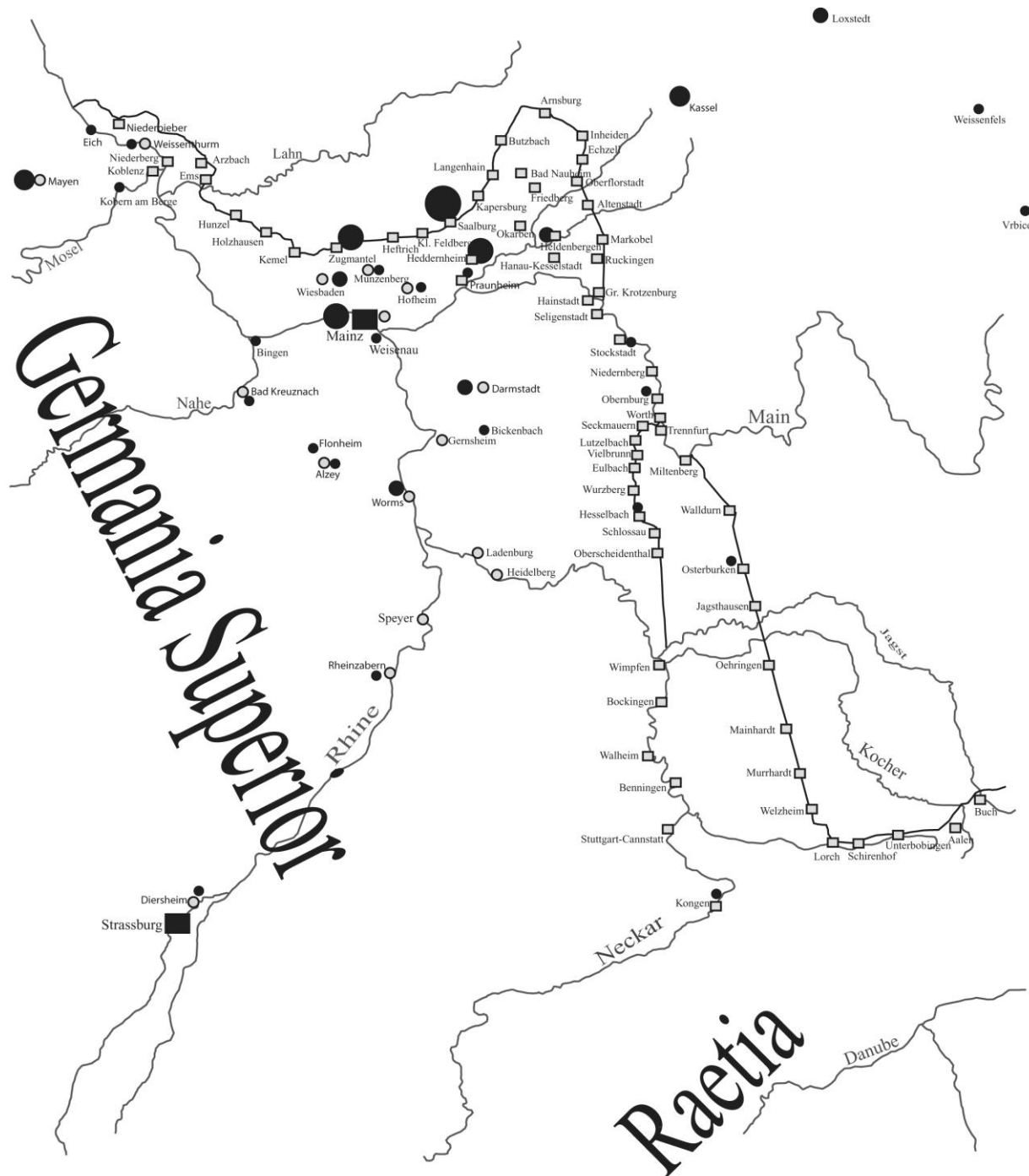
The data consists of 242 brooches found on 102 sites across the Empire; the provenance of 20 brooches was recorded as unknown. The initial dataset was compiled by F. Morris from the University of Oxford; it comprises 179 brooches from 77 sites across Europe (Morris 2010, 180-190, Appendix 6). The author of this thesis has added 63 brooches to his dataset and has modified some of Morris' entries.

It must be stated at the outset that the objects which survive in the archaeological record differ in their numbers from those circulating in antiquity (Swift 2000, 7). Some objects were more prone to being discarded, others were valued for specific reasons and kept in circulation for longer periods. The ways excavations, and assemblages from them, have been recorded is another factor which comes into play in terms of the availability of data. I have, to some extent, experienced similar frustrations and problems with data recovery as Swift (2000, 7) in her research, who notes “a split between the types of data accessed for the various countries”. There is a bias in my research toward the information collected from the Netherlands (*Germania Inferior*) for the reason that the research was conducted in a Dutch university. Since the search for Britons abroad considers two different aspects: British military units and brooches, there were time constraints on the data collection. Therefore museum collections were not included. While in most of the cases I have used published archaeological reports to gather data, I was also helped by some colleagues, who granted me access to the unpublished data from their excavations.

This chapter is structured around six major sections. Each section is concerned with the distribution of British-made brooches in a particular Roman province. In sections five and six three or more Roman provinces are covered, since the dataset recorded was relatively small in comparison with other regions.

5.1. British brooches in *Germania Superior*

A total of 77 British-made brooches is reported as having been found on various sites in the Roman province *Germania Superior*, which now comprises three countries: the western part of Switzerland, the Alsace and Jura regions of France and southwest Germany (fig. 5.1). In this section only sites in southwest Germany are covered (the brooches reported from Switzerland and the French regions of Alsace and Jura will be discussed in the *Gallia Belgica* and *Raetia* sections). This decision was influenced by contemporary German scholarship, which discusses only the areas of *Germania Superior* situated in the five states (*Bundesländer*) of the Federal Republic of Germany, those of North Rhine-Westphalia, Rhineland-Palatinate, Hessen, Baden-Württemberg and Bavaria.



Distribution of Romano-British brooches in Germania Superior (five without provenance). (Map after Baatz 2000)

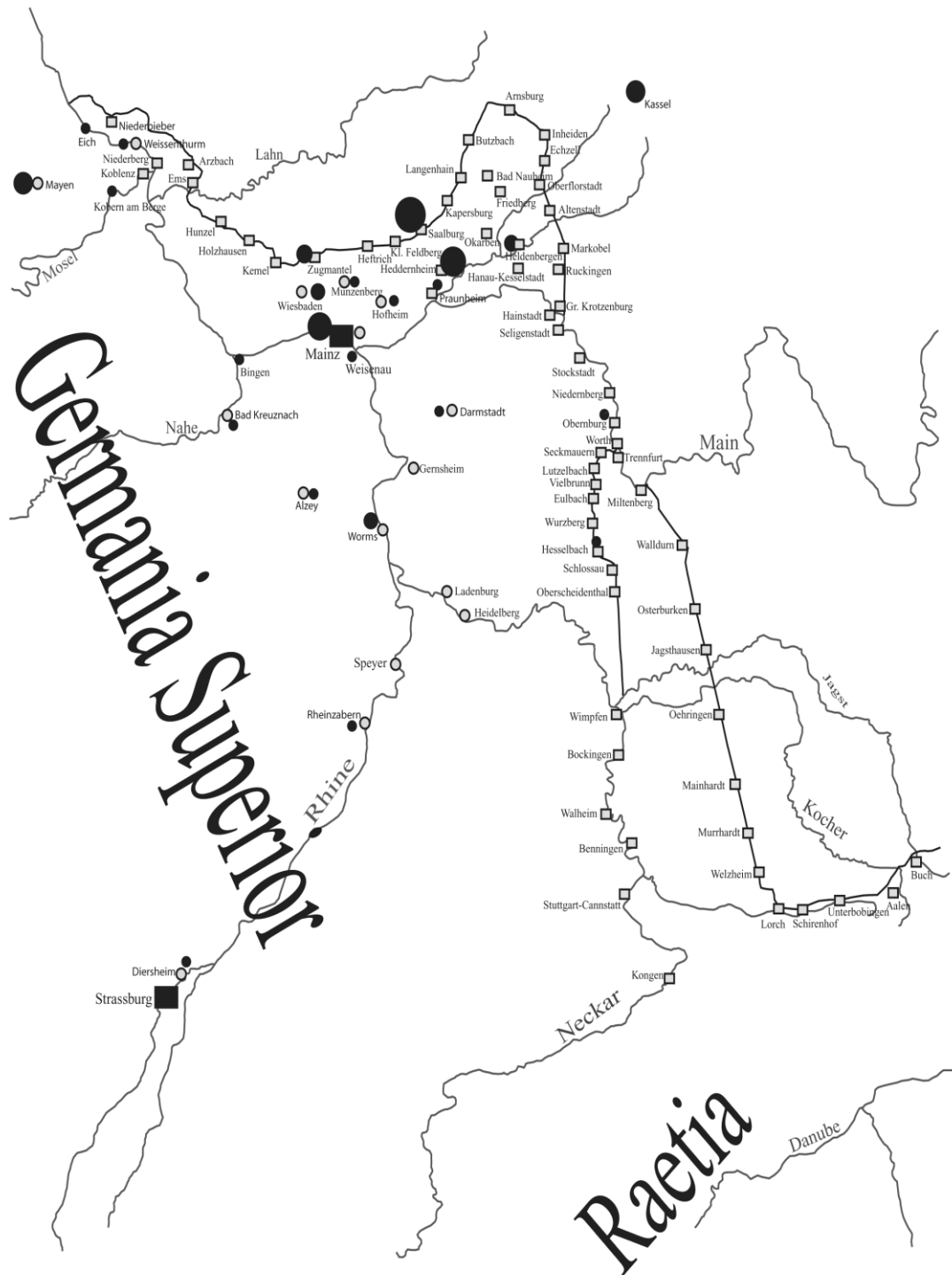
- = one piece
- = two pieces
- = three/four pieces
- = five to nine pieces
- = ten and more pieces
- = legionary fortress
- = auxiliary fortress
- = civilian settlement (civitas capital, vicus, etc.)

Figure 5.1 Distribution of British-made brooches in Germania Superior

The majority of British brooches found in the German part of Germania Superior²⁷⁹ belongs to the mid to late first century; 58 specimens have been recorded, while only 19

²⁷⁹ For the sake of brevity, instead of referring constantly to the ‘German part of Germania Superior’ the general name of this Roman province, ‘Germania Superior’ is used instead.

brooches are of mid-second to third-century date. The majority of the brooches produced in the late first century is concentrated in three regions: the Taunus-Wetterau region (the limes forts of Zugmantel and Saalburg; forts which later became *civitates*, situated in Wetterau region, such as Wiesbaden, Hofheim, Praunheim, Heddernheim, Heldenbergen; Mainz region); the Mayen-Koblenz region (Mayen, Kobern, Eich and Weissenthurm) and the area of the *civitas Vangionum* (Bad Kreuznach, Flonheim, Alzey and Worms) (fig. 5.2).

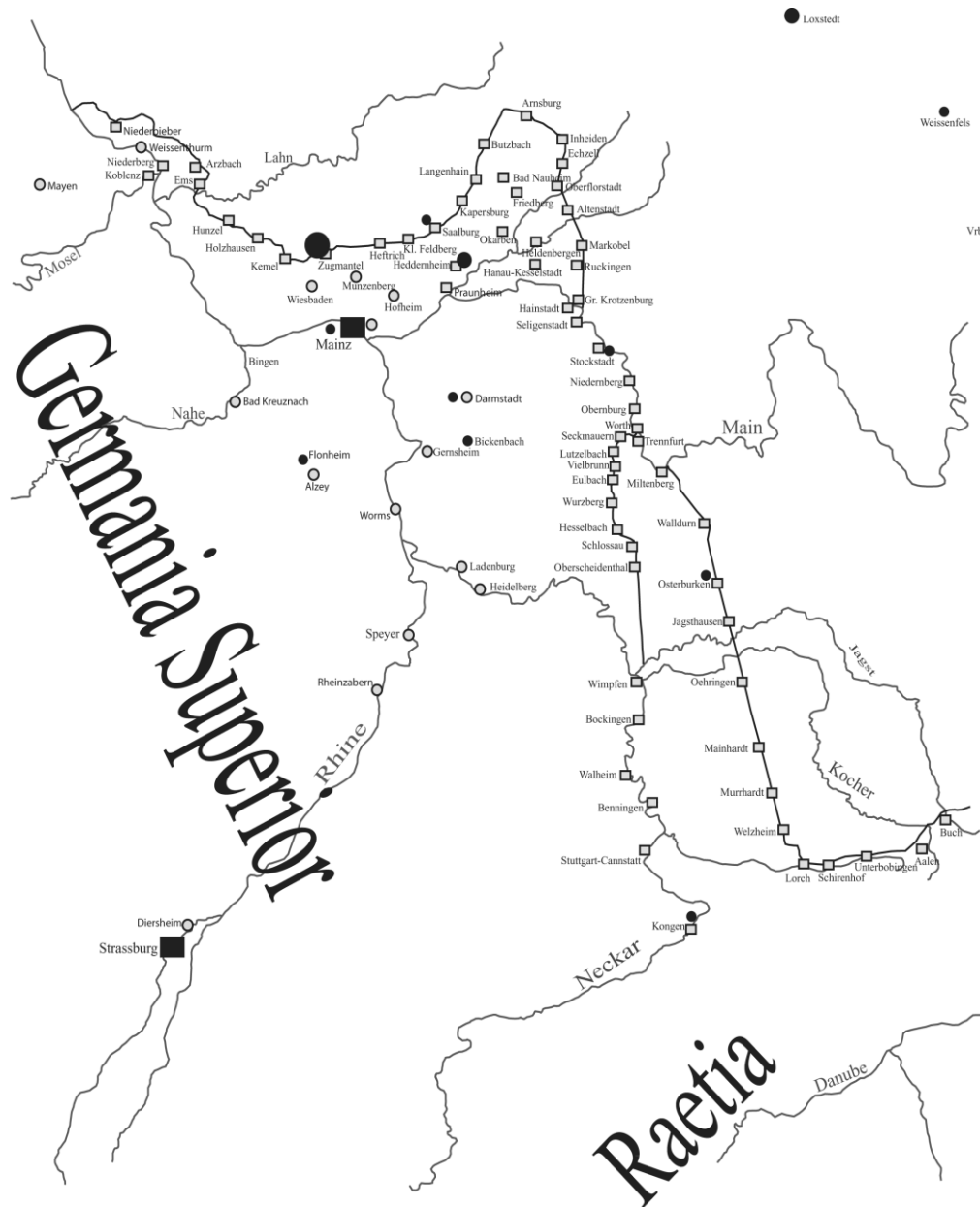


Distribution of late first century British brooches in Germania Superior (five without provenance). (Map after Baatz 2000)

- = one piece
- = two pieces
- = three/four pieces
- = five to nine pieces
- = ten and more pieces
- = legionary fortress
- = auxiliary fortress
- = civilian settlement (civitas capital, vicus, etc.)

Figure 5.2 Distribution of late first-century types of brooches in Germania Superior

The majority of the second- and third-century types are concentrated in the *Agri Decumates* area, between the Rhine and Main rivers (fig. 5.3).



Distribution of mid/late second-third century British brooches in Germania Superior. (Map after Baatz 2000)

- = one piece
- = two pieces
- = three/four pieces
- = five to nine pieces
- = ten and more pieces
- = legionary fortress
- = auxiliary fortress
- = civilian settlement (civitas capital, vicus, etc.)

Figure 5.3 Distribution of mid-second and third-century types of brooches in Germania Superior

This section starts with the analysis of the sites situated in the Odenwald-Neckar frontier, since the epigraphic record evidences the presence of a substantial number of British *numeri*. Following that, the area of Taunus-Wetterau, where British brooches were found in abundance, is discussed. This is followed by the Mayen-Koblenz region and the area of *civitas Vangionum*. The brooches reported from *Agri Decumates* and

Germania Libra are covered in the fifth and sixth parts of the present section. The single brooches are discussed at the end.

5.1.1. *The occurrence of British-made brooches on the Odenwald-Neckar frontier*

At forts on the Odenwald-Neckar frontier in *Germania Superior*, 34 inscriptions of various kinds were located on which British *numeri* units are mentioned. Apart from that, five British-made brooches were reported from some of the limes forts: two brooches of late first century date are known from Obernburg and Hesselbach; two mid-second century types are recorded in Stockstadt and Köngen, and a third-century type was discovered in Osterburken.

The first block of units raised in Britain arrived at Odenwald around AD 110 – 115 and the occurrence of two typologically similar British brooches of late first century date at different forts on the Odenwald frontier suggests that they were brought there at the same time, probably by members of the early British *numeri* when the frontier was constructed in earth and timber (cf. chapter 3, sections 3.3.15.1 and 3.3.15.3). That only two British brooches were reported from there should not be regarded as evidence that only a small number of units raised in Britain was present at the frontier. Most of the forts on the stretch from Lützelbach to Schlossau, where epigraphy attests the presence of a large British contingent, were excavated in the 19th century and only partially (Klee 2009, 188-199; Schallmayer 2010, 85-119). For instance, the small finds from the excavation in the late 19th/early 20th century Schlossau fort included only one bronze and one iron find (Schumacher 1900, 6). The same can be said for other excavated forts on this stretch. One can imagine how many bronze finds were lost or not recorded because they were overlooked or found in an extremely corroded state, and were thus not deemed to be of high enough quality to be worth reporting. I have been able to find a reference to the dolphin brooch from Obernburg only by chance²⁸⁰. It is likely to have been discovered in the recent excavation conducted in the area inside the fort, and in the civilian part, vicus and adjacent Roman cemetery (Steidl 2005; 2008, 109).

By around AD 145, when all the inscriptions from the Odenwald-Neckar stretch were made, the British *numeri* probably contained soldiers of mixed origins: locals and the offspring of the initial recruits (cf. chapter 3, section 3.3.15.3). However, the occurrence of two British brooches, whose production started in Britain itself in the mid-second century, on the site of two Odenwald-Neckar frontier forts, suggests that they were brought by someone coming from Britain in this period.

These types of mid-second century brooches were widespread in Roman Britain from the southeast to Scotland (Alcester type, T162, reported from Köngen) and in the northeast (disk-and-trumpet type, T166C reported from Stockstadt) (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 169, 170). These distribution areas, in particular that of the T166C type, coincide with the areas where Lollius Urbicus conducted his campaigns in AD 141 – 142, i.e. southern Scotland and modern-day Northumberland. The mid-second century British brooch types are not the only British specimens found on the frontier. Two more brooches have been reported from Darmstadt, a knee brooch with a spring in a cylindrical head (type T173A), and another from Bickenbach, an Alcester brooch (T162). The appearance of these brooches in *Germania Superior* is discussed later in this section, but at the outset it must be noted that these brooches also support the idea of

²⁸⁰ Its depiction appeared in an exhibition catalogue of the Archaeological State Collection of Munich (*Archäologische Staatssammlung München*) produced for the exhibition *Welterbe Limes. Roms Grenze am Main* held in the museum mentioned above (Steidl 2008). Unfortunately the compiler of this catalogue failed to mention the original publication, the excavation where this brooch was found, the context of the find or even the place where this British brooch is now stored.

there have been a transfer from Britain to the Odenwald-Neckar frontier in the mid-second century.

The presence of the third-century type brooch from Osterburken is also discussed later in the section in connection with other third-century types found in Germania Superior and Free Germany.

To summarise, the occurrence of four British brooches in four forts on the Odenwald-Neckar frontier coincides chronologically with the presence of British *numeri* units there. It is likely that the first batch arrived in the early second century, the second with recruits from southern Scotland, when they was relocated to Germania Superior as a result of the campaigns of Lollius Urbicus.

5.1.2. *British-made brooches on the Wetterau and Taunus limes*

The second region to be discussed in the present section is that of the Wetterau Plateau and Taunus Mountains in Germany, which in the general literature is usually referred to as the Wetterau-Taunus frontier zone. From this particular region 36 British brooches have been reported, the majority of which (21) was found at two forts on the Taunus limes, Saalburg and Zugmantel. The number of late first-century brooches, 28 to be precise, is noteworthy. Only eight mid/late second-century brooches are known from this region. Most of the late first-century types (12) were reported as found in the vicinity of or direct vicinity of the forts in Wetterau, while 15 were discovered at the Saalburg and Zugmantel forts (13 and 2 respectively); one brooch was discovered on the site of the Roman villa at Münz(en)berg, in the Wiesbaden region²⁸¹. Six mid/late second-century types are known from the Zugmantel and Saalburg forts, while only two have been reported from a fort that later became a *civitas*, namely Frankfurt-Heddernheim, in the Wetterau region.

It is striking that the number of British brooches reported from the Wetterau-Taunus region is so high in comparison with those reported from the Odenwald-Neckar limes: 36 against 4. In contrast, the number of inscriptions of various types on which British *numeri* units are mentioned in both regions is much higher for the Odenwald-Neckar frontier (34), while the Wetterau-Taunus frontier zone has only one, a millstone from the interior of one of the barrack blocks at fort Saalburg. This millstone was inscribed with the letters CONBRITTONIS, probably an abbreviation for '*Contubernium Brittonis*', which translates as 'a barrack-block of a Briton' (*CIL* XIII 11954a).

The majority of late first-century British brooches found in Saalburg (eight) was discovered "in an earthen ramp" placed alongside mortared walls at their back, of which four were noted as being found in the "lowest levels of the ramp". Two brooches were discovered in and near wells; one was definitely found in the well level belonging to the "earth-and-timber" phase of the fort, constructed around AD 90 (Böhme 1970, 5, no 7; Klee 1995, 26). Taking into account the context of these 10 British brooches it is highly likely that they ended their life as rubbish deposits, probably when the fort was rebuilt ca AD 90. That most of the British brooches found in Saalburg and Zugmantel were of the same types, dolphins and Polden Hill, points to them having arrived at the Taunus frontier simultaneously with the same group of people and through the same mechanism. Since it is known that in at least one barrack block of the small earth-and-timber fort, ca 0.7 ha, a Briton was living it is possible that he was not the only one. This soldier might

²⁸¹ Exner (1939, 79, no 22) mentions this site as Münzberg, in the Wiesbaden region. On contemporary maps of this region, there is no such place as Münzberg, but there is a Münz(en)berg in Wetteraukreis, where one finds a Roman villa, also known as "*römische Gutshof Brückfeld*". It is possible that some of the names of the villages and cities have been changed, or been assigned to different regions, since the publication of Exner's catalogue. In general, it is not a problem where Münz(en)berg actually is. It definitely lies somewhere in the Wetterau region, either next to Wiesbaden or next to the modern-day city of Münzenberg.

have been part of the contingent stationed in the fort around AD 90 (Böhme 1970, 13; Klee 1995, 26). The presence of British brooches and a small contingent of Britons at Saalburg and Zugmantel point to the possible presence of unit(s) raised from Britain and sent to the Continent in the late first century AD.

Another 12 British brooches of late first-century types were reported from the forts on the Wetterau Plateau: Hofheim, Frankfurt-Heddernheim, Frankfurt-Praunheim, Heldenbergen and Wiesbaden. For three headstud brooches and one umbonate brooch the context is known; two were found in the area outside the Heldenbergen fort, in the vicus, whereas the brooch from Praunheim is reported from the excavations of a Roman cemetery. The umbonate brooch discovered in Frankfurt-Heddernheim was part of the rubbish deposit uncovered in the area of the fort's vicus. It should be pointed out that all four brooches are considered to be female-associated²⁸².

The military sites in Wetterau predate the forts constructed on the Taunus frontier, which were built in the last years of the Chattian Wars for control of the lands newly acquired by the Romans. The forts in Wetterau plateau, Hofheim, Heddernheim, Praunheim and Heldenbergen, were either marching or temporary camps built during the Chattian Wars to accommodate the advanced Roman troops (Schönberger 1969, 158). The troops stationed at the Hofheim fort, built in the mid-first century and renovated during the reign of Vespasian, patrolled the important Roman road running from the legionary fortress in Mainz to Frankfurt-Heddernheim (Baatz 2000, 342; Czysz 2003, abb. 1). The Heddernheim fort was only rebuilt in stone after the Chattian Wars came to an end, which can be considered an indication that it had had some kind of temporary status before that (Baatz 2000, 342). The story of the fort found at Praunheim is impossible to reconstruct since, after being found in the early 20th century, it has never been properly excavated and currently lies underneath modern buildings (Baatz and Herrmann 1982, 278). Since the time of Augustus, Wiesbaden was 'the bridge' connecting Mainz with other parts of the frontier (Baatz and Herrmann 1982, 485; 2000, 340). The Heldenbergen fort in its first phase was most likely a temporary camp constructed during the Chattian Wars (Czysz 2003, 55). After the wars ended all the forts mentioned above were rebuilt, either in stone, as in the case of Hofheim and Heddernheim, or in earth-and-timber, as in the case of Heldenbergen. The fort at Heddernheim was rebuilt in stone to accommodate an auxiliary unit but was too large for only one unit – 5.2 ha –, which has led to the suggestion that the fort was simultaneously manned by two auxiliary units (Baatz 2000, 342). The Heldenbergen fort with its new size of 0.8 ha was suitable for accommodating a small unit, thought by Czysz (2003, 58) to have been a *numerus* unit. The first forts on the Taunus line were probably constructed slightly before the end of the war and used for "the flank protection for operations in the Wetterau" (Schönberger 1969, 159). The excavations at the Saalburg fort revealed that just before the end of the war two enclosures were built around the fort (Schönberger 1969, 159; Baatz 2000, 137). After the revolt of Saturninus in AD 88 – 89 the forts of Saalburg and Zugmantel were enlarged and, with their new size of 0.6/0.8 ha, were both suitable for accommodating small *numerus* units (Schönberger 1969, 160; Klee 1995, 26; Baatz 2000, 137).

There is an ongoing discussion (Czysz 2003, 59) as to whether units raised or transferred from Britain were stationed at one or several of the forts on the Wetterau Plateau, as the occurrence of British-made brooches suggests. Ancient sources are silent about the participation of troops from Britain in Domitian's campaign. However, the information contained in an inscription may shed some light on this.

²⁸² Two brooches from Heldenbergen still had the loop attached. The brooch from the Praunheim cemetery was found without the headloop but it is clearly visible on the depiction that, although now lost, it was attached to the spring of a brooch. The umbonate brooches are generally considered to have been worn by females.

The *cursus honorum* of Lucius Roscius Aelianus Maecius Celer (*CIL* XIV, 3612; D 1025) has been interpreted by several scholars (Schönberger 1969, 158; Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1983, 311; Birley A. 2005, 282) as suggesting that a detachment of *legio IX Hispana* took part in the Chattian Wars of Domitian. Roscius Aelianus was a commander of a *vexillatio* of this legion which participated in the German wars, for which he received gifts (*tribuno militum legionis IX Hispanae vexillariorum eiusdem in expeditione Germanica donato*). This inscription has been taken as an indication that a legionary detachment was taken away from the Ninth legion, which at this time was fighting in Britain under the command of Governor Agricola (Farnum 2005, 21). There are no inscriptions from the Wetterau region that can definitely confirm this assumption, although the inscription on a millstone found in a barrack block in the Saalburg fort suggests that for some time part of this detachment might have been garrisoned in this fort on the Taunus limes. Taking into account that the forts at Wetterau predate the Taunus military installations, it seems reasonable to suggest the following: the detachment taken from the army of Britain was sent on the orders of Domitian to lend support before and during his Chattian campaign. During the war the detachment, in addition to other units and legions drawn to this region, was constantly on the move, advancing into Chattian territory. Thus, this *vexillatio* could have been positioned at various camps during the campaign. The occurrence of British brooches at various Roman forts in Wetterau, on the line of advancement of the Roman army, lends support to this proposition. Furthermore, in the winter months the troops were drawn back to the legionary fortress in Mainz (Czysz 2003, 55). It should not come as a surprise then that six late first-century British brooches were also reported from Mainz: three headstud derivatives and two type 2B trumpet brooches; one brooch, trumpet 2A, was recorded from Mainz-Weissenau, the Roman legionary cemetery of Mainz. The presence of these six British brooches in the territory of the Mainz legionary fortress, from where the operations against Chatti were conducted, further strengthens the idea that there was indeed a legionary detachment raised from the British army. Moreover, the occurrence of two British trumpet brooches at Wiesbaden, ‘the bridge’ connecting the legionary fortress of Mainz with other frontier posts in Wetterau, further suggest that the detachment could have passed it on its way to or from Mainz, or have been posted there for some time. Wiesbaden was also famous for its baths and healing springs, used by the frontier population, from Mainz up to the limes, and by all auxiliary troops stationed in the frontier zone (Batz and Herrmann 1982, 488; Batz 2000, 340). Considering that the British detachment was positioned at various Wetterau, and later Taunus, forts, the British brooches could have belonged to soldiers, or their partners, who visited the baths.

Three more British-made brooches can be connected with the British detachment that took part in the Chattian Wars. These specimens are kept in the Kassel museum, Germany: a trumpet type 2A, a Polden Hill and a T-shaped type with horned moulding decoration. Neither the context nor the findspot of these brooches was recorded by the compiler of the catalogue and one may wonder if these brooches were indeed found in the area around Kassel and were acquired by the museum from Britain (F. Morris, pers. comment). From the descriptions in the catalogue²⁸³, it seems that they were not bought by the museum from Britain, although it is unknown if they were found in the area around Kassel or were discovered elsewhere in Germany. Nevertheless, the presence of three British brooches in the collection of Kassel’s museum is significant.

Kassel is situated in a region that in Roman times was known as *Barbaricum*. The modern city of Kassel lies approximately 100 km northeast of the nearest Roman installation on the limes, fort Arnsburg. According to ancient sources and archaeological

²⁸³ Bieber (1915, 98-99) compares the Kassel brooches with others found in Germany and Britain and poses the question of their provenance.

evidence, the Chatti inhabited the territory of the present Hessen-Kassel region (Carroll 2001, 30, fig. 4), thus the modern-day city of Kassel lies inside their tribal territory. If indeed three British brooches were found in the area around this city, it seems reasonable to suggest that they had reached their destination as spoils of war with the Chattians. The types of British brooches recorded in Kassel museum also occur at the forts in Wetterau and Taunus: Polden Hill is known from Heddernheim and Saalburg, and trumpet 2A from Heddernheim, Hofheim, Saalburg, Wiesbaden and Zugmantel. The third brooch, T88A type, is likely a combination of a British T-shaped type with headloop and the Pannonian brooch, known as *Flügelfibel*. In Britain the Pannonian types may have been brought by the soldiers of the Ninth legion, which, before its transfer to Britain, served in Pannonia (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 148 after Simpson *et al.* 1979, 330). It is a notable coincidence that a T88A brooch was reported from Kassel, a tribal territory of the Chattians, who might have fought in the war against the soldiers of the Ninth legion, known to have been transported to Britain from Pannonia.

The detachment after the war had finished might have been relocated to the forts on Taunus to construct the new line of frontier (*contra* Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1983, 335, abb. 9 who positions British units in both forts around AD 110 – 120). Immediately after the wars it was probably divided into two small regiments; one was sent to Saalburg and the other to Zugmantel. It has been pointed out already that the Saalburg fort was rebuilt to accommodate a small unit, the size of the future *numerus*, shortly before or after the end of the Chattian Wars. The same can be said about the fort at Zugmantel, constructed around AD 90 (Batz 2000, 120). Needless to say the majority of the British brooches reported from Saalburg was discovered in the layers associated with the phase of rebuilding activity around AD 90 and which at that time were already regarded as rubbish. Other forts where British brooches are reported, such as Hofheim, Hedderheim, Praunheim and Heldenbergen, were given up ca AD 100 and definitely before AD 110 (Czysz 2003, 61), which suggests that the units from the Wetterau forts were redeployed elsewhere.

However, it may well be that the story of this detachment from Britain does not end there. The occurrence of two British-made brooches in forts in the Odenwald–Neckar region points to the possibility that once their service was no longer needed on the Taunus frontier, the soldiers were again redeployed to construct the new section of Roman frontier, which connected the forts on the Main with Raetian ones. Significantly, the *legio IX Hispana* detachment was probably involved in the construction activities in the majority of cases. Could that have been the main reason for the detachment's transfer? Although this appears to be highly likely, the *cursus honorum* of the detachment's commander suggests that the unit was also involved in active fighting.

Table 5.1 Proposed chronological timeline of the service of *vexillatio* of *legio IX Hispana* in Germania Superior

AD 83 – 85	Participation of <i>vexillatio Britannica</i> in Chattian Wars
AD 85 – 90	<i>Vexillatio Britannica</i> left Germania Superior; a part of it stayed and participated in the construction of two forts on the Taunus frontier
AD 90 – 110/115	Units' participation in construction of forts on Main and Odenwald-Neckar lines; after the forts were constructed, its main task was concerned with communications and police work

What was the origin of the soldiers recruited to serve in the legionary detachment, sent to the Continent by orders of Domitian to participate in the Chattian Wars? Since the unit was a legionary detachment, it seems that none of soldiers could have been of

British descent taking into account that a recruit to a legion had to be a Roman citizen. It is unlikely that around AD 80 there were enough Roman citizens who had been born in Britain²⁸⁴. Moreover, it is even more unlikely that Agricola allowed the presence of British recruits in the legions, which fought on British soil, especially, since the memory of the Batavian revolt²⁸⁵ was still fresh. Having said that, the idea that there might have been British-born recruits in this legionary detachment receives some support from the aforementioned inscription found in one of the barracks at the Saalburg fort and from an inscription found in Rome commemorating Flavius Britto, a centurion in *legio XIV Gemina* (cf. chapter 4, section 4.2), an indication that Britons with Roman citizenship were accepted to the legionary service as early as Flavian dynasty.

Ten British brooches reported from the Wetterau-Taunus region and two brooches from Kassel are considered to be female-associated and could thus indicate the presence of women travelling overseas from Britain. The majority of the female-associated brooches was reported from sites in the Wetterau region, 5 to be precise, and two from sites on the Taunus limes.

The presence of women inside the forts is discussed thoughtfully in many works by Carol van Driel-Murray (1997; 2003; 2009), although the idea that women were not allowed to live in military installations together with their partners continues to persist (Reuter 2008). In general, the common opinion is that soldiers were allowed to cohabit with their partners, the majority of which originated from the areas around military installations or from the provinces their husbands served in (Stoll 2006). The epigraphic evidence also testifies that many women followed their partners from their home provinces to wherever their husbands' posts were (Allason-Jones 1999, 48; Brandl 2008, 65-69; Derks 2009, 248-250). The epigraphic record of British women also suggests that some British women followed their partners to posts outside Britain (cf. chapter 4, section 4.7).

Another issue, besides the one outlined above regarding the occurrence of women in the forts, is the presence of women in the forts during times of war. It is generally accepted that only men, i.e. soldiers, were allowed to be present at the marching camps and at camps in a war zone, since the army was always on the move and there was no time to settle down, build a proper shelter and take care of a family. The historical sources, however, suggest a slightly different picture. From the description of the Varus battle by Dio Cassius (20.2), it is known that there were female camp-followers present during the preparation of this war: "*they had with them many wagons and many beasts of burden as in time of peace; moreover, not a few women and children and a large retinue of servants were following them – one more reason for their advancing in scattered groups*". Although there is no such historical description of the preparations made for the Chattian Wars, it can be suggested on the basis of the occurrence of British female-associated brooches that some women travelled from Britain with their partners, who were serving in the legionary detachment. The context of some female-associated brooches is recorded as civilian: two headstud brooches reported from Heldenbergen were located in the area outside the Roman fort, in a vicus and the umbonate brooch was found in the rubbish from the vicus area of the Hedderheim fort. The occurrence of female-associated brooches at the military installations in both regions, Wetterau and Taunus, can be seen as a further indication that women followed their partners from one

²⁸⁴ If we take ca AD 70 as the date for the establishment of some British auxiliary units with British recruits in them (cf. chapter 3, section 3.3.16.2), then we would arrive at AD 95 when the first British veterans with Roman citizenship were discharged.

²⁸⁵ The Batavian revolt, AD 69 – 70, was the uprising of the Batavian auxiliary units, which were garrisoned in their native homeland and acted as a reinforcement to the regular Roman legionary forces. As Carroll (2001, 103) puts it "[t]he Batavian revolt acted as a lesson that ethnic units, drawn from men in their own *civitas* and stationed within it, could be unreliable".

fort to another. Therefore, women not only followed their partners to Germania Superior, they also followed them to different posts within the frontier.

Ten British brooches produced in the mid second to third-century period were also reported from forts in the Taunus-Wetterau region and from the Odenwald-Neckar frontier. Six mid to late second-century British brooches are known from fort Zugmantel (2), Saalburg (1), Mainz (1) and the civilian settlement of *Nida*, modern Frankfurt-Heddernheim (2). Third-century British brooches are also known: four have been reported from the frontier forts (three were discovered in Zugmantel, one in Osterburken). The appearance of these British brooches might have been connected with the service of *cohors I Septimia Belgarum* in Öhringen and *numerus Brittonum* at the fort at Niederbieber, but the analysis of the excavated archaeological material from both forts shows that there were no other British brooches or any other supposedly British material on the site; the epigraphic material evidenced for the service of Continental-born soldiers in both units (cf. chapter 3, sections 3.2.3 and 3.3.3).

Osterburken fort, built around AD 159 and abandoned around AD 260, was garrisoned with *cohors III Aquitanorum* and probably *numerus Brittonum Elantiensium*. Both units were relocated to this fort from the Odenwald-Neckar limes. The occurrence of a T270 type in Osterburken suggests that the type was in use well before the end of the third century, since the fort was given up around AD 260 (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 179). This abandonment of the Germania Superior limes is a *terminus ante quem*: the brooch must have reached the site before AD 260. The presence of the British *numerus* unit in Osterburken allows the suggestion that the brooch could have been brought by a British recruit who was signed up to serve on the German frontier in the second quarter of the third century. However, there is no further evidence to support the idea that Britons were recruited to serve overseas in the third century.

In this context it seems reasonable to check whether there is any other evidence for the presence of troops, which had served in Britain and were transferred to the Continent, or any evidence for the returning veterans discharged from units stationed in Britan.

At Zugmantel, the epigraphic record indicates the presence of *numerus Treverorum* and later the *cohors I Treverorum equitata* (Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1983, 341, abb. 11; Spaul 2000, 188; Baatz 2000, 120). Both units appear to have been mid second and third-century creations (Spaul 2000, 188), since they do not appear on diplomas issued in the first and mid second centuries. The only known posts for these units are the forts on the Taunus frontier: Zugmantel and probably Holzhausen (Oldenstein-Pferdehirt 1983, 341-342; Spaul 2000, 188). It therefore seems unlikely that these units ever served in Britain and were transferred to Germania Superior in the late second/third century.

The likely solution is that some brooches were brought by veterans returning from Britain. The epigraphic evidence attests a considerable number of auxiliary and irregular units raised from the Germanic provinces and Gallia Belgica in the vicinity of Hadrian's Wall, dating mostly to the second and third centuries (Clay 2008, 138). For Upper Germany, units raised from the Vangiones and Suebi were also dispatched to serve on Hadrian's Wall up to the second century and probably later (Clay 2007, 50). Moreover, prior to the transfer to Britain around AD 122, the *legio VI Pia Fidelis* was stationed at the legionary fortress at Xanten and contained, as recruits, some provincial Germans with recently acquired citizenship (Farnum 2005, 20; Clay 2007, 48). From one inscription in Britain it is known that a legionary soldier from the *civitas Mattiacorum* served in *legio VI Pia Fidelis* (RIB 2151). It is more than likely that this soldier was not the only legionary there who hailed from the *civitas Mattiacorum*, which covered the area of the legionary fortress at Mainz and the civilian settlement of *Nida*. Hence, it is possible that after the end of their service, some legionaries and auxiliaries returned to their homeland, bringing with them British brooches. This could explain the occurrence

of late second-century British types in Mainz, Zugmantel, Saalburg and Frankfurt-Heddernheim.

Clay's claim (2008, 138) that there was continuous recruitment from the Germanic provinces well into the third century might also explain the presence of third-century British brooches in Zugmantel and Osterburken, which could have reached their overseas destination with returning veterans settling in the vicinity of the frontier. However, from the epigraphic record it is known that a detachment of British *legio XX Valeria Victrix* was probably serving in Mainz in AD 255 (*CIL* XIII 6780; Malone 2006, 69-70). Later, the very same detachment was probably relocated to Pannonia Inferior, where it was garrisoned at *Sirmium* during the reign of Postumus (Malone 2006, 68). Where the detachment was between the years AD 255 and 260 is unknown. It is notable that both British types, T271 and T259, recorded from the forts on the Germania Superior frontier, were also reported from the forts on the Raetian and Danube frontiers (this is discussed in detail in the later sections). It is likely that the detachment of the *legio XX Valeria Victrix* was relocated from Mainz to *Sirmium* by the river Danube, passing on its way the frontier installations of the Eastern frontier, i.e. Osterburken. Since both forts, Zugmantel and Osterburken, were in operation before AD 260, it is possible that the detachment was posted there for some time. Malone (2006, 70) notes that in the third century, legions stationed in Britain contributed to the armies on the Continent and might have fought against the Allamani, who often caused troubles on the Germania Superior frontier in the third century.

To summarise, the occurrence of 36 British brooches in the Wetterau-Taunus frontier region suggests that the objects reached their final destinations through various mechanisms, although troop transfers are likely to have been the reason for most of them. The late first-century British brooches were probably brought with soldiers and their partners who were relocated from their posts in Britain to take part in the Chattian Wars as part of the legionary detachment of the *legio IX Hispana*. The presence of brooches at the various forts in Wetterau, constructed by the advancing Roman army, and at the forts on the Taunus frontier stretch, built after the Chattian Wars, raises the possibility of an internal transfer of the British detachment: from the Wetterau to the Taunus forts, and then likely to the Odenwald-Neckar frontier. The occurrence of mid/late second to third-century British brooches suggests that they were brought by returning veterans and by the members of the *legio XX Valeria Victrix*.

5.1.3. *The area of the civitas Vangionum*

Five British brooches were reported from the area in Germany situated between the rivers Nahe and Rhine, which in Roman times was inhabited by the *Vangiones* tribe. The *civitas Vangionum* had its capital at *Borbetomagus*, the modern-day city of Worms. Four British brooches are datable to the late Flavian period and one to the second century. It is notable that all five brooches were reported from sites which lie directly on the Roman road leading from Worms to Bad Kreuznach, passing Alzey (Talbert *et al.* 2000, map 11). Another find from the same territory is worth mentioning: an *Iceni* coin was reported from a coin hoard discovered at Rheingonnheim, which was a small settlement in Roman times (Häussler 1993, 80, no 161).

The epigraphic record is silent about the presence of British auxiliary units or British soldiers in this area, although in Alzey, a votive inscription to the British deity *Sulis* has been recorded (*CIL* XIII 6266)²⁸⁶. This inscription is unique, since so far it is the only epigraphic record of this goddess outside Britain (Birley A. 1986, 54). The monument

²⁸⁶ A votive inscription found in Worms, recording Amandus, son of Velugnus, from *Deva*, possible Chester in the UK, has been excluded from the discussion here, since onomastic analysis of his name points to him having been of mixed origins, local as well as of British descent (cf. chapter 4, section 4.7).

was erected by a person, Attonius Lucanus, who had visited the sacred spring in Bath, UK, the major cult centre for the veneration of *Sulis Minerva*, and was local to Alzey (Kakoschke 2004, 207). He most likely visited Bath as a pilgrim. This inscription is a strong indication of contact between the territory of the *Vangiones* and Britain, but it does not give any clue as to the groups of people, i.e. civilians, traders or military personnel, who could have brought the British-made objects to the area.

Epigraphic evidence indicates that an auxiliary unit was garrisoned at Worms which had been stationed in Britain before its overseas relocation: *ala Gallorum Indiana*. This ala is likely to have been on active duty in Britain before AD 84 and was probably one of the units that participated in the Claudian invasion (Jarrett 1994, 40). The only record of this unit in Britain is a tombstone of a soldier whose origin was *civis Rauricus* (RIB 108 from Cirencester). The inscription is undated but was most likely erected in the third quarter of the first century (Jarrett 1994, 40). The ala left Britain for Germania with Agricola in ca AD 84: it is recorded on military diplomas issued for the army of Germania Inferior and Superior (Jarrett 1994, 40; Holder 1999, 240).

Another auxiliary unit that is attested in both Britain and Germania Superior is *cohors I Thracum*. There are two cohorts known with the same name but different titles: *cohors I Thracum civium Romanorum* and *cohors I Thracum equitata* (Jarrett 1994, 66; Spaul 2000, 365). It has been argued that *cohors I Thracum equitata* was in Lower Germany in AD 80, but before that it was in Britain where a tombstone recording this unit was found at Wroxeter (Bogaers 1974, 200-201; Jarrett 1994, 66; RIB 291). An inscription from Worms attests a *cohors I Thracum* without any additional epithets (*CIL* XIII 6213) and can be dated to the middle of the second century (Kakoschke 2002, 21). It is unknown if the unit mentioned on the inscription from Worms is the same as the one mentioned in Wroxeter, since there is an ongoing discussion as to where and when these two cohorts were stationed and which one was actually in Britain (Bogaers 1974, 200-201; Jarrett 1994, 66; Holder 1999, 246; Spaul 2000, 365). The likelihood is that one of the first Thracian cohorts was in Britain and was later transferred overseas to Germania Inferior and then to Superior, where for some time it was stationed at Worms.

Although there is no epigraphic record of this, it seems reasonable to suggest that both auxiliary units practiced local recruitment to some extent and that some Britons were recruited to serve in this unit, especially if we take into account that both units might have been present in Britain for more than two decades. The possibility that some British recruits were indeed present in Worms is supported by the occurrence of two British brooches there. In the Roman cemetery of Worms a female grave was found containing a pair of British-made brooches, trumpet type 2A (Grünwald 1990, 118-120, grave 11). The female was 30 to 39 years old and was buried somewhere in the late first to first half of the second century AD (Grünwald 1990, 20). Grünwald (1990, 57) draws attention to the possibility that this pair of brooches was not a trade item, but may have arrived at Worms with its wearer – a woman from Britain. It is unknown, however, if this woman was of British descent or whether she was of Continental origin and arrived at Worms from Britain together with her husband/partner. Considering that the auxiliary units transferred from Britain were stationed in Worms during the same period when the burial took place, it is tempting to suggest that she was a partner of one of the units' soldiers. Epigraphy does indicate that women followed their partners and husbands to their posts across the Roman Empire (for the discussion see Brandl 2008, 62-65). Since both units were positioned in Britain for a period of 40 years, it is likely that some soldiers formed marital relationships with local women.

Three more British brooches were found inside the territory of *civitas Vangionum*: two trumpet brooches type 2A at Alzey and Bad Kreuznach and one disk and trumpet at Flonheim. All of them are considered to be female-associated brooches, since they all had loops designed to hold a chain. The appearance of these brooches at these sites

cannot be connected with the presence of auxiliary troops at Worms, transferred from Britain: the sites did not have military installations and the army was not present there in the late first to second centuries (Cüppers 1990, 302, 321). Kreuznach was a vicus, in the proximity of which a *villa rustica* has been discovered, while in Flonheim only La Tène and Roman cemeteries were found (Häussler 1993, 78, no 110 for Kreuznach and 76, no 58 for Flonheim). Alzey, the Roman vicus of *Altiatia*, was probably a trading settlement, since coin hoards containing coins issued by the *Sennones*, *Leuci*, *Treveri*, *Atuatuci* and *Nemeti* were discovered there (Häussler 1993, 75, no 8).

Inhabitants of the *civitas Vangionum* supplied recruits for the Roman auxiliary units and one unit was formed directly from the people of this tribe: *cohors I Vangionum milliaria equitata* (Häussler 1993, 44). The unit was raised in ca AD 50 and was present in Britain as early as the beginning of the second century (Jarrett [1994, 50] argues for AD 103 as the earliest date; Spaul 2000, 250-251). The cohort was posted on Hadrian's Wall, at the Benwell fort, and probably at Chester. Later it was moved to the outpost fort at Risingham, where it stayed in the late second-third centuries (Jarrett 1994, 50; Spaul 2000, 250-251). It seems likely that the unit was posted in Britain for the whole period of its existence: so far, epigraphic evidence is silent about its presence elsewhere (Spaul 2000, 250-251). The occurrence of late first-century British brooches can be connected with returning veterans of *Vangiones* origin. After completing 25 years of service, some of the veterans returned to their home region with the personal possessions they had acquired during their time in Britain. Considering that the brooches are female-associated ones, it is likely that these veterans returned home with their British wives, who brought the brooches as their personal possessions.

The occurrence of mid second-century British type in the *civitas Vangionum* can also be connected with the presence of the returning veterans: there is evidence for the continuous recruitment of inhabitants of Germania Inferior and Superior to serve on Hadrian's Wall up to the late third century (Clay 2007, 50; cf. also previous section 5.1.2).

That the appearance of brooches in *civitas Vangionum* can be connected only with the army, i.e. soldiers serving in Britain and returning home, can be supported by the fact that inscriptions mentioning *Vangiones* in Britain were produced only in a military environment²⁸⁷.

To conclude, the British-made brooches from the area of *civitas Vangionum* most likely arrived there as a result of troop transfers and with veterans returning home. The appearance of female-associated brooches in the small settlements of this *civitas* and in the female grave from Worms indicates the likely presence of British women.

The appearance of the *Iceni* coin in the hoard from Ludwigshafen-Rheingonheim is also connected with troop movement. As argued by Gruel and Haselgrove (2007, 258) this Icenian silver coin "was probably exported after the Claudian invasion, for instance as the possessions of the soldiers who were posted elsewhere [and] might have been taken by the discharged soldiers returning to their homelands". Since it is known that soldiers were paid for their service, it is possible that after the invasion the units were paid with the available coins, which in this case happened to be *Iceni* silver. The only unit present in both provinces and that so far can be connected with the Claudian invasion is the aforementioned *ala Gallorum Indiana*, which was posted at the Worms fort after AD 84. Worms and Ludwigshafen-Rheingonheim are ca 18 km apart: the latter is upstream from Worms along the Rhine. Ludwigshafen-Rheingonheim was a Roman fort, built during the reign of Claudius and abandoned ca AD 74, to later be reoccupied by the civilian population. Although it is uncertain whether or not the *ala Gallorum*

²⁸⁷ Cf. Spaul (2000, 249), who lists 15 inscriptions recording *cohors I Vangionum* found on Hadrian's Wall.

Indiana was garrisoned at this auxiliary fort, it is reasonable to assume that members of this unit might have visited the civilian settlement built atop it.

5.1.4. *The Mayen-Koblenz region*

Six British brooches dated to the mid to late first century have been reported from another region in Germania Superior: the Mayen-Koblenz region. From Mayen three brooches are known: one pair of trumpet type 2A found in the Roman cemetery, and one headstud, context unknown. From Eich and Weissenthurm one trumpet type 2A and one headstud were reported respectively, although the context of neither was recorded. That the dragonsque brooch mentioned by Feachem (1951, 42) was found in Kobern am Berge was called into question by Megaw and Megaw, who note that it was located in the burial at Martinsberg near Andernach (2001, 56, note 8). However, as both Kobern am Berge and Andernach are situated in the Mayen-Koblenz region, the discussion regarding where exactly the dragonsque brooch was found is not of particular relevance here.

The Mayen-Koblenz region was of major economic importance and was the main transportation hub connecting the Upper and Lower Rhine (on the route from Mainz to Cologne) and between the frontier and the hinterland (on the Trier-Mainz route). Moreover, goods produced in this region were exported to the neighbouring provinces: ceramics, millstones, funerary monuments and pottery.

Mayen was an important economic centre because of its quarries. Basalt from this area was used to make millstones and tuff was quarried for the production of sarcophagi and other funerary monuments (Cüppers 1990, 471). The lava querns produced in the region around Mayen are relatively common finds in Roman Britain for the late first and second centuries, especially in the areas of East Anglia, the Thames valley and further north (Peacock 1980, 49-50; Morris 2010, 78). Weissenthurm was the main regional pottery production centre with strong commercial activity (Cüppers 1990, 662). Vessels produced in the ovens at Weissenthurm were found in the fort at Niederbieber, which in the third century was occupied by a *numerus Brittonum* amongst other auxiliary units (Cüppers 1990, 663). There is also an indication of the production of tile stamps and metal processing (Cüppers 1990, 663). Eich is known for being a crossing point of the river Rhine in the first quarter of the third century, but it is also possible that it existed there in earlier times (Cüppers 1990, 359). Kobern, where a dragonsque type brooch was possibly found, was probably a Roman vicus of unknown date: there is evidence of Early Roman graves and Roman pottery ovens datable to the second century (Cüppers 1990, 418). Andernach was also an important trading centre: conveniently located between regions situated up- and downstream on the river Rhine, it was used as a loading and transfer port in the late first century AD (Cüppers 1990, 306). An early Roman fort is not attested on the ground but a tombstone of a soldier from the *cohors Raetorum* dated to the mid first century was found, which suggests that some kind of military installation existed there (Cüppers 1990, 306; *CIL* XIII 7684).

In the late first century the region was not as militarised as Taunus-Wetterau and the sites where British brooches have been reported were not late first-century military installations except probably Andernach, but this is uncertain. The Osteifel region was partly inhabited by the *Treveri* tribe and from the epigraphic record three Treverans are known to have served in Britain (RIB 606, 2401, 3185). There is also evidence for the presence of Treveran civilians who visited Britain for private reasons: a pilgrim who went to the sacred spring at Bath (RIB 140), and someone who travelled for trading purposes (*CIL* XIII 634). In comparison with the situations mentioned previously, where British brooches were reported from tribal territories providing recruits for Britain, one might consider the possibility that the brooches were brought by returning veterans or travellers of Treveran origin.

Another possible group of people who may have brought British brooches to the region are soldiers from *cohors Raetorum* known from one inscription from Andernach; yet out of eight Raetian units, the ones with the numbers five and six served in Britain, which, when transferred from the Continent, never left the province (Jarrett 1994, 65; Spaul 2000, 283)²⁸⁸.

The occurrence of British brooches in the Mayen-Koblenz region can be connected with the presence of legionary soldiers from *legio VIII Augusta*. This legion participated in the Batavian campaigns of AD 70 and the *Agri Decumates* campaign in AD 73 – 74, after which it was transferred to the legionary fortress at Strasbourg where it stayed until the fifth century (Farnum 2005, 21). From the epigraphic record it is known that a detachment of this legion was in Britain with Claudius in AD 43 and during the reign of Hadrian (RIB 782; RIB 2116a; for the shield boss of Junius Dubitatus see Keppie 2001, 88, 89, fig. 51). While there is still an ongoing discussion as to whether the legion did indeed participate in the invasion (Keppie 1971), there is no doubt that a detachment was stationed on Hadrian's Wall during the reign of Hadrian. One inscription found in Andernach places a *beneficarius consularis* of this legion there (*CIL* XIII 7731, mistakenly attributed to Strasbourg). The soldier probably erected this votive monument during the aforementioned campaigns in Germania Superior. The connection between the soldiers of *legio VIII Augusta* and the occurrence of British brooches can thus, theoretically, be established, i.e. soldiers being transferred to their new post in Germania Superior in the aftermath of the campaigns of AD 43 in Britain.

The presence of a *numerus Brittonum* at the Niederbieber fort in the late second and third centuries can also be connected with the occurrence of British brooches in the Osteifel region: the pottery produced at Weissenthurm was found inside this fort, suggesting that soldiers bought them from potters working at Weissenthurm; although this would not explain how the brooches ended up in Mayen, Eich and Kobern/Andernach. Moreover, there is a chronological problem. This *numerus* unit was present at this frontier fort in the late second and third centuries AD, while the brooches are datable to the late first century. Unfortunately, for four out of six British brooches the context in which they were found is unknown. The pair of brooches reported from Mayen was found together with the coin dated to the time of Trajan, which gives an indication of the time when the burial might have taken place (Nierhaus 1966, 105). Therefore, at least for the grave located in Mayen it can be assumed that the burial took place before the *numerus Brittonum* was transferred to Niederbieber. Taking into account that the British brooches reported from the Mayen-Koblenz region are homogeneous in terms of types and period of usage, it can be suggested that they were brought to the region at the same time and probably through the same mechanism. This means that the British brooches reached their destinations before the *numerus Brittonum* was relocated to the fort at Niederbieber.

Generally speaking, veterans of Treveran origin and soldiers of *legio VIII Augusta* whose previous post was Britain can be considered as likely candidates for having brought the British brooches to the area, although the evidence is not strong enough to support either hypothesis. Considering the economic importance of the area and the fact that major trading routes passed through the region, it could equally be posited that the British brooches arrived as a result of trade, although not necessarily trade in brooches.

Morris (2010, 62-65) draws attention to the existing connection between Britain, Upper Germany and Gallia Belgica in terms of the import of East Gaulish *terra sigillata*. The Samian wares produced in the pottery kilns of Blickweiler, Trier, Rheinzabern, Cologne and Lyon reached Britain “across the Southern North Sea via the mouths of

²⁸⁸ The unit recorded on this inscription was most likely *cohors I Raetorum*, known from another inscription from Germania Superior (*CIL* XIII 6240; Grünewald 1986b, 15; Spaul 2000, 276).

Scheldt or Rhine” (Morris 2010, 62). Moreover, *mortaria* produced in the Eifel region reached Britain in the pre-Flavian period, probably via the Rhône-Rhine route (<http://www.potsherd.uklinux.net/atlas/Ware/EIMO> accessed on 16 December 2009; de la Bédoyère 2004, 42; Morris 2010, 64). Potters from Sinzig and Trier are known to have been present at the pottery kilns of Colchester in the UK; there is evidence that some sherds discovered on the site of the factory at Colchester were produced in Sinzig and brought over to Britain by Treveran potters (Storey *et al.* 1989, 37-39). As mentioned above, lava querns produced in Mayen were also found in Britain. Hence, the British-made brooches found in the Mayen-Koblenz region could have been brought by traders operating along the route from the Rhineland to Britain via the southern North Sea ports and who traded pottery or lava querns produced in the aforementioned kilns and quarries. The British brooches could have been brought as curiosities or among the personal possessions of the traders.

It is tempting to suggest that the brooches were brought by British craftsmen who were working in the quarries or in the kilns, or by local craftsmen who worked in Britain for some time. Chronologically, the occurrence of the brooches corresponds with the period when Eifel *mortaria* were being traded in Britain, around AD 40 – 70, and with the period when the lava querns from Mayen were common in Britain, i.e. late first to second century AD. In this context another British brooch can be considered. A trumpet type 2B was found in a grave at Rheinzabern – the centre of production of East Gaulish Samian ware (Böhme 1970, 18, no 44; de la Bédoyère 2004, 19). The occurrence of brooches at major production centres of wares exported to Britain may point to the presence of British potters and craftsmen in late first-century Germania Superior.

Five brooches are considered to be female-associated. The pair of brooches from the burial at Mayen was found together with a hairpin, besides the Trajanic coin mentioned above. The presence of objects usually associated with women suggests that the cremated deceased was a female. Was this woman the companion of a skilled British man who worked in quarries or of a trader? While it is tempting to see in this woman a British female who followed her British partner overseas in search of work or training, one should allow for other possibilities, such as her being the slave of a trader or a Continental-born woman who married a trader and travelled to and from Britain with him. The likelihood that this woman was at least in Britain on some occasion is testified by the presence of a two trumpet brooches, which were probably worn in the British fashion, i.e. in a pair and with a chain.

To summarise, the occurrence of six British brooches in the Mayen-Koblenz region has been linked with two possible groups of people coming from Britain: soldiers and civilians. The first group consists of Treveran tribesmen serving in the auxiliary units in Britain or legionaries from *legio VIII Augusta*. The second group consists of the craftsmen, stonemasons and quarrymen, traders or potters who worked in the kilns of Weissenthurm and Mayen. The occurrence of the British brooches at Rheinzabern indicates that there may have been British potters working in East Gaulish and Weissenthurm kilns; the presence of brooches in Mayen can be seen as an indication of the presence of British craftsmen working in the quarries there. The existence of trading connections between Britain and this region also reinforces the possibility that the brooches could have been brought via the mechanism of trade, although not necessarily through a trade in brooches.

5.1.5. *British brooches in the Agri Decumates area*

Two British brooches datable to the mid second century and one trumpet, exact type unknown, have been reported from Darmstadt and Bickenbach. The T162 type knee brooch from Bickenbach was found in the excavation of the Roman swamp bridge built ca AD 145, which provides us with a *terminus post quem* for the brooch having reached

its final destination. The two British brooches from Darmstadt (context unknown) are of a different period: British trumpet brooches usually date to the late first to mid second century, while British knee brooches, type T173A, are known to have been in production from the mid second century AD. It should be stressed at the outset that the knee brooch is kept in the Museum of Darmstadt, but it was not necessarily found in that town: Böhme (1970, 12, note 63) notes that it originated from the region of Hesse, in the vicinity of Darmstadt.

It is noteworthy that all three brooches were found on the Roman road that ran from Gernsheim through Darmstadt towards Dieburg (Batz and Herrmann 1982, 243; Wamser *et al.* 2000, 98, abb. 77). The Roman swamp bridge at Bickenbach was part of this road system. The date of the bridge's construction, ca AD 145, and the fact that two mid-second century British brooches were found on one road further suggest that the objects reached their destinations at the same time and through the same mechanism. In this context a mid second-century British brooch reported from Stockstadt can be considered relevant – the Roman fort at Stockstadt was also connected by this road system through Drieburg (Talbert *et al.* 2000, map 12; *Imperium Romanum* 2005, 155, abb. 166; Steidl 2008, 76, abb. 65).

The construction of the bridge at Bickenbach coincides with the reconstruction of the Odenwald-Neckar limes and its forts in stone. The bridge was built to transport goods to the frontier and after the frontier was rebuilt the bridge fell out of use (Batz and Herrmann 1982, 243). It seems reasonable to suggest that the road was used not only for the transportation of goods but also by the army to supply recruits to the limes. The occurrence of two mid second-century British brooches along the route to the Odenwald-Neckar frontier can be seen as an indication that their owners passed this road to their posts on this stretch of the Germania Superior limes and can be connected with the second phase of recruitment of Britons to the *numeri* stationed on this frontier (cf. chapter 3, section 3.3.15.3).

A mid second-century British brooch reported from Mainz (context unknown) can be considered in the same light. The legionary fortress of Mainz was connected via the Rhine with the fort at Gernsheim, from where the road leads to Stockstadt via Dieburg. Since some Britons were relocated to Odenwald-Neckar forts in the mid second century, it is likely that the road they would have taken started at Mainz.

To summarise, Britons, recruited around AD 145, were relocated to the Odenwald-Neckar frontier in the mid second century AD by the road, running from Gernsheim to Dieburg via Bickenbach and Darmstadt, which also connected the legionary fortress of Mainz with the Odenwald-Neckar forts. The occurrence of three British-made brooches on these sites is connected to such a transfer.

5.1.6. *British brooches in the German Barbaricum*

Four British brooches have been reported from *Germania Libera*: one mid second-century specimen is recorded from a burial in Loxstedt, Germany; three third-century British brooches are also known, two from cremation graves in Vrbice, Czech Republic, and Weissenfels, Germany; one from another burial in Loxstedt.

These brooches are not the only British objects reported from that part of the *Barbaricum*. Morris (2010, appendix 7 and 8, 191-195; figs 4.36 and 4.37) provides examples of British horse gear and enamel metalwork reported from seven different sites. A British Belgic Iron Age bronze bowl datable to the early first century AD was found in a burial discovered in Łęg Piekarski, Poland (Megaw 1963).

Morris (2010, 112) notes that in the late second to third century contact between this area of *Barbaricum* and the wider Roman world experienced its peak. Goods reached the area via “intermediate Germanic groups following the trade in the border areas”, most likely the North Germanic mercenaries along the frontier (Morris 2010, 115, 117). Some

of inhabitants of the areas in northern Germany from where the British objects were reported may have served as auxiliaries in the Roman army, in particular in the forts on the Rhine frontier, whose recruitment was the result of treaties made after the Marcomannic wars, AD 166 – 184 (Morris 2010, 118). It has been suggested that the tradition of mercenary service of Northern Germanic recruits dates back to the Early Principate and became a routine practice in the third century (Wells 1999, 46-47, 71 and 73; criticised by James 2005). One might regard the British objects in the *Barbaricum* as being the result of the service of Northern Germanic recruits in the Roman army stationed in Britain.

Another possibility, expressed by Morris (2010, 120) in relation to only one British brooch from Loxstedt, is that the British third-century objects, reached the *Barbaricum* as a result of “a Chaucian raid on the southern British coast”; in the third century, this British region was often under attack from Chaucian pirates. The fact that essentially all British brooches recorded in the *Barbaricum* have been discovered in graves (two being grave goods in cremation graves and surviving intact), suggests that they were regarded by their owners as valuable objects.

To summarise, these British brooches are likely to have reached their destinations as a result of the military connections outlined by Morris (2010, 118) or with returning Northern Germanic veterans.

5.1.7. *British brooches and British objects from other locations in Germania Superior*

The British brooch, T90 type, was located at Bingen²⁸⁹ and its occurrence should not come as a surprise considering the involvement of British detachments in the Chattian Wars. The British brooch is not the only British find recorded at Bingen. Moore (1978, 326, no D1) draws attention to the British enamel bowl recorded at that site. At Bingen a Roman bridge was located, built during the reign of Vespasian (Cüppers 1990, 333-334). The bridge was constructed across the river Nahe and was part of a road system that connected the legionary fortress at Mainz with the forts and fleet base at Cologne. It is plausible that the troops, including legionary detachments from a British legion, transferred to the Wetterau region in preparation for the Chattian Wars passed this river crossing.

In connection to this detachment other British objects recorded in the region of Hessen are worth mentioning: two pieces of horse gear from Ober Olm and Hofheim (Morris 2010, 191, nos 3 and 4). The specimen from Ober Olm was a surface find and appeared not to have any traces of wear: it might have therefore been a new piece (Morris 2010, 191, no 3). The specimen from Taunus was found in the excavations of the Claudian-Neronian fort. Both objects are datable to the mid first century. The chronological gap (the unit was transferred overseas during the Flavian period, whereas the objects are likely to have arrived earlier) therefore appears to undermine the idea that both objects might have belonged to the cavalry unit of this legionary detachment, or indeed to any British cavalry unit²⁹⁰. The occurrence of two British objects that were possibly used by a cavalry soldier invites the suggestion that their owners served in the cavalry regiments of the units that took part in the invasion of AD 43 and some time

²⁸⁹ This brooch was recorded by Morris (2010, 184, no 64) as having been found at Bingen, but in the original publication cited by this author, Exner (1939, group I.A.4), the brooch is recorded as belonging to a group, which, according to the depiction provided in the original publication, does not resemble the British Colchester brooch type. In the description of the type itself, Exner (1939, 73) notes that that the brooches were decorated with three coloured enamels, green, red and yellow, which do not appear on any Colchester types or Colchester derivatives. Moreover, for unknown reasons Morris states that Bingen was the only findspot, while in Exner brooches of this type were said to have been found at five more locations. I assume here that Morris used another publication, in which the Colchester brooch was indeed cited as having been found in Bingen, although he omitted the relevant bibliographical note.

²⁹⁰ It is possible that *ala I Britannica* also took part in the Chattian Wars (chapter 3, section 3.2.1).

later were transferred overseas, specifically to this region of Germania. The likely candidates are the soldiers in the *legio XIV Gemina*, which took part in the invasion and around AD 70 was transferred from Britain to the legionary fortress at Mainz (Farnum 2005, 23). Ober Olm and Hofheim are in direct proximity to Mainz.

The British brooch reported from Diersheim was found in the field of the Suebian cemetery (Nierhaus 1966, 105-106). While burial is dated to the reign of Hadrian (Nierhaus 1966, 106), since the brooch was a surface find, it could have been brought to the cemetery either earlier or soon after this period.

It is known that *Suebi* served in Britain: *vexillatio Sueborum Longovicanorum* is recorded on an inscription found in Leicester (RIB 1074). The inscription is dated to AD 238 – 244 and is the only record of this detachment in Britain (Jarrett 1994, 73). Unfortunately, there is no further information that *Suebi* were recruited earlier to serve in the auxiliary units or that in the late first-second century they were sent to the units garrisoned in Britain. Taking into account that the British brooch is datable to the late first-century and was found in a context datable to the time of Hadrian, the idea that the object was brought by a returning *Suebi* veteran can be dismissed at the outset.

Diersheim lies in the vicinity of the legionary fortress at Strasbourg: ca 13 km from it on the Rhine. Strasbourg was the legionary fortress of *legio VIII Augusta* from AD 90 until 406 (Farnum 2005, 21). The British brooch could have been brought by a member of the *legio VIII Augusta*, a detachment of which served in Britain. Earlier in the present section the possibility that some British brooches were brought to Germania Superior by soldiers of this detachment was discussed in detail. The occurrence of the British brooch on this site further supports this assumption.

The British brooch discovered at Münz(en)berg was reported as having been found on the site of the Roman villa from a context datable to AD 150 – 200. Since it is unknown on which grounds the context was dated to this period²⁹¹, it is better not to use this as an indication for a *terminus post quem* for when the brooch was brought to the site. Considering that Münz(en)berg lies somewhere in the region of Wiesbaden, it is likely that this British object arrived at the site as a result of a troop transfer in advance of the Chattian Wars.

5.1.8. Conclusion

A total of 77 British brooches was reported from the Roman province of Germania Superior and *Germania Libera*. These areas have the largest number of British brooches – 32 per cent of the total number of brooches discovered on the Continent.

The majority of British brooches is concentrated in one particular region, the Wetterau-Taunus frontier zone, and most of them are datable to the late first century. The analysis of the historical and epigraphic sources has shown that it is theoretically possible that these British objects were brought to the region by the soldiers in the detachment of the *legio IX Hispana* sent overseas to take part in the Chattian Wars of Domitian, AD 83 – 85. The brooches were discovered on sites that were specially built to accommodate the advancing Roman army and which, after the wars ended, were reconstructed in order to garrison small units the size of *numeri*. It is unknown what happened with the detachment after the wars ended, but based on the occurrence of British brooches in two forts on the Taunus frontier, it has been suggested that part of the detachment was sent to build the new stretch of the limes.

Around AD 100 there is evidence that the Roman frontier was moved down to the Odenwald-Neckar region and the first small-size fortlets were constructed on this line. Which units participated in the construction cannot be established from the epigraphic

²⁹¹ Exner (1939, 79, no 22) notes that this information was taken by him from the notes of the excavator of the *Römisch-Germanischen Kommission* Ritterling.

record, although the archaeological evidence provides a hint. At two forts on this stretch two late first-century British brooches have been reported, which is taken here as an indication that after the British detachment left the Taunus stretch, some surviving members of this *vexillatio* were relocated to construct the new frontier line in the Odenwald-Neckar region.

Epigraphic records from the Odenwald-Neckar frontier dated to the mid second century attest the presence of the British *numeri*. The archaeological evidence indicates that the soldiers to these units were transferred from Britain after the campaigns of Lollius Urbicus in southern Scotland in ca AD 141 – 142: the occurrence of two mid second-century British brooches at two Odenwald-Neckar forts and of three British brooches of the same period in *Agri Decumanes* and the legionary fortress at Mainz are such indications.

The second group of people who might have brought British brooches to the region are returning veterans. Evidence from military diplomas and various types of inscriptions shows that some discharged soldiers chose to return to their homelands. While there are no written sources that help to establish the return of particular groups, the archaeological record indicates that *Vangiones* and possibly *Treveri* returned to their tribal lands. The occurrence of female-associated British brooches on sites in these tribal territories was considered to be an indication that female partners of these veterans came back with them, although the origin of these women is a matter of debate. The occurrence of four British brooches in the *Barbaricum* was also connected with the presence of Northern Germanic soldiers or mercenaries returning home after their possible service in Britain.

The third likely group of people are traders trading with Britain, potters working in the pottery kilns at Weissenthurm and Rheinzabern or craftsmen working in the quarries of Mayen. There is no historical or epigraphic record that would confirm that there was an exchange of potters between Britain and Continent, or specifically the Mayen-Koblenz region, but the occurrence of some British brooches on the sites where the wares were made leads to the suggestion that some of the British objects were brought by British potters, who were possibly in training at the Continental kilns, or by Continental potters returning home from Britain. Considering that some of the wares produced in the workshops of the Eifel region and querns in the workshops of Mayen were traded with Britain, the possibility that the British brooches were brought as a result of this trade cannot be ruled out.

5.2. British brooches in Germania Inferior

In total, 73 British-made brooches have been found on 23 sites in Germania Inferior and northern parts of Gallia Belgica; one brooch is without provenance (fig. 5.4). While the majority of the brooches is dated to the late first century, mid second to third-century types are also present. The areas of brooch concentrations are the frontier regions; more than 20 examples alone were found in the *civitas* capital of the *Batavi*, *Ulpia Noviomagus Batavorum*, and the nearby legionary fortress, both in modern-day Nijmegen, the Netherlands. A fraction of British brooches was located on civilian sites situated in the *civitates Batavorum*, *Nerviorum*, *Menapiorum* and *Tungrorum*.

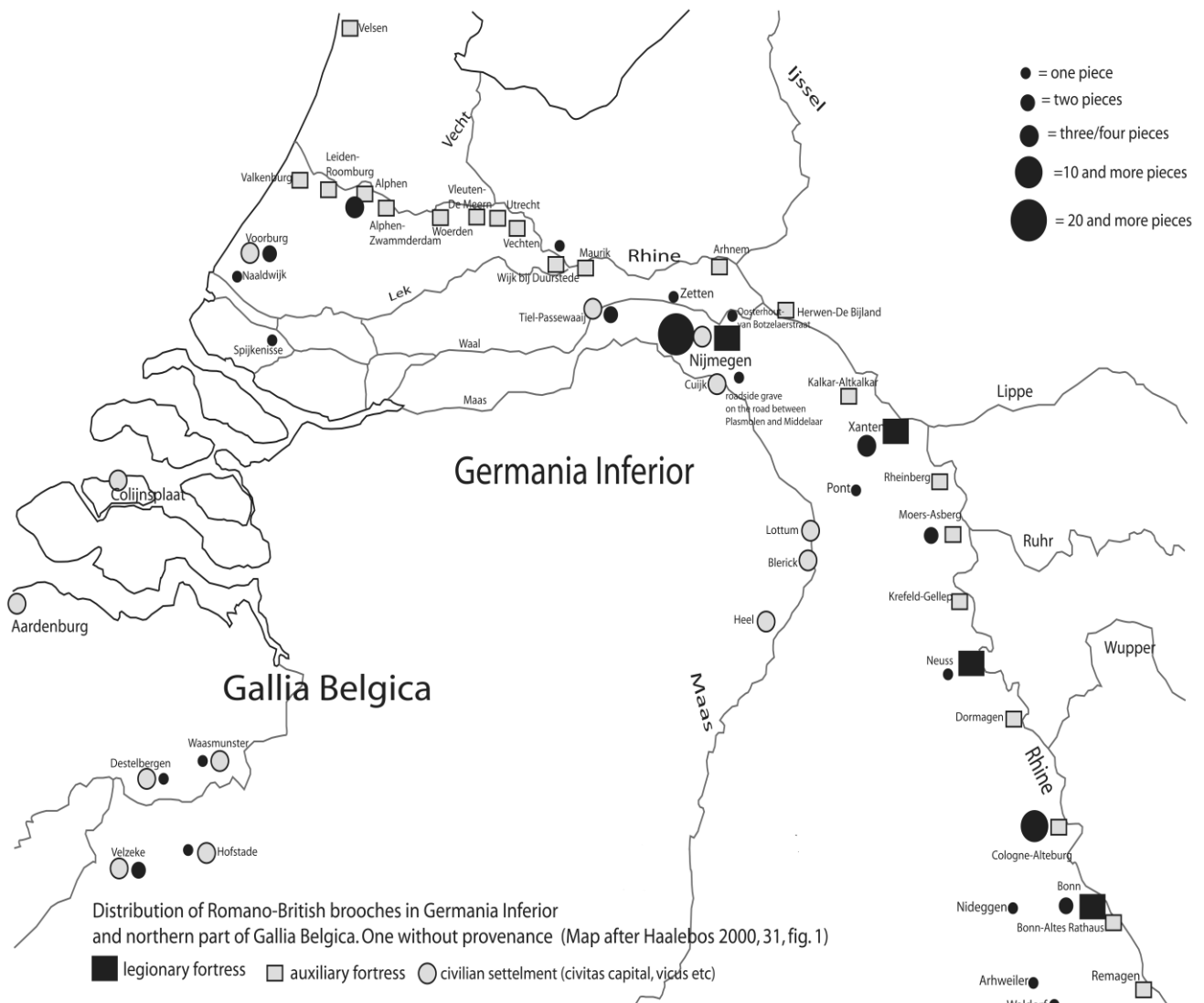


Figure 5.4 Distribution of British-made brooches in Germania Inferior

This section is structured around the various possible ways of establishing the presence of Britons in Germania Inferior and northern parts of Gallia Belgica. Since it is known from the epigraphic sources that two British cohorts and one detachment served on the limes of Germania Inferior, it seems reasonable to start the discussion with them. A total of 35 British brooches was found on sites where the epigraphy is silent about the presence of Britons. While it was clear from the section on Germania Superior that in some cases British brooches were brought by persons who hailed from Britain, it is useful to check whether the same conclusion applies to the occurrence of British brooches in the provinces discussed here on sites without any epigraphic indication of a British presence. This is discussed in the second part of this section.

5.2.1. British units and British brooches on the limes of Germania Inferior

Epigraphic evidence attests four units that arrived in Germania Inferior from Britain:

- *Cohors II Britannorum milliaria*
- *Cohors VI Brittonum*
- *Vexillatio Britannica*
- *Legio IX Hispana*

The first two parts of this section start with a discussion of the occurrence of British brooches on the sites where two British auxiliary units were stationed (their history and deployment was discussed in the chapter 3, sections 3.3.9 and 3.3.15, and is omitted here). The occurrence of more than 20 British brooches in Nijmegen and the tile stamps of *vexillatio Britannica*, garrisoned at the legionary fortress, as well as the reconstruction of the unit's history, is discussed in the third part of this section.

5.2.1.1. British brooches and *Cohors II Britannorum milliaria*

Cohors II Britannorum served in Germania Inferior prior to its transfer to Moesia after AD 98 and participated in the construction of two forts, those of Vechten and Xanten (for the discussion, see chapter 3, section 3.3.9).

Four British brooches have been found in Xanten: three late first-century types and one midsecond-century. The provenance of two brooches is known: both were discovered in the town of *Colonia Ulpia Traianensis*. None of the brooches came from the fort area. So far no British brooches have been reported from Vechten but one British-made pendant for a horse is recorded there²⁹². One brooch was located at the site 'De Horden', probably the rural settlement in the vicinity of fort Wijk bij Duurstede, which is situated east of the fort at Vechten.

The context of the pendant was not recorded by Morris (2010, 191, no 5), nor was the original publication available to the present author; it is therefore unknown where exactly the find comes from. Considering that the pendant was probably manufactured in a workshop in the south of Britain, it can be suggested that it was brought by a person who had served in the invasion forces. The Vechten fort was part of the chain of forts built for the invasion of Britain, probably as early as the reign of Caligula (Polak *et al.* 2004, 251; Polak 2009, 949). It is therefore possible that this object was brought by a soldier returning home after the invasion. It is known that the inhabitants of the area, Batavians and Frisians, were recruited to serve in the Roman army from the mid first century onwards, and Batavian cohorts are suspected to have been part of the auxiliary forces during the invasion (Jarrett 1994, 54-55; Spaul 2000, 205-206). Moreover, it is known from the epigraphic record that *ala I Thracum*, stationed at least until AD 124 in Britain, was posted in the fort at Vechten in the mid second to third centuries (*CIL XIII* 8818; Bogaers 1974, 210-213; Jarrett 1994, 44; Polak and Wynia 1991, 146). Since this British-made object was an item used in decorating a horse, it must have belonged to a person who served in a cavalry unit. A soldier in the *ala* is a perfect candidate.

The brooch from the rural settlement 'De Horden' in the vicinity of the fort at Wijk bij Duurstede might have reached the site on the clothes of a soldier or his partner from a unit other than *cohors II Britannorum*; from AD 70 to 83 the fort was garrisoned by *cohors I Thracum equitata*. It is generally assumed that this unit served in Britain prior to its redeployment to Germania Inferior in AD 70 (Bogaers 1974, 198; Jarrett 1994, 66, though he also proposes another reconstruction of the unit's history). A soldier or his partner (the brooch is a female-associated type) may have brought the object among his or her personal possessions. The epigraphic evidence is silent about the origin of the

²⁹² In total, ca 500 brooches have been reported from the area of Bunnik-Vechten (van Romondt 1840; Muller 1895; van Hoorn 1936, 39; Kalee 1980; Haalebos 1986, 78); yet none have been recognised as British-made as of 1986, but in the excavations conducted in 1996 one British-made brooch has been reported (Laurens van der Feijst photos, catalogue de Bruin, van der Feijst and Heeren). This information has been received upon the completion of the thesis and is therefore not included into the database.

soldiers in the cohort when it was serving in Germania Inferior. Since the unit most likely arrived in Britain during the Claudian invasion (Bogaers 1974, 200), after ca 30 years of service in a province most of the original members of the unit would have been discharged or dead, and the decision may have been made to practice local recruitment to some extent. The proximity of the fort to the rural settlement 'De Horden', where the brooch was found, suggests that it was brought by a person living in the fort or who had connections with the soldiers in *cohors I Thracum*.

The late first-century brooches from Xanten may also have arrived at the town on the clothes of soldiers not from *cohors II Britannorum* but from *ala Classiana*. At the fort of *Burginatum*, which is situated in the vicinity of today's small town of Kalkar-Altalkar north of Xanten, a needle was found (Boelicke *et al.* 2000, 32). It has been suggested by Boelicke *et al.* (2000, 32) that the needle was made in Britain, since an exact parallel was found at the fort at Caerleon in Wales²⁹³. The needle may have belonged to a member of *ala Classiana*, which was stationed at *Burginatum* from AD 122 to 127 (Boelicke *et al.* 2000, 32), but prior to that was in Britain (Jarrett 1994, 42). The occurrence of a British needle at the site of *Burginatum* indicates that soldiers were allowed to take their personal possessions with them to their new postings. Most likely soldiers took not only needles produced in Britain, but also British-made brooches.

The occurrence of a mid second-century type in Xanten, however, can be connected with the service of British soldiers, though no British cohorts are attested here in this period.

Two inscriptions venerating British mother goddesses, erected by two soldiers from the *legio XXX Ulpia Victrix*, were found in Xanten and it has been suggested here that their origin was Britain (cf. chapter 4, section 4.2). The votive monuments were erected sometime after AD 160 and this coincides chronologically with the presence of the half-disk-and-trumpet British brooch in Xanten. The occurrence of the mid second-century brooch there can therefore be connected with the presence of British legionaries in the *legio XXX Ulpia Victrix*.

To summarise, the British brooches found in Xanten and the civilian settlement 'De Horden' could have been brought by soldiers serving in units which, prior to their transfer to Germania Inferior, had been stationed in Britain rather than by members of the *cohors II Britannorum*. While it is possible that the soldiers from the transferred units were British recruits, it is not possible to identify them due to the absence of epigraphic evidence. However, the occurrence of a midsecond-century British-made brooch and votive inscriptions venerating the British mother goddesses might indicate the presence of British legionary soldiers at Xanten.

5.2.1.2. British brooches and *Cohors VI Brittonum*

This cohort was stationed in Germania Inferior from AD 98 until after AD 152, as is evident from six military diplomas issued for the army of Germania Inferior (chapter 3, section 3.3.15). While a graffito from a fortlet at Ockenburgh indicates that a detachment of the unit might have been stationed here in the mid second century AD, it is unknown in what fort the whole cohort was garrisoned. In the vicinity of this fortlet three British-made brooches were found.

One brooch, a trumpet 2A, comes from Naaldwijk, a Roman settlement, which possibly had some kind of military installation (Feijst *et al.* 2008, also chapter 3, section 3.3.15).

²⁹³ It is of course possible that the needle reported from Caerleon was actually German-made, i.e. a German needle was brought to England and left at Caerleon.

The second British-made brooch of the same type was found ca 20 km from Ockenburgh and ca 10 km from Naaldwijk, on the site of 'Halfweg' in Spijkenisse. The site was probably a civilian settlement.

The third brooch, a dragonesque, was recorded as having been found in the region of Rotterdam. Since both Spijkenisse and Naaldwijk are in the direct vicinity of Rotterdam, it is possible to connect the occurrence of this brooch with the two other ones. In other words, it might have arrived there through the same mechanism and with the same group of people who brought the two trumpet 2A brooches.

The occurrence of three British brooches in the same region was considered as a possible indication that a detachment of, or the whole, *cohors VI Brittonum* were indeed garrisoned somewhere in the vicinity of Ockenburgh and Naaldwijk (chapter 3, section 3.3.15). The trumpet 2A brooch, fashionable during Flavian and Trajanic times, could have been brought by a soldier or his partner (the brooch is female-associated) when the cohort was building its fort and have reached Spijkenisse with a person visiting the settlement for any number of reasons. While this assumption seems plausible, another one can also be proposed.

Naaldwijk might have been a fleet station of the *Classis Germanica* (Feijst *et al.* 2008, 208-209). A tribesman of the *Dumnonii*, Aemilius, son of Saenus, served in the *Classis Germanica* sometime near the end of first century and he was probably not the only one (cf. chapter 4, section 4.6). British mariners could have been recruited to serve in the German fleet, especially in the unit that played an active role in the transportation of goods and men to and from Britain. If Naaldwijk was indeed a harbour, then the presence of British brooches there and in Spijkenisse can be connected with the German fleet's activity in this region.

To summarise, the presence of the *cohors VI Brittonum* in the southwest of Germania Inferior can only be supported by the presence of one graffito on the site of a fortlet at Ockenburgh and by the occurrence of three British brooches at Naaldwijk, Spijkenisse and in the Rotterdam region. The brooches, however, could have also have reached the area through the activity of the German fleet, which probably contained British recruits. In general, these brooches were brought to the sites through the mechanism of troop transfer, i.e. from Britain to Germania Inferior, though the current state of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence does not allow the possibility of analysing this mechanism in much detail.

5.2.1.3. *Vexillatio Britannica*, *Legio IX Hispana* and the presence of Britons in Nijmegen

A total of 24 British-made brooches was found at various places on the site of modern-day Nijmegen in the Netherlands. Of these 24 brooches, 22 date to the late first century and only two, based on their stylistic features, were produced in mid second century. The late first-century brooches were discovered within the Nijmegen fortress (the legionary fortress of Hunerberg, see van Buchem 1941, p. 112, no 1194 and Nellissen 1989, p. 50, no 85) and at the cemeteries of *civitas Batavorum* (see van Buchem 1941, p. 113, nos 1202, 1203 and 1205), although none are from securely dated contexts. The contexts of the mid second-century types are also unknown.

Of the 22 late first-century types, 6 were of trumpet 2A type, 1 of trumpet 2B type, 11 of headstud type, 4 umbonate and 1 dragonesque. The same types in basically the same numbers in the same chronological context were found in Germania Superior, on the Taunus and Wetterau frontier (Table 5.2).

Table 5.2 The occurrence of various types of British-made brooches in the provinces of Germania Superior and Inferior

British brooch type	Number in Germania Superior, on Taunus and Wetterau frontier	Number in Germania Inferior in Nijmegen
Trumpet 2A	4	6
Trumpet 2B	4	1
Headstud and its derivatives	4	11
Umbonate	1	4
Colchester derivatives (dolphin, Polden Hill)	10	Only four dolphin and Polden Hills types are known from the Alphen aan den Rijn fort.
Total	23	22

It has been claimed (Bogaers 1965 – 1966, 27-28) that the 22 British brooches arrived in Germania Inferior with soldiers from the *vexillatio Britannica*, a British detachment, and the *legio IX Hispana*, both transferred from Britain and known from hundreds of tile stamps found in the area. In the fortress at Hunerberg in Nijmegen alone, 130 tile stamps of *vexillatio Britannica* and three of *legio IX Hispana* have been recorded (Brunsting and Steures 1995, 91). Tiles of the British detachment occur also in *Ulpia Noviomagus*, in the military fort at Vechten (Bogaers 1965 – 1966, 15; *CIL* XIII 12556,1), at other forts such as “Katwijk and Zwammerdam, legionary tilerly at Groesbeek-De Holdeurn” and at various rural sites in the Nijmegen region (for the full list see Swan 2009b, 83, note 98).

The detachment’s name indicates it was made up of detachments of legions stationed in Britain and, most likely, was accompanied by auxiliaries, that had been garrisoned in the same province. The legion, *IX Hispana*, as has often been claimed (Farnum 2005, 21), went from its base in York in Britain to Nijmegen in Germania Inferior sometime during the first decade of the second century. Thus, logically, soldiers from either unit could have been responsible for the presence of the 24 British-made brooches in Nijmegen. However, it is not as simple as that. It has long been suggested that both units were present in Nijmegen up to AD 122 (Brunsting and Steures 1995, 86; Willems and van Enckevort 2009, 56), which means that the presence of the second-century brooches are out of context. Moreover, there are at least four theories regarding the date when both units were on service in Nijmegen. Three of them are based on analysis of the aforementioned tile stamps, the fourth is the result of the most recent study of pottery from Nijmegen and York. It is useful to discuss all four theories in detail and to consider which one helps to explain the occurrence of the 24 British brooches in Nijmegen.

Theory 1: *Vexillatio Britannica* as detachment from auxiliary units stationed in Britain

This theory, developed by Bogaers, holds that the *vexillatio Britannica* was present in Nijmegen from AD 104 to 120, but that it came not from Britain but from the Danube region. The *legio IX Hispana*, by contrast, went directly from Britain to Germania Inferior and the soldiers of this legion brought British brooches there (Bogaers 1965 – 1966, 26-27). The detachment itself was composed of various auxiliary units, stationed at that time in Britain: the epigraphy evidences for the service of the soldiers of *ala Tampiana* and *ala Vocontiorum* (*CIL* III 4466 and XIII 8805). In other words, the *vexillatio Britannica* was formed of drafts from different *alae*, stationed in Britain and sent overseas in ca AD 80 to areas where a military presence was needed (Bogaers 1965 – 1966, 21). This detachment was transferred to the Danube during the reign of Domitian. When the unit’s services were no longer needed there, it was relocated to the

province of Germania Inferior, where in the period of AD 104 – 120 it was garrisoned in the fortress in Nijmegen. After AD 120 the detachment returned to Britain and the drafts rejoined their units. Bogaers' theory means that whoever brought the British brooches to Nijmegen did not serve in *vexillatio Britannica*, since that unit arrived in the province directly from the Danube and not from Britain. In order to explain the occurrence of British brooches Bogaers suggests (1965 – 1966, 27) that they arrived on the clothes of legionaries from *legio IX Hispana*. The legion was transferred to Nijmegen after the British detachment left it and stayed there for a short period of time, ca AD 120 – 122, after which it was sent to the East (Bogaers 1965 – 1966, 26).

Bogaers' theory has some attractions but also some problems. Recent research carried out by van der Linden (discussed in Swan 2009b, 83) indicates that the Nijmegen fortress was virtually empty after AD 105, while the presence of tile stamps suggests that it was still garrisoned but by a rather small unit, the role of which would suit the *vexillatio Britannica* perfectly. If Bogaers is right that the detachment was formed from drafts of *alae*, then the number of soldiers could have been no more than 500 – the size of a small unit suitable to have temporarily occupied the legionary fortress and stopped it falling into decline. However, the research on the legionary fortress in York has shown that *legio IX Hispana* had almost certainly left its base by about AD 114 (Swan 2009b, 83), making Bogaers' suggestion that the legion reached Nijmegen ca AD 120 – 122 impossible (otherwise, one needs to find a fortress where the legion was garrisoned for six to eight years). If *legio IX Hispana* was indeed transferred overseas, it should have reached Nijmegen by AD 114, but the pottery evidence indicates that the fortress was virtually empty between AD 104 and 122 and could not have been occupied by a full legion. Only a small-size unit, consisting of 500 men, probably lived there. While Bogaers' *vexillatio Britannica* is a good candidate, we must accept that after all the Danubian wars the unit still had British recruits.

Theory 2: *Vexillatio Britannica* and *legio X Gemina*

According to this theory, developed by Brunsting and Steures, the *vexillatio* was in Nijmegen together with the *legio X* before both units were transferred to the Danube ca AD 71 – 104 (Brunsting and Steures 1995, 108). The *legio IX Hispana* also came to Nijmegen from Britain, but stayed there for a brief period, from ca AD 122 to 130 (Brunsting and Steures 1995, 108).

Brunsting and Steures (1995, 104-108) analysed 147 tiles stamped VEXBRIT found in the stone forum in *canabae legionis* and in granary II, dated to the late AD 90s. These tiles were found in the same context as the tiles of *legio XV Primigenia*, the legion that was in Nijmegen prior to the relocation there of the *legio X Gemina* in AD 71. The co-occurrence of tiles of *vexillatio Britannica* and *legio XV*, and the absence of tiles from *legio X* in the same context, led Brunsting and Steures to suggest (1995, 104) that the detachment was producing tiles before the *legio X* started to produce their own. This also means that the detachment was in Nijmegen at the same time as the *legio X* and helped start off tile production.

On the basis of their analysis of the tiles from the two buildings, Brunsting and Steures (1995, 108) propose that the British detachment arrived in Nijmegen in AD 90, or slightly before that, with the special task of helping with construction work, particularly the building of granary II in the legionary fortress. They suggest that the unit was formed by Domitian in AD 88 in order to be sent to the Danube to take part in his Dacian Wars, but had to stop in Nijmegen in AD 89 because of Saturninus' revolt in Mainz that year (Brunsting and Steures 1995, 105). After the unit had finished its task in Nijmegen, it continued on its way to the Danube. Brunsting and Steures follow Bogaers' (1965 – 1966, 19) idea that the *vexillatio Britannica* was composed of detachments drafted from legions and auxiliary units stationed in Britain and that the *legio IX*

Hispana was in Nijmegen for a brief period of time, ca AD 122, and was on its way from York in Britain, to the East (Brunsting and Steures 1995, 108).

Brunsting and Steures's theory is not supported by the new research on the finds from the fortress, which suggests that the British detachment was not contemporary with *legio X*, because of the absence of tiles produced by this detachment from the *canabae* of the fortress, built on the orders of the *legio X* (Swan 2009b after Haalebos 2000b, 26-27). If the unit's task was indeed to aid in the construction of the fortress, then it should also have participated in building the *canabae*. The occurrence of tile stamps in granary II does not directly indicate involvement of the British detachment in its construction (Swan 2009b, 84, note 100). The stamps could have been reused by a later unit garrisoned at the fort (Willems and van Enkevort 2009, 52).

Theory 3a: *vexillatio Britannica* as detachment of *legio IX Hispana* and other auxiliary units posted in Britain

This theory, developed by Haalebos (2000b, 26-28) and repeated in Willems and van Enkevort (2009, 128), states that the *vexillatio* was in Nijmegen in AD 104 – 120 together with a detachment of *legio IX Hispana*. This detachment was actually part of the *vexillatio Britannica* rather than being an independent unit, i.e. the British detachment was composed of the *vexillatio* of the *legio IX Hispana* and various detachments raised from *alae* stationed in Britain at that time (Willems and van Enkevort 2009, 128). The only problem here is if the British detachment was composed of soldiers from all British legions, then why did only legionaries from the *legio IX Hispana* have their own stamp (Bogaers 1965 – 1966, 24)? In other words, what made the detachment of the *legio IX Hispana* so special? While Willems and van Enkevort do not provide an explanation for this, Bogaers' answer to this is that there was no detachment of the *legio IX Hispana* in Nijmegen, but that the whole legion was present there.

Theory 3b: *vexillatio Britannica* as a detachment of *legio IX Hispana* and other auxiliary units posted in Britain

According to this theory, developed by Swan, the *legio IX Hispana* never served in Nijmegen, but a detachment known as *vexillatio Britannica* was present there ca AD 105. Swan (2009b, 83-84) offers a brief but profound discussion of the presence of *vexillatio Britannica* and *legio IX Hispana* in the area of Nijmegen.

Legio VIII was not transferred from York to Nijmegen at all, since the pottery evidence shows that after AD 105 neither the Nijmegen fortress nor the *canabae* were occupied (Swan 2009b, 83). The presence of the British *vexillatio* in Nijmegen is dated to AD 105. This British *vexillatio* would have consisted of detachments from various British legions (one definitely being the *legio IX Hispana*) and men shipped from some auxiliary units stationed in Britain. The latter could be the previously mentioned *ala Tampiana* and *ala Vocontiorum*.

The British detachment's role is unknown, but it was most likely involved in renovations and reconstructions of the forts on the Rhine, after the lower Rhine garrison was reduced (units were shipped to Dacia for Trajan's wars). Nijmegen probably took on a storage and supply role with a minimal garrison (Swan 2009b, 84). The occurrence of two types of tile stamps, LEGVIII and VEXBRIT, is explained as stemming from choices by legionaries – one group opted for legionary stamps, another for vexillation (Swan 2009b, 84). The detachment was possibly divided into different groups engaged in building activities at various places, making it possible that there was more than one *vexillatio Britannica* (Swan 2009b, 84, note 103). Another suggestion is that tiles reflects "two successive, but chronologically close, building programmes" (Swan 2009b, 84).

Each of these four theories, all of which address the presence of a British detachment and the *legio IX Hispana*, can be considered on its own. If we are to connect the occurrence of British brooches in Nijmegen with the conclusions and shortcomings of all four theories, it seems that two theories, those of Brunsting and Steures and of Swan, are the ones that most neatly connect the occurrence of British brooches with the presence of a British detachment.

Brunsting and Steures claim that the British detachment was in Nijmegen by ca AD 90. So far there is only one province in the Roman Empire, apart from Germania Inferior, where another British detachment appears in connection with the *legio IX Hispana*: the one in the Chattian Wars of AD 83 – 85 (cf. section 5.1.2). After the end of the Chattian Wars this detachment was divided into small units which were first sent to build the Taunus section of the limes and later were relocated to construct the Odenwald section. In light of the discovery by Brunsting and Steures that a British detachment was in Nijmegen by ca AD 90, it seems reasonable to suggest that part of a British detachment from Germania Superior was sent to Germania Inferior, to the legionary fortress at Nijmegen, mainly to help to build a granary. This would mean that the *vexillatio Britannica* from Nijmegen and the ‘*vexillatio Britannica*’ known from the Chattian Wars were one and the same detachment, which over time was divided into two parts.

Based on Brunsting and Steures’ theory, and the connection proposed here between British detachments in both Germania Superior and Inferior, the following chronology can be considered: 1) in AD 83 – 85 a British detachment, raised from legions stationed in southern Scotland, participated in the Chattian Wars; 2) after the wars ended, part of the detachment stayed in Germania Superior; 3) another was relocated to Nijmegen where it was stationed between ca AD 89 and 104.

The problem with this chronology is that the fortress was occupied by a small unit after the *legio X* left Nijmegen and that the legion did not share the fortress with a British detachment. Everything points to the British detachment having been in the fortress after AD 104 and having played the role of a supporting unit whose main purpose was to supervise the food supply. If we consider that the Nijmegen British detachment arrived directly from Britain ca AD 104, then the absence of Colchester derivative British brooches in the database can be explained (cf. table 5.2).

Ten Colchester derivatives are known from two forts on the Taunus sections of the Germania Superior limes but so far, none have been identified from Nijmegen. To the author of the present work three brooches reported from Nijmegen are known that resemble the British Colchester derivatives: two from the fort on the Kops Plateau (seen in collection of Kam museum, Nijmegen, the Netherlands) and one, T94A, from *Oppidum Batavorum* (Zee 2010, 200-201, fig. 132, no 151), but their exact type is questionable, considering their state of preservation²⁹⁴. The absence of Colchester derivatives indicates that the units which arrived to Germania Inferior came to the Continent later than the units known to have been transferred to Germania Superior.

In general, the occurrence of the 22 late first-century brooches in Nijmegen can be connected with the service of the *vexillatio Britannica*. In this sense, it does not strictly matter when exactly the detachment was transferred to Nijmegen: the brooches and the

²⁹⁴ The T94A dolphin brooch was identified by Zee (2010, 201) as an intermediate product. She suggests that this brooch did not come from Britain, but was made in the Lower Rhine. This brooch is similar to Colchester derivative rearhook brooches in the Portable Antiquities scheme database under nos SF-F56DC1, SF-296737 and SF-C24A11, all found in Suffolk (accessed 14.09.2011) and depicted in Hattatt (2007, 298) under nos 350 (Dorset), 351 (unknown) and 883 (Lincs). Mackreth (2009, 139, 144) sees the Rearhook brooch as an Icenian type, the production of which ended after the Icenian revolt of AD 60/61. I have excluded this brooch from the database, because of its questionable affinity to the British Rearhook.

unit both date to the late first-beginning of the second-centuries. What matters, however, is the place: the likelihood is that brooches reached Nijmegen with soldiers coming from Britain, rather than from the Danube.

Of these 22 brooches, four are of the umbonate type, and this type is considered as being female-associated. Moreover, two umbonate brooches were found together, still attached by a chain and decorated with three metal leaves, which suggests that these brooches were used mainly by a woman. The occurrence of female-associated brooches in Nijmegen indicates that there were women followers who arrived from Britain together with their men.

Five more British-made brooches were found in the civilian settlements situated just outside or not far away from Nijmegen: two at the cemetery next to the Batavian civilian settlement at Tiel-Passewaaij, of which one is a late first-century headstud derivative and the other a mid second-century disk-and-trumpet type (Heeren 2007; Aarts and Heeren 2011, 165, fig. 8.3, no 157x 171, 397-399). One was found at the Batavian settlement of Zetten (trumpet 2B; Braat 1932), one was found in the grave situated on the road between Plasmolen and Middelaar (trumpet 2A), one at Oosterhout-Van Boetzelaerstraat, just north of Nijmegen (disk-and-trumpet) (S. Heeren, P. van den Broeke pers. comm.). Moreover, two more British-made objects were recorded in the Roman cemeteries of *civitas Batavorum*: a 'British' style mirror found in the late first-century grave (Bogaers 1965 – 1966, 27; Jope 2002, 136-137) and a flask with enamel decoration (Koster 1994, 245-250; 1997, 82-83, no 110; Willems and van Enckevort 2009, 142; Morris 2010, 193, no 8).

On the basis of stylistic analysis it has been suggested that the mirror was produced in Britain somewhere at the end of the first century BC (Bogaers 1965 – 1966, 27; Megaw and Megaw 2001, 56, but see Jope 2002, 136-137). The mirror was found in a late first-century grave from the civilian part of the Nijmegen Roman cemetery (Bogaers 1965 – 1966, 27; Jope 2002, 136-137). The occurrence of an object produced at the end of the first century BC in a grave dated to the late first to second centuries AD suggests that it might have been an heirloom, probably brought from Britain (Bogaers 1965 – 1966, 27).

A flask with enamel decoration reported from the cemetery of the urban settlement of Nijmegen exactly matches the moulds found in a workshop in Castleford, UK, and is considered to be a genuine British product (Koster 1994, 248; 1997, 82-83; Morris 2010, 193, no 8). The period of manufacture falls on before AD 80 – 100, since the burial is dated to this period (Koster 1994, 246; 1997, 83). Signs of repair on the flask have been noted: the vessel might have been not new at the time of deposition (Koster 1997, 83). Alongside the flask, other luxury vessels were found in this grave, which probably belonged to a man, who was buried according to local Batavian custom, suggesting that he was of the indigenous Batavian nobility (Willems and van Enckevort 2009, 142). It is worth noting that the workshop where the flask was manufactured, is located in Yorkshire, where one also can find a legionary fortress for the *legio IX Hispana*.

So how did these British-made objects – brooches, a mirror and a flask – reach their destinations in *civitas Batavorum*? The British-made objects found inside the military fortress of Nijmegen might have arrived as a result of troop movements between Britain and Germania Inferior. Were the brooches discovered in civilian contexts then brought there by another group of people, possible returning Batavian veterans, since the sites are situated within *civitas Batavorum*? Or does the occurrence of similarly made British objects in one place point to the presence of British craftsmen who travelled with their patterns and sold locally made objects with typical British 'designs' (cf. Koster 1997, 83)?

It is known from numerous epigraphic and literary sources, the latter mainly Tacitus, that Batavians served in Britain. There were two series of eight cohorts raised from the

Batavian population: the first series was part of Claudius's invasion force in AD 43 and disbanded after the Batavian revolt in AD 69; the second series was raised at the time of the Flavian dynasty and sent to Britain, where they took part in Agricola's campaigns ca AD 70 – 80 (Jarrett 1994, 54; Spaul 2000, 206; but see van Rossum 2004, 118). From epigraphic records, military diplomas and the Vindolanda writing tablets, the history of three Batavian cohorts, the first, third and ninth, are known in detail (Jarrett 1994, 55-56, Spaul 2000, 209-216).

After the end of their service, Batavians preferred to return home from wherever they had been posted, as is evident from military diplomas and archaeological record (Derks and Roymans 2006; Nicolay 2007). Moreover, Batavian veterans brought military equipment they acquired during their service years back home with them (cf. Nicolay 2007). Probably military gear were not the only objects taken back - brooches, exotic mirrors, flasks and toiletry utensils such as nail cleaners were also brought (a British nail cleaner has been found in one of the graves of the excavated cemetery near Batavian settlement in Tiel-Passewaaij (S. Heeren, pers. comment). At Tiel-Passewaaij military equipment was also found, which was interpreted as evidence for the presence of veterans at this rural site (Roymans 2009a, 242-243; Aarts and Heeren in press)

This scenario helps to explain the occurrence of two British brooches of mid second-century date in Nijmegen, the *civitas* capital of the Batavians: it is known that the *cohors I Batavorum* was stationed in Britain for the entire second century. It is possible that, apart from local recruitment, the continuous recruitment of Batavians was practiced as later the second century AD (cf. also Clay 2007, 50 contra Derks 2009, 243, who argued that “the ethnic recruitment for the Batavian auxilia ended in all probability some time in the early 2nd century”).

The observation that the majority of the British finds recorded in the *civitas Batavorum* occurred as burial deposits is in itself significant. While it can be argued that some of the brooches were worn by the deceased, and that was the reason that they ended up in the burial, some were most likely placed in the burial pit as grave goods, since they appear to be devoid of any damage from the pyre. It can equally be argued, of course, that these grave goods did not have any major significance but were simply objects that the person had used in daily life and wished to continue to use in the afterlife. The only question is why someone would have wished to have been buried with a foreign brooch rather than with a locally made one, especially when “the personal identity was not expressed in the Batavian burial ritual [...] and ritual seems to be aimed at the transformation of the deceased into an (anonymous) ancestor” (Aarts and Heeren in press). Was the placing of foreign objects in graves then some kind of a native custom?

The custom of putting foreign objects into sanctuaries or graves was indeed popular in Batavian territory. After their service in the Roman army had finished and they returned home, Batavians would deposit in sanctuaries the objects they had used in daily life while serving as a soldier, suggesting some kind of “ceremonial conclusion of the active warrior stage and the return to the civilian life” (Roymans and Aarts 2005, 355). It is also possible that foreign objects were given to the gods as part of the fulfillment of a vow: after ending their military service the veterans would dedicated their equipment to the gods, who had protected them during their service (Roymans and Aarts 2005, 355). The occurrence of British brooches and other objects in the sanctuaries and graves in the Batavian territory can also be regarded as some kind of ceremonial act of donation.

To summarise, the occurrence of 24 British-made brooches can be explained as a result of troop movements between Britain and Germania Inferior. It is likely that some of the brooches arrived with soldiers from a British detachment, raised from the legions and auxiliary units stationed in Britain. The brooches and British-made objects reported from civilian sites in and around Nijmegen, and from the tribal areas of the Batavians,

could have reached their destinations on clothes or among the personal possessions of returning Batavian veterans. Considering that it is impossible to identify precisely which brooches were brought by returning Batavian veterans or by British recruits, it should be emphasised that both groups had equal opportunities to bring British-made brooches with them. Neither possibility undermines the idea that the brooches reached Batavian territory through the same mechanism, that of army transfer, although who the agents were, i.e. veterans or soldiers, is open to discussion.

5.2.2. *British brooches recorded where the epigraphic record does not attest British auxiliary units*

A total of 38 British-made brooches has been found on 17 sites in Germania Inferior and northern parts of Gallia Belgica where there is no epigraphic evidence for the presence of British auxiliary units. The majority of these brooches (15) was reported from Cologne, Germany, from the territories of the *civitates Nerviorum* and *Menapiorum* (4) and from the Roman fort in Alphen aan den Rijn, the Netherlands (5). The other 14 were found on different sites in both provincial territories. The discussion in this section starts with the site where the British brooches were found in abundance, Cologne, followed by the sites in Alphen aan den Rijn and the settlements in the *civitates Nerviorum* and *Menapiorum*. The fourth part in this section covers those sites where only one or two British-made brooches were found.

5.2.2.1. Britons and British-made brooches in Cologne

Out of the 15 British brooches from Cologne, nine can be dated to the late first century (three trumpet 2A types; two trumpet 2B types; three umbonate and one headstud) and six to the mid second to third centuries (one disk-and-trumpet; two trumpet head derivatives T162; one ‘fly’ T168; two disks T259). In addition to 15 British brooches, there is an epigraphic evidence dated to the late first to mid second centuries for the presence of two British-born soldiers and one mariner serving in Cologne²⁹⁵, of *negotiator Britannicianus* (CIL XIII 8164a) and *ordinarius* (officer) in a *numerus Brittonum* (CIL XIII 8208).

It seems reasonable to suggest that the occurrence of 15 British brooches and the presence of three British soldiers in Cologne is somehow connected. It is clear that it is not necessarily that these military men or (other British?) recruits serving alongside these Britons brought the brooches: the unit of a Trinovantian was not garrisoned in Cologne and a Roman citizen of British origin was probably the only soldier of British descent in his unit (cf. chapter 4, section 4.5). A British-born mariner in the German fleet, however, was probably not the only British recruit (cf. chapter 4, section 4.6). After the Batavian revolt, recruits from other Roman provinces replaced the locals in the *Classis Germanica*. British mariners, especially from the maritime regions of Britain, may have been drafted to serve overseas. The occurrence of three British brooches on the site of the fleet garrison, Alteburg, further supports the idea that there may have been more Britons serving in the German fleet.

The *negotiator Britannicianus*, Caius Aurelius Verus, was involved in the cross-Channel trade of exotic British goods and glass vessels produced in Cologne (cf. chapter 4, section 4.9) and might not have been the only trader in British goods. While only his inscription has survived, one may ask how many votive monuments other *negotiatores Britanniciani* erected in Cologne. Most likely, one such unknown trader was involved in trading of various goods from Britain, which also included exotic British brooches.

²⁹⁵ Catunectus, son of Aesugeslus from Trinovantes; Decimus Senius, a Roman citizen of British origin and Aemilius, son of Saenus, a Roman citizen (*cives*) from the *Dumnones* tribe respectively, cf. chapter 4, sections 4.5 and 4.6.

The presence of a *numerus Brittonum* in the third century in Cologne has been dismissed here: the unit was garrisoned elsewhere (cf. chapter 3, section 3.3.2). The officer of this unit was probably visiting Cologne for private reasons.

In general, the British recruits in the German fleet are the most likely candidates for bringing British-made brooches to Cologne, while some brooches may have arrived there through trade. As said, two late first- and one mid second-century types were found on the site of the fleet base. The findspot of the other 12 brooches was not recorded; therefore it is unknown if they were discovered inside the town proper, *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium*, or on the site of the fleet base at Alteburg. Yet, there is reason to believe that all late first-century brooches belonged to British recruits in the German fleet. Chronologically, the presence of Britons in the fleet coincides with the occurrence of brooches produced in the Flavian period, such as umbonates, headstuds and trumpets. A pair of umbonate brooches found at Alteburg may have belonged to a British woman who followed her partner to his post in Cologne. The occurrence of mid/late second-century types in Cologne can be related to the trade. Archaeological evidence indicates the existence of trade connections between Britain and the Rhineland in this period, though on much smaller scale than in the early second century (Hassall 1978, 46; Morris 2010, 102-110).

5.2.2.2. British-made brooches in Alphen aan den Rijn

Five British-made brooches were found in the vicinity of the fort at Alphen aan den Rijn in the Netherlands: one Colchester-derivative (T92), one Dolphin type (T94), one trumpet (T154A) and two Polden Hills (T98). The occurrence of Polden Hill and trumpet T154A at Alphen provides a *terminus post quem* for when the brooches may have been brought overseas, since both types started to be used after AD 80. The brooches most likely arrived as a group: they were found together, in the same context (Zander 2010, J. de Bruin, pers. comment).

The Colchester derivative was found with a chain directly attached to its cord. So far this brooch is the only example of a Colchester derivative-with-chain found across the Channel. Chains were usually attached to the headloops: cf. examples of Almgren 65 (Poux 2007, 205-209), Pannonian trumpet brooches, or the British trumpet, headstud and umbonate brooches. The British brooch types such as Colchester and its derivatives, dolphin and Polden Hill did not usually have headloops; although there are exceptions. An unmatched brooch pair was found in Newcastle upon Tyne: one was trumpet 2A type, another a 'Polden Hill' brooch with a headloop; both brooches were connected by a chain (Allason-Jones 2005, 53, fig. 16). The Alphen and Newcastle brooches may have been unique, made especially by a craftsman who was asked to add a chain to a brooch: in the first case he did not have necessary tools to make a loop and attached it directly to a chord, in the second the loop was added specially²⁹⁶.

The logical place to start the search for the group of people who may have brought these British brooches to Alphen is the fort itself. The fort *Albaniana*, the Roman name of Alphen aan den Rijn, was garrisoned between AD 70 and 160 by *cohors VI Breucorum* (Polak *et al.* 2004, 252). Unfortunately very little evidence has survived relating to this unit in general: it probably first served in Moesia Superior and was then later transferred to Germania Inferior (Haalebos 2000a, 58; Spaul 2000, 324).

²⁹⁶ The Newcastle trumpet brooch has two loops: the first and larger one is fixed, the second smaller one is loose. The chain was attached to the second headloop. Probably, both the loop on the Polden Hill and the second loop on the trumpet brooches were added at the same time: the owner may not have had enough money to buy another trumpet brooch to make a matching pair; adding loops may have been cheaper. The loop on the Newcastle 'Polden Hill' brooch was therefore added at a later stage with the brooch originally being worn without it.

It is worth noting that cohorts raised from the *Breuci* serving in Germania Inferior have some connection with things ‘British’. From the epigraphic evidence we know that at least one Briton, a Trinovantian, served in the *cohors III Breucorum*. The Breucian units with numerals three and four may have been part of the invasion force in AD 43 (Spaul 2000, 322). While *cohors VI Breucorum* might have been serving prior to AD 70 in Moesia, it is not attested on any diploma for the army of Moesia either before or after AD 70 (Spaul 2000, 324; Weiss 2008; Eck and Pangerl 2009b). The service of the unit in Moesia is supported by a single tile stamp recorded in Kostolac, Serbia (AE 1905, 162). If we are correct in assuming that this cohort, together with other Breucian units, was part of the force that invaded Britain it is possible that it stayed in the province until AD 80 after which it was relocated overseas to Germania Inferior. As in the case of the other unit, the cohort may have practiced local recruitment as early as AD 80, with British recruits joining the ranks in this *cohors VI Breucorum*. The occurrence of five British brooches in Alphen could therefore be connected with the service of *cohors VI Breucorum*, yet there is not enough supporting evidence to suggest that the cohort ever served in Britain.

The fort in Alphen was part of a chain of forts built especially for the invasion of Britain, probably as early as the reign of Caligula (Polak *et al.* 2004, 251). In that sense, the brooches from Britain may have been brought by soldiers returning to their homelands after the invasion. Batavians and Frisians were recruited to serve in the Roman army from the mid first century onwards and Batavian cohorts are suspected to have been part of the auxiliary forces during the invasion (Jarrett 1994, 54-55; Spaul 2000, 205-206). Yet the production of some of these brooches began after AD 80. If locals, i.e. Batavians and Frisians, were recruited in AD 40 – 43 at the age of 20 – 25, they would have been in their late 60s in AD 80. We also need to take into account war losses, life in an unknown territory, the Boudiccan revolt, *etc.* – the soldiers who arrived with the initial invasion force may not have survived to that age.

Chronologically, the occurrence of the British brooches coincides with the withdrawal of troops from Britain during the reign of Domitian. The *legio II Adiutrix* was redeployed from its post at Chester in Britain to Pannonia on the orders of Domitian ca AD 86 and, interestingly, one of the brooches reported from Alphen, a trumpet T154A, is called ‘the Chester type’ (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 235). This type is considered to be a local variant of which the distribution was concentrated in the southern Severn Valley and Midlands (Cool 2003, 11). The Chester variant of the trumpet brooch might have been brought to Alphen by soldiers from *legio II Adiutrix*, who were stationed in the area of distribution of this type. Could it be that *legio II Adiutrix* was transferred to its new post on the Danube via the province of Germania Inferior? Some soldiers of this legion could have been garrisoned in fort *Albaniana* for some time, e.g. over the winter period, when the river Rhine was frozen.

To summarise, since brooches were discovered in the vicinity of the fort, it is likely that the group of people who brought the brooches to the site belonged to military circles. In which unit these soldiers were serving and what their origin could have been is unknown, but some hypotheses have been proposed here, e.g. that they were British recruits in *cohors VI Breucorum*, if the unit was indeed garrisoned in Britain prior to AD 80, or legionary soldiers from *legio II Adiutrix* redeployed from its post in Chester in Britain to Pannonia in AD 86.

5.2.2.3. British-made brooches in *civitates Nerviorum* and *Menapiorum*

Five brooches of the same type, disk-and-trumpet, were found on the border between *civitates Menapiorum* and *Nerviorum*: two in Destelbergen and Waasmunster-Pontrave in the territory of the Menapians and three in Velzeke and Hofstade in the Nervian territory (Vermeulen 2004, 127, fig. 2). The type started to be produced, and is said to

have flourished, in the period of the Antonine dynasty, which can be used as a *terminus post quem* for when the brooches must have been brought to the sites mentioned above, i.e. mid second century.

The four sites are civilian settlements: Velzeke and Hofstade were vici with Gallo-Roman temples (De Beenhouwer 1996; Heesch and Deschieter 2000); Waasmunster-Pontrave was a small town, the trading centre of the Waasland region (Thoen 1967, V; Van Hove 1996, 68); Destelbergen was a Gallo-Roman vicus in the vicinity of which a cemetery was located (De Laet *et al.* 1970, 3; Wankenne 1972, 38-39).

In this and the preceding sections it has been suggested that the majority of the British-made brooches reported from civilian sites may have been brought there by veterans returning from Britain. Is the same hypothesis valid for the occurrence of British-made brooches on the sites situated in *civitates Menapiorum* and *Nerviorum*?

From diplomas issued for the army of Britain it is known that *cohors I Menapiorum* served in Britain in the beginning of the second century, ca AD 120 – 135 (*CIL XVI* 69, 70 and 82; Jarrett 1994, 62; Spaul 2000, 185). The diploma issued in AD 135 is so far the last diploma on which the cohort is mentioned as serving in Britain. There is no further evidence to suggest where the unit was positioned after that, but it is possible that it was still in Britain. If the unit continued to recruit from its original region, then it is possible that in ca AD 160 the veterans of Menapian origin wished to return home (135 being the year of recruitment into the unit, plus 25 years of military service is 160 – the year soldiers recruited in AD 135 would have been discharged).

Cohors I, II, III, IIII and *VI Nerviorum* also served in various places in Britain in the second century, but were mostly concentrated in the northeast and west of England, on Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall (Jarrett 1994, 63-64; Spaul 2000, 217-224). Notably, the trumpet head brooches with various decorations on the bow (disk, pelta, half disk or decoration suggesting the wings of a fly) were produced and were widespread in the north/northeast of England (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 170) – the areas where these Nervian units were garrisoned.

Unfortunately, the contexts in which the five brooches were found were not reported by Morris (2010, 182, nos 29, 32, 37-39) and the original publication, the thesis by Spitaels (1969), was not available for me to inspect. Nevertheless, on the basis of analysis of other publications by Spitaels and the years when the sites mentioned, or parts thereof, were excavated, it became possible to suggest what types of context these brooches might have come from. The British-made brooches from Velzeke and Hofstade were possibly discovered on the sites of Gallo-Roman temples, and the brooch from Destelbergen was probably located in the cemetery.

The Gallo-Roman temple in Velzeke was excavated from 1969 to 1972 (Meex and Mertens 1973, 6). Considering that the thesis in which the two British brooches was defended in 1969 (Morris 2010, 182, nos 37 and 38), it is possible to suggest that the material from the excavation campaign of 1969 might have been included in this thesis. The same applies to the Gallo-Roman temple at the site of Hofstade-Steenberg. This temple had been excavated between 1946 and 1951 and included the excavation of three votive pits dug up at the end of the third quarter of the second century (De Beenhouwer 1996, 153). Three fibulae were found in pit 1 and one enamel brooch in pit 3, but the types of brooches were not mentioned (De Beenhouwer 1996, 163).

The excavations at Velzeke have shown that during the mid second century, part of the vicus was reorganised and received another function: there were indications that it was used as sacred space (De Mulder and Rogge 1999, 142). The occurrence of brooches on sites associated with religious activities, especially at Gallo-Roman temples, is not unusual for this region. Brooches were found among votive offerings on the sites of the Gallo-Roman temples at Empel, in the south of the Netherlands, and at Kruishoutem, located in the vicinity of Velzeke (De Mulder and Deschieter 2001, 163).

The exotic foreign brooches could have been regarded as suitable gifts to the local gods and goddesses.

The brooch from Destelbergen might have been found in the cemetery. A mass grave was excavated on the site and the brooches from this mass burial were studied by Spitaels, the same person whose thesis was used by Morris (De Laet *et al.* 1970, 21; Morris 2010, 182, no 29).

To summarise, it can be concluded that brooches arrived at the areas of these *civitates* through the same mechanism: on the clothes, or as part of the personal possessions, of veterans or their partners who had spent a quarter of their lifetime serving or living in Britain. That these brooches were ritual and funerary deposits is hypothetically possible.

5.2.2.4. British-made brooches on other sites in Germania Inferior

11 brooches were reported from sites in the province of Germania Inferior; the connection between them cannot be established: a single example from sites at Waldorf, Bad Neuenahr-Ahrweiler, Nideggen, Neuss and Pont, two specimens from Bonn, Moers-Asberg and Voorburg. Of these 11, eight can be dated to the late first century (Waldorf, Bad Neuenahr-Ahrweiler, Bonn, Neuss, Moers-Asberg and Pont) and three to the mid second century (Nideggen and Voorburg). Types produced in the late first century dominate: headstuds are plentiful (five are known), two T-shaped and one umbonate. Only three types produced in the mid second century are known: one knee, type T173A, one trumpet with a body suggesting the wings of a fly and one T39.

An analysis can usefully be done on a site-by-site basis, starting with the military sites of Neuss, Bonn and Moers-Asberg and continuing with the civilian sites in their direct vicinity, Pont, Nideggen, Bad Neuenahr-Ahrweiler and Waldorf, then to moving on to the civilian site of Voorburg.

The presence of late first-century brooch types on the sites of the legionary fortresses of Neuss and Bonn may indicate the presence of British legionaries. Yet the epigraphic record is silent about them. Were British brooches then brought by soldiers from legionary and auxiliary units which, prior to their service in Neuss and Bonn, were garrisoned in Britain? Or were they brought by returning veterans?

The headstud types, especially the type reported from Neuss, were in circulation from the pre-Flavian period onwards and probably went out of use in the second quarter of the second century (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 165), which provides us with the *terminus ante quem* for the brooch having been brought to Neuss. The brooch itself was found inside the legionary fortress of Neuss²⁹⁷.

It is known that seven legions were stationed in Neuss, two of which served in Britain, yet neither units changed their posts from Britain to Germania: *legio VI Victrix*, which from AD 70 to 102 was garrisoned in Neuss and transferred to Britain in AD 122 (Farnum 2005, 20), and *legio XX Valeria Victrix*, which was garrisoned in Neuss from AD 35 to 43 and in AD 43 formed part of the invasion force for Britain (Chantraine *et al.* 1984, 25; Farnum 2005, 24).

Another possibility is that the brooch was brought by a serving member of an auxiliary cavalry unit, because in the period between AD 69 and AD 104/105 a *legio VI Victrix* was garrisoned in Neuss with such a unit, but its name and status, i.e. ala or cohort, are unknown (Chantraine *et al.* 1984, 46). Could it have been one of the British alae? *Ala I Brittonum* had probably already been transferred from Britain to Pannonia by this time, but *Ala I Britannica* may have been posted somewhere in Germania Superior during the period mentioned (for the discussion, see chapter 3, sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.2).

²⁹⁷ This brooch is so far the only British brooch found on the site. In the publication, which covers the excavations in Neuss between 1955 and 1972, no more British brooches were reported (Simpson 2000).

It is possible that some time during the reign of Vespasian, on its way to Germania Superior, the ala spent the winter months in Germania Inferior, in the legionary fortress of Neuss. After AD 104/105, Neuss was garrisoned with another auxiliary cavalry unit the size of a *milliaria*, although its name is unknown (Chantraine *et al.* 1984, 46-47; Horn 1987, 585-586). Both British alae, *I Britannica* and *I Brittonum*, can be excluded since at this point they were stationed on the Danube frontier.

Various legionary, auxiliary and *numeri* units are known from the epigraphic record to have been present in Bonn, though only one possibly served in Britain (Horn 1987, 365, 372-373). One inscription attests a Thracian cohort without a numeral (*CIL* XIII 8099) but it has been suggested that it was *cohors I Thracum* (Horn 1987, 365). This may have been the very same unit that is presumed to have been present in Worms in the mid second century and which travelled from Britain to Germania Inferior and then to Superior (cf. section 5.1.3). The *cohors I Thracum* might have been garrisoned in Bonn before AD 30/40, after which it was summoned for the invasion to Britain in AD 43, where it stayed for some time (RIB 291; Horn 1987, 365; Jarrett 1994,66). Therefore, it is possible that a soldier, a local from Bonn or the surrounding area, was recruited to this cohort sometime around AD 30/40 and that after the end of his service he returned home and brought British-made brooches back to Bonn.

As in the Neuss case, other suggestions can be proposed. A votive monument recorded from Bonn was erected by Asprius after his return from Britain and dedicated to the local mother goddesses *Aufaniae* (Nesselhauf 167; Horn 1987, 370). It was probably a gift for the fulfillment of the wish to return safely from Britain. Asprius did not mention the reason of his journey to Britain, but it was most likely for trading purposes. The brooches could therefore have arrived on the clothes of traders, British or otherwise, or could have been part of the small-scale trade in exotic metal objects.

Moreover, both Neuss and Bonn may have had harbours where the ships of the *Classis Germanica* could be moored temporarily, although it is still disputed if both fortresses had ports (Konen 2000, 257 and 273). The existence of a harbour has as yet been proven only for Bonn (Horn 1987, 376). We know that British mariners served in the German fleet (cf. chapter 4, section 4.6) and if both fortresses did indeed have harbours, it is possible that these mariners brought the brooches to these sites.

Clearly it is hard to identify which groups brought the British-made brooches to the legionary fortresses of Neuss and Bonn and different suggestions have been made here, though none were particularly satisfactory.

Two mid and late first-century types of brooches were found on the site of the auxiliary fort *Asciburgium*, modern Moers-Asberg in Germany²⁹⁸. The fort was built during offensive campaigns into Germany by Drusus and was in use until AD 83/85, after which it was abandoned until Late Antiquity (Horn 1987, 562). Between AD 41 – 83/85, two cavalry regiments garrisoned the fort: *ala I Tungrorum Frontiana* and *ala Moesica Felix torquata* (Bechert 1974, 162; Horn 1987, 563). Both regiments were transferred to the fort from Germania Superior and not from Britain (Bechert 1974, 162), suggesting that the British brooches did not arrive with the soldiers from these units.

It has been mentioned before that *ala I Britannica* might have been transported to Germania Superior via Inferior: the unit may have used the region's major 'road', the river Rhine, and it is possible that during the course of its movement it stayed in different forts at different times. Moers-Asberg, a fort suitable for accommodating a cavalry unit, could also have been the place where *ala I Britannica* wintered or was garrisoned temporarily during its transfer to Germania Superior. The British-made brooches dated to the mid/late first century AD and found on the line of the forts in the

²⁹⁸ Excavations of the burials in the proximity of the fort did not uncover any more British-made brooches (Rasbach 1997).

Lower Rhine region, from Xanten to Bonn, may be indicative of the movements of *ala I Britannica* travelling from Britain.

Another British unit, *cohors I Belgarum*, was serving in Germania Superior in the late first century and may have been transported from Britain to Germania Superior in the same way. The unit was of mixed cavalry and infantry regiments and can therefore be considered the likely candidate to have been garrisoned at the forts where cavalry regiments are known to have been stationed, i.e. Moers-Asberg. This means that the soldiers of this unit are also candidates for bringing the British brooches to the forts on the Rhine frontier.

We should take into account that both units might have been transferred to Germania Superior along another road where British-made brooches of late first-century production date have been found, the so-called Via Belgica that run from modern Boulogne-sur-Mer, France, to Cologne (Stuart and de Grooth 1987, 6-7). The Via Belgica was heavily used by the military, for the purpose of transporting troops, as well as by civilians, who transported goods between Britain and the Rhineland, since Boulogne was the main harbour for reaching the British coast (Mertens 1987, 16). The road passed settlements from where British brooches have been reported (Tongeren, Maastricht and Heerlen) and is also situated 5 to 10 km from other settlements where British-made brooches have been found (Étapes, Blicquy, Thuin, Flavion and Fallais). In the following section, where British brooches found in Gallia Belgica are discussed, this hypothesis, i.e. whether the units could have been transported by this road, is tested.

The civilian sites in the proximity of the Roman frontier, such as Nideggen, Pont, Bad Neuenahr-Ahrweiler and Waldorf, and the civilian and trading settlement of Voorburg, are discussed further on in detail.

The context in which the second-century brooch reported from Nideggen was found is unknown, although some ideas can be advanced here. In Roman times, the area around Nideggen is known to have consisted of fields with open-cast mining, in the vicinity of which a Roman temple to *Matronae Veteranehae* (AE 1986 516-518) and what is presumed to be a *villa rustica* were located (Horn 1987, 591-592). The field and villa were excavated as early as the beginning of the 20th century, while the Roman temple was only excavated in 1983 (Sommer 1985, 315; Horn 1987, 591-592). The brooch was mentioned in 1939 by Exner (1939, 84, no 38) when the researchers only had evidence for the mining activity near the villa and excavated this rural complex in the following years. Thus, the British object must have been a find during research on fields where open-cast mining had taken place or excavations of the villa. No British-made brooches are known to have been discovered on the site of the excavated temple complex (Sommer 1985). Mining activity on the site and construction of a villa is dated to late third to fourth century, after the temple to *Matronae* was abandoned (Sommer 1985, 352). The brooch is of second century, therefore it could have ended up at the site prior to the start of the mining activity and prior to the construction of the villa. The presence of the temple to *Matronae Veteranehae* suggests that the place was regarded as sacred and we might expect there to have been many devotees visiting the site. The cult of the *Matronae* appears to be restricted to the area around Nideggen and was therefore most likely a local cult. Linguistically the name of these Mother goddesses is a combination of the elements *veter**-, *an*- and *eh**- (Vennemann and Hanna 2003, 93). Another cult of a god with a name with the same stem is known from various inscriptions on Hadrian's Wall: altars were erected there to commemorate the god (H)Veteres, the cult, which "may have originated from Germanic speakers" (Clay 2007, 57-58). The British brooch may have been brought to a sacred temple by a person who wished to give it away as votive offering, but somehow lost it on the way. It can be suggested that this person could have been a 'Germanic speaking' veteran returning from Britain after being discharged.

The late first-century headstud brooch was reported from Pont, around which excavations have revealed 120 graves dated to Roman times and a settlement (Cüppers 1962, 347-348). The headstud brooch, type T145B, was found in grave 103, together with six wares of different types (Cüppers 1962, 347-348; abb. 30, b-e); pottery analysis has shown that the burial took place after the middle of the second century AD (Cüppers 1962, 348). The brooch from the grave is a remarkable specimen, since type T145B is among the earliest of all headstuds and is usually dated to the pre-/early Flavian period (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 165). This type, with hinged pin and fixed headloop, was “in use not long after AD 134” (Snape 1993, 14). The presence of a brooch in use not long after AD 134 in a grave dated to the late second requires detailed analysis.

The use of ‘old’ objects in later burials is known in Britain. Eckardt (2003, 44) gives the example of a British headstud which was placed in a burial dated to the fourth century. The brooch from Pont could have been an heirloom passed down through generations. There is evidence of the presence of veterans on the site and one tombstone was erected to commemorate a soldier who served in *legio XXX Ulpia* (AE 2005, 65). This legion is known to have British-born recruits in the mid second century. It can be suggested that other veterans from *legio XXX* settled down there as well as some British veterans who did not return to their British homeland. The presence of the British-made brooch on a site probably inhabited by such veterans would suggest that the person buried in grave 103 in Pont could have been British or a second-generation British emigrant, whose father was a soldier in this legion.

Two British-made brooches were reported from nearby sites; a T-shaped brooch is known from the site of the Roman villa at Bad Neuenahr-Ahrweiler and an umbonate is reported from the modern village of Waldorf, ca 12 km from Ahrweiler. Both findspots lie directly on the border between Germania Inferior and Superior, and ca 6 km from the Roman frontier post at Andernach.

The brooch reported from the villa complex was found in house II, although the exact location was not recorded (Fehr 2003, 108). The context or exact location of the umbonate brooch is unknown, although Exner (1939, 113-114, no 53) does emphasise that the brooch was found at Waldorf, in the Ahrweiler region, and not Walldorf, in the Rhein-Neckar region, which can sometimes be confusing.

The Roman villa at Ahrweiler, in use from the late first to early third centuries AD, consists of two buildings: house I was built in the mid first century and house II in the second half of the second century (Fehr 2003, 15). The villa did not stand alone but was part of a chain of villas, all situated ca 1200 m from each other (Fehr 2003, 31). Since the villa at Ahrweiler was in the tribal territory of the *Treveri*, it has been proposed that the inhabitants of the villa could have been “romanised Treverans” who had enough money to buy a piece of land there (Fehr 2003, 32). The proximity of the villas to the Roman frontier also suggests that they could have belonged to retired veterans who, after the end of their career, received a piece of land for their service. This could explain the presence of a graffito in Latin on one of the walls in the Ahrweiler villa, which indicates that the owners knew Latin (Fehr 2003, 32). However, because of the specific landscape of the region, as indicated by the researchers, it has been proposed that the villas were not farms but more likely summer residences of rich officials (Fehr 2003, 32), and therefore not of army veterans.

Although the poor quality of the picture in the publication (Fehr 2003, 108, abb. 63) does not make it possible to establish the exact type of the brooch, it is most likely a hybrid between T-shaped and trumpet with acanthus moulding, T109, a “T-shaped south-western enameled [brooch] with acanthus leaves at the button” (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 167, 234). The T109 type was widespread in southwest England, but such brooches have also been reported from the Roman forts in northern England, two from Chester and one from Carlisle (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 167; the Carlisle specimen

was noted by the author of this work in the exhibition in Tullie House Museum, Carlisle, UK). The Carlisle brooch was found with its chain attached, which suggests that the type could have been used by women.

Another British-made umbonate brooch was reported from the modern village of Waldorf, which lies in the vicinity of the Ahrweiler Roman villa. As far as the author of this thesis is aware, Waldorf has no Roman remains, and neither was there a Roman road there. The exact findspot of the object was not recorded, but it is likely to have been a surface find.

Since two brooches of late first-century date were found in direct proximity to each other, it is reasonable to treat them as a 'group', since they could have arrived in the region during the same period and with persons involved in the same type of activities. Various explanations can be proposed for these persons' activities and professions: they could have been veterans and their female partners living near the frontiers of Germania Inferior and Superior, returning veterans of Treveran origin with their British partners, or British potters and their female partners living and working in pottery workshops situated at Sinzig, Germany. All three hypotheses are looked at in detail below.

Both the villa and the modern village of Waldorf lie directly on the border between the two provinces. The nearest forts to Ahrweiler and Waldorf are situated at Heddesdorf and Bendorf. It is possible that after being discharged the soldiers who served in both forts received a piece of land in the vicinity of their garrisons. The units that served in both forts during the reign of Domitian were *cohors II Hispanorum equitata pia fidelis* and *cohors XXVI Voluntariorum* in Heddesdorf (Batz 2000, 97-98) and *cohors I Thracum* in Bendorf (Batz 2000, 98). *Cohors II Hispanorum* served in Germania Superior prior to its transfer to Britain in AD 130 – 140 (Spaul 2000, 124-125). *Cohors XXVI Voluntariorum* is not attested on any inscriptions or military diplomas from Britain (Jarrett 1994; Spaul 2000, 44-45). *Cohors I Thracum*, garrisoned at the Bendorf fort, is probably the same unit as the one known from inscriptions from Bonn and Worms, the sites that also yielded British-made brooches (the history of this unit has already been discussed here), probably brought by the recruited soldiers while the unit was stationed in Britain. Therefore after being discharged, some of these British recruits (relocated to their new posts in Germania Inferior and Superior) could have been granted a piece of land somewhere near the frontier, Ahrweiler villa being an example of this.

An owner of the villa could have been a rich Treveran (Fehr 2003, 32). Three Treverans are known to have served in Britain in various units: two in *ala Augusta* (RIB 606, 3185) and one in *cohors II Dalmatorum* (RIB 2401, 08). One probable civilian Treveran is also known (RIB 140). It must be noted that 12 British-made brooches have been found in Treveran territory on various sites in Gallia Belgica, but this is discussed in the next section.

Both Ahrweiler and Waldorf are situated not far from the local pottery centre at Sinzig (Cüppers 1990, 554-555) and ca 17 km from the craft centres of Mayen and Eich. The British brooches discovered on the sites of Mayen and Eich have been considered to indicate the presence of British craftsmen and potters there (cf. section 5.1.4). The same idea can be applied here: potters from Sinzig and Trier are attested in Colchester, in the UK (online atlas of Roman pottery <http://potsherd.net/atlas/Ware/EGTS.html> accessed on 22.01.2011). These potters moved to Colchester, probably in the second century, to begin production of *terra sigillata* there. There is evidence that some sherds discovered on the site of the workshop at Colchester were produced in Sinzig and brought over to Britain by Treveran potters (Storey *et al.* 1989, 37-39). The brooches may have been brought by such Treveran potters, who worked and lived in Britain for some time, or by a British potter who came to the Sinzig workshops as a trainee.

In general, as can be seen, there are various possible ways of explaining the presence of two British-made brooches at these two sites. The three ideas proposed here are not

mutually exclusive, meaning that the brooches could have been brought by either British veterans and their partners, returning Treveran veterans and their partners, or British or returning Treveran potters.

On the site of the harbour of the Roman *Forum Hadriani*, modern Voorburg in the Netherlands, two British mid second-century brooches (knee T173A and trumpet head T168) were discovered in a recent excavation by the University of Amsterdam (M. Driessen and S. Hoss pers. comment). Both brooches were located in the same layer, dated to the second half of the second – early third centuries AD. The excavators noted that some of the other brooches found in the same layer appeared to be completely worn and corroded, while the British-made brooches were as good as new. The author of this thesis was able to have a close look at the brooches and would suggest that the brooches appear to be unworn or rarely used. There were no signs of wear; the pins, which are usually missing from brooches, were still attached in both cases. On the knee brooch, type T173A, even the small decorations, dots on the bow, have survived. Knee brooches of T173A type due to their small size were not intended for military use and were most likely worn by the civilian population (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 180). The other brooch from Voorburg, type T168, is also small, ca 3.5 cm, and may have also been intended for civilian use as a knee brooch of T173A types.

On the site of the harbour, the excavation team also discovered a large amount of British pottery, although the exact numbers and types of vessels were still unknown at the time of writing of this section (M. Driessen, pers. comment). Voorburg, as a local trading centre, received import materials from and probably exported Continental goods to Britain. Therefore, it is not odd to find British-made brooches on the site, although a larger number would be expected if British brooches were indeed traded here. As has been noted, both brooches appear to be unworn and in a perfect state of preservation, which suggests that they arrived in Voorburg shortly after they were produced in Britain.

5.2.3. Conclusion

In total, 73 British brooches have been reported from the Roman province of Germania Inferior; this is 31 per cent of the overall number of British brooches discovered across the Channel. Germania Inferior comes second in the terms of the amount of British brooches found on the Continent, the first place being taken by Germania Superior with 77 brooches reported so far. The high occurrence of brooches in Germania Inferior can be explained by various factors such as geography - the proximity of the province to Britain, military considerations - British troops being transferred via the Rhine, and the current state of archaeological research in the Netherlands. The latter factor is highly significant, since more and more British brooches and other British-made objects are coming to light in the Netherlands. The recent increase in the publication of archaeological research in the Netherlands, the fact that this thesis is written at a Dutch university and the help of colleagues in various Dutch institutions gave me possibility of obtaining information on the recently found, and still unpublished, brooches and of exploring some of the collections stored in the depots of museums and universities.

British brooches appear to cluster in three areas: around the Roman frontier, the tribal territories of the Batavians, Nervians and Menapians, and rural trading centres. This distribution was influenced by the constant transfer of military and civilian personnel between provinces. The majority of the brooches reported from the Roman frontier posts were brought by serving members of the legionary and auxiliary units, previously stationed in Britain, although not necessarily by British auxiliary units. The epigraphic record shows that British recruits served in the other units garrisoned in Germania Inferior and in the British fleet. On the sites where epigraphy does attest them, a number of British brooches were indeed discovered.

The analysis of the occurrence of British-made brooches and other objects on civilian sites near the frontier (the rural sites of the *civitates Batavorum*, *Nerviorum* and *Menapiorum*) has shown that they were brought by discharged veterans. In other cases, civilian sites in the territory of the *civitas Treverorum* and the cemetery at Pont, it is thought that the British brooches reached these destinations with someone travelling from Britain, be they veterans, retired British recruits or British/Continental potters.

Another significant group of people with whom British brooches may have reached Germania Inferior is traders. The occurrence of two brooches and a number of British-made vessels in Voorburg, one of the market centres on the coast of Germania Inferior, suggests that they were either brought to be sold or as personal possessions of a trader. While there is no direct evidence, it can be suggested that some British brooches found on the frontier sites were also brought there as a result of a trade. The occurrence of brooches in the civilian parts of *Colonia Ulpia Traiana*, modern Xanten, and *Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium*, modern Cologne, seems to indicate this.

There is evidence that gives reason to believe that a correlation exists between the context and the groups of people who brought British brooches. The brooches reported from the civilian sites and found in burial and religious contexts were probably brought by returning veterans. On seven sites this appears definitely to be the case: the brooches from Destelbergen, Velzeke, Waasmunster, Hofstade, Tiel, Zetten and the roadside grave near Cuijk were brought by returning Batavians, Nervians and Menapians. The brooch reported from the grave at Pont may well have been an heirloom, since it was deposited half a century after the production of this type ceased in Britain. The brooches found on urban sites most likely reached their destinations through trade – examples are the five brooches from Voorburg and Xanten. The brooches from rural sites could have belonged to retired veterans who either served for some time in Britain before their relocation to the German frontier or were of British descent, and who were granted a piece of a land not far away from the limes on being discharged. This is probably the case for the brooches reported from Nideggen, Ahrweiler and Waldorf.

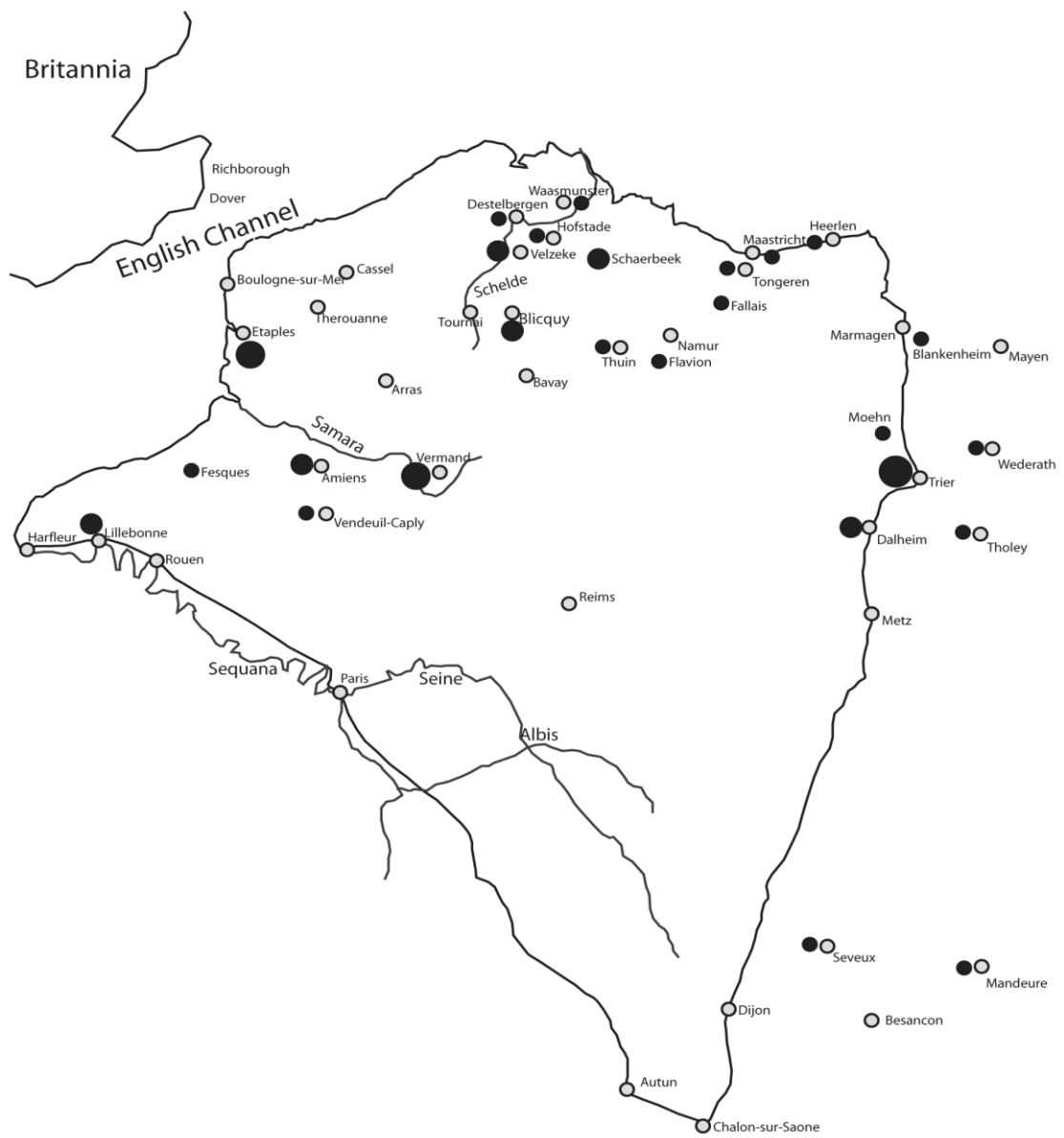
Another link seems to exist between the occurrence of British brooches on military sites and the presence on these sites of units raised or relocated from Britain. The British brooches from Nijmegen are a case in point. While it can be argued that some of the brooches were brought by Batavian veterans since it was their *civitas* capital, it should not be ruled out that a relatively large contingent of British soldiers may also have been garrisoned there, namely *vexillatio Britannica*. Other sites where such a link can be established are the civilian site ‘De Horden’ in the proximity of fort Wijk bij Duurstede, and Cologne-Alteburg, where British recruits served in the German fleet. The constant transfer of troops between the two provinces can be regarded as a possible reason for the occurrence of brooches on sites such as Alphen aan den Rijn, Moers-Asberg, Neuss and Bonn.

5.3. British-made brooches and objects in Gallia Belgica

In total, 43 British-made brooches have been found in the province of Gallia Belgica, which comprised the areas of modern Belgium, the Moselle region of Germany and northern France (fig. 5.5). Out of these 43 brooches, 9 are dated to the mid first century, the highest number out of all mid first-century British-made brooches found in any province of the Roman Empire; 26 are dated to the late first – early second century; 8 are of second-century or later date. The total number excludes the British brooches that have already been discussed in the previous section, on the presence of Britons in Germania Inferior, i.e. brooches recorded in the tribal areas of the Menapians and Nervians. While these areas officially belonged to the province of Gallia Belgica, it was decided to focus

on them in the previous section, because of the clustering of these British objects close to the border with *Germania Inferior*.

While the previously discussed provinces had a relatively large number of inscriptions attesting the service of British auxiliary and *numeri* units, this province has none, but it has yielded three votive inscriptions made by a probable British person from *Deva* (*AE* 1915, 70 from Trier), by a person who returned from the British expedition (*CIL* XIII 3496 from Amiens) and by a woman, probably to the god *Britus* (*AE* 1926, 59 from Dijon). Moreover, inscriptions erected by members of the *Classis Britannica*, the British fleet have been found in *Gesoriacum*, Boulogne-sur-Mer (*CIL* XIII 3540, 3543, 3544 and 3546).



Distribution of Romano-British brooches in Gallia Belgica (map after Wightman 1985) Seven without provenance.

○ Civil settlement (civitas capital, vicus etc)

Brooches:

- = one piece
- = two pieces
- = three/four pieces
- = five and more pieces

Figure 5.5 Distribution of British-made brooches in Gallia Belgica

Other significant difference with the previously discussed provinces, apart from the low number of inscriptions and high number of mid first-century brooches, have to do with the areas where British-made brooches are concentrated. Firstly, brooches cluster around the Via Belgica trading route, at sites such as Thuin, Flavion, Fallais, Tongeren, Maastricht and Heerlen (fig. 5.6).

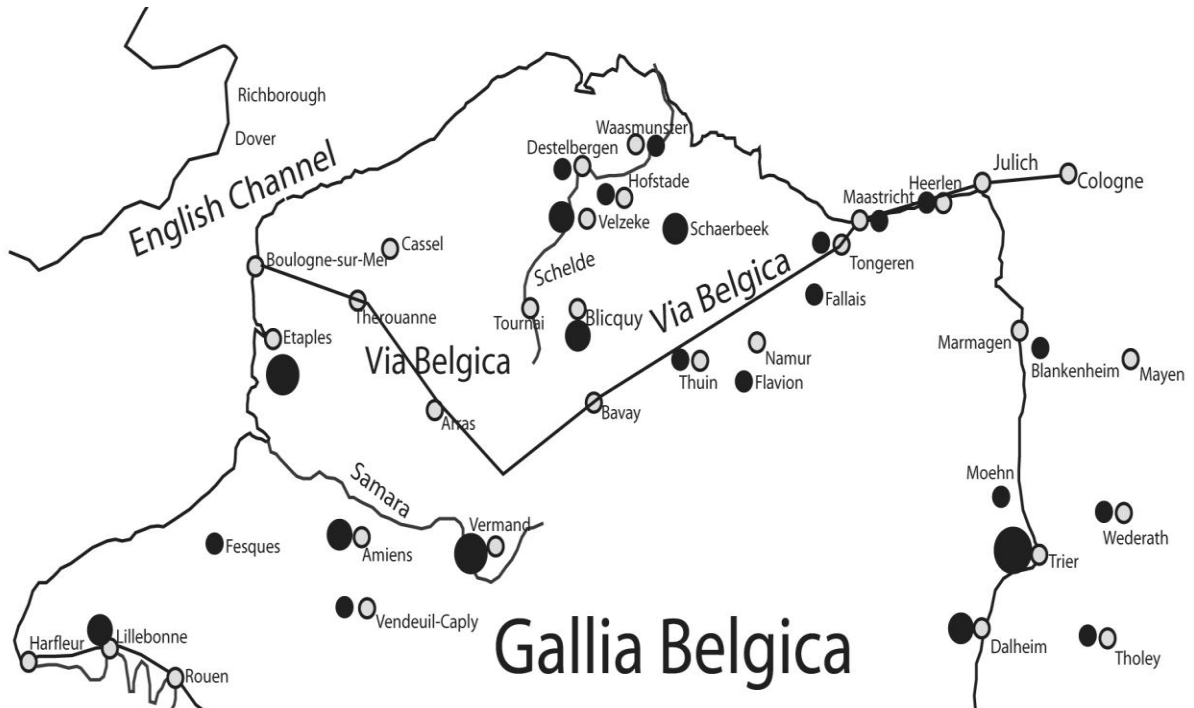


Figure 5.6 Concentration of British-made brooches around the Via Belgica

Secondly, most of them were reported from sites situated in various tribal areas: those of the *Menapii* and *Nervii* (adding the two sites at Blicquy and Schaerbeek); the *Tungri* (Thuin, Flavion, Fallais, Tongeren, Maastricht and Heerlen); the *Treveri* (Blankenheim, Trier, Dalheim, Wederath, Möhn and Tholey); the *Morini* (Etaples) and the *Sequani* (Seveux and Mandeuire) (fig. 5.7). Thirdly, mid to late first and mid second-century brooches were found on sites where British Iron Age coins and other British metalwork were found as well, those of Heerlen, Fesques, Vendeuil-Caply, Blicquy, Vermand, Amiens and Etaples.

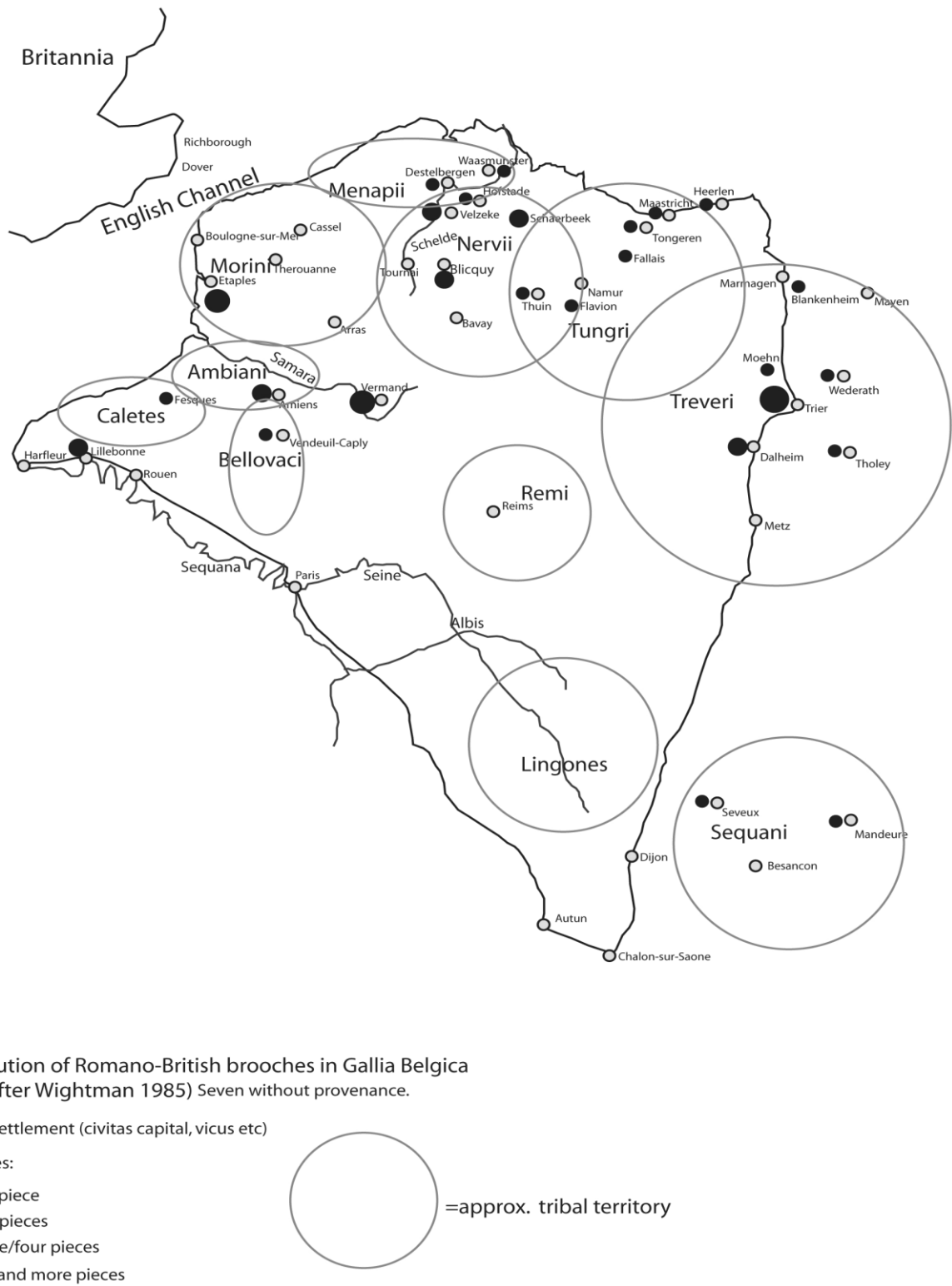


Figure 5.7 Concentration of British-made brooches in various tribal areas

The discussion in this section is organised as follows: British objects reported from sites situated near the Via Belgica; British objects recorded in the tribal areas of the *Nervii*, *Tungri*, *Treveri*, *Morini* and *Sequani*; sites with British brooches and British metalwork; other sites with British brooches and lastly the presence of *Classis Britannica* in Bolougne-sur-Mer. It must be emphasised at the outset that some sites are

discussed more than once, since some of them fall into two different categories, e.g. sites with British metalwork that were also close to the trading route.

5.3.1. *British brooches in proximity to the Via Belgica*

British-made brooches are mainly concentrated in the eastern part of the Via Belgica, yet the lack of relevant publications and the low number of excavated sites along the western stretch of the road have influenced the picture.

Six brooches datable to the late first century were found on the sites of Thuin, Flavion, Fallais, Tongeren, Maastricht and Heerlen. Four brooches are female-associated ones: there were two headstuds with headloops, one umbonate and one trumpet 2A.

The Via Belgica was a major thoroughfare connecting the military and trading base at Boulogne with the capital of Germania Inferior, Cologne, hence the military and economic importance of the road. In its first phase, the mid first century, the road was used mainly by the army, to transport troops to the provinces of Gallia and Germania (Mertens 1987, 16). It was along this road that units from Britain were transported to Germania Superior during Civilis' revolt of AD 69/70: Tacitus mentions that the *legio XIV Gemina*, which was at that time serving in Britain, and the British fleet were called to Germania Superior and travelled through "the areas of Nervians and Tungrians" (Tacitus *Hist.* IV, 68 and 79; Mertens 1987, 16). Two British auxiliary units, *ala I Britannica* and *cohors I Belgarum*, might have been transferred to Germania Superior along the Via Belgica. This means that there was at least one legion from Britain and two British auxiliary units that may have travelled along this route around AD 69/70. With this in mind, it can be suggested that some soldiers from these units or their partners brought brooches manufactured in Britain during their transfer

The problem with this suggestion is that out of six brooches reported from the sites along the Via Belgica, only one is datable to the mid first century AD, while the other five were manufactured in the early Flavian period, i.e. after AD 69/70. Dragonisque brooches were already in production from the mid first century onwards, while headstud, trumpet and umbonate brooches started to be manufactured from the early Flavian period onwards. Bayley and Butcher (2004, 165), however, point out that headstuds at least may have been in production slightly before the Flavian period.

It may be possible to establish how British-made brooches got to the sites on and around the route, and with whom, by looking at the contexts in which some of the brooches were found. However, the context is only known for two British brooches, one from Thuin located in the grave that of a woman and dated to second – third centuries (Faider-Feytmans 1965, 11, 14; pl. 2, f) and another one from Fallais recorded as having been found in one of the burials but without any indication in which one or whether the brooch was discovered together with any other grave goods (Van Ossel 1982, 173-174). The context of the other four brooches is unknown, although some speculations can be made.

The modern village of Flavion is situated ca 100 m from the old Roman road, in the vicinity of which a large villa complex has been found. Flavion is also known for its 313 Gallo-Roman graves discovered in the field next to the villa complex. The settlement was dated to the second to third centuries, based on the coin assemblages (Del Marmol 1861 – 1862, 37). The burial field, called 'Les Iliats', was excavated in 1858/1859. As far as the author of this work is aware, there has only been one major publication, which appeared in 1861 – 62, describing the grave goods (Del Marmol 1861 – 1862). In this publication it was mentioned that ca 400 brooches of various types had been discovered, although only a small number of them were depicted (Del Marmol 1861 – 1862, 34). Descriptions of some brooches were provided, although they do allow for an identification of the type. The headstud brooch mentioned by Morris (2010, 182, no 31) was not depicted in the original publication. Considering that this Gallo-Roman

cemetery was excavated prior to the villa complex, it seems reasonable to assume that the British-made brooch was discovered in one of the burials.

The contexts in which the brooches reported from Tongeren, Maastricht and Heerlen were found are unknown. These three sites were major Gallo-Roman market settlements, and have been well investigated and extensively published with various structures known. Yet, in spite of the numerous archaeological reports available, the author of this work was not able to find the publications in which these three British-made brooches were mentioned. Taking into account that various structures from all three sites, from bath houses to administrative buildings, have been excavated it is impossible to even speculate where the brooches might have been found or deposited.

In summary, then, it is known that two British brooches were found in a burial context (Thuin and Fallais) and one brooch may have been discovered in a cemetery (Flavion); the context of the other three cannot be established (Tongeren, Maastricht and Heerlen). It is highly unlikely that the people who were buried in the graves of Thuin, Fallais and Flavion were of British descent, or that they were partners of British soldiers who in AD 69/70 were relocated across the Channel. What is more probable is that the British-made brooches were brought by traders travelling to and from Britain. The brooches could be bought by locals at the markets of Tongeren, Maastricht and Heerlen and brought to the settlements, where they finally ended in the graves of the locals. British metalwork has been reported on various other sites in Gallia Belgica as well (discussed later in this section), which can be seen as further evidence for the existence of small-scale trade in metal objects.

5.3.2. *The occurrence of British-made brooches and other objects in the tribal areas of Gallia Belgica*

5.3.2.1. The tribal areas of the *Nervii*

Sites in the tribal area the Nervians, such as Hofstade and Velzeke, have already been discussed in the section 5.2.2.3, but in this part two more sites are added to the discussion – Schaerbeek and Blicquy. On each sites a pairs of brooches was found: at Schaerbeek a pair of T259 dated to the late second century; at Blicquy a pair of headstuds, dated to the late first century. Both brooch pairs were discovered in burials: at Blicquy the grave goods indicated that the burial had taken place in the second half of the second century (De Laet *et al.* 1972, 145), at Schaerbeek in the last quarter of the second century (Mariën 1980, 275).

The cemetery of Blicquy belonged to the extended Gallo-Roman vicus, positioned on the major road connecting the capital of the *civitas* Bavay with the already discussed Velzeke (Wankenne 1972, 54). It has been concluded on the basis of the excavated archaeological remains that the vicus was inhabited until AD 250 and that most of the inhabitants were craftsmen (Wankenne 1972, 54, 56). The occurrence of the late first-century brooch pair in the mid second-century burial context provides a *terminus ante quem* for when the brooches could have reached the site, i.e. before the mid second century. It has already been pointed out that the occurrence of British-made brooches on sites inhabited by Nervians suggests returning veterans of Nervian origin who, in the second century, served in the forts on Hadrian's Wall and, after being discharged, returned to their home tribes on the Continent (cf. section 5.2.2.3). The fact that it was a pair might indicate that the deceased was a female, who wore the brooches according to the custom of Britain, though the brooches were discovered without a chain connecting them, probably because it had not survived. The brooches were found in a context dating to a period when the popularity of these brooches was on the wane, which may indicate that this one was an heirloom, as in the case of the brooch in the burial in Pont (cf. section 5.2.2.4).

The burial from de Haachtse Steenweg in Schaerbeek is dated to the last quarter of the second century. The grave was found along a by-road running from the Gallo-Roman vicus at Elewijt to Stalle in Ukkel (Wankenne 1972, 67-71; Mariën 1980, 276). There were more graves found along this by-road, an indication that it may have been a continuous roadside cemetery (Mariën 1980, 276). It has been suggested that the deceased was a female (Mariën 1980, 277), although it was not made clear on what this suggestion was based on. Other grave goods included coins with depictions of the wives of the Emperors Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, Sabina and Faustina (Mariën 1980, 277). The presence of coins with female heads and a pair of brooches may have been seen as indicators that the deceased was a woman.

British brooches of the T259 type are known from other five sites: two were recorded as separate finds in Cologne and single specimens are known from Zugmantel, Loxstedt, Weissenburg and Straubing. Since all six brooches were single finds, it is remarkable that a pair of brooches was found in Schaerbeek. It is unknown whether this type was worn with chains, but it is more than likely that it was not, since the brooches of this type were manufactured without the loops for holding the chain. These brooches might however been worn in pairs, suggesting a female, possibly British, way of wearing the fibulae. It can be proposed that here we are also dealing with a woman who followed her Nervian partner from Britain to the *civitas Nerviorum*, as may have been the case with the brooches recorded in the burial in the cemetery of Blicquy.

To summarise, on the basis of the occurrence of two pairs of British brooches in the burials at Blicquy and Schaerbeek it can be suggested that Nervians returned to their homelands together with their partners, although it is a point of a discussion what their origins were. While the present author favours the idea that British women followed their Continental-born partners, it should not be ruled out that after enlisting, some Nervians might have brought their own wives to their new postings, as did some of the Batavians (RMD II 86: Batavian family in Pannonia Superior). Living in Britain for 25 years, these women would have grown accustomed to wearing brooches in pairs and with chains.

5.3.2.2. The tribal areas of the *Tungri*

The six sites discussed above in connection with the Via Belgica, Thuin, Flavion, Fallais, Tongeren, Maastricht and Heerlen, were also situated in the tribal territory of the Tungrians. Another object considered to be of British manufacture, an enamelled pan of Vehner Moor type, was found in one of the burials in the La Plante cemetery near Namur (Moore 1978, 326, C5) (see below).

From the epigraphic record it is known that at least four units raised from Tungrians served in Britain during the late first – second centuries: *ala I Asturum et Tungrorum*, *ala I Tungrorum*, *cohortes I* and *II Tungrorum* (Jarrett 1994, 39, 44, 48, 49; Spaul 2000, 225-230). A military diploma recording the units serving in Britain (*CIL XVI 43*) was found in the modern Belgian city of Flemalle-Haute, which in the Roman period was situated in the tribal area of the Tungrians – evidence that after the end of their service in Britain, some Tungrians returned to their tribal lands.

It can be argued that some of the six brooches from the sites mentioned could have been brought by returning veterans, as in the case of the Nervians, Menapians and Vangiones. This could also explain the presence of the Vehner Moor pan in the Namur cemetery: it may have been brought across the Channel by a returning veteran of Tungrian origin, possibly as a souvenir. The proximity of all sites to the Via Belgica, however, does not allow a distinction to be made between objects brought by returning veterans and their partners, and objects acquired through trade connections between Gallia Belgica and Britain. It is probable that both groups, i.e. returning veterans and traders, contributed to the presence of British objects in this territory.

5.3.2.3. The tribal areas of the *Treveri*

In the areas inhabited by Treverans, 13 British-made brooches have been reported from various sites. The data are very homogeneous: only two brooches are datable to the late second century, while the other 11 are of late first century date. The context was only recorded for five brooches. One specimen, a Polden Hill type, reported from *Wederath-Belginum*, was found in a burial. One headstud was recorded in the excavation of the house rebuilt on top of the Gallo-Roman temple in the sanctuary complex of Altbachtal in Trier. One pair of headstuds still connected by a chain was found during the excavation of Maximinstrasse in Trier, in a burial. A British brooch datable to the second century was found in the temple complex of Möhn.

For other sites, such as Tholey, Dalheim and Blankenheim, the context of the British objects was not recorded. All sites mentioned were rural settlements with cemeteries and sanctuaries. A large villa complex, a *mansio*, a post station and a sanctuary have been excavated in the vicinity of Tholey (Rösch 2007, 73-74). Moreover, the Gallo-Roman vicus at Wareswald is situated in the same area, which was the local focal point and the junction of two roads, one running from Metz to Mainz and one from Trier to Strasbourg (Rösch 2007, 75). Dalheim was also a vicus, where excavations have revealed living quarters, a theatre and a temple (Ternes 1973, 158-165; Rösch 2007, 107-108). The archaeological complex of Blankenheim consists of a Roman cemetery and a *villa rustica* probably connected by a road (Horn 1987, 360). Four British brooches recorded on these three sites (Tholey, Dalheim and Blankenheim) probably belonged to the civilian inhabitants, although the exact context, in which they were found, i.e. burial, rural or occupational, *etc.*, cannot be established on the basis of the available information.

The epigraphic record is not very informative regarding the presence of Britons in this region. Only one votive monument recorded in Trier (*AE* 1915, 70) was erected by a person who indicated his origin as *Deva*, which is the modern-day city of Chester in the UK (cf. chapter 4, section 4.7).

The occurrence of British-made brooches on civilian sites in the lands of the *Treveri* can be connected with returning veterans, as in case of the British brooches recorded on the sites of the Nervians, Menapians, Batavians and Vangiones. Yet Treveran cohorts are absent from all military diplomas issued for the Roman provinces. One, possibly two, unit(s)²⁹⁹ raised from the *Treveri* is known from epigraphic sources (Spaul 2000, 188). *Cohors (II) Treverorum* is believed to be a third-century creation and was garrisoned near its homeland (Spaul 2000, 188). It is absent in the British epigraphic material (Jarrett 1994). *Ala Petriana Treverorum*, another unit raised from the Treverans, is not attested on military diplomas issued for the army of Britain or on inscriptions from this Roman province (Jarrett 1994).

While the epigraphic material is silent on the presence of units raised from the Treverans in Britain, soldiers of Treveran origin are known to have been recruited into the auxiliary units stationed in this province. Two such men served in an *ala Augusta* garrisoned in Lancaster, UK, in the late first or early second century (RIB 606, 3185), although the unit's exact title – it was either *ala Augusta ob virtutem appellata* or *ala Augusta Gallorum Proculeiana* – is unknown (Jarrett 1994, 40, 41). The names of these two soldiers imply that they were most likely conscripts, since both had Roman citizenship³⁰⁰. Nothing indicates that the men were related, so they probably joined the unit independently. The third Treveran is attested on the military diploma issued for the

²⁹⁹ It has been suggested that there were actually two units, one without a numeral and one with the numeral II, since the cohort has been epigraphically attested at two frontier forts (Spaul 2000, 188).

³⁰⁰ One soldier was 'a citizen' and another had *tria nomina* showing that he also had Roman citizenship.

army of Britain in AD 135 as a veteran of *cohors II Delmatorum* (RIB 2401, 08; Spaul 2000, 304). Nothing is known about the movements of this unit prior to or during its service in Britain, except that the unit was there in the second century (Jarrett 1994, 59; Spaul 2000, 204). The service of a Treveran in this unit does not indicate that this cohort was stationed on the Continent somewhere in the beginning of the second century, but “merely that recruits from that area had been sent to Britain in AD 110” (Spaul 2000, 304). The service of three Treverans in Britain suggests that there may have been more members of this tribal entity recruited to serve in units stationed in this province.

The service of Treverans in Britain corresponds chronologically with the period when the British brooches reported from the Treveran sites were manufactured and worn, i.e. the late first – early second century. Bearing in mind the other tribal territories on the Continent where British brooches have been found and where there is evidence for service of their members in Britain and for returning veterans, it can be suggested that some Treverans also preferred to return to their homelands upon being discharged. Moreover, there are some similarities between the contexts in which British brooches have been encountered at sites where there is evidence for returning veterans. In most cases the British brooches were reported from burial or religious contexts: e.g. brooches from sanctuaries in the *civitates Nerviorum* and *Menapiorum* or from graves on Batavian territory. At least four of the British brooches reported from the *civitas Treverorum* are known to have been discovered in burials and sanctuaries. In one case a pair of brooches connected by a chain was found in a burial, which suggests that the deceased was female. Notably, pairs of British brooches were mostly recorded on sites where there is evidence for returning veterans (examples include British brooches in the burials at Schaerbeek, Blicquy and Worms).

Not only are Treveran soldiers known to have been on service in Britain. The epigraphic record also provides evidence for the presence of Treveran civilians who for various purposes travelled to and from Britain. In Bath, one of the *Treveri* erected a votive monument (RIB 140); although he does not mention the reason of his journey, it is likely that he was a pilgrim who visited the sacred springs. A funerary monument from Bordeaux was erected to commemorate a *negotiator Britannicianus* of Treveran origin (*CIL* XIII 634). Other cross-Channel traders of Treveran descent are known from inscriptions found at Colijnsplaat and Domburg in the Netherlands (Hassall 1978, 43). There is extensive evidence for trade connections between Britain and the lands of the *Treveri*. Wine from the Moselle region as well as East Gaulish wares produced in Gallia Belgica and in the regions around Trier are common export products found on British sites (Heinen 1985, 145-147; 154-155; Wightman 1985, 143, 148-149; Fulford 2007, 59, fig. 5.2; 65; Morris 2010, 61-62, 73). It is therefore quite possible that some British brooches arrived in the Treveran lands through trade, although not necessarily through trade in brooches.

To summarise, the British brooches reported from the *civitas Treverorum* most likely arrived with returning Treveran veterans and their partners, though trade should not be excluded as possible explanation.

5.3.2.4. The tribal areas of the *Morini*

Three British brooches were reported from the Roman vicus situated 2 km from the modern French city of Étaples. This vicus lay in the tribal area of the *Morini* and was one of the three most important and richest vici in these tribal territories (Delmaire 1994, 341). The artefacts indicate that the vicus prospered between the first and third centuries (Delmaire 1994, 341).

The brooches are datable to the mid/late first century (one Colchester, type T90, and two trumpets, type 2A). For two British brooches the context was not recorded; the third brooch, a trumpet 2A, was discovered in 1989 during a rescue excavation (Delmaire

1994, 351). The brooch was found in a pit together with many pieces of glass, stamped tiles and coins of Hadrian and Constantine, among other things, which suggests that it was thrown away sometime in the course of the second to fourth centuries (Delmaire 1994, 351).

From the epigraphic record it is known that one unit raised from members of this tribe served in Britain. A *cohors I Morinorum* is attested on military diplomas issued for the army of Britain in AD 103, 122 and 178 (Spaul 2000, 186). It is unknown where the cohort was garrisoned, but it was probably employed somewhere in the coastal areas of Britain, where the sea-faring experience of the members of this tribe would have come in handy (Spaul 2000, 186). Considering the possibility that the members of the *Morini* tribe served in Britain in their own ethnic unit, it can be suggested that after being discharged some of them returned home, bringing British-made objects with them. While this seems to be true for the occurrence of the two trumpets, which were produced in Flavian period, the presence of a Colchester type, the production of which peaked in the middle of the first century, is out of context. If we are indeed dealing with returning veterans here, then the types of brooches reported from the site should be of a later date, rather than mid first century. The cohort was present in the province at the latest in AD 78 and the members of the tribe may have been recruited “after the revolt of Civilis and sent to Britain with Cerealis (sic!)” (Spaul 2000, 186).

The brooches might have arrived with other people rather than returning veterans. Étaples was one of the harbours from which the Roman ships sailed to Britain. Moreover, “one village had an unique position” in the tribal areas of the *Morini* (Wightman 1985, 93). Bolougne-sur-Mer, known in the ancient sources as *Gesoriacum*, was both a *Morini* vicus and a major harbour from which goods were shipped to and from Britain (Wightman 1985, 93). Also, the *Classis Britannica*, the British fleet, had its major sea-port here. The connection between the coastal areas of the *Morini* and Britain and the harbours at Étaples and Boulogne is discussed later in this section, but for now it can be suggested that some of the British objects reported from the area, including British brooches, could have reached their destinations through trade.

In comparison with other tribal territories, where British brooches were found in larger numbers and were geographically more spread out, only three British brooches were reported from the areas of the *Morini* and those were all from one site³⁰¹. It is more than likely that more British-made brooches remain unpublished or languish in the depots of the local museums. The author of the present work is aware of the publications by Dupas (1970) and Leriche (2001), but unfortunately, did not have the possibility to consult them.

5.3.2.5. The tribal areas of the *Sequani*

Two British brooches were reported from two sites³⁰², Seveux and Mandeuire, which in Roman times were situated in the tribal areas of the *Sequani*. One British-made object,

³⁰¹ More brooches found in Étaples are known, but in most cases they are mentioned without any indication of the type (Delmaire 1994, 344: “trouvé des fibules”, 345: “8 fibules”, 348: “plus de 100 fibules”, etc.).

³⁰² Morris assumes that three brooches were discovered on three different sites: Mandeuire, Montbeliard and Seveux (Morris 2010, 183, nos 50, 51 and 52). Through analysis of the original publications (Lerat 1957; Böhme 1970), it became obvious that the two brooches, trumpets 2A, recorded by Morris as having been found in Mandeuire and Montbeliard, are actually the same brooch found on one site only, that of Mandeuire. Morris also makes a mistake in his reference, when he records a British brooch, type T168, found in Seveux (Morris 2010, 183, no 52). The reference he provides does not seem to exist in Lerat (1957), i.e. there is no plate 14 and no brooch with number 269 (the publication has 173 brooches in total). Moreover, in the original publication, that of Lerat (1957), there is no depiction of a brooch that exhibits features similar to those of a British type T168. However, in another publication by Lerat (1956), there is a plate 14 with a brooch under the number 269, recorded as found at Seveux (Lerat 1956, 36). This object is

an enameled pan of Vehner Moor type, was found in Rochefort, France, context unrecorded (Moore 1978, 326, no C6; Künzl 1995, 39; Morris 2010, 194, no 14).

Seveux and Mandeure were major settlements of the *Sequani* tribe. Mandeure, *Epomanduodurum* in the ancient sources, was a regional centre, with its own theatre, sanctuary and Gallo-Roman temple (Rorison 2001, 187; Barral 2007). It lay on the major Roman road that connected the Roman towns of Lyon and Besançon with the Rhineland (Rorison 2001, 187; Bromwich 2003, 253, fig. 54). Seveux most likely acted as a road station on the route connecting Besançon with the tribal capital of the Lingones, Langres (Rorison 2001, 192; Bromwich 2003, 253, fig. 54). The settlement had an extensive workshop zone and the main activity was iron and bronze working (Rorison 2001, 192). Several cemeteries have been reported, but their locations are unknown (Rorison 2001, 192). The context in which the two brooches were found was not recorded, yet the mid-second century brooch from Seveux may have been located in the settlement, since the cemeteries have not yet been excavated.

While no units raised from the *Sequani* are known to have served in Britain (Jarrett 1994; Spaul 2000, 187), the lands of the Sequanians experienced the presence of the units drafted from Britain. *Ala I Britannica* was most likely on a recruitment mission there sometime in the 70s of the first century: the service of a *Sequanus* in this ala was already discussed (chapter 3, section 3.2.1). At Mirebeau-sur-Bèze, near Dijon in France, two tile stamps were found that bear the following signs: [II A]ug and VII[II] (*AE* 2004, 1001; D2285). These tile stamps probably³⁰³ record the detachments of the British legions, *legiones II Augusta* and *VIII Hispana*, transferred across the Channel sometime ca AD 70 – 90 to participate in Domitian's various wars on the Danube. There are also three inscriptions which connect the *Sequani* with this province. A votive monument, most likely to a British god (*Deus Britus*), is known from Dijon, France (*AE* 1926, 59; cf. chapter 4, section 4.7). In Cirencester, UK, a funerary monument was erected commemorating a *Sequani* citizen (RIB 110). Moreover, one of the inscriptions found at Colijnsplaat, the Netherlands, records a *Sequanus* skipper, *nauta* (Hassall 1978, 43). The latter two may have been involved in cross-Channel trade between Britain and Belgica.

The trading links between Britain and the lands of the *Sequani* deserve some extra attention. The findspot of the Vehner Moor type pan, Rochefort, while not showing visible Roman remains or a Roman road, lies halfway the two major Roman settlements of Dijon and Besançon. Mandeure and Seveux are situated on the local trade routes, which were connected to the major transportation road between Gaul, Belgica and Germania Superior. This route consisted of the sections Langres-Trier-Cologne in the east and Langres-Reims-Amiens-Boulogne in the west (Wightman 1985, 152; Bromwich 2003, 253, fig. 54). From the junction at Langres, the *civitas* capital of the Lingones tribe, these two sections run towards the coast to the naval base at Boulogne-sur-Mer and to Cologne, the capital of Germania Inferior (Derks 1998, 37, 42, fig. 2.3; Bromwich 2003, 253, fig. 54). Taking into account that some British brooches reported from the sites on the Via Belgica were brought by traders operating between Britain and Belgica,

similar to the British type T163, a brooch with “large enameled disk on the center of the bow; the bow further widens to a triangular foot” (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 169). It does indeed have a large disk on the centre of the bow, but it does not widen to a triangular foot, and the way the pin is attached is also different from the British type. The brooch under number 270 from the same publication (Lerat 1956) has more similarities with British type T163 (disk on the bow and triangular foot), but its state of preservation does not allow for exact identification. In this research it has been assumed that at Seveux a British type T168 was indeed found, since it is possible that Morris wrote down the wrong reference.

³⁰³ The restoration of the tile stamps is not certain but possible (Tomlin completing the footnote of V. Swan in Swan 2009b, 84, note 102).

it is possible that two British brooches and a British-made enamelled pan also arrived as a result of cross-Channel trade, but not necessarily trade in these specific objects.

While the *Sequani* are the likely candidates for those responsible for the occurrence of British brooches in this area, other tribal entities should also be considered. All sites, Mandeure, Seveux and Rochefort, lay in direct proximity to the tribal areas of the Lingones, whose members were recruited to serve in Britain. The Lingones provided recruits to four cohorts stationed in Britain in the late first – second century (Jarrett 1994, 61-62; Spaul 2000, 176-181). In Dijon, also a Lingones settlement, a votive inscription was found, erected by a woman named Aelia Acumina and dedicated to *Deus Britus*, which can be loosely translated as ‘a British god’. It is tempting to see in this woman a British emigrant who followed her partner of Lingones descent back to his homeland, although this has been questioned here (cf. chapter 4, section 4.7). Archaeological evidence is also scarce: so far no British brooches have been reported from the Lingones settlements³⁰⁴.

The proximity of the Lingones territory to that of the *Sequani* may indicate how the British objects reached the region. Returning veterans of Lingones descent might have brought British-made items with them among their personal possessions. Through exchange or trade or simply through movement of people, a couple of British brooches and a pan could have ended up in *Sequani* territory.

To summarise, various suggestions regarding the occurrence of three British-made objects were proposed here ranging from the presence of returning veterans of Lingones origin to trade connections between the *Sequani* region and Britain, yet none seems to offer a decisive conclusion.

A general pattern for the occurrence of British brooches on the sites situated in the various tribal territories was not detected since, as has become apparent, the brooches may have reached their destinations with different groups of people. While the presence of brooches on Nervian sites was explained as a result of the return of discharged soldiers, in other cases, such as the *Tungri*, *Treveri*, *Sequani* and *Morini* settlements, the brooches could have reached either with veterans or through trade, though not necessarily in brooches. The absence of published reports and the lack of relevant literature have also contributed to failure to discern any clear patterns.

The occurrence of two pairs of British brooches in burials was considered to be an indication of the presence of British women who probably followed their partners who had been discharged from the Roman army. It should not be ruled out, however, that recruited soldiers may have brought their own partners to Britain who grew accustomed to wearing their brooches according to the local, i.e. British, custom.

5.3.3. *Sites with British brooches and metalwork*

In the territory of Gallia Belgica, modern northern France, Belgium and the Moselle region of Germany, a relatively large amount of British objects, other than brooches, was found in comparison with other Roman provinces. The majority of these finds are Late Iron Age coins minted in Britain prior to the Roman invasion of AD 43 (Boudet and Noldin 1989, 181, fig. 3; Morris 2010, 16-17, fig. 2.10, 38-39, fig. 3.10). Other finds include various British metalwork objects, such as a lynch-pin, mirrors, bowls and items of horse gear and non-enamelled objects (Gruel and Haselgrove 2007, 247, fig. 14.4).

³⁰⁴ The author of the present work was able to consult only one publication that mentions brooches found in the area (Feugère 1977). This publication covers the collection of the local museum at Denon, France, which appears not to have any British brooches. However, this cannot be seen as an indication that British brooches are absent from the region; the lack of relevant publications and published archaeological reports have biased the outcome.

There is a correlation between the presence of British metal objects, British Late Iron Age coins and British brooches; the similar pattern has also been observed in Germania Superior and Inferior. Both British brooches and some British-made metal objects and coins were found at Fesques, Vendeuil-Caply, Blicquy, Amiens, Étaples (ca 10 km from the site of Vron where British Flat-linear potin was found) and Vermand (in the direct vicinity of Chilly where a British Flat-linear potin was discovered). Furthermore, two British-made enamelled vessels were found in Ambleutese, in the vicinity of Bolougnesur-Mer in France (Moore 1978, 327, F8) and at the La Plante cemetery in Namur, in Belgium (Moore 1978, 236, C5); a handle of a mirror in Compiègne (Guillaumet and Schönfelder 2001) and various British Late Iron Age coins spread across different settlements in northern France (Boudet and Noldin 1989, 181, fig. 3; Gruel and Haselgrove 2007, 247, fig. 14.4; Morris 2010, 157-162, appendix 1 and 2). A non-enamelled British-made object was reported from La Courte, in the region of Hainaut, Belgium, which lies in direct proximity to the aforementioned site of Blicquy (Mariën 1961, 48-49, fig. 20, no 61; Morris 2010, 191, no 8). It is useful to look at all these sites in detail in order to see if coins, metalwork and brooches arrived as a group and with what agents.

5.3.3.1. Fesques

Three British Flat-Linear potins and one Colchester brooch, type T93, were discovered in the excavations of the rural sanctuary in Fesques (Canny and Dilly 1997, 191; Gruel and Haselgrove 2007, 246). All three coins were votive deposits found in “a ring of pits, which form the earliest structural arrangements at the centre of the site”, thought to be an indication that they had left Britain by the end of the second century BC (Gruel and Haselgrove 2007, 246). Their occurrence on the site at such an early period was connected to the existence of strong cultural links between the Picardy region in northern France and southern England (Gruel and Haselgrove 2007, 256). The British brooch, manufactured sometime during the mid first century AD, was also a votive deposit discovered in one of the pits of the peripheral enclosure datable to the second half of the first century AD (Canny and Dilly 1997, 48, 191, no 49). Therefore, the coins and the brooch appear to be contextually and chronologically discrete, occurring in separate parts of the sanctuary and deposited in different periods, yet it is still noteworthy that they appear on the same site as part of votive deposits and were also manufactured in the same region, i.e. southern England.

While it is unlikely that the coins and the brooch were brought to the sanctuary together as a group, it is possible that they arrived by the same mechanism, namely through “trade and movement of people” (Morris 2010, 16). Although there can be debate about what kind of people could have brought these objects to the site, “given the strong cultural links, it is hardly surprising that British objects should have reached the north French coast” (Gruel and Haselgrove 2007, 256).

5.3.3.2. Vendeuil-Caply

A British headstud brooch was reported from the Gallo-Roman vicus of Vendeuil-Caply situated in the tribal territory of the *Bellovaci*. Unfortunately, the context of the brooch was recorded as unknown (Dilly and Jobic 1993, 392, no 232). Besides a British brooch, “two [British-made] coins of Cunobelin and one of Tincomarus”, datable to the late first century BC – early first century AD, were also discovered on the site (Gruel and Haselgrove 2007, 250, note 8; Morris 2010, 161, nos 18 and 19). Furthermore, near Vendeuil-Caply, a British Flat-Linear potin was found on the site of the sanctuary complex and Roman fortress at Rouvroy-Les-Merles, identified as a surface find (Gruel and Haselgrove 2007, 246, tab. 14.1; Morris 2010, 158, no 18), and an enamelled harness mount, datable to the mid first century AD, also a surface find, was reported

from Paillart (Leman-Delerive 1986, 29; Morris 2010, 191, no 9). The findspot of the harness mount, so called Le Haute Bailly, is not far away from the Roman road running towards the vicus of Vendeuil-Caply (Leman-Delerive 1986, fig. 1). This decorated metalwork may have been of British origin, more specifically from southeast England (Leman-Delerive 1986, 44, fig.14). Since these objects are recorded as surface finds, the period when they were deposited or lost cannot be determined.

The site of Vendeuil-Caply started life as a Bronze Age settlement and went through different phases of development: it was the site of an Early Roman fortress during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberus and grew to become a prominent vicus of the *Bellovaci* (Piton 1993, 89-90). The vicus had a Gallo-Roman sanctuary and cemetery, a relatively large theatre and a 130 ha occupation zone (Piton 1993; Knight 2001, 86).

The cluster of various British-made objects in the area around Vendeuil-Caply is significant. Their occurrence can be connected to interaction between Britain and this region. The site of Vendeuil-Caply lies in proximity to a major Roman route, the so called Senlis-Amiens, running from Lyon via Amiens to the coastal site and port of Boulogne-sur-Mer (Leman-Delerive 1986, 29; Knight 2001, 86). It is known that some members of the *Bellovaci* tribe were involved in the cross-Channel trade. One *Bellovacus* is recorded on an inscription from London as a trader, a *moritex* (RIB 3014), thought to signify a person who was involved in the cross-Channel trade (Adams 2003, 275-276).

The British-made objects reported from this region have a significant chronological gap, though it was not unusual for Late Iron Age objects and coins to remain in circulation for a long time or to be kept in families for generations (van Heesch 2005, 248). British-made objects for which this was the case are known from elsewhere: the Late Iron Age British mirror, recorded in Nijmegen, was discovered in a context dated to the second century AD, which suggests that this object was kept in use for more than a century. Therefore, it is theoretically possible that the Late Iron Age objects and coins at Vendeuil-Caply could have reached the region at the same time as the late first-century British headstud brooch, and probably through the same mechanism, yet with whom remains undetermined. Candidates range from cross-Channel traders to returning legionary veterans after AD 43 or, for the early first century BC objects, legionary soldiers who, after Caesar's campaigns in Britain in 55 – 54 BC, returned to the Continent for Caesar's campaigns in Belgic Gaul (Gruel and Haselgrove 2007, 256-257).

5.3.3.3. Blicquy

The pair of headstud brooches recorded in the burial at the site of the Gallo-Roman vicus and workshop at Blicquy has already been discussed. It has been suggested that it most likely belonged to a British woman living abroad and was considered an heirloom. Another British-made object discovered at Blicquy is a chariot linch-pin (Demarez and Leman-Delerive 2001, 392; Morris 2010, 191, no 7). The linch-pin was found at the sanctuary in “the layer of rubble which corresponds to the leveling at the end of the Empire” (Demarez and Leman-Delerive 2001, 392). It is uncertain whether “a complete chariot was transported from Britain to Blicquy or only one piece was deposited in the sanctuary” (Demarez and Leman-Delerive 2001, 394). In light of the discovery of the pair of British brooches from the Gallo-Roman burial ground in Blicquy, the latter assumption seems likely. The third British object, a mini-terret, was discovered in the necropolis excavated in the vicinity of the La Courte farm in the Hainaut region, although the context of the find was not recorded (Mariën 1961, 11-15). This mini-terret, datable to the first century BC, is an exact replica of the terrets discovered in the Iron Age cemeteries of east Yorkshire (Mariën 1961, 48-49, fig. 20, no 61; Morris 2010, 191, no 8).

These three British-made objects were ritual deposits; indeed the majority of the British-made finds in Gallia Belgica was discovered in sanctuaries and burials. This points to the objects having had foreign associations, suggesting they were brought by people not native to Britain (*contra* the suggestion previously made that the headstud was brought by a British woman), most likely returning veterans of Nervian descent.

5.3.3.4. Amiens

Two mid second-century British brooches were discovered in Amiens; the context of neither brooch was recorded. The Musée de Picardie in Amiens has more British-made brooches in its collection, although the findspots of these objects were not recorded, meaning they may not all have been found in Amiens or its surroundings. The other British objects reported from Amiens are a bronze coin of Tasciovanus (Boudet and Noldin 1989, 181, no 9) and a British enamelled patera of Rudge type with the names of the forts on Hadrian's Wall (Heurgon 1951, 22; Moore 1978, 325, A2). The patera postdates AD 122, since it mentions the names of the western forts on Hadrian's Wall, which were constructed after AD 122.

The occurrence of three second-century British objects suggests that they may have arrived as a group and during the same period. Two inscriptions in Amiens connect Britain with this Roman city. One was erected to commemorate the *primus pilus* of the *legio VI Victrix* (CIL XIII 3497), another to commemorate the legionary *vexillarii* from the *legio XXII Primigenia*, which took part in the Severan British expedition of AD 208 – 211 (CIL XIII 3496). The *legio VI Victrix* was transferred to Britain in AD 122 to construct Hadrian's Wall and was stationed in York during the whole of the second and third centuries (Farnum 2005, 20). The *legio XXII Primigenia* is known from some inscriptions erected in Britain and its *vexillatio* is recorded on some monuments erected in southern Scotland (RIB 1026, 2116a, 2216).

Heurgon (1951, 24) suggests that the British-made enamelled patera reached its destination in Amiens as a souvenir, because “the soldiers were pleased to take them back home in their baggage when they went home”. By ‘them’ Heurgon means other vessels of similar type recorded from Spain (Künzl 1995, 39; Morris 2010, 194, nos 15 and 16), which probably belonged to and were brought to Spain by discharged veterans who served in the *cohors I Asturum*, stationed on Hadrian's Wall in the second century.

The presence in Amiens of two soldiers, one of whom definitely served in Britain in the late second/third century, indicates that there may have been small scale movement of military personnel between the two provinces in the second century. Some legionary soldiers may have returned home after the military activities in southern Scotland in AD 208 – 211 bringing with them some souvenirs or objects they daily used.

Another group of people who may have brought the British objects to Amiens are the soldiers, legionaries and auxiliaries, serving in the army of Clodius Albinus, when it was on its way to Lyon, France, to the site of the future battlefield in AD 197. The road to Lyon, Roman *Lugdunum*, started at Boulogne-sur-Mer and passed Amiens, continuing down towards Reims and Langers (Fulford 2007, 56, fig. 5.1). While it is unknown if this major trading route was also used for military purposes, it is possible that during times of war the road was used to transport armies to their destinations (Fulford 2007, 57). Assuming this, it should not come as a surprise that British objects manufactured after AD 150 were found in the vicinity of Amiens and other settlements on or around this route: six are known to date (from Vermand, Blankenheim, Möhn, Seveux, and a pair of brooches discovered in the burial at Schaerbeek). In this light it can be proposed that these objects arrived as a result of such army movements during the reign of Septimius Severus.

The Late Iron Age coin of Tasciovanus, datable to the late first century BC, is so far the only British-made object discovered in Amiens. It is unlikely that it was brought

together with the mid second-century objects, because there is a ‘production’ gap: second-century objects are of northern British origin, while the coin was minted in the southern kingdom of the *Catuvellauni*, with its capital *Verulamium*, modern St Albans. It is far more likely that the coin arrived through the same mechanism as other Late Iron Age coins and objects reported from various sites in Gallia Belgica, i.e. trade interaction between the regions.

5.3.3.5. Étapes and surroundings

British brooches found at Étapes in the region of the *Morini* have already been discussed, but other British objects from the area have not yet been mentioned: two Flat-linear British potins discovered on the site of the small rural sanctuary at Vron (Gruel and Haselgrove 2007, 247; Morris 2010, 157, no 6), one bronze coin of Cunobelinus at Boulogne (Boudet and Noldin 1989, 181, no 7; Morris 2010, 160, no 8), and a stater of the *Catuvellauni* from Hesdin (Morris 2010, 157, no 4). The chronological context in which these coins were found was not recorded, although all the items are datable to the late first century BC – early first century AD. While it is unlikely that these objects arrived as a group, they may have arrived with the same agents. Returning *Morini* veterans can be excluded since the first recruits from this area arrived in Britain after AD 70, i.e. the first veterans were discharged ca AD 100 at the earliest.

This coastal region had strong trading and military links with Britain through its *Classis Britannica* harbour at Boulogne-sur-Mer (discussed below) and coins probably reached the sites in this region through trade (Morris 2010, 38), post-conquest trade (after 55 – 54 BC) as the most likely.

5.3.3.6. Vermand and around

Three British brooches were discovered on sites located around the Gallo-Roman vicus at Vermand: two mid first-century brooches (Colchester, T90, and dolphin, T94A) and one dated to the mid second century (a trumpet head with a bow suggesting the wings of a fly, T168). The dolphin and trumpet head brooches were discovered in the same area, the so called ‘Le Champ des Noyers’, while the Colchester brooch was reported from the village of Le Verguier. All three brooches were surface finds (Dilly and Sallandre 1978, 147). Le Champ des Noyers lies near a small village, Marteville, which was a Gallo-Roman sanctuary, with two or probably three temples (*fanum*) (Collart 1984, 253). The site was probably in use from the first century onwards (Collart 1984, 253). Furthermore, a British stater of Cunobelinus was reported from Vermand, though the findspot was not recorded (Boudet and Noldin 1989, 181, fig. 3, 14; Morris 2010, 162, no 21).

Vermand was the Iron Age oppidum of the *Viromandui* tribe, which prior to the Roman conquest of the area had been their capital (Knight 2001, 79). After the conquest the hillfort was abandoned and the capital of the *Viromandui* was moved to the modern-day French town of St Quentin (Knight 2001, 79). The hillfort site was reoccupied in the period of the Late Empire and excavations have revealed four large Late Roman cemeteries outside the hillfort ramparts (Knight 2001, 80). Around the hillfort two sites were discovered during the recent excavations and through air reconnaissance: Le Calvaire, a small vicus and probably an Early Roman camp, and the aforementioned Le Champ des Noyers, the Gallo-Roman sanctuary (Collart 1984, 251-253).

On the site of the rural sanctuary at Chilly, which lies near Vermand, a British Flat-linear potin was discovered, datable to the late second – mid first century BC (Gruel and Haselgrove 2007, 246; Morris 2010, 157, no 10). The potin came from the context of the sanctuary and was probably a sacred deposit.

There are notable chronological and contextual gaps between all four British-made objects: two brooches and a coin were deposits in the sanctuaries, while the British

brooch found at Le Verguier probably been lost accidentally. The British potin was found in a ditch with various Belgic coins, of a type in circulation by the early first century BC, suggesting the potin could have been deposited in the mid first century BC at the latest (Gruel and Haselgrove 2007, 253). The British dolphin brooch found in the sanctuary and the Colchester type brooch found at Le Verguier are generally dated to the mid to late first century AD; however, the British trumpet with a bow suggesting the wings of a fly started to be manufactured after the mid second century AD. This suggests that the objects did not arrive as a group and must have reached the sites through different mechanisms.

It can be suggested that British coins and brooches datable to the mid first century BC and mid first century AD were most likely personal possessions of legionary soldiers returning home or transferred from Britain in the aftermath of the campaigns of 55 – 54 BC and AD 43.

The site of Vermand is located ca 62 km from Amiens, where three British objects of mid second-century date were discovered (discussed above). It has been proposed that these objects were brought across the Channel with soldiers serving in the army of Clodius Albinus or with recruits who participated in the campaigns in southern Scotland of Septimius Severus. It is also possible that recruits from two tribes, i.e. the *Viromandui* and *Ambiani*, the capital of the latter being Amiens, were taken to serve abroad after the battle of *Lugdunum* in AD 197, although this is mere speculation. In whichever forces the soldiers had been serving (those of Severus or Albinus), it is more than likely that the mid second-century brooches and objects arrived as a result of troop movements to and from Britain in the late second century. The occurrence of a British brooch in the Vermand sanctuary adds support to this suggestion.

In the Vermand Roman cemetery, datable to Late Antiquity, “83 pewter vessels were excavated”, whereas in St Quentin, the new capital of the *Viromandui*, “six pewter vessels were recovered in a Late Roman cemetery” and in Homblières, near St Quentin, “seven pewter vessels were recovered from the graves” (Beagrie 1989, 180). Some pewter vessels were British productions and, when found on the Continent, can be regarded as export goods (Morris 2010, 134). Beagrie (1989, 181), however, argues that these particular vessels were not imports from Britain but were locally manufactured. There is enough evidence to suggest that pewter vessels discovered in northern France were indeed Continental productions (Beagrie 1989, 181). The ones from Vermand were made using a “technique that has not been found on any of the pewter known from Britain”, suggesting that these vessels, as well as the ones from St Quentin and Homblières, were of Continental manufacture (Beagrie 1989, 181).

5.3.3.7. Other British objects from various sites in northern France

The majority of the British objects found in northern France are Late Iron Age coins. It is unnecessary to repeat here the findspot of every coin; instead I refer to Boudet and Noldin (1989, 181, fig. 3), Gruel and Haselgrove (2007, 247, fig. 14.4), and Morris (2010, 18, fig. 2.10; 39, fig. 3.10). Other import British metalwork present in Gallia Belgica consists of: a mirror handle, a surface find from Compiègne (Guillaumet and Schönfelder 2001); an enamelled vessel with ring handle, from a late third-century context from Ambleteuse (Moore 1978, 327, no F 8); a pewter plate or dish from a grave from Rouvroy, near Arras (Beagrie 1989, 179) and “a pewter plate or dish from a soldier’s grave dated to the fourth century from Betricourt”, not far away from Reims (Beagrie 1989, 179).

The British-made mirror handle and coins datable to the Late Iron Age and mid first century AD are likely to be exports taken by soldiers who participated in the British campaigns of Caesar and Claudius. Gruel and Haselgrove (2007, 257-258) note that the British-minted coins were mostly found on sites associated with military activity by

Caesar after his British campaigns in 55 – 54 BC. After AD 43, British coins, produced and minted in the early first century AD, turn up on the sites of Roman forts, suggesting that they were taken as possessions of soldiers who were posted overseas (Gruel and Haselgrove 2007, 258). The majority of the objects appear to be gifts in sanctuaries, which is a “common occurrence with Iron Age coins far outside their territory of origin” (Gruel and Haselgrove 2007, 248).

It should be noted here that, while some British brooches, British-made objects and coins occurred on the same sites, there are sites where only one type of item was represented. For example, at the rural sanctuaries at Bois-l’Abbé and Bennecourt, where British coins are attested, no British brooches were found (Mangard 2008; Bourgeois 1999). Likewise, in the forest near Compiègne, where the British mirror handle was discovered, no British brooches are attested (Lambot 1975).

The enamelled vessel from Ambleteuse was found associated with coins dating to the late third century (Moore 1978, 323; 327, no F 8). Neither the exact location where the vessel was found nor the context was recorded, although it can be suggested that it came from a hoard, since the pan was found together with the coins. Vessels similar to this British-made pan were produced in the late first to mid second centuries AD (Künzl 1995, 42, Morris 2010, 194, no 11 *contra* Moore 1978, 325). A small fragment, the decoration of which bears some similarity to that on the Ambleteuse pan, was found at a fort at Halton Chesters on Hadrian’s Wall (Moore 1978, 325; Künzl 1995, 42). The occurrence of a British-made vessel on a site in northern France can be considered as another indication for troop movements from Britain across the Channel in the late second century: it may have belonged to a soldier serving in the army of Albinus or Severus.

Two pewter dishes found in Rouvroy and Betricourt were most likely imports from Britain rather than manufactured on the Continent. Both dishes are isolated finds, in contrast to sites such as Vermand, St. Quentin and Homblieres where pewter vessels were found in plenty, suggesting local production. Moreover, the site of Rouvroy lies in direct proximity to the Via Belgica, raising the possibility that the dish was brought by a trader. Another pewter dish was discovered in a burial, though it is unlikely that the deceased was of British descent. Beagrie (1989, 181) notes that the “majority of the [pewter] vessels come from graves [in Gallia Belgica], which contrasts with the context of most pewter finds in Roman Britain”. In Britain, pewter vessels were found with coin hoards or as part of hoards; many derive from wells, rivers and ponds, suggesting that they were used as votive offerings to deities (Beagrie 1989, 178).

In this section the relationship between the occurrence of British brooches and other British-made objects and coins in Gallia Belgica has been considered. In the majority of cases British-made objects appear to co-occur with British brooches; yet the chronological gaps detected between the occurrence of some objects and brooches seem to indicate that at least a quarter of these items did not reach the sites during the same period or with the same groups of people.

The majority of the objects datable to the late first century BC to mid-first century AD arrived in northern France as a result of troop movements in the aftermath of Caesar’s and Claudius’s British campaigns, in 55 – 54 BC and AD 43; the coins could have been given as tribute by local British tribes to the Roman government and foreign troops (Morris 2010, 16). The troop movements may also have influenced the appearance of the mid second-century objects in northern France, although two events were considered here as candidates that triggered the relocation of armies from Britain. Soldiers loyal to Clodius Albinus might have followed their commander from Britain to the final battle at *Lugdunum* in AD 197. Recruits from the northern French tribes might have joined the units to participate in the campaigns of Severus in southern Scotland and

could thus also have been responsible for the spread of mid second-century British objects in this region.

There is, however, one major discrepancy. From the previous section, where the occurrence of British brooches on the sites of various tribal entities was discussed, it became apparent that British brooches were found in the areas inhabited by tribes, members of which were recruited to serve in Britain and after being discharged from military service returned to their homelands. In this section the occurrence of the British-made items, brooches included, was connected mostly to the troop movements of the Republican and Imperial army. The divergence does not have to do with chronology, i.e. the latter were objects mostly datable to the first century BC – early first century AD, while the former are datable to the late first – mid second century AD. The examples of mid second-century brooches arriving as a result of troops movements are a case in point. This indicates beyond doubt that each object should be carefully and thoughtfully studied from various perspectives, i.e. period of manufacture, find context and state of preservation among others, contrasting them with chronological and historical events in the examined region.

5.3.4. *Other sites with British brooches: Lillebonne*

Two British-made brooches datable to the mid to late first century AD were found on the site of the Roman theatre at Lillebonne: one dragonesque and one probable Polden Hill³⁰⁵. Since the objects derive from the context of the theatre, it can be suggested that they were accidental losses. The brooches may have fallen off the clothes of spectators watching performances or gladiator fights in the theatre.

Lillebonne was one of the ports on the river Seine (Knight 2001, 39). Its theatre and baths are the only structures that have been excavated and are open to the public (Knight 2001, 40). Slightly further east from Lillebonne along the Seine, two British Iron Age coins were discovered at Rouen and at Bennecourt (Boudet and Noldin 1989, 181 fig. 3, no 12; Knight 2001, 41; Gruel and Haselgrove 2007, 246; Morris 2010, 158, no 20). A gold coin of Tasciovanus is recorded as having been found at Rouen, though Boudet and Noldin (1989, 181, fig. 3, no 12) doubted whether this was the original findspot. A British Flat-linear potin was reported from the rural sanctuary of Bennecourt (Gruel and Haselgrove 2007, 246).

While all the sites are connected by the river Seine, they are located in different tribal areas: Lillebonne was the chief city of Caletes, Rouen - the capital of the *Veliocassi*, Bennecourt lies on the border between the territories of the *Veliocassi* and *Parisi*. The proximity of the sites to the Seine suggests that the British objects were most likely brought by persons travelling via the river. Due to the chronological and contextual gap it cannot be argued that the objects arrived as a group, yet they probably reached their destinations through the same mechanism: as a result of continuous contacts between the Seine-Maritime region in northern France and Britain (Morris 2010, 41). That the nature of such contacts was mainly commercial should not come as a surprise, considering that the Seine was part of a major river trading route, the so-called Rhône-Saône. This route was divided into two parts: one went northwards to the Moselle region and Rhine, another - westwards to the Seine (Morris 2010, 41). Strabo (*Geography* IV 5.2) also mentions that Britain could be reached through four passages, one of which began at the mouth of the river *Sequana*, the modern Seine. Archaeological evidence indicates that the Rhône-Saône-Seine trading route was one of the most important in the Late Iron Age (King 1990, 117; Morris 2010, 41). The occurrence of

³⁰⁵ The depiction of this brooch in the publication does not allow for the exact determination of its type, although the shape (arched bow) and decorations on the bow itself are similar to those on British dolphin and Polden Hill types.

British-made finds datable to the first centuries BC and AD recorded in the region around the Seine also testifies to the importance of this route for transportation of British-made goods inland (Fulford 1977, 59). The epigraphic record also supports this; a certain Lucius Viducius Placidus from the *Veliocassi* tribe is recorded on a monument found in York, UK (RIB 3195); another votive monument found in Colijnsplaat, the Netherlands, was made by Placidus, son of Viducius, who referred to his profession as *negotiator Britannicianus* and his origin as *Veliocassi* (AE 1975, 651). It has been suggested that both inscriptions may refer to the same person (Hassall 1978, 46-47; Stuart and Bogaers 2001, 56-57).

5.3.5. *Classis Britannica* and Boulogne-sur-Mer

Boulogne-sur-Mer was the naval base of the *Classis Britannica*, the British fleet, which supervised the movements of people and goods to and from Britain and the Continent. In wartime, its main role was “the rapid transportation of provisions, materials and troops” (Philp 1981, 113). The date of origin of the British fleet is uncertain and many researchers have struggled to establish it, although there is an indication that the fleet was in existence by the time of Nero (Atkinson 1933, 2; Cleere 1974, 186; Holder 1982, 55; Seillier and Lottin 1983, 17; Saddington 1990, 229). The *Classis Britannica* is usually believed to have been established by Claudius for the invasion of AD 43 (Atkinson 1933, 3; Saddington 1990, 229; Frere and Fulford 2001, 47; Morris 2010, 90). The fleet was in full operation during the reign of Domitian, when the British governor Agricola used it “for transport and exploration, as well as offensively” (Saddington 1990, 229).

The fleet had two bases: one in Britain and one in northern France; during the first century AD the British base was Richborough, during the second century it was Dover; the French base was Boulogne-sur-Mer (Seillier and Lottin 1983, 19; Morris 2010, 90). The fleet also had small bases all around Britain in order to “bring stores and reinforcement by water for the legions” garrisoned further inland (Cleere 1974, 187). The *Classis Britannica* may also have controlled the mid second-century tile and iron industries in the Weald of Sussex and Kent (Cleere 1974, 189; Philp 1981, 113).

While large-scale excavations³⁰⁶ at both the main naval bases of the *Classis Britannica* have provided us with information on the fleet’s role, there are still gaps in our knowledge regarding the fleet’s development. That it played an important role during the Claudian invasion and in the later Saxon shore period is acknowledged by many, but establishing the development and organisation of the fleet between these periods is fraught with difficulties (Cleere 1974, 186).

Boulogne-sur-Mer is considered to be the departure point for the invasion by Claudius in AD 43, although there are some indications that the site was used even earlier, during Caesar’s attempt and Caligula’s aborted attempt to conquer the island (Gosselin and Seillier 1984, 259; Seillier 1987, 32; Frere and Fulford 2001, 47; Knight 2001, 87 and Seillier 2007, 145; *contra* to them Black 2000, 7, note 44; Bird 2002 and Sauer 2002, 334-335). By AD 70 – 100 Boulogne had become the official naval headquarters of the *Classis Britannica* and it kept this status until the time of the Gallic

³⁰⁶ The continuous excavations at the naval base at Richborough and the excavations at Dover (Philp 1981) mostly concentrate on the existence of Saxon shore forts there in the third century. The naval base at Boulogne-sur-Mer in France, which has no visible Roman remains, was first excavated in 1967 and has since then been continuously excavated by the team led by Claude Seillier (Seillier 2007, 133). These excavations revealed “two sets of early Roman stone defences”, a civilian settlement and many cemeteries (Seillier 2007). Recent excavations have revealed the size of the fort, ca 12.5 ha, its main gates and a series of barrack blocks at the back of the fort; a dock area was also located (Knight 2001, 87; Bromwich 2003, 52). While buildings of late first – second centuries were found, the investigations mainly focussed on the third-century base and the existence of Boulogne in the late Empire period (Gosselin and Seillier 1984; Mertens 1987, 33; Seillier 1996; Bromwich 2003, 50).

Empire (Knight 2001, 87). While the fleet base was primarily for military use, the road network starting at Boulogne made the town “a key Channel port” (Bromwich 2003, 50). The harbour had a direct link with Cologne through the Via Belgica (Morris 2010, 90).

The main fort (ca 12.5 ha) of the naval base was positioned in the upper town on the hill overlooking the sea and a civilian settlement was built around the installations of the *Classis Britannica* (Gosselin and Seillier 1984, 261; Seillier 2007, 133-137). A dock area was also located in the lower town (Knight 2001, 87; Bromwich 2003, 52).

Numerous tiles with the abbreviation CLBR, standing for CL(assis) BR(itannica), were located on the site (Seillier and Gosselin 1973, 55; Peacock 1977, 243; Seillier and Lottin 1983, 17), as well as funerary inscriptions, recording the names of prefects, trierarchs, various captains and seamen of the British fleet (Bromwich 2003, 52). Furthermore, “two or three pewter vessels” have been discovered with “*beaucoup de céramique anglais*” (Beagrie 1989, 180). British black-burnished wares post-dating the third century are frequent finds in the living quarters of the naval base and in the cemeteries around the fort (Seillier 1987, 36; 1994, 234, 236, 279). Abundant lead coffins, numerous pewter plates and Samian Ware manufactured in the pottery workshops in Oxford, UK, have been excavated in the late Roman necropolis of Boulogne-sur-Mer (Seillier 1987, 36; 1994, 260, 269). In general, the Romano-British pottery types, Oxfordshire and black-burnished ware, are frequent occurrences on *Morini* sites, although they are usually dated to the period of AD 250 – 400 (Fulford 1977, 49, 78-80).

While the naval base and the adjacent civilian settlement at Boulogne-sur-Mer have been extensively excavated by Seillier and his team for many years, no British-made brooches were mentioned in the publications covering the excavations and history of this site; yet brooches in general are not absent from the site. In the detailed analysis of all finds from the naval base, civilian quarters and cemeteries of Boulogne-sur-Mer (Seillier 1994), brooches are mentioned as being part of the collection of the local museum, the Chateau-Musée Boulogne-sur-Mer. The majority of them were discovered in burials, while only a fraction of them were located on the site of the naval headquarters, civilian settlement and lighthouse (Seillier 1994: naval base: 231, 234; civilian settlement: 243; burials: 254, 256-257, 259, 261, 264, 266-268, 273, 280 and 282-284). The author does not, unfortunately, record their types and does not go beyond reporting that “enameled brooches”, “debris of metal objects” or “fragmented brooches” were excavated (Seillier 1994, 254, 261, 243). While some of the brooches were never published (Seillier mentions inventory numbers), I suspect that some of the others were, but publications such as the *Bulletin de la Société académique de Boulogne-sur-Mer* and *Mémoires Boulogne* were not available for me to inspect. The only publication that was available covers the collection of the Chateau-Musée de Boulogne-sur-Mer, although it does not mention any brooches (Belot 1990). My visit to the local museum of Boulogne, where the finds from the naval base are supposedly kept, did not produce any results either. I suspect that British brooches *were* found in the excavations of the naval headquarters and the civilian settlement, but that they are hidden in the depot of the local museum. The idea that more British-made metal objects are kept in the stores of the Boulogne museum, is supported by the occurrence of one bronze coin of Cunobelinus (Boudet and Noldin 1989, 181, no 7; Morris 2010, 160, no 8). Considering that the site was the main port from where goods from Britain were transported further inland, it is surely likely that beside British-made pottery, various British-made objects and coins were brought to the site.

The epigraphic record is richer in the sense that it helps to better understand whether there were Britons in Roman Boulogne. From the inscriptions available to us, it is apparent that most of the soldiers recruited to serve in the British fleet originated in the Roman Near-East or were of Continental origin. A funerary monument for a

freedwoman, datable to the period of Claudius or Nero, was erected by Tiberius Claudius Seleucus, trierarch of the *Classis Britannica*, whose cognomen points to a Near-Eastern origin (*CIL* XIII 3542; Saddington 1990, 228). Another trierarch made a tombstone for his daughter; the origin of the family may also lie somewhere in the East, as both the father's and the daughter's *nomen* is Graecius/a (*CIL* XIII 3546). Three mariners of the British fleet indicated their origin as Thracian (*CIL* XIII 3544), Syrian (*CIL* XIII 3543) and Pannonian (*CIL* XIII 3541). On an inscription found in Arles, France, datable to the mid third century, an African (*natione Afer*) is attested as a serviceman in the British fleet (*CIL* XII 686). On two more inscriptions the origins of the deceased are not mentioned, but their cognomina were widespread in the Celtic-speaking provinces (*CIL* XIII 3540 mentions Quintus Arrenius Verecundus; the cognomen Verecundus "prevailed in Celtic and German areas" [Minkova 2000, 275]; *CIL* XIII 3545 mentions Domitianus, this cognomen "prevailed in the West" [Minkova 2000, 155]). While the inscriptions record non-local origins for the recruits, we should not assume that locals, or Britons for that matter, did not serve in the British fleet (Saddington 1990, 230). Britons are known to have served in another fleet, that of Germania, as well as in the various auxiliary units, British including. The absence of evidence for the service of Britons in the *Classis Britannica* can be connected to the fact that Britons were probably not allowed to have high-ranking positions, such as that of trierarch or commander of a fleet's unit. They could have been mariners who were paid too little to be able to afford to erect nicely carved tombstones or votive monuments.

To summarise, evidence for the presence of Britons on the site of the naval headquarters of the British fleet, both archaeological and epigraphical, is poor. Despite being the main harbour of the *Classis Britannica*, where goods and people to and from Britain would have embarked and disembarked, the site did not produce as many brooches or inscriptions as other sites where the presence of Britons was only sparsely attested (Pont, Waasmunster, Hofstade, Blicquy, to name but a few). This situation is made worse by the lack of published excavation reports.

5.3.6. Conclusion

Forty three British-made brooches have been recorded in Gallia Belgica, from various sites in various contexts and from different chronological periods. In comparison with the provinces previously discussed, this number is relatively low – 17 per cent of the total number of British brooches discovered across the Channel. The reason for this is twofold: the nature of the province (it consists mainly of civilian settlements) and the low number of published archaeological reports. The latter factor has resulted in a situation where, although British brooches can be expected, none has been recorded. This applies in particular to the sites in the tribal areas of the Lingones, members of which are known to have served in Britain. The naval base of the British fleet, Boulogne-sur-Mer, equally did not provide archaeological evidence for the presence of British-made metal objects.

Gallia Belgica stands out among the provinces discussed for other reasons as well. Firstly, British brooches datable to the mid first century AD are common occurrences on its sites. Secondly, the province is epigraphically poor with respect to inscribed evidence for the presence of Britons, with the exception of the two inscriptions from Trier and Dijon, though it is a matter of debate if these monuments do indeed record British-born individuals. Thirdly, British brooches cluster around the major trading routes, which connected Britain with the hinterland of Gallia Belgica: the Via Belgica (the route from Boulogne-sur-Mer to Cologne), the Boulogne to Amiens route and the Seine-Saône-Rhône river route. Fourthly, the brooches are concentrated in the tribal areas of the Nervians, Menapians, Treverans and Tungrians, members of which are known to have

been recruited into the auxiliary units stationed on Hadrian's Wall and the Antonine Wall in Britain. Fifthly, other British-made objects and coins have been reported, in many cases on the same sites as British brooches.

Taking the outlined diversities into account, various mechanisms were proposed here through which British brooches and other objects might have reached their Continental destinations:

1. Movements of troops. British-minted coins, objects manufactured in the late first century BC and early first century AD and mid first-century AD British brooches were brought by the legionaries who participated in the campaigns of Caesar in 55 – 54 BC and Claudius in AD 43. The British-made brooches and other metal objects datable to the mid second century AD were brought by recruits in Clodius Albinus' army or by soldiers who took part in the campaigns in southern Scotland during the reign of Severus.
2. Returning veterans. The fact that British-made brooches were located at the civilian settlements of various tribes implies that these accessories were taken overseas by returning veterans and their partners, who in some cases were identified as of British descent.
3. Trade. Given the strong cultural links between the two provinces in the mid first centuries BC and AD, it was proposed that some British brooches arrived together with British exports, either on the clothes of the traders or as export goods, since the possibility of small-scale trade in exotic bronze objects should not be excluded.

Gallia Belgica also claims the highest number of recorded contexts for British brooches: more than half (33 out of 40). Of these, 16 brooches were votive deposits and 17 were found in a settlement context (cf. table 5.3).

Table 5.3 Sites where British-made brooches have been encountered and for which the contexts were recorded

Brooches found in a burial context	Brooches found in a sanctuary	Brooches found in a settlement
Fallais (1 – surface find)	Trier (1)	Tongeren (1)
Flavion (1 – surface find)	Möhn (1)	Maastricht (1)
Thuin (1)	Fesques (1)	Heerlen (1)
Schaerbeek (2 – a pair)	Vermand (3 – surface finds)	Tholey (1)
Blicquy (2 – a pair)		Dalheim (2)
Wederath (1)		Blankenheim (1)
Trier (2 – a pair)		Étapes (3)
		Mandeure (1)
		Seveux (1)
		Vendeuil-Caply (1 – surface find)
		Amiens (2)
		Lillebonne (2)

The fact that British brooches in this province have been encountered with equal abundance in sanctuaries, cemeteries, and in settlement contexts has some implications for the function and usage of the brooches. It hints that the functional use of brooches, to fasten clothes, could coexist with non-functional or ritual repertoires of use within the same group of people. For example, British brooches reported from the tribal territory of the Tungrians were found both in settlement contexts (Tongeren, Maastricht and Heerlen) and in burials (Flavion and Thuin), suggesting that while some may have regarded the foreign objects as profane, others regarded them as sacred.

It is interesting to consider the change in meaning that brooches found in votive and burial deposits appear to have undergone: they were everyday objects that lost their

primary function and became items with a religious significance, used for ritual purposes. They were considered suitable gifts to the gods by persons whose wishes, probably for a safe return back to the homeland, had been fulfilled. The votive deposition of brooches ties into an existing tradition in Gallia Belgica of making offerings at large centralised sites and in burials. Brooches have frequently been found on the sites of Gallo-Roman temples and open sanctuaries as well as in graves, especially in the French regions of Picardy and Upper Normandy (Wellington 2005, 235-236).

While the majority of British brooches are thought to have been brought to Gallia Belgica by people who had lived for some time, in and traded with, Britain, a small fraction of the brooches could have been brought by mobile Britons. Since the main objective of this research is to find Britons on the Continent it is useful to consider the presence of such Britons in Gallia Belgica in some detail.

From the previous sections it became obvious that most of the mobile Britons were soldiers who were recruited into the British auxiliary and *numeri* units, as well as conscripts into the legionary forces and the German fleet. Since the military installations in Gallia Belgica usually date to the late first century BC – early first century AD, British units or British recruits could not have been garrisoned at these forts: their earliest presence on the Continent postdates AD 43.

While no British units served in Gallia Belgica, troops from Britain might well have passed through this province on their way to the limes of Germania Inferior and Superior. The occurrence of British brooches datable to the late first century AD, the period when epigraphy records the transfer to the frontiers, on and around sites along the Via Belgica lends further support to this suggestion. Since British units still contained British recruits in the late first century, it is theoretically possible that some brooches were brought by these Britons.

Troops from Britain may have passed through Gallia Belgica during the preparations for the battle between the armies of Severus and Albinus that took place in Lyon in AD 197. The route to Lyon starts at Boulogne and passes Amiens, Reims and Langres. Along the western stretch of this route British mid second-century objects were found, probably brought by soldiers serving in Clodius Albinus' troops. However, although it is possible that Albinus' army contained British conscripts and recruits, there is no epigraphic support for this.

Other 'common' Britons are British women who followed their foreign partners back to their homelands on the Continent. In the cemeteries of Schaerbeek and Trier, pairs of British-made brooches were found, implying that the deceased, who had worn the brooches according to the British custom, may have been of British descent.

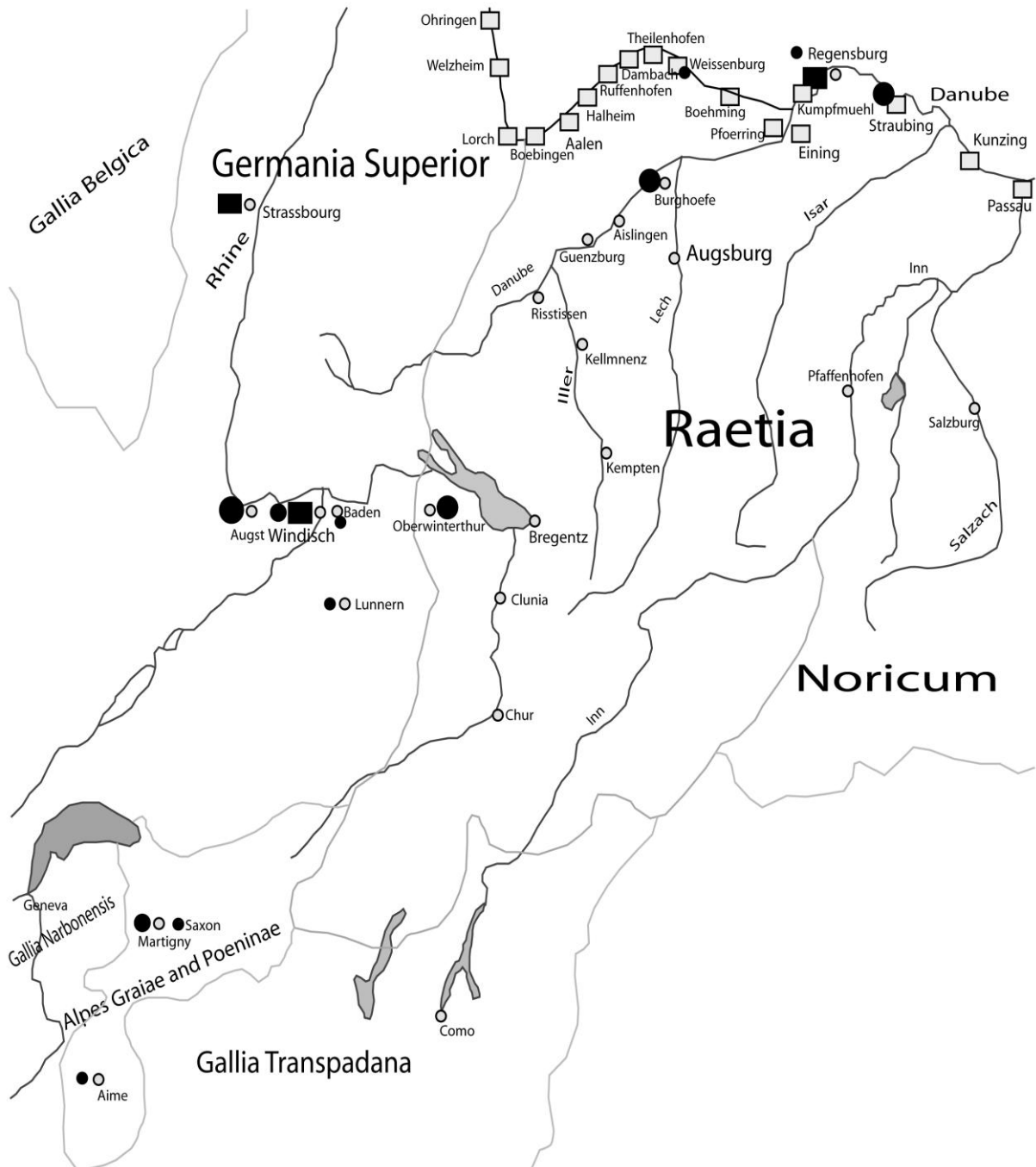
5.4. British brooches in Raetia, southern Germania Superior and the Alpes Graiae and Poeninae

There are 32 British-made brooches found on various sites in the three Roman provinces of Raetia, Germania Superior and Alpes Graiae and Poeninae³⁰⁷. The majority of these brooches, 25 to be precise, are datable to the mid to late first century, while seven out of 32 were manufactured in the mid to late second century. The types of British-made brooches present in the territory of these three Roman provinces are the types most frequently found across the Channel: headstuds and umbonates. While in the other provinces trumpets and their derivatives are most abundant, here only three

³⁰⁷ Raetia nowadays comprises the areas of southern Bavaria, the Upper Swabia and Tirol in Germany, eastern and central Switzerland and the region of Lombardy in Italy; the provinces of Alpes Graiae and Poeninae are today's Val d'Aosta region in Italy and the Canton Valais in Switzerland; southern Germania Superior is contemporary western Switzerland and the regions of Jura and Alsace in France.

specimens of these were found. The British Colchester derivative, on the other hand, a type rarely³⁰⁸ found outside Britain, accounts for seven specimens discovered on sites in direct proximity to each other. This occurrence of Colchester derivatives and the relative absence of trumpets may be related to where in Britain the wearers of these brooches came from.

³⁰⁸ The notable exceptions are numerous examples reported from the Saalburg and Zugmantel forts.



Distribution of Romano-British brooches in Raetia and Alpes Graiae and Poeninae (map after Cysz et al. 2005, 79, fig. 10). Two are without provenance

- civilian settlements (civitas capital, vicus etc)
- Legionary fortress
- Auxiliary fort
- = one exemplar
- = two exemplars
- = three/four exemplars
- = five and more exemplars

Figure 5.8 Distribution of British-made brooches in Raetia, southern Germania Superior and the Alpes Graiae and Poeninae

British brooches are concentrated in three major areas: on the Raetian limes (the forts of Weissenburg, Regensburg, Straubing and Burghöfe); in the province of Alpes Graiae and Poeninae (the civilian settlements of Martigny, Saxon and Aime) and in the Rauracan and Helvetian tribal areas (the sites of Augst, Windisch, Baden, Oberwinterthur and Lunnern). The epigraphic record is silent about the presence of Britons in any of the Roman forts and settlements mentioned above; however, military diplomas and inscriptions record the presence from the late first to third centuries in Raetia of at least one British auxiliary unit, *cohors III Britannorum*. Since it is known where that unit was garrisoned on the Raetian limes, the discussion in this section starts with the occurrence of British brooches at the Raetian forts.

As mentioned above British Colchester derivatives were found on sites that lie in direct proximity to each other: Martigny, Aime, Augst, Lunnern and Oberwinterthur. Another type datable to the mid first century, T116, was also reported from Windisch. Late first-century brooches such as headstuds were recorded at Saxon, Windisch and Oberwinterthur; trumpets at Augst and Oberwinterthur; umbonates at Augst, Baden and Oberwinterthur. All these sites were connected by roads running from Gallia Belgica and Germania Superior south towards the Italian peninsula. The occurrence of mid/late first-century British brooches on these routes is noteworthy and may indicate the movement of people from Britain to the Italian peninsula. This possibility is discussed in the second part of this section. The third part discusses the occurrence of the late second-century British types.

What is clear from the distribution map is that brooches are absent from sites in central Raetia and were mostly found on sites located between Augst and Oberwinterthur and in the forts of the Raetian limes on the Danube (Weissenburg being one and only exception). While it is possible that not everything has been published, it is likely that British brooches are indeed absent from these areas. The publications on the Raetian limes forts consulted for this research did not mention any British-made brooches³⁰⁹.

5.4.1. Cohors III Britannorum and the British brooches from Burghöfe and Straubing

The *cohors III Britannorum* is attested on various inscriptions and tile stamps from two Raetian forts: Regensburg-Kumpfmühl and Eining, which were garrisoned by the unit in the late first century and, at the latest, in AD 153 respectively (cf. chapter 3, section 3.2.12). In the previous sections on Germania Superior and Inferior it has been established that soldiers serving in British auxiliary units and their partners brought with them among their personal possessions brooches manufactured in Britain. Therefore, it can be expected that at the forts garrisoned by the *cohors III Britannorum*, at least a few British brooches should be found. However, British brooches have been reported from neither fort (see Faber 1994 for Regensburg; Jütting 1995 and Gschwind 2004 for Eining). Only in one burial, at the Regensburg Late Roman cemetery, was a British late second-century specimen found, but this can be considered to be out of context, since the cohort was garrisoned there much earlier, somewhere between the late first century and AD 153 at the latest.

Having said that, British brooches are not totally absent from the forts on the Raetian limes: three were found in Straubing and four at Burghöfe. Moreover, a British-made enamelled belt plate was reported from Straubing (Walke 1965, 148, taf. 97, no 8; Morris 2010, 193, no 7).

³⁰⁹ The publications that were consulted include those on forts Ruffenhofen (Kohl 1896), Dambach (Kohl 1901), Böhming (Winkelmann 1907), Pförring (Fink 1902), Künzing (Schönberger 1975), Risstissen (Ulbert 1970), Aalen (Steimle 1904), Moos-Burgstall (Schönberger 1982) and the cemetery at Schwabmünchen (Ebner 1997).

Of the three British brooches reported from the Straubing fort, two are datable to late first century and one to the late second – third centuries. The occurrence of two late first-century brooch types (Polden Hill and headstud) coincides chronologically with when the *cohors III Britannorum* was stationed at Regensburg-Kumpfmühl, the fort immediately north of Straubing. A British Polden Hill brooch was found inside the fort and a headstud in the adjacent vicus. The British-made belt plate is datable to the late first – early second centuries AD, which also coincides chronologically with the service of the British cohort in Regensburg. The belt plate was found during excavations in the northeastern part of the vicus (Walke 1965, 148).

So far no tiles stamped with the sign of the British cohort have been found in Straubing, which can be seen as an indication that the British unit did not supply building materials to this fort and probably also did not participate in its construction. It is known, however, that two auxiliary units built and garrisoned the western and eastern forts at Straubing: *cohors II Raetorum* and *cohors III Batavorum* respectively (Batz 2000, 330; Czysz *et al.* 2005, 519; Czysz *et al.* 2008, 14-16). While the Raetian cohort never served in Britain, the same cannot be said of the Batavian unit (Spaul 2000, 279, 213-214).

The *cohors III Batavorum*, or at least a detachment of it, was probably garrisoned at *Vindolanda*, a fort on the Stanegate Roman frontier in the UK, in the late first century (Jarrett 1994, 56; Spaul 2000, 213; Birley R. 2009, 63). Although it is still disputed whether *Vindolanda* was indeed this unit's post³¹⁰, for the purpose of this research this does not matter much; what is relevant is that the unit certainly was stationed in Britain in the late first century AD. After AD 105 the cohort is attested on military diplomas issued for the army of Raetia (Spaul 2000, 213). The recent discovery of a tile stamp of this unit in Straubing suggests that it was garrisoned in the fort “for a few years into the reign of Trajan” (Czysz *et al.* 2008, 16). The occurrence of British-made objects can be seen as a further indication that the unit was indeed there for some time in the early second century AD.

The discussion in the preceding sections on the occurrence of British brooches on the military sites of Germania Superior and Inferior has shown that British brooches were also brought on the clothes of soldiers whose units had served in Britain for some time before being transferred to the Continent. The occurrence of British brooches and a British-made belt plate at the fort at Straubing is another indication of this process.

Four British-made brooches, all datable to the late first century, were discovered on the site of the fort at Burghöfe. The fort was constructed during the reign of Claudius and garrisoned by an unknown unit until AD 69, after which it was rebuilt and remained in use until ca AD 120 (Ulbert 1959, 84, 87; Czysz *et al.* 2005, 429). Based on the occurrence of four British brooches, it can be proposed that the unknown unit was the *cohors III Britannorum*, known to have been stationed in Raetia prior to AD 69³¹¹. However, there is a chronological problem. Bayley and Butcher (2004, 160, 165 and 173) note that trumpet 2B, headstud and umbonate brooches all pre-date AD 75, but this does not mean that these brooches were produced as early as AD 60. All these types occur on British sites as early as the Flavian period, but are absent from pre-AD 69 contexts. Therefore, whoever brought the four British brooches to the site must have arrived at the Burghöfe fort after AD 69.

Since only four British brooches out of 434 were found on the site, it can be suggested that it was a small community of, probably, soldiers and their partners that arrived together with the unknown unit that may have served in Britain for some time.

³¹⁰ Spaul (2000, 214) notes that “the period of the unit's stay is assigned from AD 80 to 105” and that the unit was either garrisoned at *Vindolanda* or nearby and was “in contact with a unit stationed there”. Birley R. (2009, 63) suggests, however, that the Ninth Batavian cohort “formed sole [the fort's] garrison”.

³¹¹ It is unknown where this British unit was garrisoned prior to AD 69 (cf. chapter 3, section 3.2.12).

The fort had a size of 2.1 ha, which is an indication that the unit stationed there was the size of an ala. This is also supported by the presence of abundant horse gear and cavalry equipment (Czysz *et al.* 2005, 429). Yet of all the alae mentioned by Jarrett (1994) none seems a suitable candidate for the unknown auxiliary unit: all of them were transferred to Britain after serving on the Continent and not the other way around.

Ortisi and Pröttel (2002, 50), however, saw the occurrence of British brooches on the site differently, i.e. as not connected to the service of troops from Britain. They emphasise that after the fort at Burghöfe was abandoned, the vicus which had grown in its vicinity, and which was located near the route known as the Via Claudia, became a relatively large and independent civilian community. This proximity to the Via Claudia, the route connecting the Danube region with the Italian peninsula, influenced the development of the vicus and stimulated its economic growth. In this sense, the occurrence of British and other foreign brooches in Burghöfe was connected by Ortisi and Pröttel (2002, 50) with trade, i.e. with the presence of traders from various Roman provinces, on their way to and from the trade centres of Italy. In connection with this, another British brooch needs to be briefly mentioned here (but discussed in detail in the section 5.5.3). A trumpet 2A is reported from Venice, though it is likely that it was found on the site of the Roman town of *Altinum*, modern Altino, which forms the mainland part of Venice. *Altinum* is considered to have been the end point (or beginning, depending from where one starts) of the Via Claudia. The occurrence of a British brooch there and four brooches in Burghöfe might therefore indicate the movement of traders with British goods or British traders between the Danube region and Italy.

To summarise, it was suggested here that members of a military unit which prior to its service on the Continent was stationed in Britain may have brought British brooches to the Straubing fort. In the case of Burghöfe the presence of traders with British goods seems a likely explanation for the occurrence of brooches there.

5.4.2. *British brooches from sites in the lands of the Helvetii and the Roman provinces of Alpes Graiaae and Poeninae*

Here we concentrate on British brooches in the Helvetian territory and two small Roman provinces in the Alps, Graiaae and Poeninae. On the sites of the civilian settlements and legionary fortresses at Augst, Martigny, Oberwinterthur and Aime, five Colchester derivatives were discovered, datable to ca AD 43 – 60. A brooch reported from Oberwinterthur was found in a context datable to AD 50 – 70/80, which can be seen as an indication of when all five Colchester brooches are likely to have reached the sites mentioned above.

The second ‘wave’ of British brooches can be dated to the Flavian period, after ca AD 80. On the sites of Lunnern, Oberwinterthur, Augst, Saxon, Windisch and Baden, brooches post-dating AD 70 were found: one Polden Hill, two trumpets, five headstuds and three umbonates. The proximity of the sites to each other and the homogeneity of the brooch types suggest that they may have arrived through the same mechanism and as a group.

5.4.2.1. *Colchester derivatives and the British presence prior to AD 70 in the Helvetian lands and Alpes Graiaae and Poeninae*

The *cohors III Britannorum* was sent to Raetia somewhere in the 60s of the first century, took part in the suppression of the Helvetian uprising in AD 69 and later joined the forces of Caecina, Vitellius’ general during the tumultuous years of the Civil war (cf. chapter 3, section 3.2.12). When the cohort was moved from Raetia to take part in the suppression of the Helvetian uprising in AD 69 and to join Caecina’s forces, it passed the sites of Augst, Martigny, Oberwinterthur and Aime (the movement of the cohort

during the year AD 69 has been reconstructed in chapter 3, section 3.2.12). It seems therefore reasonable to say that members of this British cohort might have brought the brooches to the area.

Ala I Britannica is considered to be another British unit that took the side of Vitellius in the Civil war, although whether there were one or two cavalry regiments raised from Britain in AD 69 is a point of a discussion (cf. chapter 3, section 3.2.1). Considering that either unit was sent from Britain then it is possible that members of the unit(s) brought British brooches to the aforementioned sites. Moreover, the mentioned ‘draft from Britain’, which was on the side of Nero and later Galba, together with other troops in AD 68 might have taken the road leading to Besançon, which passed the legionary fortress at Windisch and Augst (Murison 1993, 8-10). The soldiers from this detachment on their way to Vesontio might have lost the brooches found at the sites of Augst and Windisch.

In general, two (three?) British units and various legionary detachments from Britain chose the side of Vitellius during the Year of the Four Emperors. It is clear, however, that it is impossible to know which British unit’s or detachment’s members brought the brooches to the sites, though the suggestion has been made³¹² that the Colchester derivatives might have been brought by the *Iceni* recruits in the *cohors III Britannorum*.

It was noted above that British brooches are absent from the military forts at Regensburg-Kumpfmühl and Eining, where the *cohors III Britannorum* was stationed in the late first – second centuries. While it is clear that after the defeat of Caecina the unit returned to Raetia, the absence of British brooches on the sites where the unit had been garrisoned indicates that the cohort was not replaced with new recruits from Britain, who could have brought British brooches among their personal possessions. Since no Colchester derivatives were found on the site of the Regensburg-Kumpfmühl fort, this suggests that the original soldiers of the British cohort were ‘killed in action’ during or shortly after the battle at Cremona.

To summarise, the first ‘wave’ of British brooches in Raetia and the Alpes provinces can be explained by the movements of the *cohors III Britannorum* and other units and detachments summoned from Britain in AD 69.

5.4.2.2. British brooches datable to after AD 69 on the sites of Helvetii and the provinces of Alpes Graiae and Poeninae

Eleven British-made brooches datable to after AD 69 were found on the following sites: Augst, Saxon, Baden, Oberwinterthur, Windisch and Lunnern. Since the types of these brooches started to be manufactured sometime during the 70s of the first century, the brooches must have reached these sites in the same period or later. This interpretation is supported by the contexts in which some of the brooches were discovered: a trumpet 2A type from Oberwinterthur was located in a context dated to AD 70 – 180/190, while an umbonate from the same site was found in an AD 90 – 170/180 context. This suggests that the brooches arrived as a group and through the same mechanism, probably as a result of a particular event sometime in the time of the Flavian dynasty or slightly later.

Most of the brooches were either accidental losses or were found in rubbish deposits: brooches from Oberwintherthur were found in the town’s occupation area, across the street from each other (Unteres Bühl, slots 47, 52 and 115); brooches from Augst were found inside the city walls; one was located in insula 2A, between the amphitheatre and the forum.

³¹² On the origin of the *ala I* and *cohors I Brittonum*, *cohorts II* and *III Britannorum*, see chapter 3, section 3.2.16.2.

The sites between Augst and Oberwinterthur were connected by the road, the so-called Via Raetia, running from the legionary fortresses at Mainz and Strasbourg in Germania Superior to the Italian peninsula (Chevallier 1989, 161, fig. 34; 174, fig. 37). Augst was also connected by a road with Martigny. These roads were used on various occasions by the army to transport troops to the Italian peninsula and further to the Danube areas (Chevallier 1989, 174, fig. 37). It is known that *legio XI Claudia Pia Fidelis*, stationed at Windisch during AD 70 – 101, was moved to Pannonia in preparation for Trajan's Dacian Wars (Farnum 2005, 22) and probably used one of these network roads to reach its post, Szöny in Hungary.

In AD 87 – 88, the whole legion was moved from Britain to Pannonia – *legio II Aduitrix* was relocated from Chester to Budapest, Hungary (Jones B.W. 1992, 132-133; Farnum 2005, 16). Together with the *legio II Aduitrix* various detachments taken from other legions and auxiliary units stationed at that time in Britain were also redeployed to the Continent (Strobel 1989, 80). One such detachment, *ala Tampiana vexillatio Britannica*, is recorded on an inscription in the legionary fortress *Carnuntum*, modern Bad Deutsch-Alteburg in Austria (*CIL* III 4466). On its way from Britain to Pannonia, the detachment enlisted new recruits: the epitaph was erected for a soldier whose origins lay in modern Reims, France. The presence of a recruit from Reims indicates the route the detachments from Britain might have taken to reach the Danube: from Boulogne all the way down to the settlements in the southern part of Germania Superior, Raetia, and Alpes Graiae and Poeninae, passing the tribal areas of the *Remi* on the way. Moreover, at Mirebeau-sur-Bèze, near Dijon in France, two tile stamps were found that bear the following signs: [II A]ug and VII[II] (*AE* 2004, 1001; D2285). These tile stamps probably³¹³ record the detachments of the British legions transferred across the Channel sometime ca AD 70 – 90. Dijon and its surroundings are connected by the Roman road running from Reims to Besançon via Dijon. The route to the Danube taken by the detachments of the legions and auxiliary units stationed in Britain can therefore be reconstructed as follows: from Boulogne to Amiens, passing through the lands of the *Remi* and the *civitas Remorum*, where the road divides into different branches, down to Langres and then to Besançon, from where the units could have either taken roads towards Raetia, i.e. to Augst and Windisch, or towards Alpes Graiae and Poeninae and Gallia Transpadana, i.e. Martigny and Saxon³¹⁴. Whichever route the detachments and units may have taken, i.e. Raetian or Alpine, all roads would have led to the Danube frontier.

The beginning of the reign of Trajan saw the removal of legionary and auxiliary forces from all Roman provinces in preparation for the war with Dacia. Historical sources offer poor descriptions of the situation in Britain during the reign of Trajan. It is therefore unknown how many legions were stationed in Britain, or if any were sent across the Channel, yet it is more than likely that legionary and auxiliary vexillations were formed in order to be transferred to the Danube in the run-up to the Dacian Wars. If this was the case, then the routes taken by such detachments could have started at the river Rhine in Germania Inferior or at the fleet base of the *Classis Britannica* in Boulogne-sur-Mer in Gallia Belgica. In the first case the drafts could have been transported by river all the way down to Mainz and then down to Strasbourg and Augst, where they would have had a choice between roads through the Alps or through Raetia in order to reach the Danube (Chevallier 1989, 161, fig. 34; 174, fig. 37). In the latter case the legionaries and auxiliaries could have taken one of the roads starting at Boulogne, the Via Agrippa, which runs all the way to Lyon (Chevallier 1989, 161, fig.

³¹³ The restoration of the tile stamps is not certain but possible (Tomlin completing the footnote of V. Swan in Swan 2009b, 84, note 102).

³¹⁴ The reconstruction of the movement was deduced from the known Roman roads in the area, cf. Chevallier 1989, 161, fig. 34, 174, fig. 37; Talbert *et al.* 2000, maps 11, 12, 18 and 19.

34). From Lyon the troops could have gone through the Italian Alps and then further through Dalmatia to the Hungarian plains (Sitwell 1981, 14-15; Chevallier 1989, 161, fig. 34; 174, fig. 37).

It seems reasonable to suggest that during one of these events³¹⁵ in the reigns of Domitian or Trajan the various units garrisoned in Britain were transferred to the Danube regions along the routes discussed above, passing the settlements and legionary fortresses of Augst, Windisch, Baden, Oberwinterthur and Saxon on the way. The occurrence of eleven British-made brooches on the sites mentioned above could therefore be explained by such troop movements during the reign of Domitian or Trajan. The same can be applied to the presence of one brooch, a trumpet 2A, on the site of Mandeure, which was discussed in the section on Gallia Belgica. Mandeure lies directly on the road connecting Augst with Besançon and Chalon-sur-Saône, which was part of the Via Agrippa, which connected Boulogne with Lyon (Wightman 1985).

A British Polden Hill brooch was found in a small vicus, modern Lunnern, which lies off the main Roman roads connecting Germania Superior and Gallia Belgica with the Italian peninsula. While it is likely that the brooch arrived as a result of the troop movements discussed above, the question is how it ended up in a small settlement. Various suggestions are possible, ranging from the selling of the brooch by a Briton to a local to accidental loss when the British unit was wintering in the area. Since the context of the find is unknown, no plausible suggestions can be made.

To summarise, the occurrence of mid first-century British brooches and brooches datable to the late first century can be explained by the movement of troops raised in Britain. In the case of the mid first-century brooches, the likely candidates for having brought them to the region are the soldiers in Caecina's army. In the case of the late first-century brooches, the likely cause of their presence is the transfer of legionary and auxiliary forces from Britain to the Danube.

5.4.3. *Second – third-centuries brooch types in Raetia and the southern parts of Germania Superior*

Seven British-made brooches, datable to the mid second – third centuries, were reported from Augst, Weissenburg, Regensburg and Straubing.

The contexts of the four brooches found in Augst have been recorded: two unclassified T-shaped brooches were found in insula 17E in an AD 125 – 300 context; a type T162 brooch was found in an occupation area in an AD 190 – 250 context³¹⁶ and a British-made type T271 was found in an occupation area in a context datable to the third century.

The settlement and legionary fortress at Augst are situated at the junction of the three main roads from Germania Superior, Raetia and northern Italy. These roads were mainly used for the transportation of the army and, as we have seen earlier, the units and legionary detachments called over from Britain to the Danube passed these routes, probably sometime during the late first – early second century AD. The occurrence of various British brooches in the region around Augst supports this. Is it possible that four other British brooches, datable to the late second century, also reached their destination through the movement of troops from Britain? If this was so, then the brooches must have arrived sometime after AD 190, a *terminus post quem* for when the British T162 brooch reached Augst.

³¹⁵ E.g. the preparations for the wars on the Danube.

³¹⁶ The context was dated on the basis of pottery analysis: the brooch was found with Domitianic coins and with vessels datable to after AD 190 – 250.

One event can be seen as relevant in this context: the battle of *Lugdunum* in AD 197. It is known from historical sources that the British legions sided with Clodius Albinus and went into battle with him (Herodian III 6.6, 7.2). In the section on Gallia Belgica it was proposed that the presence of British brooches and other objects datable to the mid to late second century in this province can also be connected with this event in AD 197. The British brooches recorded in Augst and the surrounding areas may have also arrived on the clothes of soldiers in British legions ca AD 196 – 197.

Three other British brooches datable to the late second or third centuries were reported from three forts on the Raetian limes, Weissenburg, Straubing and Regensburg. With regard to context, the British brooch found in Regensburg was discovered in a burial; a British type T259 reported from Weissenburg came from the “*Grosse Thermen*”, a bath complex, though it was not recorded from which phase exactly (Wamser 1984, 107)³¹⁷ and the context of the brooch found in Straubing was not recorded.

The auxiliary fort at Regensburg-Kumpfmühl was not rebuilt after its destruction in the Marcomannic wars, AD 170/172 (Batz 2000, 327; Czysz *et al.* 2005, 503). The legionary fortress, on the other hand, in spite of damage received during the Alamannic raid in AD 233 and the fall of the Raetian limes in AD 260, remained in use until the late fourth century and was garrisoned with *legio III Italica* (Batz 2000, 327; Czysz *et al.* 2005, 503). Both forts, however, Straubing and Weissenburg were abandoned after the fall of the limes in AD 260 (for Straubing see Batz 2000, 327; Czysz *et al.* 2005, 520; for Weissenburg see Batz 2000, 289; Czysz *et al.* 2005, 534-535).

From the epigraphic evidence it is known that *legio III Italica* did not serve in Britain (Farnum 2005, 18); the units, attested in the forts at Straubing and Regensburg-Kumpfmühl in the third century, were not transferred from Britain to Raetia.

Considering that all the Raetian forts were in operation after the AD 233 raid and until AD 260, it can be suggested that the brooches were brought around that time. An inscription found in Mainz, dated to AD 255, records a certain *legio XX* (*CIL* XIII 6780), possibly a British legion, i.e. *legio XX Valeria Victrix*; it was interpreted as indicating that this legion or a detachment of it was at Mainz around that time (Malone 2006, 68). Later on, what was probably the same detachment was relocated to Pannonia Inferior, where it was garrisoned at *Sirmium* during the reign of Postumus (Malone 2006, 68). Where the detachment was between AD 255 and 260 is unknown. Notably, both British types, T271 and T259, recorded from the forts on the Raetian frontier, were also reported from the forts on the Pannonian frontier (discussed in detail in the next section). A detachment of the *legio XX Valeria Victrix* may have been relocated from Mainz to *Sirmium* by the river Danube and may have been garrisoned at various forts on the Danube on its way. Since the British brooch was found in a burial in the cemetery of the legionary fortress at Regensburg, the detachment was probably posted there for some time, between AD 255 and 260. Malone (2006, 70) does not doubt that the detachments of the legions stationed in Britain in the third century were involved in Continental battles and that some of them probably “contributed to the fight against incursions of the Franks and Allamani”.

To summarise, the British brooches datable to the late second – third centuries reached the Raetian frontier and Augst well before AD 260, but after AD 190. Two major events have been proposed here that could have resulted in the occurrence of these seven British brooches: the battle of *Lugdunum* in AD 197, when the British legions took the side of Clodius Albinus, and the involvement of the legions stationed in Britain in the conflicts on the Raetian and Germania Superior frontiers in AD 233 – 260.

³¹⁷ The baths had three major construction phases, from the early second century until the reign of Caracalla (Wamser 1984, 64-69).

5.4.4. Conclusion

A total of 32 British brooches has been reported from various sites in three Roman provinces: Raetia, southern Germania Superior and Alpes Graiae and Poeninae. The brooches were divided into three groups, those datable to the mid first century; those datable to the late first century (i.e. after AD 69 – 75) and those datable to the late second – third centuries. While the brooches are divided by provincial borders and chronological periods, it has been proposed that their occurrence can be connected to the same mechanism, namely the movements of the Roman army and troop transfers.

The brooches datable to the mid first century reached their destinations as a result of troop transfers in AD 69. Two British auxiliary units, *ala I Britannica* and *cohors III Britannorum*, and various detachments and drafts from Britain, sided with Vitellius and fought on his side during the summer and autumn months of AD 69. The brooches post-dating AD 69 arrived as a result of the operations of either Domitian or Trajan on the Danube, when British legionary detachments may have been transferred to the Danube region after AD 83. The brooches datable to the late second – third centuries may have been brought by soldiers in the army of Clodius Albinus and by members of legionary detachments relocated to the Continent around the mid third century.

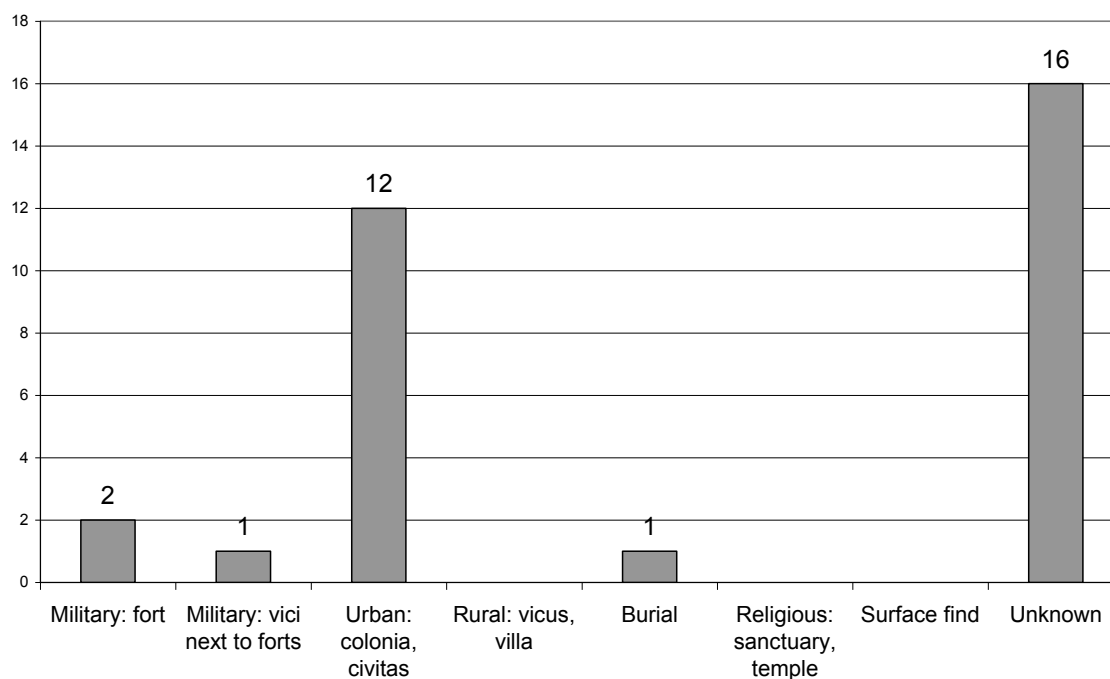


Figure 5.9 Contexts of the British brooches found in Raetia, southern Germania Superior and Alpes Graiae and Poeninae

From the figure 5.9 it becomes apparent that the majority of the British brooches were reported from civilian contexts, although the people who brought them, it is suggested here, were military personnel. One would expect to find British-made objects in legionary quarters rather than in the civilian settlements that grew in the proximity of the fortresses. One answer to this apparent problem could be found in the contexts of the brooches usually associated with males and females. One would expect to find female-associated brooches in a civilian context, while male-associated ones are more likely to appear on the sites of military installations. The British brooches that are likely to have been worn by females are those with headloops, i.e. headstuds, trumpets and umbonates.

In the provinces discussed here the contexts of these types have been recorded for 5 out of 17 brooches. Two headstuds, two umbonates and one trumpet were all found in a civilian context (the occupation area of the civilian settlement of Augst and in the vicus of the Straubing fort). The British brooches that are likely to have been worn by males are Colchester derivatives and brooches with small or no headloops, such as knee brooches. For these, the contexts have been recorded for six out of eight brooches: five British male-associated brooches were found in civilian contexts (in the occupation area of the civilian settlements of Augst, Oberwinterthur and Martigny); only one Colchester derivative was reported from the fort in Straubing. Clearly, the contexts in which female- and male-associated brooches were found do not offer an explanation for the contradiction of the occurrence of the brooches brought as a result of the transfer of military personnel to the sites associated with civilian activity.

Rey-Vodoz (1986, 45, note 164; 62), while emphasising that all the brooches from Oberwinterthur come from a settlement area, which suggests a civilian and non-religious usage of these objects, notes that the occurrence of foreign brooches on the site, i.e. of Germanic and British origin, indicates “visitors connected with the army passing through though not necessarily staying long”. This explanation can also be proposed, albeit very tentatively, for other sites where British-made male-associated brooches were found in civilian contexts.

Were these soldiers and their partners of British descent? In other words, did Britons bring the British brooches to these three Roman provinces? It is known from the epigraphic record that at least one soldier of British origin served in the *cohors III Britannorum*, although he might not have been the only one: it is highly likely that prior to AD 69 this cohort had British recruits. The occurrence of five British-made Colchester derivatives on the route of the cohort’s movements in AD 69 was here considered an indication that these objects were brought by serving members of this unit. Colchester derivatives were widespread in East Anglia in Britain, which was taken here as an indication³¹⁸ that the original soldiers of this British cohort came from this area.

Other British-made objects seem to have been brought by soldiers of various origins drafted to serve in the legions and auxiliary units stationed in Britain. As an example, the case of Straubing can be mentioned here. The three British-made objects could have reached the fort with recruits from the *cohors III Batavorum*, which prior to its transfer back to the Continent was stationed at *Vindolanda* on the Stanegate frontier in Britain. Who these recruits were is unknown, but they could just as likely have been of British descent, considering the unit’s presence in Britain for couple of decades.

5.5. British brooches on sites in Central and Eastern Europe, and Mediterranean region

Ten British made brooches were found on various sites situated on the Danube in the Roman provinces of Pannonia Inferior and Superior, roughly covering the area of modern Hungary; two British brooches were reported from the sites of two military forts in Roman Dacia, modern Romania, and one from an unknown site in the Roman province of Dalmatia, modern Croatia. Two British brooches of the same type, trumpet 2A, were discovered on the Italian peninsula, at Venice and Morlupo. In total there are 15 brooches, of which the majority (nine) is datable to the late first – early second centuries; five are datable to the mid second century. Only one British brooch type, the penannular, was manufactured continuously.

³¹⁸ Chapter 3, section 3.2.12.

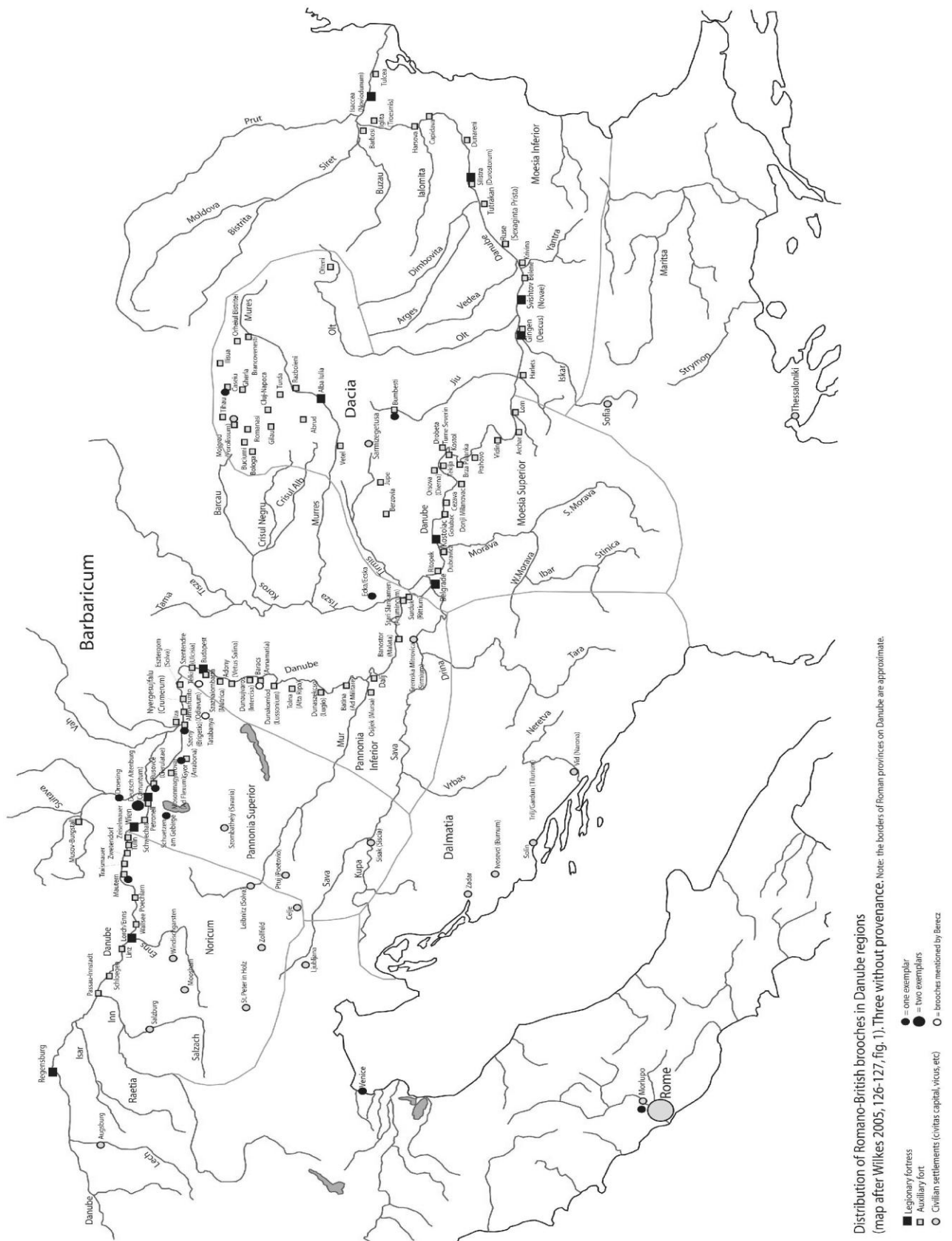


Figure 5.10 Distribution of British-made brooches in Central and Eastern Europe, and the Mediterranean region

To this total, four more brooches mentioned in a thesis by Berecz (2008) could have been added, but unfortunately this could not be done due to the absence of relevant information, particularly depictions. Berecz (2008) assigned four brooches to the British types (one to disk-and-trumpet, T166 type, and three to umbonates, T267 type), but unfortunately there is reason to believe that some of these assignments were not accurate. To illustrate the point: Berecz suggests that her type IA/3d is Exner's type I 22. Brooches recorded by Exner as type I 22 are the British trumpet variety, which suggests that the brooches designated by Berecz as type IA/3d are British-made trumpets. However, this appeared not to be the case. At least two out of the three brooches assigned to type IA/3d (C-114 and D-142 in Berecz) are not British trumpets. This became obvious after consulting the original publications where these two brooches were depicted (C-114 in Kovrig 1937, 74, T. XV, 160; D-142 in Vaday 2003a, 322, 406). Therefore, without the depictions (the four brooches in question were not illustrated), it is difficult to be sure if all the brooches designated by Berecz as British types can indeed be regarded as such. I was able to contact Berecz, but she decided not to provide me with illustrations of the brooches mentioned in her research. Since no depictions of these four brooches were available and they had not been published before, I cannot be sure if they can be securely assigned the label 'British types'. The translations of the brooch descriptions did not provide any clear answers either³¹⁹. Ultimately it was decided to mention these four brooches, but only in the appendix, and to include their find spots on the map. However, this information should be approached with due caution.

Only 15 British brooches were recorded for the entire Danube and Mediterranean regions, which compares poorly with other provinces discussed here. There are a number of possible explanations for these low occurrences of British brooches. The first one is the most obvious: the language barrier and the lack of relevant publications available in Western Europe, in Dutch libraries in particular. It has been a frustrating experience pursuing publications and archaeological reports on excavated military or civilian sites in Hungary. Some reports appear to be missing (see Szőnyi 2003, 68 on the lost excavation documents of the Győr fort). Although Visy (2003b, 239-257) provided an extensive bibliographical entry for each site on the *Ripa Pannonica*, the majority of the articles and books are written in Hungarian and not available in Western Europe.

The second reason may lie in the numbers of British recruits serving in the British auxiliary units, when the troops were transferred to the Danube. From the epigraphic record it is known that the majority of British auxiliary units took part in the Dacian Wars of Trajan, AD 101 – 106, and, after the annexation of Dacia and the organisation of a new Roman province, were stationed in various places there (chapter 3, section 3.2.16.3). Some British units were called back to Pannonia and posted at various forts on the *Ripa Pannonica*. Considering when the majority of the units were raised, shortly before and during the Flavian dynasty, and the survival rate of soldiers during major military conflicts, we can arrive at the conclusion that by the second quarter of the second century there were no British soldiers in the British auxiliary units. This is supported by the epigraphic evidence which shows that the majority of soldiers serving in the British *alae* and cohorts in the second century were of Continental descent (cf. chapter 3, section 3.2.16.4). This could explain the low number of British brooches in these regions, since these objects could only have been brought by serving members who came with their units directly from Britain.

³¹⁹ The thesis was written in Hungarian, a language that this author is not able to understand. Needless to say, Google Translations failed utterly to provide a coherent translation of the text.

Figure 5.10 shows that 12 brooches are concentrated either near the *Ripa Pannonica* or the frontier regions of Dacia. This overwhelming occurrence of British brooches in areas with a strong military presence has influenced the organisation of the present section. Firstly, the brooches reported from the forts on the Danube or from the sites near the frontier are discussed (Bad Deutsch-Alteburg, Drösing, Rusovce, Győr, Szöny and Ečka, with the comments on the brooches mentioned by Berecz). Brooches found in the Roman province of Dacia are discussed next followed by three brooches from the Mediterranean region (Venice, Morlupo and Dalmatia). The fourth part addresses the dearth of British brooches in Noricum and considers the occurrence of one possible British brooch (a pennanular from Mautern) on the limes in there. The occurrence of possible British-made objects in the Black sea region of Russia is discussed in the last part of this section.

5.5.1. Britons and British brooches on the Ripa Pannonica

Nine British brooches have so far been reported from the territories of four modern Central and Eastern European countries (Austria, Slovakia, Hungary and Serbia). During the Roman Empire two Roman provinces, Pannonia Inferior and Superior, covered these areas, with most of this territory now covered by the modern country of Hungary. The number of British brooches is extremely low, considering the number of British auxiliary units garrisoned in the two provinces at various times. Five British auxiliary units are attested in undivided Pannonia during the Flavian dynasty, being transferred there for participation in various military conflicts during the reign of Domitian, i.e. the Pannonian and Dacian Wars of the 80s and 90s AD (cf. table 3.55 in chapter 3, section 3.2.16.3; Mócsy 1974, 85). During Trajan's Dacian Wars, most of the British auxiliary units were relocated to Moesia Superior and Inferior, where they probably played the role of support troops. After the wars, three were transferred to Pannonia Inferior, where only one stayed until the third century; the others were redeployed elsewhere.

It should not come as a surprise that some of the brooches reported from the Danube region belong to the types that were introduced and flourished during the Flavian dynasty – headstuds and umbonates – , i.e. the period when five British auxiliary units were posted on the Pannonian frontier³²⁰.

Two British brooches were reported from two military installations in Pannonia. A dragonesque brooch is known to have been found in Győr, Hungary, the military fort at *Arrabona*; another, a headstud³²¹ was reported from the legionary fortress at Szöny, Hungary, Roman *Brigetio*. Around AD 80 *cohors I Britannica* garrisoned the auxiliary fort of *Brigetio* and another British unit, *ala I Britannica*, was garrisoned at the *Odiavum* fort, located westwards of the legionary and auxiliary fortress *Brigetio* (Számádó and Borhy 2003, 78; also see chapter 3, sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.4). The occurrence of two British brooches and the stationing of two British auxiliary units in the vicinity of the object's findspots³²² cannot be coincidental: they were most likely brought there by serving members of these British units.

Berecz notes that an umbonate brooch was found on a site of a military fort at *Annamatia*, modern Baracs in Hungary. In the fort nearest to it, called *Intercisa*, a

³²⁰ Berecz reports the presence of three umbonates from two civilian and one military sites. Moreover, one umbonate brooch was also recorded at the outpost fort of Mušov-Burgstall, now in the Czech Republic, although it is not sure if it was indeed a British-made umbonate.

³²¹ The headstud recorded in Szöny is atypical. While it has some of the characteristics of the British headstud, i.e. headloop and stud on top of the bow, it is not strictly speaking T-shaped. The brooch in its appearance is similar to the headstud brooch recorded in Straubing (Walke 1965, fig. 94, no 15). Morris (2010, 187, no 129) suggests that the Straubing brooch is a British type T148A. Considering the similarities between Straubing and Szöny's brooches, the brooch from Szöny has here been recorded as a British type T148A.

³²² The Győr fort situated westward from *Brigetio*.

British unit, *ala I Britannica*, was posted until AD 117/119 (cf. chapter 3, section 3.2.1). If the brooch mentioned by Berecz is indeed a British umbonate, then possibly it may have belonged to a serving member of this British *ala*. Two more umbonates were recorded by Berecz, probably³²³ from two civilian settlements situated behind the *Ripa Pannonica*, Tatabanya and Telki. Both sites are close to the Szöny – Budapest stretch of the *Ripa*. Three British auxiliary units were posted here, *ala I Britannica*, *cohortes I Britannica* and *III Brittonum* (at *Odiavum*, *Brigetio* and *Solva*, respectively). If these two umbonates were indeed British types, it is possible that they reached both Telki and Tatabanya with persons who had some connections with military units posted on the stretch just mentioned, possibly partners of soldiers. The section Szöny – Budapest roughly corresponds with the tribal territories of the *Azali*. It is known that one soldier from *cohors I Britannica* chose as his partner a woman from this tribe: Lucco, son of Trenus from the British *Dobunni* tribe was legally married to Tutula, daughter of Breucus (*CIL XIV 49*).

Another British brooch datable to the late first century was recorded in a cemetery near the Roman auxiliary fort *Gerulata*, the modern suburb Rusovce of the Slovakian capital Bratislava. The original publication describing the excavation of this cemetery was not available (Pichlerova 1981), but Ortisi and Pröttel (2002, 40, note 159) cite that the brooch was found in grave 10, 10, though they fail to indicate where the grave was located: the auxiliary fort had five cemeteries (Schmidtova and Jezna 2003, 62). Neither the period when the burial took place nor the sex of the deceased was recorded.

While no British auxiliary units are attested as having been garrisoned at *Gerulata* (Krekovič 1997, 278), there are two epitaphs from the nearby legionary and auxiliary fortresses of *Carnuntum*, modern Bad Deutsch-Altenburg and Petronell, Austria, that suggest that the units transferred from Britain were posted nearby. One epitaph found in Petronell commemorates a soldier from Reims, France, who served in *ala Tampiana vexillatio Britannica*, a detachment sent from Britain during the reign of Domitian to participate in one of his wars on the Danube (*CIL III 4466*; Bogaers 1965 – 1966, 19; Dobson and Mann 1973, 199; Strobel 1989, 79; Jarrett 1994, 43). The second epitaph, found in the cemetery road of *Carnuntum* legionary fortress, commemorates a legionary soldier from *Colonia Claudia Camulodunum*, modern Colchester in the UK (*CIL III 11233*).

It is known that Domitian called from Britain detachments from various legions, those of *legiones II Augusta*, *IX Hispana* and *XX Valeria Victrix*, and auxiliary units for the first Pannonian war on the Danube in AD 89 (Strobel 1989, 78). While the exact places where these detachments were garrisoned remain uncertain (Mócsy 1974, 85), but *Carnuntum* is a likely place (Strobel 1989, 84). Both the legionary and auxiliary fortress of *Carnuntum* were extensively excavated in the last century, but only a few brooches were found, among which no British specimens were identified (for the legionary fortress: see Grünewald 1981, 1983, 1986a and Jilek 1999; Gugl 2007a, 190-191 mentions only three brooches; for the auxiliary fortress see Stiglitz *et al.* 1997 and Kandler 1997).

The occurrence of a British umbonate brooch in a burial at the auxiliary fort at *Gerulata* suggests that one of these drafted detachments may have been actually posted for some time at *Gerulata castellum* around the AD 80s – 90s. The name of the *Gerulata* unit during the first Pannonian war is unknown, though there is evidence that it was an *ala quingenaria*, a 500 men strong cavalry unit (Krekovič 1997, 278). A detachment composed of various *alae* drafted from Britain is so far the best candidate.

³²³ ‘Probably’ because the author of the present work is not sure about the types of these sites or if they were indeed sites. Berecz does not provide such information. Since both Telki and Tatabanya lie behind the *Ripa*, it is considered here that they could have been small *vici*.

Berecz (2008, 128) notes the existence of another possible British umbonate in Mušov-Burgstall, Czech Republic, a semi-permanent Roman base during the Marcomannic wars, AD 167 – 180. Since the original publication was not properly referenced (Berecz 2008, 128, note 836 cites Komoróczy 2003 but this title is not listed in the bibliography), I was not able to find this publication, therefore I cannot be sure if this is indeed a British umbonate. The context of the find was not recorded by Berecz³²⁴.

Another brooch, which resembles the British umbonate, is reported from Loretto, Austria, a Roman settlement. This site lies in the vicinity of Leithaprodersdorf, another Roman complex consisting of two *villae*, a watchtower and a cemetery (Nowak 1989b, 206, abb. 564). It is worth noting that at Leithaprodersdorf another possible British-made brooch was found: a penannular brooch, Fowler type C (Matouschek 1982, 272, abb. 693). This and other penannular Fowler type C brooches recorded at various Roman sites in Austria will be discussed later in this section.

I am not sure if the umbonate found in Loretto can be considered as British-made. The majority of British umbonates were of a similar design, varying from “a ring of small pelta-shaped cells surrounding a raised central rosette, and with eight small lugs round the rim”, type T268 (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 172) to “concentric rings of small triangular enamel cells, and elaborate frilled or lugged rims”, type T267 (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 173). The Loretto umbonate, while having a raised central rosette and two small lugs round the rim, has two bands of enamel decoration – six small triangular-shaped cells in the central ring and six large triangular-shaped cells in the outer ring – and two cord-like bands in the place where a genuine umbonate has a deep rounded channel. Although in its overall appearance, the Loretto brooch is similar to the British umbonate type³²⁵, no specimens of similar design have been reported from Britain itself³²⁶. This brooch may have been a local variant based on a genuine British design. However, as far as the author of the present work is aware, similar umbonates are absent from the provinces of Noricum and Pannonia. In fact, it is unique. Since it is cannot be verified that this object is British-made, it was excluded from the database.

Other possible British-made brooches recorded in the province of Pannonia Superior are six penannular Fowler type C brooches found at Bruckneudorf (two specimens, surface finds near a Roman villa; Farka 1977, 394, abb. 265), Petronell (surface find in the area between the Roman amphitheater and road; the brooch was found in a bronze capsule together with a thin metal plate; Farka and Melchart 1981, 515, abb. 659), Steinbrunn (surface find near a Roman site; Nowak *et al.* 1988, 301, abb. 434), Halbtorn (surface find, Nowak 1989a, 205, abb. 553) and the brooch mentioned above from Leithaprodersdorf. All sites are located in Austria.

The Fowler type C penannular brooch is distinctive for its flattened terminal rolled into a spiral (Fowler 1960, 152; Simpson *et al.* 1979, 329; Hattatt 2007, 340, fig. 199). This type is considered to be of British origin, though it occurs frequently outside Britain. In total, 146 brooches of this type have been counted in Britain (Fowler 1960, 164, fig. 9, 175; Simpson *et al.* 1979, 329; Snape 1993, 29); they have also been reported from various sites on the Continent: 30 are known from France and Germany, and “a few in Switzerland, Austria and Hungary” (Simpson *et al.* 1979, 329). Brooches of this type are frequent finds on the Rhine limes as well (Rene 1975, 365). Furthermore,

³²⁴ In Mušov-Burgstall, a Germanic king's grave was excavated. Various sites were also found in the vicinity of this burial, such as the Roman base mentioned above, temporary camps, Roman-period ditches, *etc.* (Tejral 1997, 2002).

³²⁵ It also has two loops on the outer edge, which is another distinguishing feature of British umbonates.

³²⁶ The closest parallel is an umbonate brooches recorded in Lincolnshire in Portable Antiquities Scheme database, no LIN-351794, although it does not have a cord-like band (<http://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/114536> accessed on 11.09.2011).

Simpson *et al.* (1979, 329-330) note the existence of Continental C types, which are datable to the third and fourth centuries AD.

The contexts in which some of these Fowler type C's were found were not dated, although Farka (1977, 394) dates two penannulars from Bruckneudorf to the second half of the third – first half of the fourth centuries, and Nowak *et al.* (1988, 301) date a brooch from Steinbrunn to the third to fourth centuries. Considering that all six brooches were found in one region, situated on the axis between *Carnuntum* (Petronell), *Scarbantia* (Sopron) and *Vindobona* (Vienna), and on civilian sites, it is likely that these penannulars are actually Continental Fowler type C rather than British Fowler type C brooches.

Five more British brooches have been reported from the Danube region: two oval brooches with a setting of coloured glass from *Carnuntum*; one disk-and-trumpet brooch from the 'German' cemetery in *Barbaricum* at Ečka, Serbia; one knee brooch, type T173A, from the 'German' settlement in *Barbaricum*, at Drösing, Austria; and one disk brooch, type T259, from Schützen am Gebirge, Austria. All these brooches are datable to the mid second to third centuries AD.

Ečka is situated in proximity to the Roman frontier on the Danube, next to such forts as *Acumincum*, modern Stari Slankamen, and *Rittium*, modern Surduk, all in Serbia. It is also close to the river Tisza, used by merchants to bring stamped tiles and various Roman goods over the border to the Sarmatian chiefs (Vaday 2003a, 370, fig. 26, 371 and 2003b, 213). This river was also one of the main routes for Roman penetration into the Sarmatian *Barbaricum*.

It has not been recorded where the brooch was found, i.e. in a grave, grave ditches or whether it was a surface find; therefore, without the context, the period when the object arrived at the site cannot be determined, although it can be proposed that it might have reached *Barbaricum* sometime after the mid second century, since production of disk-and-trumpet types began in the Antonine period. It is unlikely that the brooch was brought by a soldier serving in a British unit: the *cohors I Britannica* was stationed at *Acumincum* fort only in the late first century AD, i.e. before the Dacian Wars, and was garrisoned elsewhere in the mid second century AD (chapter 3, section 3.2.4).

In the other similar cases discussed in this thesis, when British brooches were found in cemeteries or burials, the conclusion was drawn that these objects had been brought by returning from Britain veterans. The likely candidates for bringing brooches to this region are Pannonian veterans, who had served their 25 years in a unit garrisoned in Britain in the late second century AD. That Pannonians served in Britain in this period is proved by two monuments. One votive monument was erected in Carlisle, UK, by a Pannonian born in *Mursa*, modern Osijek in Croatia, who served in *ala Augusta ob virtutem* ca AD 188 (RIB 894; Jarrett 1994, 40); another epitaph commemorates a Pannonian (*cives Pannonius*) at the fort at Chesterholm, UK (RIB 1713).

This Antonine period British brooch may have also reached the Sarmatian *Barbaricum* as a result of the major military conflict known as the Marcomannic Wars, AD 166 – 180. The tribal entity known as the *Iazyges* invaded Pannonia in the mid 70s of the second century and troubled the population, until they were defeated by the Roman army ca AD 175 (Mócsy 1974, 190). Dio (71. 16. 2) records that a levy was imposed on the *Iazyges*: five thousand of them were sent to serve in Britain (Kerr 1995, 203). The epigraphic evidence from Britain itself supports this historical source: one group was deployed at the Ribchester fort, near Hadrian's Wall (*ala Sarmatarum* on RIB 594, 595 and *numerus equitum Sarmatarum* on RIB 583; Jarrett 1994, 43). The *Iazyges* inhabited the region between the Danube and the Tisza on the great Hungarian plain, which also covered the area where the Ečka cemetery was situated. It is therefore possible that the brooch was brought to the cemetery by one of the *Iazyges*, who could

have been a returning veteran, who 25 years before that was sent to Britain as part of the levy.

While the idea that the brooch was brought by a returning veteran is a possibility, another suggestion can be proposed as well. The Emperor Marcus Aurelius may have drafted detachments from Britain for his Marcomannic Wars (Malone 2006, 61). An inscription recording a soldier from *legio XX Valeria Victrix*, who died whilst serving in a *vexillatio* (*sub vexillo*, sic!), was found in northeast Italy, at *Tarvisium*, modern Treviso (AE 1954, 160). This inscription was interpreted to mean that this soldier may have served in a detachment of a British legion, drafted for the campaigns of 170 – 172 against the *Quadi* and *Marcomanni* (Malone 2006, 61). Moreover, the aforementioned five thousand *Iazyges* could have been sent to Britain as a replacement for the mounted detachments withdrawn from Britain by Marcus Aurelius prior to AD 170 (Brassington 1980, 314).

Another find supports the suggestion that some legions stationed in Britain sent detachments to the Danube during the Marcomannic campaigns: a British-made brooch, type T173A, was found on the site of a ‘German’ settlement in Drösing, situated just north of the legionary fortress at *Carnuntum*³²⁷. The area where the settlement is located was extensively used by the Roman military during and after the Marcomannic wars, as is evident from the presence of numerous marching camps and Roman type buildings and strongholds (Hüssen and Rajtár 1994, 223, karte I; Stuppner 1994, 287-289, 296, karte 2). Drösing lies precisely between two such Roman military installations: the small fort at Stillfried and the marching camp at Bernhardsthal, both in Austria (Stuppner 1997, 117, abb. 39). It is highly likely that the mid second-century British knee brooch reached this settlement as a result of the Roman advance into this territory during the Marcomannic wars. In this light it can be concluded that the brooch recorded at Ečka was also brought with a soldier serving in such a British detachment, which fought against the *Iazyges*.

The occurrence of three British brooches datable to the late second to third centuries at sites on the Danube limes can also be connected with the presence of British detachments, but in a later period. Two oval brooches with a setting of coloured glass reported from *Carnuntum* and one flat disk brooch from the Roman settlement at Schützen am Gebirge could have been brought by a member of such a British detachment, withdrawn in ca AD 258 to Pannonia Inferior by Postumus (Malone 2006, 68). An inscription found at *Sirmium*, modern Sremska Mitrovica in Serbia, records soldiers from detachments of German and British legions and auxiliaries (*CIL* III 3228: *militum vexillationum legionum (sic!) Germanicianarum et Brittannicarum cum auxiliis earum*). It has been suggested that these detachments were positioned at Mainz before being relocated to *Sirmium* (Malone 2006, 68-69, fig. II.5.1). The occurrence of two British brooches at the legionary fortress at *Carnuntum*, which was still operating at that time (Gugl 2003, 57), can be connected with a transfer of the detachments from Mainz to *Sirmium* by the Danube: units were probably garrisoned there for the winter months. How another British-made brooch reached the settlement at Schützen am Gebirge is uncertain. Possibly it was acquired by a trader from a soldier serving in a British detachment when it was stationed at *Carnuntum*, and reached Schützen am Gebirge through local markets.

To summarise, while only nine³²⁸ British brooches have been reported from the frontier region of the *Ripa Pannonica*, their occurrence allows us to build up a chronological picture of the presence of the various British auxiliary units, legionary and auxiliary detachments drafted from Britain. Three British brooches reported from the

³²⁷ A tile bearing a stamp of *legio XX Valeria Victrix* was also found in *Carnuntum* (AE 1900, 224d).

³²⁸ The exact findspot of one umbonate brooch is unknown.

Roman forts on the Danube, *Brigetio*, *Gerulata* and *Arrabona*, were most likely brought by serving members of the two British auxiliary units and detachments drafted from Britain deployed on the Pannonian limes as a result of military conflicts ca AD 80s – 90s.

Two British brooches datable to the mid second century arrived as a result of another major military conflict in the region, the Marcomannic Wars of AD 166 – 180. They were possibly brought by soldiers serving in British legionary and auxiliary detachments withdrawn from Britain on the orders of Marcus Aurelius. Although this could have been the case, it is also possible that at least one brooch, the one from Ečka, was brought back by a returning veteran. The origin of the veteran is a matter of debate, but it is tempting to see in this person a returning member of the *Iazyges*, who were forcedly recruited into the units stationed in Britain in the last quarter of the second century.

The British brooches datable to the late second to third centuries could have arrived on the clothes of soldiers from other British detachments withdrawn from Britain, but this time ca AD 258 by Postumus.

The occurrence of six pennanular brooches of Fowler type C on various sites in Pannonia Superior has been also been drawn to attention here. While brooches of this type are considered to be of British origin, it is likely that here we are dealing here with the local or Continental variant of this type.

5.5.2. Britons and British brooches in Dacia

Only two British brooches have so far been reported from Romania, the Roman province of Dacia. Considering the number of British auxiliary units stationed in this province³²⁹, the number of brooches found is extremely low. While Roman military installations in Dacia Porolissensis, where most British units were posted, are relatively well excavated, only a fraction of the excavation reports have reached the libraries of Western Europe. Although only a few volumes were available for me to inspect, it has nevertheless been established that no British-made brooches have been found on the sites of military forts at Buciumi and Bologa (Gudea and Cociş 1995; Gudea 1997a, 1997b), or on the site of the Roman settlement *Apulum*, modern Alba Iulia, Romania (Bogdan and Cociş 2006). Unfortunately, other publications covering brooches found in Dacia such as *The brooches from Roman Dacia* (Cociş 2004), *Roman brooches from Napoca* (Cociş *et al.* 2001) and *Brooches from Porolissum* (Gudea *et al.* 2001) were not available.

Two British brooches reported from Bumbesti and Căşeu are of different types and are datable to different periods. A dragonsque brooch, found on the site of the civilian settlement near the military fort at Bumbesti, appears to be a mid first-century type with a distribution mainly in the north of England (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 171-172). The T-shaped brooch from Căşeu is unique. The shape and the way the decoration is placed on the brooch, i.e. enamels in the stud in the middle of the bow rather than on the head, are known from Britain. However, the way enamel has been put into the stud (the oval is divided into five sections, of which four are crescent-shaped and the middle one lozenge-shaped) is, so far, not known on any British brooches found in Britain itself (Dudley 1967; Bayley and Butcher 2004, 166-167). The presence of the headloop and stud and the shape of the brooch all point to a likely place of manufacture in Britain or by a craftsman familiar with British designs. Brooches manufactured in a similar manner have been allocated to the British-made types T122-129, which are variations on headstud, trumpets and Polden Hills, and are usually datable to the early to mid second century (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 167). Isac and Cociş (1995, 125, no 54) consider the

³²⁹ Ten British auxiliary units out of 15 took part in the Dacian Wars, of which six were later on service in Dacia (cf. table 3.55 in chapter 3, section 3.2.16.3).

Cășeiu brooch to be of the Nor-Nour type, as in Dudley (1967, 43, fig. 16, no 87), or T132B, as in Bayley and Butcher (2004, 166, fig. 138, no T132; 235). However, brooches known from Nor-Nour had two studs for enamel, one positioned on the bow, another at the foot. The brooch from Cășeiu has only one stud, namely on the bow, and the depiction of the brooch shows that it never had a stud on the foot.

The contexts for both brooches are known; the Cășeiu brooch was found in the area of the auxiliary fort, in the barrack blocks on *praetentura dextra*, dated to the second century. The Bumbești brooch was found in a vicus situated north-east of the military fort; the context was broadly dated to the period from Trajan to Commodus (based on the coin finds). Therefore both British-made brooches must have reached the sites in Dacia after the end of the Dacian Wars, i.e. after AD 106.

The dragonesque brooch may have reached Bumbești on the clothes of a soldier serving in the British unit *cohors I Aurelia Brittonum Antoniniana* or his partner. This unit is recorded on an AD 201 inscription found on this site (*AE* 1901, 46) and is considered to garrison the fort in the late second-third centuries (cf. chapter 3, section 3.2.8). It is likely that brooch was brought to Bumbești around that period, because the unit is not attested in the fort prior to the mid second century. That this mid-first century brooch was still in use in the late second century suggests that it may have been an heirloom. The brooch does not show any signs of prolonged use, such as signs of repair or being worn down, and it was found still decorated with enamels and with pin attached. If it was indeed an heirloom, it might have belonged to the offspring of a soldier, who had served in the unit prior to its transfer from Britain to Dacia, i.e. before AD 101. That the brooch was found in the vicus, inside one of the buildings and together with coins, suggests that it could have been part of a hoard, a further indication that the brooch was seen as a valuable object.

The T-shaped brooch reported from Cășeiu was found in one of barrack blocks situated on *praetentura dextra*, in a layer datable to phase II. Isac (2003, 37-38, 179) notes that the two building phases of the barracks, I and II, correspond to the periods when two British cohorts were posted here successively, *cohors II Britannorum* (ca AD 106 – ca AD 117) and *cohors I Britannica* (ca AD 118 – third century); yet, the phases overlap archaeologically. Therefore, in spite of the fact that the brooch was found in the layer of phase II, it could have reached the fort with a member from either unit. It was mentioned above that brooches of a similar type were developed in Britain sometime in the early second century, suggesting that this one reached the site around or after that period, possibly with a person who was recruited to a British cohort after the Dacian Wars.

The occurrence of two British brooches on the sites of military installations suggests that whoever brought these objects there was a) connected with or served in the Roman army; b) served in one of the mentioned above British auxiliary units; c) brought the objects in the period starting from the early second century AD. That the objects were brought through trade is highly unlikely. First of all, the distance between the two provinces may have influenced the decision of a trader, who would not invest in brooches or any other type of trade between Britain and Dacia. Secondly, brooches were also manufactured locally and Thracian- and Pannonian-made brooches were available there (D. Isac, pers. comment). It is possible that the brooch found in Cășeiu was made by a local craftsman who replicated the British original T-shaped or headstud brooch. The original could have been brought to Dacia with a serving member in a British unit before the Dacian Wars. The same, however, cannot be said for the dragonesque brooch from Bumbești, who is a genuine British-made brooch³³⁰.

³³⁰ This dragonesque brooch is a type II with lozenge motif, according to Feachem's (1951, 32-33) classification.

A pennanular brooch of Fowler type C was reported from *Apulum*, the Roman legionary fortress (Moga *et al.* 1997, 35, no 95, fig. 13, no 95); the context of the find was not recorded. In comparison with Fowler type C brooches recorded at sites in both Pannonias, and taking into account the proximity of Dacia to Pannonia, it seems reasonable to suggest that the *Apulum* brooch had Continental rather than British origins.

To summarise, it has been suggested here that both British brooches reached the two military sites in Dacia on the clothes of persons who had some connections with British auxiliary units posted at these forts.

5.5.3. Britons and British brooches in the Mediterranean region

Three British-made brooches have been reported from the Mediterranean region: two from the Italian peninsula and one from northern Croatia. These three brooches are discussed individually in order to gain insight into how they might have reached their final destinations.

The headstud brooch reported from Croatia was most likely brought there by a soldier serving in one of the British auxiliary unit, *cohortes I Belgarum* and *I Flavia Brittonum*. The exact findspot of the object is unknown (Batović *et al.* 1981, 174, no 270; Morris 2010, 189, no 171 mistakenly indicates Zadar as the findspot); yet the region was noted as Northern Dalmatia, which stretches from the Kvarner Riviera down to Split. In the same region, epigraphy attests the presence of soldiers of both cohorts in the late first century AD (cf. chapter 3, sections 3.2.3 and 3.2.7).

A Roman road station, *Ad Vicesimum*, was discovered and excavated in the early 20th century near the modern Italian town of Morlupo (Paribeni 1913, 382), from where a trumpet 2A brooch was reported as a surface find. This coaching station lies on the *Via Flaminia*, the major Roman road connecting Rome with the Adriatic coast (Chevallier 1989, 134). The occurrence of the brooch on this road suggests that it might have been accidentally lost by a person travelling to or from Rome. Britons were present in Rome as captives and spoils of war (cf. Strabo *Geography* 4.5.2; Tacitus *Ann.* 12.36), but also as serving members in the legions and imperial guard, and as personal servants. The epigraphic record indicates that three Britons were present in Rome in the second century AD as *equites singulares Augusti*, troopers of the imperial horse guard (*CIL* VI 3279, 3301, 32861; Speidel 1965, 93). Other Britons, recorded as having died in Rome, were a legionary soldier of *legio XIV Gemina* (*CIL* VI 3594) and a *frumentarius*, native to the colony of *Glevum*, Gloucester in UK, from *legio VI Victrix* (*CIL* VI 3346). A slave from Britain is also known: Caius Cesernius Zonysius was ‘brought by Zoticus from Britannia’ (*CIL* VI 2464). There is an evidence that a unit of British litter-bearers was operating in Rome in the mid/late first century (*CIL* VI 8873). A British woman, a friend of the poet Martial, lived in Rome in the late first century (Martial 11.53). While it is impossible to establish with any precision who lost the British brooch at *Ad Vicesimum*, it is possible that it was brought there by a person who arrived from Britain.

A trumpet 2A brooch was recorded as found at Venice, Italy, but I suspect that it may actually have been found at *Altinum*, modern Altino, the mainland part of modern Venice, for the following reason: *Altinum* was an important commercial town situated on an ancient Roman road, the *Via Claudia Augusta*, which connected northern Italy with the frontier region in Raetia. The route’s most northern point was Burghöfe, the fort, settlement and important crossing point for the Danube (Czysz *et al.* 2005, 528, 529 fig. 233). Four British brooches have been reported from this site; all of these, as well as the trumpet 2A brooch from Altino, are types datable to the Flavian period. Since British brooches have been found both at the southern and northern ends of the *Via Claudia Augusta*, their occurrence at Altino and Burghöfe cannot be coincidental. In other words, the trumpet 2A most likely arrived in Altino via this trading route and, probably, prior to that also passed the Raetian fort. There is not enough evidence, however, to identify the

reason for their occurrence on these two sites: that the brooches were traded over such a long distance is unlikely. The movement of legionary troops from Raetia to Italy is a possibility but cannot be confirmed. As an interesting aside, after almost 2000 years, the Altino brooch has returned to the province where it was made: it is now in the collection of the Ashmolean museum in Oxford (Böhme 1970, 16, no 42).

British-made objects also occur on the Italian peninsula and in the wider Mediterranean region. A strap union datable to the late first century AD has been reported from Tuscany, though the exact provenance is unknown (Morris 2010, 192, no 14). An enamelled flask, similar to the ones produced by the Castleford workshop, was found in Pinquente, Italy (Moore 1978, 327, no 7; Künzl 2008, 24; Morris 2010, no 17). A probable British-made cup was reported from Benevento, Italy (Moore 1978, 327, no 6; Morris 2010, 195, no 22, but he is uncertain of the object's British origin). An enamelled British-made alabastron, a cosmetic vessel, was found in a shipwreck in the sea off Camarina, Sicily (Künzl 2008, 24; Morris 2010, 194, no 18). Considering it was found as part of a shipwreck assemblage, it is likely that it may have been a trade item, although the possibility that it was among the possessions of an individual coming from Britain should not be ruled out. This conclusion, i.e. that it was either an object of trade or a personal possession, applies to all the items mentioned above.

To summarise, three British-made brooches recorded in the Mediterranean region have provided us with three different possibilities for how these objects might have reached their final destinations. The British brooch reported from Dalmatia was possibly brought there by a soldier who served either in *cohortes I Belgarum* or *I Flavia Brittonum*. The British brooch from Morlupo possibly belonged to a person who travelled to or from Rome. While it is tempting to see in this person someone coming from Britain, there is not enough evidence, although epigraphy indicates the presence of Britons in Rome. The third British-made brooch reported from Altino and currently residing in the Ashmolean museum in Oxford, UK, might have reached its destination as a result of trade, though not necessarily trade in brooches.

5.5.4. Britons and British brooches in Noricum

Two British auxiliary units are attested on various inscriptions and tile stamps from various forts in the Roman province of Noricum, which covered the area of modern Austria and a part of Slovenia: *cohortes I Aelia* and *I Flavia Brittonum*. The first unit is known to have been posted in Mautern in the mid second to third centuries; the second unit may have been stationed at two military forts on the Danube: Melk and Pöchlarn (cf. chapter 3, sections 3.2.5 and 3.2.7). Moreover, other units relocated from their posts in Britain are known to have served at various forts on the Norican frontier: *cohors II Batavorum* at Klosterneuburg and Mautern (Jilek 2000b, 356); *ala I Pannoniorum Tampiana* at Linz (Alföldy 1974, 144; Genser 1986, 114; Jilek 2000b, 357) and *cohors II Thracum* at Zeiselmauer (Jilek 2000b, 357). Five auxiliary units, then, are known to have been transferred from Britain to the Norican limes and it is rather surprising to find only one brooch reported from Noricum, from the Mautern fort³³¹.

The Mautern brooch is a penannular type Fowler A3i (Sedlmayer 2006, 424). Penannular brooches of the general type A3 are known for their collared, unmilled terminal knobs (Fowler 1960, 152; Snape 1993, 28). The sub-type A3i has knob terminals with additional mouldings on the knob itself (Fowler 1960, 152). Penannular brooches of type A are considered to be of British manufacture and its sub-type A3i is

³³¹ A penannular brooch Fowler C has been reported from Pocking, Germany, which was a vicus in Roman times (Fischer 2002, 99, abb. 147). It has already been said that some of the Fowler type C brooches may have been Continental productions. Considering that this brooch came from a civilian context, as did all the other Fowler type C brooches recorded in Pannonia Superior, it is more than likely that it was a local variation similar to the British-made penannulars.

extremely rare on the Continent (Fowler 1960, 174-175; Simpson *et al.* 1979, 327; Snape 1993, 29)³³².

The brooch was found in the area of a vicus in a pit roughly dated to AD 130/140 – 170 (Groh 2006, 63), which corresponds with period 3 of the stone fort at Mautern-Favianis (Gassner *et al.* 2000, 385). Period 3 is believed to have begun when *cohors I Aelia Brittonum* was transferred to the fort (Gassner *et al.* 2000, 385). The occurrence of the penannular British brooch in the vicus of the Mautern fort can be therefore connected with this British cohort.

The penannular brooches of type A3i were continuously produced in Britain³³³, making it difficult to establish the possible period when the brooch was brought overseas, although the occurrence of the object in a layer datable to AD 130/140 – 170 is a definite *terminus ante quem* for it having reached the site. So, who might have been responsible for bringing this artefact to Mautern, taking into account that in the period in question this unit might have been accepting local recruits on a large scale?³³⁴ The brooch might have been used by a soldier whose ancestors hailed from Britain. The unit at the outset had British recruits (chapter 3, section 3.2.5), therefore, it may have belonged to a descendant of a Briton. Sons in most cases followed in their fathers' footsteps and served in the same unit that their fathers or grandfathers had done³³⁵. The problem with testing of this hypothesis is that only one British-made brooch was found in one of the most intensively investigated and excavated fort-and-vicus sites on the Norican frontier (Flynt 2005, 86). Although this poses a substantial problem, the occurrence of only one British brooch can be explained through the fact that on the site of the fort and vicus itself not many brooches were found³³⁶.

In general, it can be proposed that the brooch arrived in Mautern on the clothes or among the personal possessions of a soldier or his partner who served in *cohors I Aelia Brittonum*. While the origin of the person is a matter of dispute, it is plausible that the brooch was acquired by this person from, or belonged to, a descendant of a Briton.

One issue is worth considering here. Some of the British brooches discussed in the present section were found on sites where British auxiliary units were garrisoned³³⁷. On the Norican limes, however, five auxiliary units were posted whose previous place of station was Britain; yet, so far, no British-made brooches have been reported from the forts where these units were garrisoned (Jobst 1975). The absence of British brooches from other frontier posts in Noricum does not necessarily indicate that soldiers from units transferred from Britain to the Continent did not have them among their personal belongings. Most likely they did, as has been shown in various cases in this and other

³³² Sedlmayer 2006, 424, note 1234 mistakenly associated a brooch reported from Oberwinterthur with the Fowler A3i type; it is in fact a classic example of the Fowler C type.

³³³ Cf. Snape 1993, 28: "the basic date range of A3 is from the first to the third centuries AD".

³³⁴ Cf. Alföldy 1974, 145: "from the end of the first century to the middle of the second the soldiers of the Norican army were almost without exception Norican born".

³³⁵ Cf. Phang 2001, 76 who provides a variety of reasons for the formulae on military diplomas changing after AD 140, one of which is usually considered to be that this was "a measure to induce recruitment: the auxiliary veteran's peregrine sons, denied Roman citizenship at their father's discharge, would enter the auxilia or the legion in order to obtain Roman citizenship".

³³⁶ Jilek (2000a, 336) mentions only two and Sedlmayer (2002, 331) mentions nine brooches found in the fort from the whole period of extensive excavations; no brooches were reported from the vicus in the 1998 excavations (Groh 2001) and 21 brooches were found in the vicus during the 1997 – 1998 excavation campaigns (Sedlmayer 2006, 424).

³³⁷ Five out of fifteen British brooches have been found in the forts on the Danube frontier where epigraphy attests the presence of a British unit (Győr, Szöny, Cășeu, Bumbești and Mautern). Four other British brooches (from Rusovce, Ečka, Drösing and Dalmatia) may also have been brought by members of units raised or transferred from Britain.

sections of this thesis. The explanation for this anomaly probably has to do with the absence of relevant publications or indeed any publications for consultation³³⁸.

5.5.5. *British-made objects in the southern regions of Central Russia and Ukraine*

Two British-made objects were discovered in excavations of a cemetery in *Gorgippia*, modern Anapa, Russia (Künzl 1995, 46; Morris 2010, 194-195, no 19, who mistakenly notes the finds' location in the urban settlement). These objects are an enamelled oil scraper and an alabastron. Both artefacts have decorations and enamelled patterns similar to those on objects found in Britain – the decoration on the oil scraper resembles that of the Castleford moulds and the alabastron's decoration is similar to that on the vessel found in Bartlow Hills, UK (Künzl 2008, 222; Morris 2010, 194-195, no 19).

Further possibly British-made objects were found in the excavations of a cemetery in the Bosporan city of *Chersonesos Taurica*, modern Chersonese, Ukraine. These are belt buckles, an exact parallel of which was found in the fort at Newstead, UK (Kostromichev 2006, 52). These objects were made in the so-called 'trumpet motif', common on objects datable to the second – third centuries manufactured in Britain and Germany. Kostromichev (2006, 52) considers that the objects were made in Britain, but not decorated with British techniques, since such motif is generally considered to be of German origin (Snape 1993, 27 after Allason-Jones and Miket 1984).

Both sites, *Gorgippia* and *Chersonesos*, were Greek colonies which were part of the Bosporan kingdom, a client kingdom of the Roman Empire in the late first to third centuries. Ancient Chersonese also had a Roman garrison stationed in the southeast of the city (Zubar 1994, 44; Kostromichev 2006, 45). The units posted in Chersonese over the period of the late first to third centuries were detachments of *legiones V Macedonica*, *I Italica* and *XI Claudia* (Zubar 1994, 50), *cohortes I Bracarum* and *I Cilicium militaria equitata Sagittariorum* (Zubar 1994, 54). Anapa did not have a Roman military garrison. From the excavations of the city it became evident that it was the main trade/craft centre of the Bosporan kingdom, with a sizeable harbour (Kruglikova 2007).

From the epigraphic record it is known that a detachment of *legio I Italica* probably either participated in the construction of the Antonine Wall during the reign of Antonius Pius or was redeployed to Britain during the reign of Severus for his campaigns in southern Scotland (RIB 3509; Breeze 2006, 192 outlines various suggestions concerning the presence of a centurion of this legion in Britain). It is unknown if the detachment returned to its main base in Moesia, the legionary fortress of Svistov, Bulgaria, in the late second – third centuries. Neither is it known if some soldiers of this detachment were redeployed to *Chersonesos* some time later. However, the British-made objects from *Gorgippia* and *Chersonesos* are contemporary with the deployment of the detachment in Britain, i.e. mid to late second century: the belt buckles were dated to the second half of the second – first half of the third centuries AD (Kostromichev 2006, 93), the alabastron and oil scraper to the late first – early second centuries AD (Morris 2010, 194-195, no 19). The geographic distribution of similar objects in Britain coincides with the areas of service of the detachment, i.e. the Castleford workshop, situated not far away from the legionary fortress at York, and the outpost fort of Hadrian's Wall, at Newstead, where exact parallels of the belt buckles were found. Both sites, York and

³³⁸ While the majority of these forts have been relatively well excavated, the excavation reports, published in *Fundberichte aus Österreich*, did not contain any depictions of the objects found or any descriptions of the finds made before the 1960s. From the 1960s, depictions of artefacts began to appear in this journal, culminating in the 1980s when a whole section of the journal was given over to images. However, no British-made brooches have been identified by the author. Other Austrian publications in which objects from the Norican frontier forts have been recorded, such as *Unsere Heimat* and *Pro Austria Romana*, were not available for consultation.

Newstead, were a) used by the Roman army during Antoninus Pius' reign, and also during the construction of the Antonine Wall (Bruhn and Hodgson 2009, 6); b) associated in the late second to early third centuries with the campaigns of Septimius Severus in southern Scotland (Millett 2005, 11, fig. 9). Therefore, whenever the British-made objects reached the Black Sea region, the likelihood is that they were brought by persons coming from Britain, probably by the soldiers in the returning detachment of *legio I Italica*. An interesting aside, Künzl (2008) aptly calls such objects 'tourist knick-knacks'.

5.5.6. Conclusion

In total, 15 British brooches have been reported from the *Ripa Pannonica*, the Roman provinces of Dacia and Dalmatia, and the Mediterranean region. This number is low in comparison with the other provinces as already discussed, though a number of explanations for this dearth have been proposed.

The unavailability of published excavation reports and the absence of the necessary literature have resulted in a low number of database entries (or even the total absence of entries) for some regions. For instance, not being able to consult the extensive research on the brooches from Romania (Cociş 2004), Serbia (Bojović 1983) or Bulgaria (Genčeva 2004) has resulted in an insufficient amount of database entries for these countries.

Another possible explanation is the recruitment policy of the Roman army. Once a unit was transferred across the Channel to the other provinces, local recruitment kicked in. This might account for the low occurrence of British brooches of the types that began to be produced after the Flavian period. For instance, Flavian period brooches appeared on sites of military installations where some British auxiliary units were garrisoned in the late first to early second centuries (Győr, Szöny or province Dalmatia). However, no British brooches have been reported from the forts these units occupied in the mid second century, suggesting that Britons were no longer sent abroad around that time, which is also supported by the epigraphic record. The British brooches datable to the mid second to third centuries were possibly brought by soldiers in the legionary or auxiliary detachments, drawn from the army of Britain during the reigns of Marcus Aurelius or Postumus.

Since there was no continuous recruitment of Britons into the British auxiliary units stationed on *Ripa Pannonica* or in Dacia in the second century, the occurrence of two British brooches, in Mautern and Bumbeşti, was regarded as an example of brooches being kept as heirlooms. The occurrence of a second-century British brooch in Căşeu is out of context. Since the brooch is an atypical headstud, the solution has been proposed that here we are dealing with a local replica of a genuine British headstud. As in the previous sections, the occurrence of some British brooches was connected with the presence of returning veterans: a brooch from Ečka, Serbia, may have been such a case. In general, the majority of the British brooches reached their destinations on the Danube as a result of massive troop transfers from Britain. What is worth noting is that the occurrence of the brooches is contemporary with the presence of the units and detachments, i.e. Flavian-period brooches were found on sites garrisoned by units raised from Britain during the Flavian period; mid second-century brooches were found on sites connected to the Marcomannic War, where there is evidence of the presence of units transferred from Britain; late second to third-century brooches were reported from sites where British detachments withdrawn on the orders of Postumus were stationed.

The British brooches reported from the Italian peninsula most likely reached their destinations as a result of trade. The brooch from Venice was probably brought by a trader who travelled along the *Via Claudia Augusta*, the southern *terminus* of which lay at Altino, the mainland part of Venice, and the northern at the Danubian fort of

Burghöfe, where another set of British brooches was discovered. The brooch from Morlupo, the coaching station on one of the roads running to and from Rome, was probably brought by a person travelling to or from the capital of the Roman Empire.

5.6. British brooches and other objects in North Africa

Only two British-made brooches have been reported from North Africa (fig. 5.11), although undoubtedly Britain and the Roman provinces in North Africa were closely connected. From the epigraphic record it is known that two British auxiliary units were stationed in Mauretania Caesariensis at various times (Benseddik 1979), one British vexillation is attested in Mauretania Tingitana during the reign of Commodus (Roxan 1973) and a detachment of a British legion is attested there during the Moorish Wars of Antoninus Pius, ca AD 140 – 150 (Malone 2006, 60). Moreover, Drexhage (1998, 185-187) counts 16 persons who served in both Egypt and Britain from AD 43 onwards. The archaeological record also testifies to close links between Britain and North Africa (discussed below; cf. also Swan 1992; 1997; 1999). In general, all this points to continuous traffic between Britain and North Africa in terms of the transportation of manpower and units as well as to the constant exchange of troops.

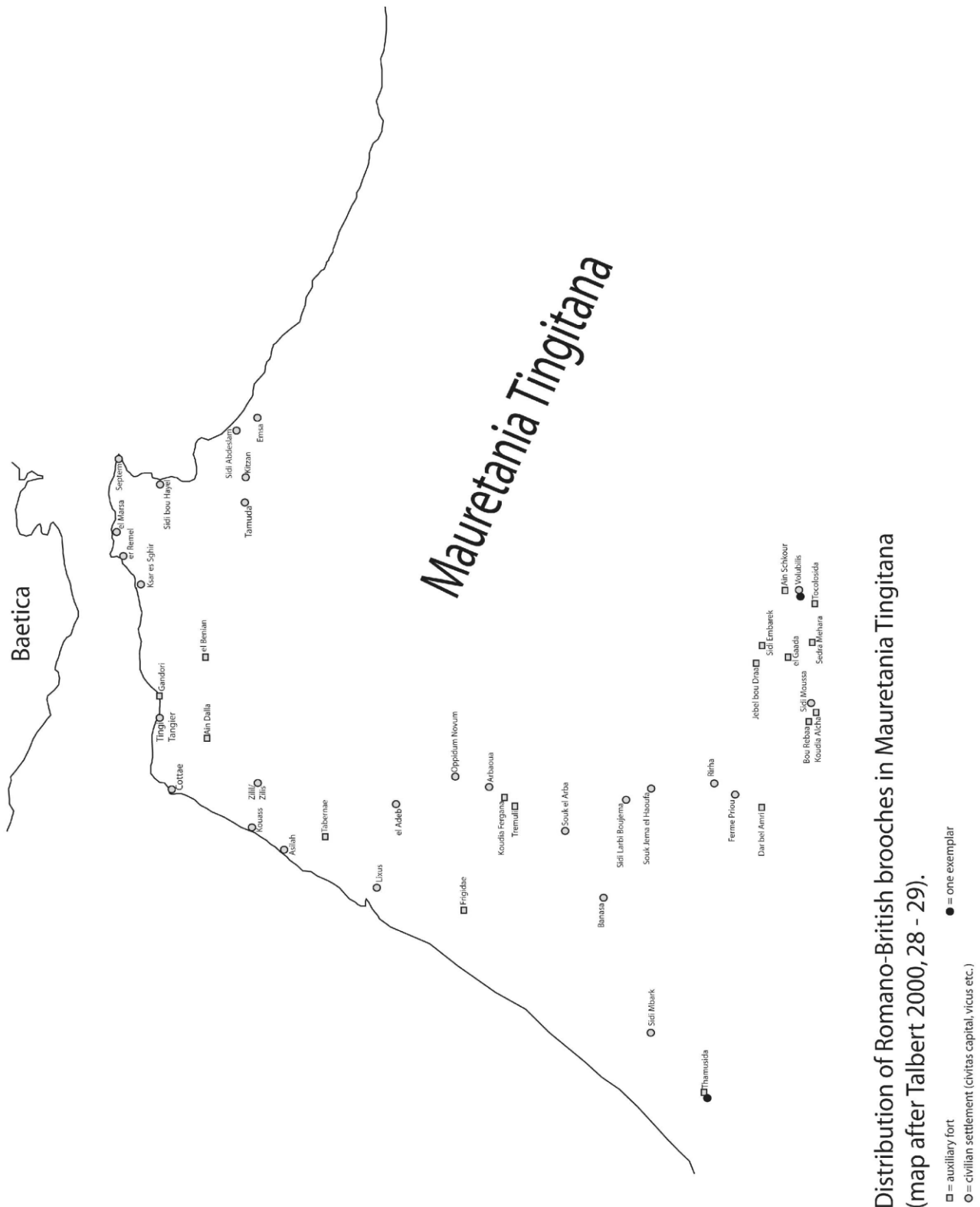


Figure 5.11 Distribution of British-made brooches in North Africa

This section discusses the occurrence of British objects and the possible presence of Britons in North Africa and is divided into three parts; the first gives a brief overview of the presence of various British units in Mauretania Caesariensis and Tingitana; the

second covers the service of North Africans³³⁹ in Roman Britain and the third part discusses the occurrence of British objects in North Africa and provides possible interpretations for how these objects might have reached their destinations.

It must be emphasised at the outset that the low number of British brooches reported from this region should not be regarded as definitive: the state of published material and its availability is a reason for such numbers³⁴⁰. I am convinced that North Africa is home to a relatively large quantity of hitherto undiscovered British-made material, and that what has been reported so far can be regarded as chance discoveries.

5.6.1. *British auxiliary units in North Africa*

British auxiliary units are known to have been stationed in two North African provinces: Mauretania Caesariensis and Mauretania Tingitana, which cover the areas of the modern countries of Algeria and Morocco respectively. Detachments of *ala I Britannica* and *cohors II Brittonum* are attested in Mauretania Caesariensis in the second century. The detachment of the cohort³⁴¹ was there earlier than that of the *ala*: it is attested on the military diploma issued for the army of Caesariensis already in AD 107, whilst the presence of the *ala*'s detachment is dated to ca AD 149/150, which is contemporary with the Moorish Wars of Antoninus Pius (cf. chapter 3, sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.11 and Benseddik 1979, 27 and 196). The two detachments were transferred from Moesia Inferior and Pannonia Inferior respectively.

A *vexillatio Brittonum*, known from two inscriptions in Volubilis dated to the reign of Commodus (IAM 02-02 363, 364) and one inscription of unknown date (IAM-02-01-56), served in Mauretania Tingitana. Roxan (1973, 849, note 90) sees in this unit a legionary detachment redeployed from Britain in the late second century. That the unit is attested in Tingitana during the reign of Commodus does not necessarily mean that it was transferred there during this Emperor's reign. It could have been redeployed there earlier, possibly as a result of the Moorish invasions to southern Spain in AD 171 – 173 (Euzennat 1984, 384). Their invasion started from both Mauretanian provinces and it is known that additional troops were sent to the south of Mauretania Caesariensis to prevent further attacks (Benseddik 1979, 155). In this light, one might assume that additional troops were also sent to Tingitana, one of which was our detachment from various legions stationed in Britain. Considering that the detachment was still in North Africa in the 80s of the second century, it probably never returned and stayed in Tingitana, losing its role as expeditionary force and becoming part of the local garrison.

If the unit was indeed transferred during the reign of Commodus, one particular event could have acted as a trigger for the redeployment. In AD 184 a war was successfully concluded in northern Britain, after which the British garrison was in a mutinous state, yet the exact reason for this mutiny is unknown (Dio 73, 8; Malone 2006, 63). Dio (72, 9) reports for the year AD 185 that 1500 men of the British army marched to Rome to confront Commodus and to try to persuade him that his praetorian prefect, Perennis, was plotting against the Emperor. Although it is largely speculative, it can be proposed that in AD 184 – 185, the mutinous legionary units could have been

³³⁹ The peoples of Roman North Africa were an assortment of tribes with strong cultural, ethnic and provincial identities, which makes the catch-all term 'North Africans' a misnomer (the contemporary analogy of Egyptians and Moroccans can be proposed). However, there is not enough epigraphic and archaeological evidence to be sure that people from particular regions or particular Roman North African provinces were present in Roman Britain, e.g. that only people from Mauretania Caesariensis served in Roman Britain. The convention therefore is to call anyone whose origins lay in the provinces designated to Roman North Africa 'North Africans'.

³⁴⁰ But see Camps-Fabrer (1973, 222), who indicates that Roman period brooches are not very frequent objects on sites in the region.

³⁴¹ For the discussion see chapter 3, section 3.2.11; cf. also Spaul 2000, 199.

sent far away from Britain, i.e. to Tingitana, on the order of Commodus³⁴² or Perennis or his appointed equestrian officers³⁴³, in order to restore stability in the province. Such an unjustified and pointless transfer (there was no war in Tingitana at that time) could have led the 1500 men from the British occupying force to march on Rome.

To summarise, three British units are known from the epigraphic record to have been stationed in the two Mauretanian provinces. While it is highly unlikely that the detachments of *ala I Britannica* and *cohors II Brittonum* contained British-born soldiers as late as AD 150, the service of Britons in *vexillatio Brittonum* is more than likely.

5.6.2. North Africans in Britain

At various forts on the Antonine Wall pottery assemblages were identified as having distinct North African ceramic styles (Swan 1992, 1997, 1999; Malone 2006, 60). This locally produced pottery appears to have been made according to the styles and techniques used in North Africa and the Western Mediterranean. Several investigations into the occurrence of these vessels at various forts on the Antonine Wall and the legionary fortresses at Chester and York has led Swan (1992; 1997, 291; 1999, 425) to suggest the presence of potters and a small group of soldiers, their partners and slaves of North African origin in southern Scotland and northern England in the mid second century.

The presence of North Africans in Britain should not be regarded as extraordinary or as a one-off situation. On the contrary, from epigraphic and archaeological evidence, civilians and soldiers of North African descent are known to have been present in Britain for quite some time (Tomlin 1988; Swan 1999, 438-441; Leach *et al.* 2010, 137 citing Thompson 1972 and Birley A. 1980). Archaeological investigations have shown that in fourth-century York, for instance, one might have encountered a rich lady of North African origin (Eckardt 2010c, 115-116; Leach *et al.* 2010).

The presence of recruits from North Africa on the Antonine Wall has fuelled discussion of how these people might have got there. One possible explanation is the recruitment of North Africans into detachments of British legions sent to Mauretania in AD 149 – 150 for the Moorish Wars (Swan 1999, 423). This scenario was criticised by Malone (2006, 60), who indicates that the commander of the detached unit had the rank of *primus pilus*; the detachment was therefore most likely augmented with members of the *numerus primipilarius* stationed in Rome. While not excluding the possibility that the Moorish Wars provided the context for the transfer of North Africans to Britain, Malone (2006, 60) suggests “a more general reinforcement of the British garrison with men raised in Africa”, which need not have been tied to the presence of British legionary detachments in Mauretania. There probably was no large contingent of North African legionaries stationed on the Antonine Wall but rather a small number of African potters, living there in search of a suitable market (Malone 2006, 60). This suggestion is based on the assumption that there is little epigraphic evidence for the service of North Africans in the British legions (Malone 2006, 60-61); although in North Africa itself there are at least five epitaphs indicating otherwise (*CIL* VIII 5180 = *CIL* VIII 17266 = ILaIlg-01, 539a from Zattara; ILaIlg-02-03, 8806 from Uzelis; *CIL* VIII 2080 = *CIL* VIII 27966 = ILaIlg-01, 3748 from Ksar el Birsgaun; *CIL* VIII 2766 = *CIL* VIII 18131 = D 2762 from Lambaesis; ILaIlg 1, 2203 = *AE* 1989, 830 from Madauros). These epitaphs refer to military postings in Lower and Upper Britain of veterans and soldiers, who returned to their home towns and tribes in North Africa (cf. chapter 4, section 4.3).

³⁴² Malone (2006, 63) suggests that one of the reasons for the mutiny was the decision by Commodus to execute the governor of Britain, Ulpius Marcellus, who brought victory during his campaigns in the North before AD 184.

³⁴³ Perennis is known to have replaced the senatorial legates of the British legions with equestrian officers (Malone 2006, 63).

These five inscriptions therefore lend support to the interpretation that North Africans served in British legions in the late second century (contra Malone 2006, 60-61).

Swan (1999, 422) herself agrees that it is difficult to date the arrival of the North African recruits in northern England and on the Antonine Wall, due to a lack of epigraphic evidence and unreliable “stratified sequences of material”, and warns of the danger of assigning all undated inscriptions from Mauretania, on which detachments of various legions and auxiliary units are mentioned, to the Moorish Wars of AD 149 – 150. Since Mauretania was regarded as one of the major supply routes of grain to the Roman provinces, Italy and Rome in particular, the need to protect it was a high priority for the Roman Emperors. As such, in times of danger, more troops and expeditionary forces would have been sent to North Africa in comparison with other provinces (Swan 1999, 424). Considering the much lower status of Britain, being on the periphery of the Roman world and lacking the same resources as North Africa, this province could have been regarded as “a potential reservoir for [expeditionary] troops” (Swan 1999, 424). However, the modern convention is still to date the transfer of North Africans to the period of Antoninus Pius’ reign, but to see it not necessarily as an outcome of the Moorish Wars (Breeze 2006, 196-198)³⁴⁴. Probably, ca AD 150 one such expeditionary force consisting of legionary detachments was sent back from Mauretania to Britain accompanied by Moors and other North Africans, with the status of irregulars, allies or slaves, which were later scattered among other units (Swan 1999, 424; Breeze 2006, 197). The legionaries serving in such detachments may have acquired craftsmen, potters and slaves, having been stationed in North Africa for a considerable amount of time (Swan 1999, 424).

In summary, North Africans were present in northern England and southern Scotland in the mid to late second century AD, although the number of recruits and their status are a matter of debate. Epigraphically there is evidence for returning veterans and legionaries, who, having been honourably discharged, came back to their native lands.

5.6.3. *British objects in North Africa*

Two British-made brooches have been reported from two sites in Mauretania Tingitana: a trumpet 2A type from Volubilis and a headstud from Thamusida. Another supposedly British-made object, a bronze horse trapping, now in the collection of the British Museum in London, is recorded as having been found in Fayoum, Egypt (Megaw and Megaw 2001, 51).

The context and findspot of the trumpet 2A were not recorded (Boube-Piccot 1964, 190; Gerharz 1987, 95). There are 64 known sites within the territory of Volubilis, including the city itself, several *villae rusticae*, quarries and five military forts positioned around the city (MacKendrick 1980, 312). A *vexillatio Brittonum* is assumed to have been posted in one of the five forts³⁴⁵, situated near el Gaada (Roxan 1973, 850), although the epigraphic record does not provide us with any evidence for this.

The context of the headstud brooch was recorded: it was found in insula G5, inside the city walls and in the civilian quarter, and was a surface find (Rebuffat 1977, 250, no 1273). Thamusida, an ‘army town’ inhabited by retired veterans, also had a fort of Antonine date, built to accommodate a *milliaria* unit (name unknown), and situated to the southwest of the residential areas (MacKendrick 1980, 313-314).

³⁴⁴ Cf. Swan (1999, 422) sees their presence as a result of the redeployment to Britain of a small force from *legio III Augusta* from its base in Numidia to provide help during the campaigns in southern Scotland in AD 140.

³⁴⁵ The names of the units posted in four other forts are known: Sidi Said housed the *cohors IV Gallorum*, Ain Schkor *cohortes Asturum et Callaecorum* and *III Tungrorum*, Sidi Moussa a unit of Parthians and Tocolosida cavalry units *alae Hamiorum* and *Augusta* (MacKendrick 1980, 312).

The bronze horse trapping from Fayoum, context unknown, is considered to be British-made, for the reason that objects of similar design have been recorded in Britain, the majority (ca 200) coming from East Anglia (Megaw and Megaw 2001, 51). These horse trappings are usually dated to the Late Iron Age.

How did these three British objects reach their destinations, in light of the service of British auxiliary units in North Africa and North Africans in Britain? The chronological gap poses a problem: the British-made brooches are of Flavian date and therefore not contemporary with the period of service of British detachments in North Africa or the presence of North Africans in Britain. The period when the first British unit is attested in North Africa is the early second century, when a detachment of *cohors II Brittonum* was posted somewhere in Mauretania Caesariensis ca AD 107. Another detachment of a British auxiliary unit (*ala I Britannica*) was sent to North Africa for a second time ca AD 149 – 150. A third British detachment is to be found there during the reign of Commodus, when the *vexillatio Brittonum* was serving in Mauretania Tingitana. The earliest date for the transfer of North Africans to Britain has been set at the mid second century, with continuous recruitment going as far as the early third.

Considering these chronological issues, the brooches may have been brought to Mauretania Tingitana by veterans returning from Britain in the mid second century. Both specimens, according to the depictions, are corroded and look extremely worn, suggesting that they were already in a deteriorated state when they arrived in Tingitana. There is evidence that veterans settled in Thamusida (MacKendrick 1980, 313-314) and some might have chosen Volubilis as a place to live upon retirement. While there is no epigraphic evidence that inhabitants of the province of Tingitana were recruited to serve in British legions, theoretically this is possible.

Another possible solution is that the brooches were brought by soldiers of *alae* and *cohorts* transferred from Britain to Tingitana in the early second century; although the *alae*³⁴⁶ known to have been stationed in Tingitana were transferred from somewhere else rather than from Britain and the three cohorts posted in the forts around Volubilis are not attested in the epigraphic record in Britain (Jarrett 1994; Spaul 1994; 2000). Two cohorts, however, are known to have served in both provinces in the second century. *Cohors I Celtiberorum equitata* is one of them (Roxan 1973, 849; Jarrett 1994, 57; Spaul 2000, 102-103). Roxan (1973, 849) doubted that this cohort, mentioned on diplomas issued in AD 107 and 114/117 for the army of Mauretania Tingitana, is the same *cohors I Celtiberorum equitata* attested in Britain in AD 105, 122 and 146, though she acknowledges the possibility that the unit could have been moving back and forth (Spaul [2000, 103] also subscribes to this suggestion). The cohort probably left Tingitana sometime in the mid second century and was redeployed to Spain. Another unit to have served in both Britain and Tingitana is the Spanish-raised *cohors II Hispanorum Vasconum equitata* (Roxan 1973, 846; Jarrett 1994, 68; Spaul 2000, 127-128). This unit is attested on diplomas issued for the army of Britain in AD 105 and 122, and for the army of Tingitana from AD 109 onwards. This chronological inconsistency led Jarrett (1994, 68) to doubt that this was the same unit; rather, he proposes, there were two series of *cohortes Vasconum*, i.e. one stationed in Britain and another in Tingitana during the second century. In summary, while two auxiliary units are known to have been posted in both Britain and Tingitana, there is not enough evidence to establish whether both cohorts were moving back and forth between the provinces or whether there were four different units with the same title. The lack of evidence therefore does

³⁴⁶ On the epitaph from Tolcosida, one *ala* is named with the title *Augusta*, though the full name of the unit does not survive (IAM-02-02, 817). From the epigraphic evidence in Britain it is known that at least four *alae* had the title *Augusta* (Jarrett 1994, 38-45); yet Jarrett (1994) does not consider which of the four *alae* could have been the one posted in Tolcosida. It is therefore possible that this particular *ala Augusta* never served in Britain.

not allow us to argue that soldiers from these two units could have brought the Flavian-period British brooches to Tingitana.

There is evidence for the presence in North Africa of two detachments of larger units that are known to have been garrisoned in Britain: the detachment of *cohors I Fida Vardullorum* may have been in Mauretania during the reign of Pius, probably as part of the British *exercitus* transferred to fight the Moors (*CIL* VIII 5532; Swan 1999, 437); the *ala I Asturum* is known to have had at least a few Moorish tribesmen in its ranks, an indication that the unit, or an expeditionary force drawn from it, was on a recruitment mission in Mauretania (Swan 1999, 437-438). However, the chronological problem persists: the service of these troops is not contemporary with the British-made brooches.

The occurrence of Flavian-period brooches in Mauretania Tingitana suggests therefore that they could have been heirlooms brought either by members of the *vexillatio Brittonum* or by soldiers serving in one of the aforementioned auxiliary units or their detachments. Considering the condition of both objects, it can be suggested that they had been worn extensively by their owners and passed down the generations.

Megaw and Megaw (2001, 51 and 57) briefly discuss the circumstances under which the British-made horse trapping might have reached the ancient city of *Crocodilopolis*, modern Fayoum in Egypt. The *legio III Augusta*, permanently stationed in Numidia, contained Gaulish recruits: a soldier serving in this legion may have purchased this British-made object from a cross-Channel trader somewhere in northern Gaul and brought it to Egypt. A more plausible solution, however, has been proposed by Swan (1997, 293; 1999, 422), who notes the existence of an expeditionary force of *legio III Augusta* in Britain, sent from Numidia either to aid in the annexation of Scotland in AD 140 or as a response to the problems in northern England during the Severan period. Swan (1999, 424) draws attention to the presence at some forts on the Antonine Wall of vessels that have parallels in Tripolitania and Tunisia, the main areas of recruitment for *legio III Augusta*. The detachments might have been sent back to Egypt sometime in the mid second or early third centuries, depending on when they were originally sent to Britain. One of the soldiers from this unit could have brought back the British-made horse trapping.

The horse trapping might have belonged to a soldier serving in *cohors I Ulpia Afrorum equitata c. R.* which is attested in Britain ca AD 122/124 and in Egypt from AD 130 – 156/161 (Jarrett 1994, 51; Spaul 2000, 460). Notably, this cohort was a cavalry unit, the soldiers of which would definitely have used locally produced horse trappings while garrisoned in Britain. Moreover, sixteen people of varying military status are known to have served in both Britain and Egypt in the period after AD 43 (Drexhage 1998, 185-186). The transfer of soldiers whose origin lay in Egypt to participate in various military conflicts in Britain as well as the return home of discharged soldiers of Egyptian descent is evidence for a constant exchange of troops and personnel between the two provinces (Drexhage 1998, 189-190; 198). The occurrence of a British-made horse trapping in Fayoum should therefore not be regarded as extraordinary. On the contrary, considering the close links between the two provinces, one may ask why only one British-made object was reported from Egypt.

5.6.4. Conclusion

The likelihood that the three British-made bronze objects were brought to North Africa from Britain as a result of troop movements is high, taking into account the continuous exchange of military manpower, which peaked in the mid second century. Auxiliary units were redeployed from Britain to North Africa, various legionary detachments from British legions were sent on expeditionary missions to Mauretania Caesariensis and Tingitana, and North Africans were recruited to serve in northern England and southern Scotland.

It is possible that some British objects – not necessarily the three mentioned here but ones that have not yet been discovered or reported – were brought by soldiers who hailed from Britain. From the epigraphic record we know of one such soldier of British descent, who died prematurely at Tamuda, Mauretania Tingitana (IAM-02-01, 56; cf. also chapter 4, section 4.4). The presence of two Britons in Tingitana suggests that there might have been more soldiers of British origin who were transferred to North Africa with their units, for instance with *cohors I Ulpia Afrorum*.

5.7. Conclusion

In this section the aim is to compare and contrast the patterns found in each province and to examine their overall significance for the presence of British-made brooches and Britons abroad.

5.7.1. General trends in the occurrence of British-made brooches on the Continent

The dataset consists of 242 brooches found on 102 sites across the Empire; the provenance of 19 brooches was recorded as unknown. From the analysis of the occurrence of various types of British-made brooches it is clear that each type is represented in each region. However, when the material is examined in greater detail, the frequency with which types occur varies between regions, although there are some common types found throughout the Empire, such as trumpets and headstuds (Table 5.4).

Table 5.4 Distribution of brooches per province

Brooch type/ Province	Germania Superior	Germania Inferior	Gallia Belgica	Raetia	Danube areas and Dacia	North Africa	Totals
Trumpet 2a and 2b	31	20	9	3	2	1	66
Headstuds	10	19	15	9	3	1	57
Colchester	14	4	6	7			31
Umbonates	1	8	2	5	2		18
Trumpet head derivatives	7	13	5	1	1		27
Dragonesque	1	2	3		2		8
Knee	2	3	1		1		7
T259 flat disk	2	2	2	2	1		9
T 271 gilded oval	6			2	2		10
Miscellaneous	3	2		3	1		9
Totals	77	73	43	32	15	2	242

The most striking pattern is the difference in the numbers of brooches occurring in both Germanias and Gallia Belgica (193 specimens) and provinces on Danube and Mediterranean region (47 specimens). This does not, however, indicate a preference on the part of people travelling from Britain for settling down in Western rather than in Central Europe. On the contrary, epigraphy attests to the presence of people from Britain in the Central European provinces in much larger numbers than the available epigraphic record suggests. The reason for this distinction is the lack of published material and relevant publications regarding the material assemblages from sites in Central European and the Balkan countries.

Another pattern is the difference in the occurrence of brooches datable to the mid/late first to early second centuries and brooches datable to the mid/late second to third centuries: types produced in the Flavian period notably outnumber the types manufactured during the reigns of the Julio-Claudian, Antonine and Severan dynasties (Table 5.5).

Table 5.5 Distribution of brooches per century

Brooch production period/ Province	Germania Superior	Germania Inferior	Gallia Belgica	Raetia	Danube and Dacia	North Africa	Totals
Mid first century BC and AD (pre-conquest, until AD 69)	2	5	7	6	2		22
Late first-century (Flavian-period) brooches	56	49	28	19	7	2	161
Mid/late second – third centuries	19	19	8	7	6		59
Totals	77	73	43	32	15	2	242

This divide suggests that the movement of the objects occurred on the largest scale in the mid/late first to early second centuries, peaking in the Flavian period. Indeed the chronological rate of occurrence of British-made brooches on the Continent matches the scale of movement of people from Britain across the Channel in the different periods. The occurrence of British-made objects on the Continent, as well as of coins minted in the early/mid first century AD, can be connected to the movements of discharged soldiers and legionaries after the Claudian conquest (Gruel and Haselgrove 2007, 258). The same can be said of the occurrence of the brooches datable to the period AD 43 – 69. Notably, the main cluster of these brooches is in Gallia Belgica, a region which enjoyed strong trading links with Britain (Gruel and Haselgrove 2007, 258)³⁴⁷. While only 22 early/mid first-century British-made brooches have been located across the Channel, this number should not come as a surprise, considering that Britain was only just coming into the orbit of the Roman Empire and that its resources, mainly manpower, had scarcely begun to be exploited.

The fact that the occurrence of British-made brooches peaked during the Flavian dynasty can be explained as the result of increasing contacts of various kinds, from the movements of traders³⁴⁸ to the continuous transfer of the army to and from Britain. The latter is also testified to by the rate of occurrence of brooches in provinces where the Roman army was a significant presence. Two provinces account for similar numbers of

³⁴⁷ This increase in links between regions in this period can be detected through the occurrence of various coins minted in Britain at various sites in Gallia Belgica and *vice versa* through Roman gold and silver coins starting to appear on sites situated in eastern and southern Britain (Morris 2010, 41).

³⁴⁸ Following the Claudian invasion in AD 43, trade connections between Britain and the Continent increased (Morris 2010, 92). This new Roman province imported a huge amount of goods from the Continent and exported locally manufactured goods, albeit on a smaller scale (Morris 2010, 92). This “connectivity continued at a high level down to the late second century, at which point there was a major downturn” (Morris 2010, 92).

brooches datable to the Flavian period, Germania Superior and Inferior, the regions to which units from Britain were most often transferred during the reign of Domitian.

The drop in the number of brooches for the mid second century is significant, though in view of the general trends in the mobility of people in this period this could have been expected. Factors that may have influenced this distribution include the more localised nature of recruitment into the Roman army and the preference for a sedentary lifestyle among the veterans, i.e. the desire to settle down in the vicinity of a former post. Nevertheless, the drop is not significant for the conclusions proposed here that the mid second-century brooches arrived as a result of the return of veterans and the transfer of legionary and auxiliary units from Britain. It only indicates that the scale of these movements was smaller than in the preceding period.

Brooch distributions were not limited by the administrative boundaries of provinces or by the individual preferences of the wearers/buyers: there is no indication that some types were more common in one particular province than in another. It is true that the trumpets, headstuds, Colchester derivatives and umbonates are the most common British-made brooch types outside Britain. This was probably influenced by their popularity in Britain itself, as witnessed by their frequent occurrence on sites there (Hattatt 1989, 69, 80, 83 and 125). These British types are well represented in various Roman provinces, though the frequency of these types varies per site³⁴⁹.

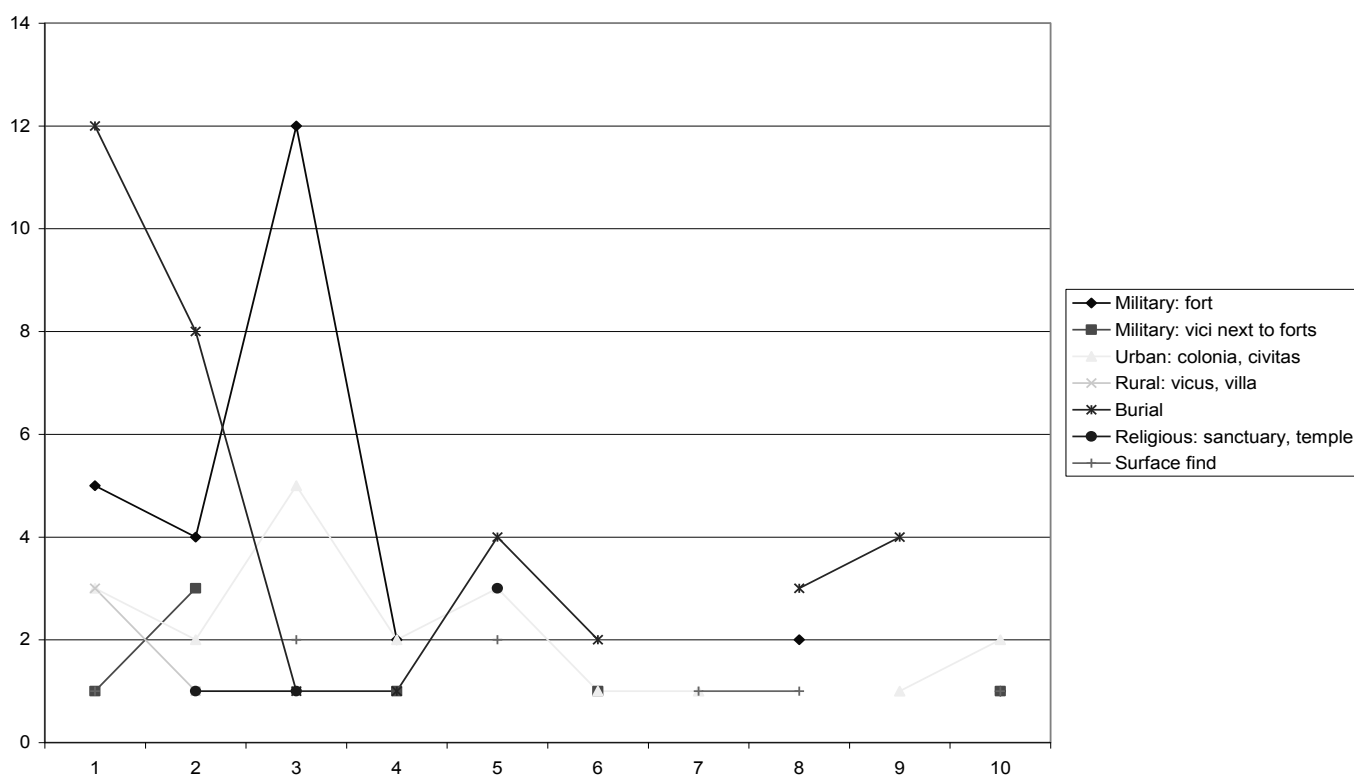


Figure 5.12 Comparison between the context of brooches (see key) and types of brooches (the x axis with numbers 1 to 10). On the x axis, 1 = trumpet 2a and 2b; 2 = headstuds; 3 = Colchester derivatives; 4 = umbonates; 5 = trumpet head derivatives; 6 = dragonesque; 7 = knee; 8 = T259 type; 9 = T 271 type; 10 = miscellaneous.

³⁴⁹ For instance, Germania Superior accounts for 14 Colchester derivative brooches, the largest number in comparison with other provinces in which this type has appeared. However, seven brooches were located on one site, the Saalburg fort. While only four brooches were reported from Germania Inferior, all of them were also discovered on one site, near the Alphen aan den Rijn fort.

The distribution of brooches does not show that particular types are more frequent on particular sites, i.e. that headstuds are usually found in military forts or that umbonates are usually located in vici. As can be seen from Figure 5.12, mere statistics tell us little, because the number of brooches found varies per type and because the statistics take no account of the various mechanisms or special circumstances (i.e. being treasured as heirlooms) under which brooches were carried. While numbers do not tell us enough, some patterns regarding whether certain types were preferred by males or females, or by soldiers or civilians do seem to appear, especially when the context of the brooch assemblages is taken into account. From figure 5.12 it becomes apparent that trumpet 2a and 2b types were usually found in burials, while Colchester derivatives occurred mainly in military forts. Other brooches with headloops or headstuds were also frequently found in burials (eight, to be precise). Does this distinction depend on the circumstances under which these objects were brought to the place they were found, i.e. with military personnel (objects most likely to end up in a fort) or discharged veterans (objects most likely to be buried with the deceased)?

Trumpets are usually associated with females, because of the headloops used to attach the chains. The undecorated trumpet 2b has a distinctive military distribution on British sites, while its decorative developed form, trumpet 2a, is frequent on sites associated with civilians (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 190). Colchester derivatives, in particular type T90-93, are usually found on sites in Britain associated with advances of the Roman army into the west and north (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 190; 193, fig. 169; 195, fig. 171). Their developed types, such as Polden Hill, are located mainly in the West Midlands of Britain, a region which received special attention from the Roman army at the time the brooches of this types were developed, i.e. around AD 60 – 80³⁵⁰ (Bayley and Butcher 2004, 190; 196, fig. 172). A similar tendency for the occurrence of specific types in particular contexts can be detected for British-made brooches found outside Britain, though the trends are less pronounced, since the percentage of brooches varies per province and per site (Table 5.6).

Table 5.6 Correlation between the context and types of British brooches found outside Britain

Context (when known)/ type	Trumpet 2a	Trumpet 2b	Colchester	Headstud
Civilian	11	4	6	11
Military	6	6	13	8

As in Britain, trumpets 2a are more common on sites of a civilian nature, while trumpets 2b tend to occur on sites with military associations. Colchester types overwhelmingly occur on military sites, although some brooches of this type also occur on civilian settlements. Headstuds, like trumpets 2a, are also frequent on civilian sites. This further suggests that a correlation exists between the brooches and the people who might have brought these objects to the sites, i.e. trumpets 2a and headstuds were most likely brought either by civilians or by the female partners of military personnel, whilst the trumpet 2b and Colchester types were brought by males during their active service in the Roman army. That the brooches found in the burials, sacred and rural sites, were more likely brought by returning veterans and their partners is testified to by the occurrence of these objects on sites associated with military and civilian activity (table 5.7).

³⁵⁰ Campaigns in Wales of Sextus Julius Frontinus (AD73/4 – 77/8) and Julius Agricola against the *Ordovices* tribe (AD 77).

Table 5.7 Comparison of the contexts of the brooches brought by soldiers and by veterans

Context	Brooches brought by soldiers	Brooches brought by veterans
Fort	19	
Vicus next to a fort	6	
Urban	13	
Rural	3	2
Burial next to a fort	6	
Burial next to a civilian settlement		18
Religious		6

Following up the question posed earlier as to whether the distinction between the contexts for the various brooch types depends on the circumstances under which brooches reached sites, it can be confidently stated that it does. There are indications that returning veterans incorporated foreign objects into their own social practices, for example by putting exotic objects in their grave, whilst soldiers tended to discard their brooches near their military posts. This also allows for a relatively clear distinction to be made between sites with high and low potential for evidence for a British presence, i.e. military as opposed to civilian, although a British presence on civilian sites should not be ruled out. The comparison of contexts also suggests that brooches associated with males are more likely to be found on military sites: trumpets 2b and Colchester derivatives are frequent there (table 5.6). It is worth noting that umbonates, usually associated with females, were located in greater numbers on military sites, which suggests the presence of women who followed their military partners to various postings. It should be, however, emphasised that such conclusions should be treated with much caution and that not all British brooches found in a cemetery/sanctuary were brought by veterans, just as not all British brooches found on military sites were brought by British soldiers. For instance, the brooches found in urban, i.e. civilian areas could have been brought by soldiers as well, especially in the case of cities that had adjacent Roman legionary fortresses (table 5.7).

While the majority of British-made brooches reached sites across the Channel with people who were in some way connected with the Roman army (soldiers, women, followers, discharged veterans and their partners), some brooches were brought as a result of trade, though not necessarily trade in brooches, i.e. as curiosities or exotic objects, or as a result of the mobility of potters or craftsmen.

Nine British-made brooches have been found on sites situated beyond the physical frontiers of the Roman Empire, an indication that the distribution is therefore not limited to the Roman provinces, but goes beyond the limes. Their occurrence there was influenced by the variety of ways these items reached their final destinations: veterans, soldiers in a unit redeployed from Britain to the Danube during the Marcomannic Wars, trade items or as spoils of wars (from the Chattian Wars during the reign of Domitian and from various raids from northern Germany in the third century).

All in all, the occurrence of British brooches outside Britain “should not be taken at face value in every case. Their distribution may not always reflect straightforward determinants [...], but may stem from more complex circumstances” (see Swan’s [2009b, 90] conclusion for the pottery data; cf. also Morris 2010, 86).

5.7.2. The presence of Britons across the Channel based on the occurrence of British-made brooches

From the analysis of the occurrence of British brooches on sites outside Britain, it became clear that at 18 sites brooches were associated with the presence of units raised in Britain (table 5.8). The chronological context has been considered carefully in each case; sites have only been included in the table when the presence of a British unit is contemporary with when the particular type of British-made brooch was still in use, as shown from site evidence in Britain itself. If the presence of a British unit was attested at a site either before a particular type of brooch came into production or only after a type was no longer used in Britain, this site was not included in the table. If, however, the brooches were located in layers which coincided chronologically with the period when a British unit was posted at the fort, but these brooches' usage falls in the period prior to a unit's transfer, such out of context specimens were analysed in greater detail. In two cases it was concluded that they were probably heirlooms (the brooches from Bumbești and Mautern); in one case it has been suggested that we are dealing with a possible local replica based on a genuine British-made brooch (the brooch from Cășeu).

Table 5.8 Sites directly associated with the presence of units raised in Britain

British unit	Sites
<i>Vexillatio Britannica</i>	Nijmegen, Zetten, Tiel-Passewaaij, roadside grave next to Cuijk, all in the Netherlands
<i>Cohors VI Brittonum</i>	Naaldwijk, Spijkenisse, region of Rotterdam, all in the Netherlands
British <i>numeri</i> units	Hesselbach, Köngen, Obernburg, Saalburg, Stockstadt, Zugmantel, all in Germany
<i>Cohortes I Britannica</i> and <i>II Britannorum</i>	Cășeu, Romania
<i>Cohors I Aurelia Brittonum</i>	Bumbesti, Romania
<i>Ala I Britannica</i> and <i>cohortes I Britannica</i>	Szöny, Hungary
<i>Cohors I Belgarum</i>	Unknown find spot, Croatia
<i>Cohors I Aelia Brittonum</i>	Mautern, Austria

Some brooches were not found directly on a site where a British unit was stationed, but at a distance of ca 10 to 20 km from such a site. The presence of the late first-century types from sites around the legionary fortress at Nijmegen, such as Zetten, Tiel-Passewaaij and in a roadside grave outside Cuijk, may indicate contacts between British soldiers and the local population. The same idea can be applied to civilian sites such as Naaldwijk and Spijkenisse, situated in the vicinity of the military settlement of Ockenburgh, where a detachment of *cohortes VI Brittonum* was probably stationed.

Therefore, there may be a relationship between the presence of units raised in Britain and the location of British brooches overseas, though the occurrence of British-made brooches on 18 sites out of 104³⁵¹ is a relatively small percentage. Possible explanations for the absence of British-made brooches on other sites where British units are known to have been stationed were proposed in chapter 3, section 3.2.16.5 and are repeated here. Yet, considering the possible relationship between the location of British brooches and the occurrence of British units, it can be further suggested that brooches found on other sites may also indicate where British recruits or civilians may have settled. To test this hypothesis, the data were divided into two groups: sites with British brooches where epigraphy attests the presence of Britons who did not serve in British units, and sites with British brooches where epigraphic data do not provide evidence for British-born settlers.

³⁵¹ Including two undefined findspots, for the dragonesque brooch from the Rotterdam region and for a headstud brooch from Croatia, bring, therefore, the number of site to 104.

The epigraphic record provides evidence that a number of British recruits served in non-British units posted overseas as well as mariners in the German fleet (cf. chapter 4); on two sites where such troops were posted, British-made brooches have been located. Moreover, we know that some other units were stationed in Britain for a number of years or even decades. Is it possible that these units' soldiers took their personal possessions with them, including brooches, during the transfer to their Continental postings? The answer is positive: on 14 sites to which these units were relocated, British-made brooches were found (table 5.9).

Table 5.9 Britons in non-British units overseas

Epigraphic data	Sites
<i>Cohors I Thracum</i> redeployed from Britain to Germania Inferior	Wijk bij Duurstede, the Netherlands
<i>Cohors III Batavorum</i> redeployed from Britain to Raetia	Straubing, Germany
Transport road to the Odenwald-Neckar frontier	Bickenbach and Darmstadt, both in Germany
Detachment of the <i>legio IX Hispana</i>	Bingen, Hedderheim, Heldenbergen in der Wetterau, Hofheim, Mainz, Mainz-Weissenau, Praunheim, Wiesbaden, all in Germany
Britons serving in the <i>legio XXX Ulpia</i>	Xanten, Germany
Britons serving in the <i>Classis Germanica</i>	Cologne, Germany
Brooches as spoils of the Chattian Wars, AD 83 – 88	Kassel ³⁵² , Germany

For another 72 sites where British-made brooches have been recorded, there is no epigraphic evidence that confirms the presence of either British auxiliary units or settlers from Britain. Detailed analysis, however, has shown that on 18 sites³⁵³ there is historical and, to some extent, epigraphic evidence for the presence of various detachments drafted from the legions and auxiliary units stationed in Britain. Where such units were posted, British-made brooches have also been found (table 5.10). Taking into account that Britons entered the legionary forces and various auxiliary units stationed in Britain, though on a much smaller scale than other nationalities, it is possible that they were also transferred across the Channel with their detachments and some of the brooches might have been brought by British-born soldier.

³⁵² The brooches from Kassel were not included in the total number, since it is not certain whether they were located on this particular site or on other sites in Germany.

³⁵³ Four sites, Straubing, Zugmantel, Augst and Oberwintherthur, were excluded from the total number, since they had already been counted in the previous tables.

Table 5.10 Sites associated with the presence of detachments drafted from various forces posted in Britain

Historic evidence and possible connections	Sites
Detachments of British legions and auxiliary units transferred for participation in the Civil war, AD 69	Aime, France; Augst, Martigny, Oberwinterhur, all in Switzerland
Detachments drafted from the British legions and auxiliary units transferred during campaigns on the Danube by Domitian and Trajan, i.e. the sites on the transport road	Augst, Windisch, Baden, Oberwintherthur, Saxon, all in Switzerland; Mandeure, France
Detachments drafted from British legions and <i>ala Tampiana vexillatio Britannica</i> transferred for Domitian's wars on the Danube	Rusovce/ Bratislava, Slovakia
Detachments of British legions and auxiliary units transferred for participation in the Marcomannic Wars, AD 166 – 180	Drösing, Austria; Ečka, Serbia
Wars between Severus and Clodius Albinus, AD 197	Amiens, Seveux, both in France; Augst, Switzerland
Detachment of the <i>legio XX Valeria Victrix</i> transferred ca AD 255 – 260	Bad Deutsch-Alteburg, Schützen am Gebirge, all in Austria; Osterburken, Regensburg, Straubing, Zugmantel, Weissenburg, all in Germany

On a further 31 sites³⁵⁴ there is evidence for the presence of British immigrants: those who lived in Britain for some time but who were not native to the province. These immigrants preferred not to stay in the province and returned to their tribal lands on the Continent, bringing with them the personal accessories they had acquired during their living in Britain (table 5.11).

Table 5.11 Sites with no epigraphic data but with evidence for returning veterans

Possible connection	Site name
Returning veterans: Batavians	Nijmegen, Oosterhout-van Boetzelaerstraat, reg. Nijmegen, Tiel-Passewaaij, the Netherlands
Returning veterans: Iazyges	Ečka, Serbia
Returning veterans: Menapians	Destelbergen, Waasmunster, both in Belgium
Returning veterans: Nervians	Blicquy, Hofstade, Schaerbeek, Velzeke, all in Belgium
Returning veterans: Treverans	Dalheim, Luxembourg; Ahrweiler, Blankenheim, Möhn, Tholey, Trier, Waldorf, Wederath, all in Germany
Returning veterans: Tungrians	Heerlen, Maastricht, both in The Netherlands; Fallais, Flavion, Thuin, Tongeren, all in Belgium
Returning veterans: Vangiones	Alzey, Bad Kreuznach, Flonheim, Worms, all in Germany
Returning veterans who served in units stationed in Britain	Nideggen, Germany; Étapes, France
Returning veterans from the Continental detachments serving in Britain	Frankfurt-Heddernheim, Diersheim, Mainz, Saalburg, Zugmantel, all in Germany; Fesques, Vendeuil-Caply Vermand, all in France

It has been calculated “by comparing the findspot of a diploma with the province where [...] the recipient had concluded his term of service” that around 10 per cent of veterans returned to their home country (Derks and Roymans 2006, 121). This percentage is an average number for all known diplomas and does not show differences between the numbers of veterans who returned to certain provinces, although the study

³⁵⁴ The following sites were excluded from the total number, since they were already counted in the previous tables: Nijmegen, Tiel-Passewaij, Frankfurt-Heddernheim, Mainz, Saalburg, Zugmantel and Ečka.

of material culture might help to pin point veteran settlements (Derks and Roymans 2006, 121-122). The analysis in the present thesis further suggests that personal accessories, in this case brooches, are useful tools for determining the return of those auxiliary soldiers for whom there is no surviving record in the form of military diplomas or inscriptions. The occurrence of British brooches overseas can indicate the presence of such returning veterans who brought back objects or souvenirs from their time in Britain. Moreover, the occurrence of other British-made objects, such as coins, decorated metal vessels of various kinds, mirrors, *etc.*, draws a more representative picture and shows that the number of returning veterans is far higher than previously thought³⁵⁵. While it has been established that people originating from the various tribes living in the Lower Danube and Batavians “return home more frequently [...] than soldiers levied from many other parts of the empire” (Derks and Roymans 2006, 121 and 131), our data have suggested that other nationalities were also eager to return home and that the frequency did not depend on proximity to the province where one had served.

On another 23 sites the connection is not clear, although some propositions have been made. The occurrence of British brooches in the Mayen-Koblenz region (Eich, Kobern, Mayen and Weissenthurm in table 5.12) and at Rheinzabern may indicate the presence of British craftsmen or Continental potters returning from Britain. The occurrence of British brooches at the legionary fortresses of Neuss and Bonn may indicate the presence of legionaries of British origin, as was the case at Xanten. Brooches from Alphen aan den Rijn could have belonged to passing British soldiers from the *cohortes II Britannorum* and *VI Brittonum*. On eight³⁵⁶ sites there is evidence that brooches arrived as a result of trade - not necessarily through trade in brooches but with other objects exported from Britain. Two brooches, found in contexts not contemporary with the period of their production and usage in Britain, were probably heirlooms.

Table 5.12 Sites lacking epigraphic evidence for the presence of British units or British emigrants

Possible connection	Sites
Soldiers from various British auxiliary units or legionary detachments: short-term posts or aiding in construction work	Alphen aan de Rijn, the Netherlands; Moers-Asberg, Germany; Győr, Hungary
Soldiers in the service of the various units (name unidentified) redeployed from Britain to other provinces	Xanten, Germany; Thamusida, Volubilis, Morocco
British traders or traders with Britain	Voorburg, the Netherlands; Étaples, Lillebonne, France; Venice, Italy; Burghöfe, Loxstedt, Weissenfels, all in Germany; Vrbice, Czech Republic;
British legionaries	Bonn, Neuss, both in Germany
British craftsmen / craftsmen returning from Britain	Eich, Kobern, Mayen, Rheinzabern, Weissenthurm, all in Germany
Heirlooms	Munz(en)berg, Pont, Germany;
Britons in Rome	Morlupo, Italy
Unknown	Lunnern, Switzerland;

In summary, the assumption that the location of British-made brooches points to the presence of people travelling from Britain has been established for 81 sites. On another 23 sites the connection can be established, though while attempting to connect all the ‘dots on the map’ with a possible British presence, it became clear that in some cases

³⁵⁵ Similar conclusion has been reached by Derks and Roymans (2006, 131) for their data.

³⁵⁶ Including Étaples, though this site was not included into the general count in order to avoid repetition.

this is impossible without valid archaeological or epigraphic data. In other words, if you want to find Britons at any cost you will succeed, although this will mean stretching some theories so far they become highly tenuous. Based on these results, a pattern can be suggested: some British objects indeed arrived with people coming from Britain. This conclusion is not new however; Swift (2000, 208, the conclusion regarding fourth-century objects) and Megaw and Megaw (2001, 57) have proposed the same. Here light has been shed on how these small British objects reached their Continental destinations. The distribution patterns of British-made brooches suggest how they may have made their way there:

- with recruits of British auxiliary units (table 5.8);
- with possible British recruits serving in legionary and auxiliary forces of a different ethnic origin and in the German fleet (tables 5.9 and 5.10);
- with veterans who returned home after they had finished their service in Britain (table 5.11).

What do these data tell us about the presence of British-born overseas, since it has been established that British-made brooches were brought not only by those native to the province but also by a variety of people travelling from Britain? In 31 cases only we are dealing with a situation in which the objects were brought by serving members of various legions and auxiliary units transferred from Britain. Knowing that the majority of British-born settlers on the Continent were servicemen in the Roman army (cf. chapter 4), it can be suggested that some British-made brooches might have been brought overseas by British-born soldiers, though which ones exactly is a matter of debate. A number of British brooches were considered to be trade goods, or at least objects that arrived with other exports from Britain or as personal possessions of traders. One might ask whether these traders were British-born. At the present stage, the answer to this question is that there is no evidence to suggest the presence of traders with British origin, although the presence of civilian Britons on the Continent should not be ruled out (cf. chapter 4).

Some of the British brooches can be associated with women. Therefore they can be seen as indicators of the presence of British women³⁵⁷. In this thesis the following types of British-made brooches are considered to be female-associated: trumpets and headstuds with loop attached, found in pairs or with chains; all umbonates, T166C and other brooches with annular or pennanular terminals; T259 if found in pairs and female graves. The types with headloop but where the loop appears to be small, such as headstuds T143-145, trumpet-head T162 – 163, knee T173, are considered to be male types. However, there are also male type brooches that were adapted for female usage: as an example a Colchester brooch with a chain attached found in Alphen aan den Rijn can be proposed. In total, 68 female-associated brooches were counted out of a total number of 242.

³⁵⁷ For full discussion on the female-associated brooches see chapter 2, section 2.4.

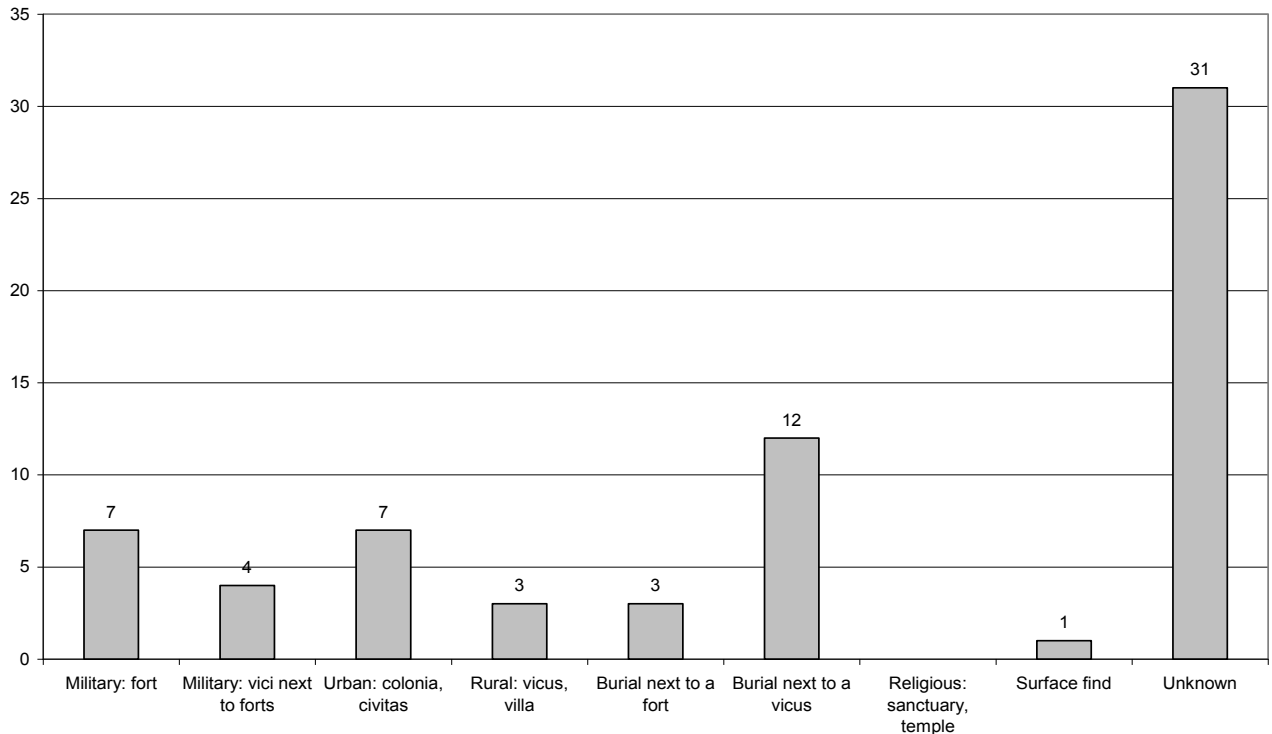


Figure 5.13 The contexts of female-associated brooches

In Figure 5.13 the contexts of all female-associated brooches are presented. The majority of the brooches were found on sites associated with civilian activity, 21 to be precise, while 15 British-made brooches have been reported from military installations and sites associated with military activity. Because these brooches were most likely worn by females, it can be stated with confidence that they were brought by women. We know that women - wives, partners or sisters - followed their military husbands, partners and brothers to their postings (Allason-Jones 1999, 48; Brandl 2008, 65-69). Taking this into account, one might consider that those women who followed their partners to their various postings and their veteran partners back to their (i.e. husbands') homelands may well have brought along the personal accessories they had acquired in Britain. The epigraphic material suggests that at least two British women (Lollia Bodicca and Catonia Baudia) followed their British-born partners to their various Continental postings (cf. chapter 4, section 4.7). Moreover, since there were mixed marriages in the Roman army (Allason-Jones 1999, 44), one might assume the existence of families where one partner was British and the other of a different ethnic background (cf. example of Claudia Rufina discussed in chapter 4, section 4.7). Therefore, the occurrence of some British-made brooches might point to sites where British-born women settled down with their (British- or Continental-born) partners. Despite the validity of this suggestion, it should be said that this conclusion is not as straightforward as it might seem. While some of these women could have been of British descent, they might be the very same female followers of their military partners who, upon their husbands' were being discharged, returned to their homelands. The epigraphic evidence for Batavians testifies that such journeys were made (Derks 2009, 248-249) and women of other nationalities might have done the same. The female British-made brooches in, for example, Menapian territory might have been brought by a Menapian woman who followed her partner to his new post in Britain and stayed with him there for 25 years. Upon his being discharged, they came back together to their native homeland.

If we compare the contexts of the female-associated brooches found on the sites associated with soldiers or veterans (Table 5.13)³⁵⁸, the following distinction becomes apparent: the majority of the brooches probably brought by wives of veterans ended up in burials next to civilian settlements, while brooches brought by partners of soldiers were located in variety of contexts, but in the majority were limited to sites associated with military activity.

Table 5.13 Comparison of the contexts of the female-associated brooches found on sites associated with soldiers and veterans

Context	Brooches found on sites associated with soldiers	Brooches found on sites associated with veterans
Fort	7	
Vicus next to a fort	4	
Urban	6	
Rural	2	1
Burial next to a fort	3	
Burial next to a civilian settlement		10
Religious		

Previously, it has been suggested that the occurrence of British brooches in Continental sanctuaries and graves can be regarded as some kind of votive offering made by discharged soldiers at the end of their military careers. Can the occurrence of female-associated brooches in female burials also be regarded as some kind of a statement, made by these migrant women at the end of their life in foreign territory? In this scenario, the objects were used until the death of their owner and then not passed onto later generations since the meaning attached to the brooches lost its significance when the owner passed away.

While the above figures provide a clear picture of the distribution and mobility mechanisms of the British and Continental migrants of both sexes, those numbers should, however, be read with caution. The numbers were calculated on the basis of all currently known British-made brooches outside Britain, and on the basis of all known, i.e. recorded, contexts. The figures suggest patterns, but they are not definitive. If more British-made brooches are found in the future, both the datasets and the suggestions made here will definitely be subject to change.

³⁵⁸ Six brooches were not included, since they were found on sites associated with trade and possible craftsmen.

