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The Tunshill Roman Silver Arm

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In almost three decades of working at the British Museum I came to appreciate more and more that the privileges of being there included not only access to the collections but, more importantly, daily contact with colleagues like Catherine Johns and Don Bailey whose friendship and generosity stimulated enjoyment of our subject far more than could have been achieved in a peaceful study elsewhere. It is with thanks for these opportunities that I offer this paper, which itself is founded on a typically elegant paper which Catherine published in 1986 with our mutual friend and colleague Tim Potter, in which they gave new academic life to an important Roman silver arm which was found in 1793 (Potter & Johns 1986). The essay which follows builds on their work and offers a new possible explanation of the object's origins[2].

The discovery

The arm was found in 1793 in a slate quarry on Tunshill Farm, near Rochdale, Lancashire. The find-spot is about one mile east-north-east of Milnrow church[3]. It belonged at one time to T.D. Whitaker, who published it in his *History of Whalley* in 1801 (Whitaker 1801, 27-8, pl. 1; Watkin 1883, 212-13). It was passed down to his granddaughter; but, by the time of Macdonald's publication of 1926, the find was at Hever Castle, Kent, in the possession of the Astor family. In spite of its publication by Macdonald in 1926 and a record of the inscription made by Collingwood in 1935, for publication in *Roman*

Inscriptions of Britain in 1965, its significance for the history and archaeology of Roman Britain was largely forgotten until it was acquired by the British Museum in 1983[4].

In 1801 Whitaker described the objects as found thus (Fig. 1): 'The length was ten inches and its weight nearly six ounces. The hand was a cast and solid, the arm hollow and formed apparently by having been beaten upon a model of wood, the anatomy and proportions good, and on the inside of the thumb a piece of solder which remained may be conjectured to have held a chaplet or palm branch. There was besides a loose Armilla about the wrist and another united to the arm above the elbow, to the former of which was appended a plate of silver with the following inscription, formed by the pointed strokes of a drill – VICTORIAE / LEG VI VIC / VAL RVFVS / VSLM .'

Potter and Johns showed that the object acquired by the British Museum matches this description pretty exactly. It is a right arm, 22.4 cm long and of high quality silver[5]. It is made of sheet metal, the sides of the sheet being joined by a soldered seam, while the hand was cast and is joined to the arm by a flange. The hand is clenched. With the arm is a small rectangular silver plate (4.2 cm x 2.5 cm) with a punched inscription, reading: *Victoriae leg(ionis) VI Vic(tricis) Val(erius) Rufus u(otum) s(oluit) l(ibens) m(erito),* 'To the Victory of the Sixth Legion Victrix Valerius Rufus willingly and deservedly fulfilled his vow' (Fig. 2). The plate was originally attached by a chain of four links to a silver ring-band, inscribed *ID*, on the right

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Fig. 1 — The silver arm, loose armilla and inscribed plaque found at Tunshill, Lancashire. Length of arm 224 mm. Photo: © British Museum.

arm. The proportions of the arm and the attached inscription suggest that the figure to which the arm belonged was female.

Reconstruction of the figure

Since the arm comes from a female figure, and since the silver plaque names Victory, it seems likely that the statuette was a Victory. Can any details of the arm strengthen this identification?
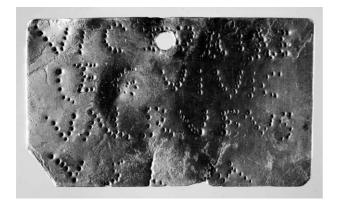

Fig. 2 — The inscribed plaque. Dimensions 42 by 25 mm. Photo: © British Museum.

Macdonald noted that the hand must have held an object because the fingers are hooked and because Whitaker had noted the remains of solder inside the thumb (1926, 10). He conjectured that the arm was that of a Victory with her right arm by her side and holding a palm. This seems unlikely. The angle of the hand means that the palm would have been held horizontally, and yet palm-branches seem normally to have been held almost vertically, supported by the carrying figure's shoulder. It is more likely that the arm was held out horizontally. If so, the hand could have held an object such as a victor's crown. Most representations of Victory show the goddess on a globe and in just this pose (Kaufmann-Heinimann 1983, 58-9). They go back to the famous statue of Victory erected in 29 BC by Octavian to celebrate his victory at Actium two years earlier. The appearance of the statue is known from representations of it on coins issued for these celebrations. Their reverses include Victory facing left, right and to the front. These combined images give an all-round view which suggests that the types were based on a three-dimensional sculpture. The best candidate for this sculpture is an early Hellenistic statue of Victory, with spear and crown, from Tarentum. Dio Cassius reports that Octavian took it from Tarentum and erected it in 29 BC on a pillar in the Curia Julia (Senate House) in Rome, as thanks for his victory[6]. The reconstruction of the statuette in this form, therefore, as Victory, by Potter and Johns,

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[6] Dio Cassius, 51, 22: 'After finishing this celebration Octavian dedicated the temple of Minerva, called also the Chalcidicum, and the Curia Julia, which had been built in honour of his father. In the latter he set up the statue of Victory which is still in existence, thus signifying probably that it was from her he had received the empire. It had belonged to the people of Tarentum, whence it was now brought to Rome, placed in the senate-chamber, and decked with the spoils of Egypt.' Zanker 1990, 85-6, fig. 62b. Pillar: see, for example, coins of Commodus which show this (*BMC* IV, 110, 11; Heilmeyer 1988, 509, Abb. 172).

must be correct (1992, fig. on 125).

Although there is agreement that it is this statue which is portrayed on the coins, the goddess's attributes vary from type to type. On one reverse coin-type she is shown poised on a globe, with her wings spread, her right hand outstretched and holding a wreath of victory, and her left hand by her side, holding a palm-branch, which rests on her shoulder (Heilmeyer 1988, 509, n° 329; Vollkommer 1997, 245, nos 65-72). On a second coin-type Victory carries the flag from Antony's ship instead of a crown (*BMC* I, pl. 9, 18; Heilmeyer 1988, 375, Abb. 171), and on a third she is shown carrying a crown, and, over her left shoulder a military standard instead of the palm-branch (*BMC* I, 101, n° 622, pl. 14, 14; Zanker 1990, 87, fig. 62b).

Potter and Johns suggested persuasively that the statuette of Victory belonged to the first of these types, with her right arm outstretched, a wreath of victory held in her right hand, and the left hand holding a palm-branch which rested on her left shoulder. They are supported by three pieces of evidence. Complete statuettes are known. The hoard of figures, for example, from a domestic lararium, which was in a burnt layer of about AD 270 at Rouen, includes a bronze statuette of Victoria, of the late 2nd or early 3rd century, which stands in just this attitude on a globe and pedestal and holds out a crown in her right hand[7]. A second, and striking, confirmation is provided by the silver arm, of the same size as the Tunshill arm, and holding a wreath in its hand, which comes from the treasure found at Marengo, in North Italy (Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 291-2, GF 92; Sena Chiesa 1998; Baratte 1998). It is associated with a female head, the two parts being from a 2nd-century statuette of Victory. A third example is the Victory from Calvatone (Hölscher 1967, 36-7, pl. 5; Vollkommer 1997, 245, n° 70) with a votive inscription of AD 161-9; but this statuette is now lost and the wreath in her right hand is not confirmed.

Any remaining doubts are resolved when one considers the plaque found with the statuette at Tunshill. The plaque might be thought to have been an offering additional to the statuette itself; but it makes sense only if the statuette was a Victory and if it was added before the arm was detached. The practice of labelling an object dedicated to a god with a plaque is attested from other finds, both in

frontier areas like Britain and in the metropolitan provinces. Votive tablets from Britain include an example from Caister-on-Sea, where Aurelius Atticianus paid a vow to Mercury, and his tablet retains blue enamel in the letters and, on the back, a lump of solder round a small bronze stud used for attachment to a metal object (*RIB* II.3, 74-5, n° 2432.2). A number have also been found in Colchester, including an ansate tablet by which Publius Oranius Facilis dedicated a statuette to Jupiter in his will (*RIB* II.3, 77, 2432.8), while on another bronze ansate plaque Lossio Veda, a Caledonian, set up 'this gift' to Mars Medocius and 'to the Victory of our Emperor Alexander Pius Felix' (*RIB* I, 63, n° 191)[8]. In Italy, equally, in the Marengo treasure, of about AD 200, a plaque recorded a gift to Fortuna Melior by M. Vindius Veranius, commander of the Danube Fleet (Sena Chiesa 1998, 361, fig. 368). The practice carried on into the late 4th century and was used by Christians as well as pagans, for Brenk has recently republished two bronze lamps found in Rome, each labelled with a plaque, the first naming Valerius Severus Eutropius, father of Pinianus and father-in-law of Melania, and the other Nonius Atticus Maximus, *praefectus Italiae* in AD 384 and consul in 397 [9]. The Marengo plaque was probably in a shrine dedicated to the imperial cult. The two plaques from Rome may have been deposited in the two families' private Christian chapels.

In view of the fact, therefore, that the Tunshill plaque and arm were attached to each other when found, it seems reasonable to assume that it was the statuette to which the Tunshill arm belonged that was dedicated similarly by Valerius Rufus to the goddess of Victory. He made it known to the god and to any other visitors to the shrine in just the same way as other people throughout the Empire.

The arm and sculptures in precious metal

We only have a fragment of the statuette. There are two initial questions. Is it likely that it was entirely of silver, and how big was it? In answer to the first, it may be noted that a large statuette of Fortuna, 22 cm high, found at Clermont-Ferrand, had only its head, arms and elements

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[7] See Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 192, 260, n° GF 42, and 128, n° S80 for a detached hand with a wreath from Augusta Raurica. Potter and Johns quote further parallels from Mauer an der Url, two probably from Carnuntum, one from the Trier amphitheatre, and another from Alverna, Holland.

[8] Other examples from Britain: *RIB* II.3, 76, 2432.5, from Brancaster, 'to Hercules'. Other ansate bronze examples from Colchester: RIB I, 64-5, n° 194, 'To the god Silvanus Callirius, Cintusmus, the coppersmith, willingly and deservedly fulfilled as a gift his vow'; *RIB* I, 65, n° 195, 'To the god Silvanus Hermes gladly fulfilled this on fulfilment of his vow'.

[9] Brenk (1999) has reconsidered the convincing arguments linking the site on the Coelian Hill with the residence of the Valerii. The bronze lamp with the label naming Valerius Severus Eutropius is in the form of a boat, suspended by its prow and stern, and the crew are St Peter and St Paul (Brenk 1999, 69, 77-81). The text reads, 'Dominus legem dat Valerio Severo Eutropi vivas'. Brenk connects the lamp, the plaque and the inscription with Valerius Severus' conversion and baptism as a Christian. Now in the Museo Archeologico in Florence, it was first published by Bartoli in 1691, and it has been republished by Bovini (1950, 8-13). The bronze lamp naming Nonius Atticus Maximus was also published and illustrated by Bartoli and is now lost (Brenk 1999, 80). The lamp has two burners, and is suspended from three points by chains, two from the burners in front and one from an openwork disc which is attached to the back. The openwork decoration consists of a Chi-rho and Alpha and Omega. The ansate label is attached near the top of two of the chains and its inscription reads, 'Noni Attici v.c. et inlustris' (see *PLRE* I, 586-7 and further bibliography cited by Brenk).

of the drapery in silver[10]. No large-scale sculpture, however, is known which was made in this way, and so we may assume that all parts of the statuette, from which Tunshill arm came, were of silver. As to the second question, the statuette from which the arm came must have been of remarkable size. On the basis of the measurements of the arm, Potter and Johns in 1992 published a reconstruction drawing of the figure as being about 60-70 cm high, just under half life-size. To this must be added the height of the globe on which the goddess probably stood, as well as a base. Sixty to seventy cm is the same height as that estimated for the silver Victory from the Marengo treasure. As François Baratte pointed out in 1998, the two are remarkable parallels for each other (Baratte 1998, 376-7). A third statuette of the same scale can be added, 80 cm to 1 m high, which is unidentified because all that survives is a single finger, 4.1 cm long, found in the demolition layer of a temple at Avenches (Morel 1996).

How do the Tunshill and Marengo silver Victories relate to other statues and statuettes in gold and silver? Precious metal was used occasionally for busts and figures of gods and emperors in the Roman world, but rarely to portray private individuals. Silver sculptures are known, nevertheless, from texts and from inscriptions on stone to have been more common than might be expected (Vermeule 1974; Künzl 1983; Baratte 1999).

On a small scale, Ovid, after he was banished by Augustus to Tomis on the Black Sea, received from his friend Maximus Cotta three silver busts of Augustus, Tiberius and Livia, which he set up in his *lararium* (Ovid, *Pontica* 2, 8, 1-6; Kaufmann-Heinimann 2004, 250). There is also literary evidence for large cult and commemorative figures, following Hellenistic tradition, especially of emperors or famous members of their families. Appian (*Civil Wars* V, 130) records that, about 30 BC, 'a gold statue of Octavian … was set up on a column in the Forum', Dio Cassius (LVI, 46, 3-4) that 'a golden portrait of Tiberius on a couch was placed in the Temple of Mars', Dio Cassius again (LXXI, 31, 1) that, 'the senate voted in AD 176 to set up silver portrait statues of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina in the Temple of Venus and Rome', and the *Historia Augusta* (III, 4) that Aurelian 'intended to make an ivory throne on which would sit a gold statue of Jupiter'.

None of these life-size whole-figure statues in gold and silver survive; but occasionally there is epigraphic evidence to confirm their existence[11]. In the *Res Gestae,* for example, Augustus boasted that he had disposed of about eighty silver statues of himself and used the money for gold ex-votos to Apollo[12]. Another inscription, on a column in Rome, intended as the base for a statue, gives a weight of 50 pounds for the statue, which was presumably of silver[13], while a statue of Aesculapius in the Ager Amiternus, which was dedicated between AD 153 and 179 by Laberia Hostilia Crispina, the wife of C. Bruttius Praesens (consul c. 121 and cos. ord. in 139) consisted of 100 pounds of silver (Duncan-Jones 1974, 164, n° 514). From Ostia there are two informative inscriptions: in the chapel of the imperial cult in the Barracks of the Vigiles, five altars and bases carried small figures, probably in silver, of Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Lucius Verus and L. Septimius Verus (*CIL* XIV, Supplement, I: 4357, 4376, 4380)[14]; and the inventory of gifts given to another *collegium* of the imperial cult included four silver busts of Antoninus Pius, two silver busts of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, besides a silver bust of Concordia (Degrassi 1939, 230-1; Sena Chiesa 1998, 367). Such inscriptions occur also outside Italy. In Egypt, for example, a dedication offered in the time of Tiberius by a *praefectus castrorum* mentions five silver imperial busts (*imagines*; Letta 1978). In Gaul, there are inscriptions for four silver statues, from Narbonne, where a statue of Hercules weighing twelve pounds was put up, and also from Arles, Nîmes and Vienne[15]. Inscriptions also mention non-imperial sculptures in gold and silver. The will of Damusius, consul in 108, not only had famous people such as Tacitus and Pliny the Younger among his legatees, but mentions statues (*signa*) of Damusius in gold and silver, and busts of him (*imagines*) in silver (*CIL* VI, 10229, 1.74)[16].

[10] Baratte 1999, 84, quoting *Gallia Informations. Préhistoire et Histoire,* 1989 -1, 36-9, fig. 22; Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 248, GF 26, with earlier bibliography.

[11] Duncan-Jones (1974, 93-4, 126-7, 163-4) quotes the weights of statues in gold and silver attested in Africa and Italy. More recently, other inscriptions have been collected by Lahusen (1984). From Spain, Mangas (1971, 136-7) gives a list of gold and silver statues, and their costs, known from epigrahic evidence.

[12] *Res Gestae* 24, 2: *statuae meae pedestres et equestres et in quadrigeis argenteae steterunt in urbe XXC circiter, quas ipse sustuli, exque ea pecunia dona aurea in aede Apollinis meo nomine et illorum qui mihi statuarum honorem habuerunt posui.*

[13] Kaufmann-Heinimann 1985, 37, n. 3, quoting H. Zosel in W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom,* 4th ed., 1969, n° 2375.

[14] Baratte (1999, 84) also cites (from Degrassi 1939) the inventory of a *collegium* at Ostia which had four silver busts of Antoninus Pius, and two of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus, as well as of Victory and Fortune.

[15] Instances cited by Braemer 1968, 345, n. 2, acknowledging a paper by A. Héron de Villefosse (in *Société nationale des Antiquaries de France, Centenaire, Recueil de mémoires,* Paris, 1904, 195. Hercules at Narbonne: *CIL* XIII, 4316; amphitheatre at Arles: *CIL* XII, 197; Nîmes: *CIL* XII, 3058; Vienne: *CIL* XII, 5864. Bertrandy *et al.* 2004, 143-5, n° 72 (the highest price known so far to have been paid for a statue in the Roman Empire).

[16] In the same vein Baratte (1999, 84, 88) points out that the *Digest* (XXXIV, 2, 6, 2) discusses silver portrait busts and marble busts as being of equal importance and destined to be placed on exhibition publicly: *imagines argenteas item marmoreas …. (in) porticum publicam.*

The difficulty with literary and epigraphic evidence, however, is that gilded and silvered bronze sculptures could not be distinguished from gold and silver sculptures. It is important, therefore, to sample the archaeological evidence. It has been studied several times, in 1968 by François Braemer, who drew particular attention to the technical aspects, and subsequently by Ernst Künzl, G. Sena Chiesa, and François Baratte, and much of their work is repeated here (Braemer 1968; 1969; Künzl 1983; Sena Chiesa 1998; Baratte 1999).

Surviving gold and silver sculpture is rare, but less so than might be supposed[17]. Most examples are small statuettes in silver[18]. In the treasure of Chaourse, for example, there is a silver statuette of Fortuna, 12.8 cm high, and in the treasure from Mâcon there is a unique group of such statuettes, all studied by Annemarie Kaufmann-Heinimann (Braemer 1968, 345-54; Vermeule 1974; Kaufmann-Heinimann 1984; 1985)[19]. Gold statuettes are most uncommon; but they do sometimes occur. In 1967, for example, a gold figure of Fortuna, 16.5 cm high, from North Africa, was sold in Basel (*Kunstwerke der Antike,* Auction, Basel, 6th May 1967, p. 220)[20]. A few tiny heads in silver were used for the decoration of military standards or phalerae, or of dishes, such as those on dishes in the Boscoreale treasure or on the bowls from Mzcheta in Georgia (Künzl 1983, 385-93; Baratte 1986, 15-17; Matchabély 1970). A small silver head of Antoninus Pius, in Copenhagen, may have had the same use (Hannestad 1982; Baratte 1999, 88). Small busts, two of the Tetrarchs (in Mainz; 11 cm high), probably from Asia Minor, and another probably of Licinius (in Munich; 12 cm high), probably from the borders of the Black Sea are perhaps from standards (Künzl 1983; Garbsch & Overbeck 1989, 58-64, n° S10). A gilded bronze head (12 cm high) has been found in Pannonia, and has been identified as Valentinian II (about AD 388) or of Theodosius II (c. AD 410-20; Baratte 1999, 87-8). The small gold head (4.2 cm high), which was in the Monaco treasure and which has been described as an emperor, seems too small to be from a standard, and may perhaps be from a dish (Tetrarch: Héron de Villefosse 1879; Künzl 1983, 394-5, pl. 81, 4.5, with bibliography)[21].

Large sculptures occur in both metals. A gold head of a goddess, perhaps Venus, 10 cm high, also comes from the Monaco hoard (Braemer 1968, 345, figs 21-2; Künzl 1983, 400, pl. 81, 6). A head this size implies a sculpture perhaps a third of life size or more. It seems to be the only statuette of a goddess in gold on this scale. There are also two portraits. A life-size gold bust of Marcus Aurelius, 33.5 cm high, in cuirass and *paludamentum,* and weighing 1590 g, was found at Avenches (Canton de Vaud, Switzerland), where it had been buried just in front of a temple (Braemer 1968, 330, 332, fig. 4, with earlier bibliography; Künzl 1983, 394, pl. 81, 1, with further bibliography; Sena Chiesa 1998, 365-6; Baratte 1999, 87). Balty has proposed an identification of this gold bust as Julian the Apostate (1980). If correct, this would extend the use of gold for such sculptures into the middle of the 4th century. A smaller gold bust, 25 cm high, and weighing 1000 g, depicting Septimius Severus, also in cuirass and *paludamentum,* was found in northern Greece, at Didymotocheion in Thrace (Künzl 1983, 394, pl. 81, 2.3, with earlier bibliography; Sena Chiesa 1998, 366; Baratte 1999, 87). In addition there is a fragment of a gold 'mask', found in the hoard of Roman gold jewellery from Wincle in Cheshire, buried in the 3rd century AD (Johns *et al.* 1980, 56-7). Ernst Künzl has shown that this is likely to be part of a Gorgoneion from the centre of the cuirass of a gold bust of an emperor like those from Avenches and Didymoteichon (1983, 395). In silver there are two portraits which can be classed as large-scale portrait sculpture. The first is a bust of Galba, 41 cm high, from Herculaneum (Künzl 1983, 400; Baratte 1999, 87; Sena Chiesa 1998, 366, 368, n° 29). It was previously thought to be of silvered bronze, but has now been shown to be of sheet silver (Heinze 1968; Geominy and Franchi 1995; Geominy 1996). The second is the biggest in the series of imperial portraits, a bust of Lucius Verus from Marengo, dated c. AD 160, 55 cm. high, the head being 27.5 cm high[22].

There are medium-scale sculptures in silver made in one piece and worked in repoussé. A bust of Gallienus (h. 17 cm) was found in the treasure from Lyon-Vaise (Aubin *et al.* 1999; Sena Chiesa 1998, 366; and especially Baratte 1999, 80-117), a bust of a 3rd-century emperor (h. 26.3 cm.), who may be Trebonianus Gallus, was found at Brigetio, Pannonia (Thomas 1956, 246-7; Künzl 1983, 399, pl. 85, 2; Baratte 1999, 87), and a silvered bronze bust of Magnentius, of about AD 350 (h. 17.5 cm), was

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[17] Some of the material was brought together by Vermeule in 1974 in a valuable booklet published by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. The other important studies are the papers by Braemer in 1968 and 1969, by Künzl in 1983, and by Baratte in 1999. Currently there is little available in English, and so what follows largely summarises and repeats the information gathered in these sources.

[18] For the most recent survey see Kaufmann-Heinimann 2004.

[19] Also, for Chaourse: Kaufmann-Heinimann in Baratte & Painter 1989, n° 83; and for Mâcon: Kaufmann-Heinimann, in Painter & Kaufmann-Heinimann, forthcoming.

[20] Others are published in Vermeule 1974, e.g. nos 85-88, 98, and including n° 108, described as being from Gaul and dated to the late 4th or early 5th century AD (also published as Ross 1965, 126-8, n° 174).

[21] The location of the head is not now known. Baratte (1999, 87) points out that the head was made in such a summary way that it is difficult to recognise it as an emperor, let alone as a Tetrarch, as has been suggested.

[22] Height of bust: 55.3 cm; width of bust: 51 cm; height of head: 27.5 cm; thickness of metal: c. 1 mm. Braemer 1968, 329-31, figs. 1-3; Künzl 1983, 400, pls. 85,4; Sena Chiesa 1998, especially 361-5.

found in the Saône at Chalon-sur-Saône (Braemer 1968, 341-4, figs 18-20; Künzl 1983, 399, pl, 85, 1; Sena Chiesa 1998, 366; Baratte 1999, 87). The group includes a god: a late 2nd-century bust of Jupiter, 25.5 cm high (the head being 14 cm high) in a hoard of silver objects found at the Petit-Saint-Bernard in the Alps (Braemer 1968, 333-5, figs. 7-9; Baratte & Painter 1989, 230, n° 188; Sena Chiesa 1998, 366). There are also silver busts of private people. A bust of a man, 15.5 cm high (head: 6.3 cm high), dated to the second quarter of the 3rd century was found at Velleia, in North Italy (D'Andria 1967-8; Braemer 1968, 335-7, figs. 101-12; Baratte 1999, 85-6, 88, fig. 69). In southern France, a bust of a man, 29.5 cm high (head: 13 cm high), also of the first half of the 3rd century, was found at Vaison-la-Romaine (Vaucluse; Braemer 1968, 337-9, figs 14-16; Baratte & Painter 1989, 230-1, n° 189; Baratte 1999, 88, fig. 70).

Other sculptures were made in parts. When heads were made in this way, in two parts, it would have been easier to finish the front of the face in repoussé than it was for solid castings. Many of these belong to a period from about the last quarter of the 2nd century to the middle of the 3rd century, and their find-places for the most part are on either side of the Alps, in northern Italy and eastern Gaul. The technique was used for the statuette of a child, from Vichy, which is 12 cm high (Braemer 1968, 328; Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 264, GF 47); but it was also used for larger sculptures. Two of the most notable are the two male or female masks of deities of the first half of the 3rd century in the treasure from Notre-Dame d'Allençon (Braemer 1968, 340, fig. 17; Baratte 1981, 29-33, nos 1-2, pls III-IV, VI-VII; Baratte & Painter 1989, 98-100). One is 30.5 cm high, and the other is 24.9 cm high. Both these heads were most probably made in two parts, the rear parts now being missing[23]. The technique of making heads in this way continued, if the head of Sainte Foy at Conques is dated correctly to late antiquity (Taralon 1954-1955; Braemer 1968, 328, citing previous literature; Taralon 1997). Moreover, it is not impossible that there was a continuous tradition which resulted in some of the reliquary sculptures of the middle ages being made in hammered and repoussé metal[24].

At the same time, of course, the manufacture of hollow parts for a body would have saved silver – and money. Large silver statuettes were constructed in this way. Good examples are found in the treasure from Vaise-Lyon, studied by François Baratte (1999). The Apollo-Helios, for example, which is 27.5 cm high, was made in several parts and by various techniques (Baratte 1999, 90-5). The two solid arms were cast and then worked; the left leg was also worked; the two draperies were hammered or

moulded; the rest of the body is made of sheet silver and is hollow, the details of the surface being worked in repoussé. The same methods of manufacture were used for the silver statuette of Mercury, 56.3 cm high, in the treasure of Berthouville (Baratte, 'Mercure', in Baratte & Painter 1989, 97, with bibliography). The hollow statue was made of repoussé elements fastened together by tenons; its head was completed by a separately made skull-cap which carried the hair, as on the heads of several big bronzes from Gaul, such as the Mars of Coligny, the Apollo of Vaupoisson, and the Mercury from Thiennes (Boucher and Tassinari 1976, 56).

This seems to be the technical context in which the Tunshill arm and the Marengo arm belong. The Apollo-Helios from Vaise and the Mercury from Berthouville are each about one third of life size, and they were made in parts. Braemer has shown that some bronzes were made in the same way, but with more sections in hammered metal, and they extend the known distribution of the repertoire in this technique (1969). They include busts, full figures and animals. The bust of a goddess from Marnheim, 20 cm high, had the head made in two parts, divided along the line of the hair (Menzel 1960, 15, n° 22, pls 24-5; Braemer 1969, 84-5). The body of the Celtic god from Bouray was made of two pieces of metal, soldered together; each arm was formed from another sheet, and the separate head was made of two pieces soldered together horizontally above the ears (Braemer 1969, 85-8). Bronze animals were made in the same way, to be ex votos. A cache of such animals was found on the left bank of the Loire, at Neuvy-en-Sullias (Loiret; Braemer 1969, 88-93; Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 257-8, GF 38). They include, for example, a boar, 34 cm high and 44 cm long; sheets of metal form the body, shaped to fit a wooden core.

All these parallels, then, in silver and bronze, demonstrate that the construction of the body from which the Tunshill arm came shared a tradition which flourished on either side of the Alps in the 2nd and early 3rd centuries AD. The form of the Tunshill Victory was probably entirely classical; but the manner of its construction was paralleled in the north-west provinces, and it may well have been made there. As an object entirely of silver, it was a large, uncommon and expensive statuette; but in its time, about AD 200, it was not unique.

Valerius Rufus and his dedication

Further problems concern what sort of shrine or temple Valerius Rufus chose in which to make his dedication, and any evidence there may be for his station in life.

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[23] These masks have in the past been compared with parade helmets with human faces; but François Baratte (1981, 32) has shown that the two series differ both in appearance and in function, and the comparison cannot be maintained.

[24] Examples from throughout France are quoted in Braemer 1968, 327, n. 1.

The size of the Tunshill statuette does not in itself demonstrate whether it came from a public or a private shrine (Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 203). Statues like the 2 m high gilt-bronze statue of Apollo from Lillebonne are of course cult-statues from a temple (Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 200, 252 GF 31); but for statuettes, even large ones, the situation is not so clear. The fact also that the goddess is Victory does not exclude it from being in a private shrine: there were many statuettes of Victoria in Gallo-Roman domestic shrines (Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 166)[25]. The addition of the dedicatory plaque, however, may suggest that, when the plaque was added, the statuette was in a public shrine. The 4th -century plaques from Rome, quoted above, however, may have been intended for private chapels in grand houses in the city of Rome. If this is correct, we cannot be certain that the Tunshill statuette, when complete, may not have been set up, with its plaque, in a family-owned temple on a private estate (Künzl 1993, 93-104, 483). Looted objects from what may well have been such a temple, on a villa estate north of Paris, have been found in the 3rd-century Neupotz hoard. Objects from the shrine were inscribed with votive inscriptions which differed in no way from those found in public shrines and temples. The Tunshill hoard could have been from just such a location, and the question of whether the statuette was in a public or a private shrine must remain open.

Comparative evidence may perhaps be helpful, in particular the contemporary treasure found at Marengo in north Italy. This find is of particular importance to any attempt to explain the Tunshill find, both because it includes parts of a statue of Victory and also because at least part of the treasure may have been from a shrine (Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 200, 291, GF 92)[26]. The treasure included pieces of furniture and furnishings and three silver vessels and fragments of vessels. More importantly, besides a life-size silver bust of Lucius Verus and parts of a silver he-goat and the hoof of a bull, it contained the arm and head of a Victoria (original height about 60-70 cm, plus wings and base), together with a plaque.

The ansate plaque is inscribed *Fortun(ae) meliori / M(arcus) Vindius / Verianus praef(ectus) / clas(sis) Fl(aviae) Moes(iae) / et a militiis III / d(ono) d(edit):* 'To (the goddess) Better Fortune Marcus Vindius Veranius, Prefect of the Moesian fleet and the holder of three previous commands, has made this gift' (trans. R.S.O. Tomlin; Degrassi 1939). This gives us information useful in interpreting the Tunshill find. First, at least some of the

Marengo treasure, which included a statuette of Victory, was dedicated by a senior officer who was prefect of the Danube fleet about AD 200 (Devijer 1976, n° 115, M. Vindius Veranius). Second, like Valerius Rufus, Marcus Vindius Veranius was a long way from the headquarters of his unit. Third, there is no reason to suppose that the find at Marengo was loot from the province of Moesia. Four other inscriptions are known which record the cult of *Fortuna melior,* and they are all in northern or central Italy (noted in Degrassi 1939, 227: *CIL* XI, 4216, 4391, 4770; *CIL* XIV, 2873). This suggests, therefore, that the shrine to which the dedicated parts of the treasure belonged was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Marengo. Degrassi, discussing the nature of the shrine, suggested that, because of the presence of the silver bust of Lucius Verus it might well have been dedicated to the imperial cult[27].

All this contemporary evidence helps to establish that we can reasonably suppose that, since Valerius Rufus was in the Sixth Legion and dedicated a large silver statuette of Victory, just as Vindius Veranius commanded the Moesian fleet and made a dedication to Fortuna Melior which could well have been in return for a victory, Valerius Rufus probably also had a senior rank in the Sixth Legion. We do not know what Vindius Veranius dedicated; but it would have been very appropriate if it was the statuette of Victory of which the head and arm survive.

The hoard

What has not yet been explained is the reason why the Tunshill arm and plaque were buried in the ground in Lancashire. There are several possible reasons, which must now be examined.

In the first publication of the arm Whitaker supposed that 'the arm of this vote has in all probability been broken off and lost in one of [the Sixth Legion's] marches from York, their stated quarters, to Manchester where the altar to Fortune proves them to have been occasionally stationed.'(Whitaker 1801, 27-8, quoted by Macdonald 1926, 10)[28]. Macdonald dismissed this suggestion: 'The legion was never stationed in Manchester at all. What the altar indicates is merely that the fort there was at one time occupied by a small legionary detachment for whose presence in the locality there must have been some special reason.'(1926, 10). A major reason for his scorn seems to have been that in his article in 1929 he wished to explain the destruction of fine objects, in particular fragments of

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[25] This was not the case in earlier periods. Victoria does not occur in inventories of statuettes from Campania, perhaps because representations of the goddess were reserved for monuments of the state cult (Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 194, with n. 673).

[26] Whether the deposit came directly from a shrine is discussed by Sena Chiesa (1998, 361) and Baratte (1999, 379).

[27] Degrassi (1939, 230) compared the inscription from Ostia giving the inventory of gifts given to a *collegium,* including imperial statues and silver busts, and statues of Victoria and Fortuna, which Guido Calza attributed to the imperial cult (in *Epigraphica* I, 1939, 28ff.).

[28] Altar to Fortune, found in 1612: *RIB* I, 191, n° 575: *Fortunae Conseruatrici L(ucius) Senecianus Martius, c(enturio) leg(ionis) VI Vict(ricis)*, 'To Fortuna Conservatirx Lucius Senecianus Martius, centurion of the Sixth Legion Victrix (set this up).'

three bronze statues, as being the result of dramatic historical events, in spite of a lack of evidence. The bronze head of Hadrian found in the Thames, perhaps together with the bronze hand found in Lower Thames Street, was 'probably a memento of the visit which Hadrian unquestionably paid to London', the bronze head of Claudius, found in the River Alde in Suffolk, was '[extremely probably] the veritable head of the statue that once adorned the temple of Claudius [in Colchester]' and 'broken in pieces … when the Iceni and Trinovantes swept down on Colchester [in AD 61] under the leadership of Boudicca', while the foot and lower part of the right leg of a gilded bronze statue, found just north of the England-Scotland border at Milsington in Roxburghshire, when part of a full statue, 'would have been at home in one or other of the two legionary great legionary fortresses in the north of Roman Britain – Chester and York'.

At this point we come to the reason for Macdonald's dismissal of Whitaker's explanation of the silver arm. It needs examination because it seems still to have some currency. He wanted to explain the origin of the bronze leg at Milsington as being York because the leg 'is part of the plunder of York', 'fruit of one and the same sack'. He found it difficult: 'Perhaps we cannot go all the way in the desired direction [of establishing a direct connection between the English and the Scottish finds], but we can certainly go so far. … It is beyond doubt that the silver arm of Victory was pillaged from York. … The globe and leg are loot, and in all likelihood plundered from York.' He finally posited a destruction of York in the second half of the 2nd century, his evidence being the rebuilding of the walls at that time. Macdonald's claim was consistent with opinion of his time and for long afterwards. It was certainly long believed that Clodius Albinus removed the garrison of Britain to fight on the continent and that the result was a disastrous invasion of the province from beyond the frontier (*Eburacum,* xxxiii). In fact it now seems that the rebuilding of the defences and internal buildings of the fortress was not the result of a destruction by outsiders but part of Severus' reconstruction and reorganisation of the north of England in AD 197, probably because there had been no large-scale reorganisation of the northern frontier for at least two decades (Salway 1993, 164). Macdonald's romantic reconstructions of what happened to the bronzes he was studying are now not only unconvincing but, as far as concerns York, based on a misinterpretation of the evidence. The story that the Victory was in the legionary shrine, or *sacellum,* inside the fortress headquarters at York, and that it was looted, to be hidden, and not recovered, on the other side of the Pennines, is without foundation. Units of the Sixth Legion are known to have been stationed at Corbridge, the Antonine Wall, and the Severan Fortress at Carpow; but we have no evidence, however, of a sequence of events

which might have resulted in a portion of the contents of a shrine at any of these sites being concealed many miles away in Lancashire.

In searching further for an explanation of the Tunshill hoard, it may help to examine the theories for the deposition of the larger but similar find at Marengo, in north Italy. Albizzati (1937) suggested that the treasure was a homogeneous group, and that the hoard was the result of a theft from a shrine: 'the treasure must have been the portion taken by one of the thieves and hidden underground'. Degrassi agreed with him (1939, 229-32). Bendinelli, on the other hand, proposed in the same year as Albizzati that there must have been a villa along the Roman road from Dertona to Hasta and that the proprietors hid the treasure near their own property (1937, quoted by Sena Chiesa 1998, 359).

Sena Chiesa has more recently put forward the idea that the objects may have been scrap, objects broken up and ready to be melted down for re-use, citing the theory put forward by Stella (1976) in connection with the hoard of bronzes from Brescia, including a Victory and gilded bronze portraits. The hypothesis preferred by Sena Chiesa, however, based on her impression of deliberate damage, is that the hoard is the product of a theft, perhaps following a battle during a war, or the consequence of looting, for example during raids by the Alamanni (Sena Chiesa 1998, 360). As examples of silver being booty, because it was buried in a damaged state, she quotes the Cesena treasure and the Missorium of Theodosius (*Milano capitale,* 1990, 348, n° 5b.2b-c, and 44-5, n° 1c.3d)[29]. Sena Chiesa then points out that François Baratte has shown that the collection of objects was probably not owned by an individual, because they are in a variety of styles and are of a variety of dates, while at the same time there is no table silver, as would be expected in a personal collection. Sena Chiesa concludes, therefore, by agreeing with Albizzati and Degrassi that the hoard is probably the treasure from a sanctuary, stolen, and then hidden by the thief.

Any of these possibilities could apply to the find from Tunshill. Given that the arm was clearly wrenched from the statue, is what we have is part of the stock of a dealer in old metal or the results of theft or plundering? It is very difficult to distinguish between objects which are 'plunder' or 'loot' and those which were owned by a dealer in old metal (Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 202). Other finds including statuettes which may be either booty or stocks of scrap are known from elsewhere in the western provinces, e.g. from Angleur in Belgium, or Weissenburg in Germany (Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 235, GF 10 and 276, GF 66). There is more probability that the finds from a Roman house in Martigny in Switzerland and from an area of the civil settlement at Brumath in France are stocks of scrap because the

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[29] Other explanations may be possible.

Martigny hoard may have been connected with a lead workshop in the north-east corner of the peristyle of the house, and the Brumath objects were found near bronze-casting workshops (Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 283, GF 79 and 243, GF 21). We have no evidence to make this distinction in the case of the Tunshill arm because we know nothing of the context of the find.

It is also possible that the Tunshill find came from a shrine at or near the place where it was found. The situation could be like that for the hoard from Marengo (Kaufmann-Heinimann 1998, 200, 291, GF 92). The objects could have been stolen and hidden, as Sena Chiesa suggests, or the most valuable objects could have been hidden for safety by the person who looked after the shrine as protection of the valuables of a shrine against a threat in the neighbourhood. If so, of course, the guardian's efforts did not work. It is clear from what was found that the statuette was broken up and hidden at Tunshill. This therefore provides another possible reason for the hiding of the Tunshill arm – protection of the proceeds of a robbery. It is perhaps the most likely of the three.

What must be stressed, however, is what we do not know. The date of the statuette and of the plaque, somewhere about AD 200, is only a *terminus post quem*. We do not have any evidence as to when the statuette was broken up and the objects left their home to be buried in the ground. While the arm and plaque must be from a shrine, we do not know whether that was private or public. We know nothing about the career of Veranius Rufus, except that he served in the Sixth Legion. On a more positive note, on the other hand, we know that Veranius Rufus was involved in a victory of the Sixth Legion, perhaps holding a rank similar to that of his probable contemporary Marcus Vindius Verianus, who commanded the Danube fleet, and that he dedicated a remarkable and large statuette of Victory, very similar to that offered at a shrine at Marengo. It cannot be often that Lancashire and Piedmont are linked in such a happy light!

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